

# FUNDAMENTAL ARMENOLOGY

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## ACADEMICS CALL ON GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS TO SAVE ARMENIAN HERITAGE BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE

Only two years ago, Armenian art, history, and culture were celebrated by some of the world's most acclaimed cultural institutions.

Armenia! <https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2018/armenia> at the Metropolitan Museum of Art was a major international exhibition of Armenian medieval art. The wonders on display broke attendance records, earned critical praise, and demonstrated the major contributions of Armenians to world civilization. The Smithsonian Folklife Festival <https://festival.si.edu/2018/armenia> celebrated Armenian artistic and cultural traditions during its annual interactive exposition on the National Mall in Washington DC, drawing record numbers. That same year, the global consortium of French-speaking nations gathered in Armenia's capital of Yerevan for the Summit of the Francophonie <https://francophonie.org/>, hosting hundreds of world leaders, visitors and the international media.

Now, just two short years later, the world looks away as Armenian art, architecture, and history are being destroyed. On September 27, 2020, Azerbaijan launched a large-scale military attack on the Republic of Artsakh. Turkey, which continues to deny its genocidal project of the annihilation of the Armenian people perpetrated in 1915-1922 in their historical homeland, has lent its full political and military support to Azerbaijan in this latest act of aggression.

While the war was just brought to a sudden end by Russia, for over a month, the Republic of Artsakh suffered dire civilian and military casualties. The continuous shelling with cluster bombs and other artillery layed waste to homes, hospitals, and schools. The aggression has also been targeted at heritage sites <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/monuments-in-line-of-fire-in-nagorno-karabakh-conflict>, with the aim to erase the unique cultural contributions of the Armenian people and their history in the region.

On October 8, 2020, Azerbaijani forces launched two intentional assaults on the Holy Savior Ghazanchetsots Cathedral, causing significant damage. Located in Shushi, the cultural capital of Artsakh, the cathedral is a masterpiece of nineteenth-century Armenian architecture and a landmark of Armenian cultural and religious identity. Online photos show a gaping hole in the masonry vaults, with the floor and pews covered in debris.

Shushi Cathedral is just one of thousands of heritage sites in Artsakh now in grave danger. Most of the structures are much older, dating as early as the fourth century AD, when Armenia converted to Christianity. These extraordinary architectural monuments feature ancient inscriptions, wall paintings, and sculpture. They are not only artistic and historic treasures, but also material evidence for the long history of Armenians in the region. With every cluster bomb, with every hour that the international community is silent and passive, we lose a precious memorial, destroyed forever.

The bombings also targeted archaeological sites <https://hyperallergic.com/592287/tigranakert-artsakh-nagorno-karabakh-war/>, damaging evidence for ancient habitation, including fortification and ecclesiastical architecture and precious artifacts.

This wholesale destruction is part of a violent denialist policy by Azerbaijan that includes the intentional elimination of Armenian cultural heritage in Artsakh <https://hyperallergic.com/482353/a-regime-conceals-its-erasure-of-indigenous-armenian-culture/>.

Both Azerbaijan and Turkey have continuous, well-documented policies of destroying the Armenian cultural heritage found in their territories. Azerbaijan's 1997–2006 erasure in Nakhichevan of its Armenian culture <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2019/mar/01/monumental-loss-azerbaijan-cultural-genocide-khachkars>, with more than 89 medieval churches, 5,840 *khachkars*, and 22,000 historical tombstones is illustrative in this regard. The 16th General Assembly of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) adopted a resolution in October 2008 [https://www.icomos.org/quebec2008/resolutions/pdf/GA16\\_Resolutions\\_final\\_EN.pdf](https://www.icomos.org/quebec2008/resolutions/pdf/GA16_Resolutions_final_EN.pdf) expressing its grave concern regarding these acts of cultural vandalism.

We call attention, by contrast, to Armenia's efforts to restore the Gohar Agha Mosque in Shushi [https://www.idea.am/assets/Project\\_reports/Shushi\\_Mosque\\_Report\\_2017\\_ENG.pdf](https://www.idea.am/assets/Project_reports/Shushi_Mosque_Report_2017_ENG.pdf).

Is the Monastery of Gandzasar, a crown jewel of thirteenth-century Armenian architecture, fated to similar oblivion? What about the fourth-century Amaras Monastery, the location of the first school to use the Armenian script and the burial place of Saint Grigoris, grandson of the patron saint and evangelizer of Armenia, Gregory the Illuminator? Grigoris's fifth-century tomb is one of the earliest Armenian Christian funerary structures surviving.

What will become of the Monastery of Dadivank, a large, picturesque complex of buildings and carved cross-stones dating from the thirteenth century? The main church, with its delicate exterior arcades and sculpted donor portraits, shelters an extraordinary set of interior frescoes showing sacred and historical figures and Armenian inscriptions. While recent restoration efforts by an Italian team have sought to stabilize its deteriorated state, their work is now under imminent threat of reversal.

These are only a few examples of the thousands of sites across Artsakh that are now vulnerable to destruction. Once they are gone, it will be too late. We acknowledge the value of cultural heritage and recognize that the loss of any one culture constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world, and not only of the nation to which the cultural property belongs. We call upon UNESCO, ICOMOS, The Blue Shield, World Monuments Fund and other international organizations committed to the conservation and protection of cultural heritage sites to assist immediately in safeguarding and monitoring these monuments and documenting them for posterity.

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# THE CAUCASIONI COMPONENT OF INDIVIDUALS FROM HOVHANNAVANK MONUMENT

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## Abstract

The population of medieval Armenia was not homogeneous. Some combinations of craniological features of South-European race are extant. According to the craniological data on our disposal today, among the late medieval population of Hovhannavank are present specific complexes of features not characteristic for the Armenian population of later periods. This complex of features stands close to the Caucasioni type. Closest analogues to that type were found among the populations of Georgia, Azerbaijan (Mingechaur) and Iran (Turang Tepe). Based on anthropological and palaeopathological data, two types of deformation were observed: circular high (high ring) and low. Pathological changes represent a certain adaptation form to ecobiological and social environmental factors. Leading among the unfavorable environmental factors is considered the general infectious background.

**Keywords:** *Armenia, Hovhannavank, anthropology, Caucasioni type, deformation of the head, palaeopathology*

Hovhannavank is one of the medieval monastic complexes of Armenia which is located at the edge of a rocky cliff of the Kasakh River, opposite Mount Araler (2600 m.), Aragatsotn district (Pic. 1). From three sides Hovhannavank is defended by long mighty walls, and from the fourth side – by natural barrier, the slopes of a mountain which towers above the river.<sup>1</sup> Moritz Wagner who visited the monastery in the XIX century, wrote: “When you look on the deep gorge from the slopes of Aragats it unveils an extremely picturesque and magnificent panorama. Through the gorge flows the River Aparan (Khasakh). This breathtaking sight you can enjoy from the territory of St. Hovhannavank”.<sup>2</sup> Hovhannavank monastery is the masterpiece of the XIII century Armenian architecture due to its magnificence, narthex, elegant sculptures and rational architectural solutions.<sup>3</sup> Hovhannavank was not only a complex of churches but also a well known convent: “Thus under the patronage of St. Karapet among numerous brothers-hermits was written and given to this holy brotherhood this delighting [the soul]

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<sup>1</sup> Ghafadaryan 1948: 42.

<sup>2</sup> Shahaziz 1987: 303.

<sup>3</sup> Toramanyan 1948: 55.

history as commemoration of his soul"<sup>4</sup>. In 1243 Kurd Vachutyan moved the diocesan episcopal throne of Aragatsotn from the fortress of Amberd to Hovhannavank.<sup>5</sup>

Hovhannavank consists of two churches – one-naved arched basilica and a church with a spacious narthex-chapel on the western side. According to the tradition, due to the assistance of king Trdat Gregory the Illuminator had founded a basilic church early in the IV century AD, posted there holy relics of John the Baptist and consecrated the building. The basilics dedicated to John the Baptist was named after St. Karapet. In spite of numerous reconstructions, the one-naved basilica, without doubt, belongs to the first phase of the development of Christian architecture, to the IV or V centuries, and keeps planning solutions which speaks in favor of earlier dating: "The most ancient basilica of Hovhannavank by its planning proportions, - mentions T.Toramanyan – was built in the early V century at latest, and the problem of more early dating should be find out step by step".<sup>6</sup>

On the restoration and changes of the monastery of Hovhannavank wrote also Garegin Hovsepyan: "The modern building of Hovhannavank belongs to the XIII century. On its northern side, though, is located one-naved church, some features of which point on the idea that it is a building founded before the VII century. The church was restored many times, but it had kept ancient elements such as semi-columns on both sides of the entrance and remains of horseshoe-like arch from inside which are characteristic for our ancient and basilic churches. Hovhannavank is mentioned in the texts of 603-606 AD and modern sources as well. Also the tradition which has ancient roots says that it was built by Gregory the Illuminator at the beginning of the IV century".<sup>7</sup> The next and fundamental reconstruction of the basilica took place in the mid-XVII century (in 1652) by the abbot Zakariya Vagharshapattsi.<sup>8</sup> But the church of St Karapet was not meant to be unharmed. During the destructive earthquake of 1679 it was ruined once more: "... In the Holy mansion of Hovhannavank had collapsed all beautiful dwellings, the church had fallen and we escaped the death", - with great sorrow wrote the Deacon Zakariya (Kanakertsi).<sup>9</sup>

The architectural planning of the St Karapet church is simple, without elements of ornamentation, except the frescos of the second half of the XIX century.

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<sup>4</sup> Kanakertsi 1870: 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> Manucharyan 2019: 98.4.

<sup>6</sup> Toramanyan 1948: 131.

<sup>7</sup> Hovsepyan 1944: 20.

<sup>8</sup> Davrizhetsi 1891: 268.

<sup>9</sup> Kanakertsi 1870: 104.



Fig. 1. The location of the monastic complex of Hovhannavank

In Hovhannavank, on the tympanum of the western portal of cathedral is located a bas-relief depicting parables about sane and insane maidens. The occurrence of this parable on the church tympanum is not characteristic for the Armenian art, although the tradition of decoration of tympanums in the XIII-XIV centuries was widely practiced in Armenia, but its sculptural representation among Armenian monuments exists only in Hovhannavank.<sup>10</sup> In the center is depicted a figure of Christ sitting on the throne. His right arm is stretched over the heads of sane virgins, pointing on their righteous deeds. The pictures of five sane virgins are placed one after another, with raised hands holding candles, while the insanes stand with fatigued heads, as if they are rejected.

The erection of the Catholic church was initiated in 1216 according to the inscription on the western wall of the north-eastern sacristy. “By the will of beneficent Lord, during the rule of the son of Zakare, great Shahnshah and the rule of the son of Vache, *kusakal*<sup>11</sup> amir Kurd in our province (Aragatsotn), in 1221 I, vardapet Astvatsatur, with the assistance of the members of monastic brothers, and as a spiritual son of Vardapet Akopos, had initiated the erection of a wonderfully decorated Catholic church”. It means that the erection of the Catholic church lasted six years, from 1216 until 1221. The church survived until 1918, when it had suffered during the earthquake. It was completely restored in 1990s.

*Church-narthex.* This building is characteristic for the architecture of the XIII century. In the central part is located a big hall and a dome which stands on four columns, and in the center of the dome is a rounded hole. On the dome stands bell-tower which has 12 columns. Four columns of the church are connected with the walls by means of high-spanning arcs which rise above the pylons. It is generally accepted that the narthex was built by the prince Kurd, son of Vache. The erection had begun in 699 (1247 or 1248) of Armenian chronology and concluded in 700, i.e. 1251.<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>10</sup> Zakaryan 1973: 294.

<sup>11</sup> Kusakal – governor of the region or country in the medieval Armenia.

<sup>12</sup> Ghafadaryan 1948: 39.

narthex is remarkable for exclusively rich inner decoration - *khachkars* (cross-stone) decorated with relief ornaments, frescos, openwork floral and geometric ornamentation. Narthex served as a tomb where were buried representatives of highest priesthood and abbots, priests and members of their families. "Priest Kurd himself, - as wrote Zakaria Kanakertsi,- leaving earthly glory, went to the island of Sevan, clothed like hermit, became a clergyman, had died there and buried in the narthex of the church".<sup>13</sup>

**Walls of the fortress.** The inscription mentioning the building of the fortress wall was found to the north of the monastic complex, on the podium of a *khachkar* placed in the cemetery. *Khachkar* itself was lost but we possess with information kept in the study of Zakaria Kanakertsi. According to him, the inscription tells that the wall of the fortress was built by the dearly departed Nana, spouse of the king Abgar Kyurikyan, or, thanks to the financial aid of Vaneni (as it is mentioned on the inscription carved on the Sanahin bridge).<sup>14</sup> K.Ghafadaryan thinks that the erection of the wall and the bridge had initiated Nana after the death of her husband (in 1192), hence, in 1190s or at the beginning of the XIII century.<sup>15</sup>

The wall was built of the solid local stone of cubic form. The southern and northern parts of the wall are preserved better than others. One of the colophons writes: "Inside old fortress walls, from the southern part of the church were built household facility, refectory and cells".<sup>16</sup>

The cleaning and excavations were undertaken in July-August, 2015, near the northern wall (from outside) of the basilic church. The territory was covered by soil and construction waste. In the course of cleaning, in approximately 1 meter deep were opened mills for vine and skeletal remains of 9 individuals. Previously, during the cleaning immediately under the wall were unearthed some *karases* for wine.

**The mill for vine.** "A trough for vine. A pit or reservoir where vine is milled. Are distinguished mills for vine and oil. Mills for vine were called small mills which were troughs made of clay, sometimes in the shape of a boat", - is written in the Haykazyan vocabulary.<sup>17</sup> It means that the cultivation of vine and wine-making has very old tradition so that in the Armenian language were formed such concepts-phrases. "I will now show what seems to me the most marvelous thing in the country, - writes Herodotus, the father of history, - Their boats which ply on the river and go to Babylon (Assyrians) are all of skins, and round. They make these in Armenia, higher up the stream than Assyria. First they cut frames of willow, then they stretch hides over these for a covering ... Then they fill it with reeds and send it floating down the river with a cargo; and it is for the most part palm wood casks of wine that they carry down. So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all

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<sup>13</sup> Kanakertsi 1969: 218.

<sup>14</sup> Orbeli 1915: v. IV, p. II.

<sup>15</sup> Ghafadaryan 1948: 43.

<sup>16</sup> Alishan 1890: 173.

<sup>17</sup> New Dictionary 1981: 108.

the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia".<sup>18</sup>

The existence of vine mills on the territory of the monastery is proved through the inscription carved on the southern wall of the narthex of the Catholic church: "In 1279 or 1280, the servants of Christ – Vardan Vardapet and Mkhitarich, have done a great job ... they gave to the church Konteghut which was the birthplace of St Karapet monastery, built expensive mills of vine".<sup>19</sup> Next to the northern wall of basilica (from outside) were opened four pits of the mill built of big rough stones, plastered with whitewash (width of the layer – 2 cm.). The pits are cylindrical, deep, with small diameter of their edges, 1.9–2.5 m deep, diameter of holes - 35–45–56 cm. On the bottom of the second pit (numbering is conditional) is preserved a deepening (15×15 cm) where the grape must was collected. The hole of the pit was closed through a rough stone. Similar vine mills were opened in Aruch, Ashnak, Garni, on the territory of the Echmiatsin Cathedral church (on the northern part) and other places. They are dated with the XI-XIV centuries. We consider that the Hovhannavank vine mills also had similar construction, built towards the end of the XIII century. Next to the pits were opened burials of some individuals.

The monastery possesses with guesthouse, residence of the chief of the eparchy, library, school and other outbuildings which now are destroyed. The preserved ruins presumably belong to the period of Zakaria Kanakertsi. The deacon Zakaria Kanakertsi and Yervand Shahaziz testify that at the monastery functioned a school where high-ranked rabbis and teachers work.

Excavations revealed, besides the whole planning of the monastery also a limited number of informative repertoires of glazed and unglazed pottery. The collection was completed with fragments of kitchen vessels made of faience. These pieces of ceramics were imported from the neighboring Iran. Probably, this ceramics was intended for the service of the guests who relax in the peaceful abode with great pleasure. As to the hermits and pupils of the school, they live quiet and modestly.

Skeletal materials unearthed during the excavations of 2015 had been studied according to the well known anthropological methodology.<sup>20</sup> All skulls were visually examined in order to determine the existence of damages during the lifetime, traces of illness and some genetically inherited symptoms.<sup>21</sup>

**Individual N. 1.** The remains belong to a woman, whose biological age could be determined approximately between 45-55 years. It is characterized as common gracile body type, with very poorly expressed relief of the brow. The individual has an artificial frontal-occipital deformation and asymmetry of the skull (plagiocephalia)(Fig. 2).

<sup>18</sup> Herodotus 1986, 1.194, 79-80.

<sup>19</sup> Kostanyants 1913: 121, inscription N. 406. 1; Ghafadaryan 1948: 73, inscription N. 57.

<sup>20</sup> Alekseev, Debets 1964: 52; Zubov 1968a: 10; 1968b: 139; Buikstra, Ubelaker 1994: 17; Ubelaker 1989.

<sup>21</sup> Movsesyan, Mamonova, Richkov 1975: 129; Goodman et al. 1984: 13-49, Goodman, Armelagos 1989: 225-243; Aufderheide, Rodriguez-Martin 1998; Ortner, Putschar 1981; Ortner 2003.



Fig. 2. Individual N. 1.

Individual craniological data is represented in the Table 1. In the vertical norm the skull form corresponds to the sphenoid variant. Brain box is characterized as a brachycranial with middle longitudinal very big transversal high-rise diameter. The height of the skull is characterized by hypsicrania and tapaneocrania. The relief of the lower edge of the frontal bone scale is poorly developed (score 1). The greatest width of the forehead is very big, the smallest one is of medium size. The face is orthognathic, low and medium wide, orbits medium high and medium wide, the height of the nose very big, width – big. The lowest edge of the pear-shaped hole has sharp form. Anterior nasal spine is estimated by the score 4. The length of the lower jaw is medium, the smallest width of the bough is small, and height is big. The symphysis is not high, the height of the body very small, and the width is medium.

On the skull are seen the next discrete-varying features: *foramina supraorbitalia*, *foramina frontalia*, *foramina zygomaticofacialies*, *foramina mastoidea*, *foramina mentalia*, *os zygomaticum bipartitum*, *spina processus frontalis ossis zygomatici*, *stenocrotaphia* (X-shaped form), *os wormii suturae lambdoidea*, *os postsquamosum*, *sutura palatine* (straight form) and *canalis craniopharyngeus*.

It was observed the loss of all teeth of the upper jaw during the lifetime, except the third right molar, atrophy of the dental cells of alveolar processes. On the lower jaw during the lifetime were lost incisors, first and second molars, second premolar. The mesio-distal ( $MD_{cor}$ ) and vestibular-lingual ( $VL_{cor}$ ) diameters of the crowns of the third molars are placed in the category of small and very small meanings (Table 2). On the third molar were fixed unusual powdering of the dental tissue (Fig. 3). On the left molar is seen enamel drop (“pearl”), which represents excessive formation of the dental tissue during the process of its development and is placed on the root of the molar (Fig. 3).



**Fig. 3. Enamel pearl on the left third molar and unusual powdering of the dental tissue on the right third molar**

Weak signs of porotic hyperostosis of eye sockets (*cribra orbitalia*, score 1) and in the area over the outer ear canals is observed. It is well known that porotic hyperostosis appears as a result of compensatory response to the decline of hemoglobin in the blood.

On the left part of the skull, in the area of parietal and occipital bones is fixed a depressed and healed fracture left after a blow inflicted by some blunt object. The diameter of the bone defect is 34×18 mm, the edge is sharply expressed. Close to the lambda is seen a crack of semi-circular form, as a result of the blow of some blunt object. Dimension of the crack reaches 42 mm.

Ossification of the larynx is also fixed. The anatomy of larynx is a complicated complex of muscular and cartilage tissues, blood and lymph vessels, nerve endings. As it is known, after 30 happened deposits of calcium salts which provokes ossification and loosing of mobility. Ossification of larynx also could be connected with the spread of different infectious diseases (Fig. 5). This leads to the worsening of voice ability – the speech becomes deaf and rattling.



**Fig. 4. Ossification of trachea**

On the left parietal bone are discovered two osteomas. Dimensions of the first is 11×9 mm, the second one – 5×6mm. Osteomas are very dense formations with smooth surface and their structure do not differ from normal bone tissue.

**Individual N 2.** The remains belong to male who had died at the age of 40-49. The artificial frontal-occipital deformity of the head is observed. The form of the skull in the vertical norm corresponds to the sphenoid variant (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Individual N. 2.

The brain box is characterized as mesocranial, with very small longitudinal and transversal diameters, medium – highrise (Table 1). The height of the skull is hypsicranic and acrocranic. Width of the forehead and occiput is medium. The relief of the lower edge of frontal scales is poorly developed (score 1), the degree of glabella's performance is estimated as score 2. The face is orthognathic, high and medium-wide, orbits are high and wide, height and width of the nose – very big.

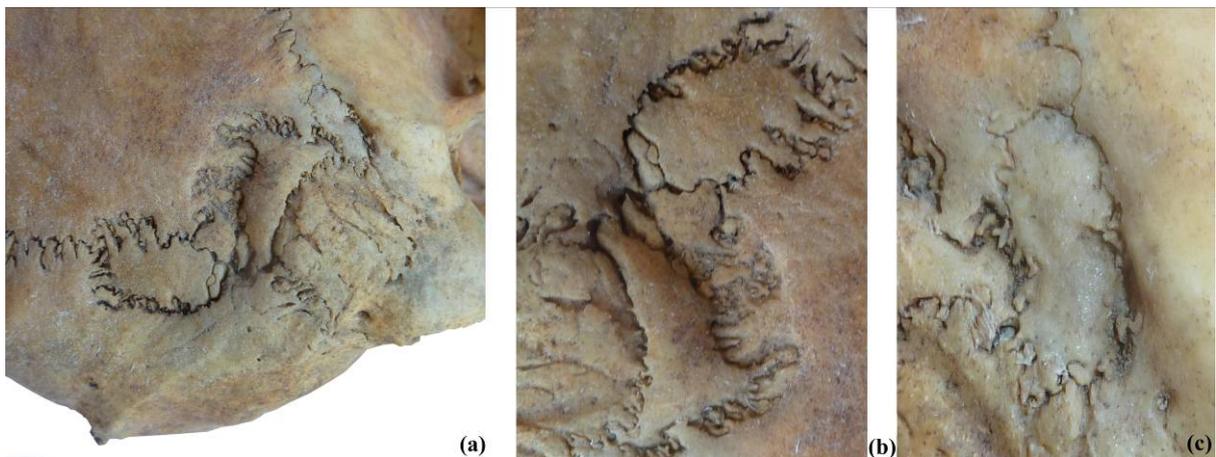


Fig. 6. Additional bones of irregular shape in *os wormii suturae lambdaeidea*, in the area of *os asterion*, in the area of parietal notch (*os postsquamosum*)

On the skull are revealed the next discrete-varying features: *foramina zygomaticofacialia*, *foramina mastoidea*, *foramen pterygospinosum*, *foramina mentalia*,

*canalis condyloideus, spina processus frontalis ossis zygomatici, stenocrotaphia* (X-shaped form), *processus frontalis squamae temporalis, os postsquamosum* (Fig. 6c), *os wormii suturae lambdoidea* (Fig. 6a), *os asterion* (Fig. 6b), *os Incae incompletum* (Fig. 8), *os zygomaticum bipartitum, sutura palatine* (Π-shaped form), *sutura incisive, canalis craniopharyngeus, processus paramastoideus*.

The form of individual's occlusion is labiodontic. Had been observed the loss of molars during lifetime ( $M^1, M^3$  /right/,  $M^1, M^3$  /left/,  $M_1, M_3$  /left/). The mesio-distal ( $MD_{cor}$ ) and vestibular-lingual ( $VL_{cor}$ ) diameters of the crowns of the second and third molars are classified as belonging to the small and very small meanings (Table 2). On the right premolar is fixed pathological erasure of the dental tissue, probably caused by abnormal load on the dental apparatus. The hypoconus of the second upper molars is reduced. 4-tubercle forms are marked on the lower first and second molars. On the lower second molars is marked the Y type of pattern.

The defect of tooth enamel (enamel hypoplasia) is fixed on the right molar. Enamel hypoplasia speaks in favor of sudden stressful effects experienced by the individual during childhood (as a rule, in the interval between 6 months to year 7). Traces of odontogenic osteomyelitis (alveolar abscess) is seen on the right side of the upper jaw in the area of the second premolar and first molar, on the left side – in the area of the canine tooth, first and second premolars, on the lower jaw, in the area of the second canine teeth. Alveolar abscesses could be provoked by paradontitis, traumas and pulp necrosis. Tartars are fixed almost on all teeth.

On the right side of the frontal bone has been found shallow, oval shaped depressed fracture (11×7mm). Probably, it was a result of healed trace of injury received by the blow of blunt instrument. On the frontal bone exists a cut made by sharp instrument (4.5mm long) (Fig. 7). The male has a trauma of nasal bones.



Fig. 7. Symbolic trepanation

On the parietal bones has been found traces of specific actions. These are numerous long and narrow damages of thin bone plate made of a tool with sharp cutting edge. Such manipulations made on the skull are result of the symbolic trepanation. Symbolic trepanation is a superficial (blind) one which slightly disturbs integrity of

calvaria (Fig. 7). These scars on the parietal bones of the individual could appear during some ritual.

In the ear canals are mentioned osteofitic formations. The presence of osteofitic formations is connected with the tension of periosteum and formation of new osteogenesis under the influence of cold water which enhances the narrowing of blood vessels in the ear canal.

**Individual N.3.** The remains belong to young woman who had died at the age of 18-22. In the vertical form the skull corresponds to sphenoid variant (Fig. 8). On the skull is fixed artificial frontal-occipital deformation.



Fig. 8. Individual N. 3.

The skull of the individual is characterized as brachycranial with large transversal, small longitudinal and very big height diameters. The height of the skull is characterized by hypsicrany and acrocrary. Relief of the lower edge of scales of the frontal bone is poorly developed. Brow ridges represent barely visible elevations from right and left of glabella (score 1). The width of the face is very big, width of the back of the head - big. The outer occipital protrusion is poorly developed and in the lateral norm the back of the head is rounded. The face is orthognathic, high and medium wide, orbits are high and very wide, the nose is narrow and high. The length of the lower jaw is medium-sized. Tuberosity in the area of outer and inner surfaces of edges (the place where muscles *m. masseter* and *m. pterygoideus medialis* are attached) of lower jaw is expressed weakly. The body of the lower jaw is very low and thick.

On the skull are observed the next cranioscopic features: *foramina zygomaticofacialia*, *foramina parietalia*, *foramina mastoidea*, *foramina mentalia*, *canalis condyloideus*, *spina processus frontalis ossis zygomatici* (projecting form), *processus frontalis squamae temporalis*, *processus temporalis ossis frontalis*, *os wormii suturae lambdoidea*, *os asterion*, *stenocrotaphia* (X-shaped form), *sutura palatine* (П-shaped form), *sutura incisive*, *condylus occipitalis bipartitum*, *processus paramastoideus*.

The form of the alveolar arc is U-shaped. Among molars (upper and lower) is absent the last one – third. Mesiodistal and vestibular-lingual dimensions of the first and second lower molars are classified as small meanings, and mesiodistal and vestibular-

lingual dimensions of the first and second upper molars fall into the category of medium and big (Table 2). Was calculated the amount of the third step-index which regarding the width of the crown (VL) constitutes 101.86. The hypocones of the first molars is weakly reduced (score 4), and also the metacones (score 2), but the second molars are completely reduced (score 3). Lyre-shaped form of the first furrow of paracones (type 3) is observed on the first upper molar. First lower molars are five-cusped, and the second ones - four-cusped. On the first lower molar we found the average additional bump between the metaconid and entoconid (TAMI). Hypoplasia of enamel is fixed on the canines (Fig. 9), first premolar ( $P_1$ ), and second molar ( $M_2$ ).

Porotic hyperostosis is fixed in the area of outer ear canals, and osteofitic formations in the ear canals as well. The woman has also several *traumatic disorders* on her skull. Were fixed damages of nasal bones characteristic for blows made by some blunt tool. On the left side is seen a crack. Features of inflammation in the damaged area are not fixed. The damage is a result of a blow from the left, i.e. the woman had stepped slightly back and to the left in order to avoid it. Has been observed also a violation of anatomical integrity of the hole of medial cutter. The damage is represented in the form of a crack. In that case the damage could have been the result of an unusually strong impact on the tooth, for example, gnawing (or nibbling) of solid food. On the left side of the frontal bone are fixed effects of a cutting blow (29 mm. long), made by a tangent strike which probably became lethal for the individual.

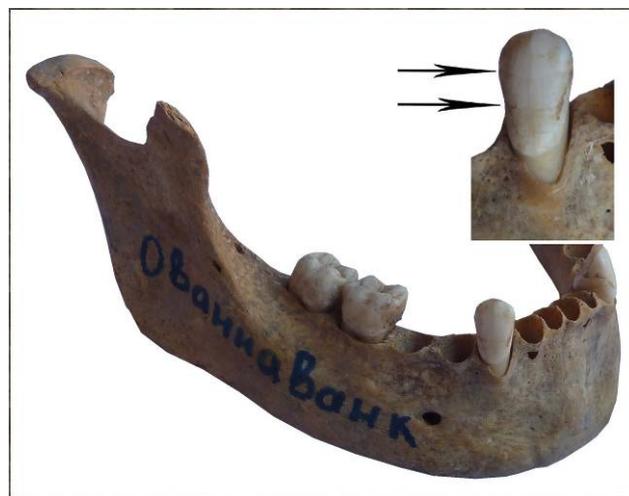


Fig. 9. Enamel hypoplasia

**Individual N. 4.** The remains belong to male who had died at the age of 50-55 (Pic. 10). On the skull is fixed an artificial frontal-occipital deformation. The braincase of the individual is characterized as brachycranic, with medium size transversal and very small longitudinal diameters. It is medium high, by the altitude of the transversal index – hypsicranic. The value of altitude-longitudinal index is characterized as metriocranic. The forehead is narrow and the back of the head – wide. The face is prognathic, high and medium wide, orbits are high and medium sized, the height of the nose is big, width – narrow.



Fig. 10. Individual N 4.

On the skull are revealed the next discrete-variable features: *foramina zygomaticofacialia*, *spina processus frontalis ossis zygomatici* (protruding form), *stenocrotaphia* (X-shaped form), *processus frontalis squamae temporalis*, *processus temporalis ossis frontalis*, *os epiptericum*, *os wormii suturae squamosum*, *os wormii sut. occipitomastoideum*, *sutura palatine* (П-shaped form), *sutura incisive*, *canalis craniopharyngeus*, *processus paramastoideus*.

The mesio-distal ( $MD_{cor}$ ) and vestibular-lingual ( $VL_{cor}$ ) diameters of the first and second molars belong to the category of small and medium values (Table 2). The development of edge-ridges on the upper lateral cutters has been observed. The parodontosis was also fixed ( $M^2$ ). The traces of odontogenic osteomyelitis (*alveolar abscess*) are seen on the right side of the upper jaw, in the area of  $M^1$ , and on the left side -  $M^2$ . Hypoplasia of enamel is fixed on the second cutter ( $I^2$ ) and canine (lower jaw). The loss of molars during the lifetime has been observed ( $M^1$ ,  $M^2$ ,  $M^3$  /right/,  $M_1$ ,  $M_2$ ,  $M_3$  /left/,  $M_3$  /right/). Dental calculus is fixed on the studied teeth.

On the skull are fixed several traumatic disturbances: 1. Injury caused by blunt objects on the right part of the parietal bone (dimensions of the injury are 14×10.5mm. and 5×4mm.), 2. Injury caused by blunt object on the left part of the parietal bone (dimensions - 6×5mm.), 3. Lacerations on the supraorbital area of the face caused by blunt object.

On the skull were revealed porotic hyperostosis on the forehead and in the area of outer ear canals, and exostoses in the ear canals as well.

**Individual N. 5.** Remains belong to a woman at the age of 30-50 years. The skull is badly preserved, it misses facial skeleton and part of the frontal bone (Fig. 11). On the skull is seen an artificial frontal-occipital deformation. The transversal diameter of the braincase belongs to the category of very big, and the height diameter – of small. The height of the skull is characterized as tapeinocranic. The width of the back head is large.



Fig. 11. Individual N. 5.

On the skull are revealed the next discrete-variable features: *os postsquamosum*, *foramina parietalia*, additional bones of irregular shape in the lambdoid suture (*os wormii suturae lambdoidea*), *foramina mastoidea*, absence of *foramina spinosum*, *processus paramastoideus*, *canalis condyloideus*, *mendose suture (sutura mendoza)*.

On the right of the mastoid process is fixed surface disturbance of the external compact (3×3 mm.). The depth of the hole is 3 mm. In the area of the injury are traced elements of sclerosis of the edges of injuries. On the skull were revealed porotic hyperostosis in the area of external ear canals, and exostoses in the ear canals.

**Individual N. 6.** The skull is in a fragmentary condition, it misses frontal bone, facial skeleton (Fig. 12). Remains belong to a male who had died at the age of 35-39. He has medium-sized transversal diameter of the braincase and narrow back head.



Fig.12. Individual N. 6.

On the skull were revealed the next discrete-variable features: *stenocrotaphia* (X-shaped), *processus frontalis squamae temporalis*, *os wormii suturae squamosum*, *os postsquamosum*, *foramina parietalia*, *os wormii suturae lambdoidea*, *foramina mastoidea*, *canalis condyloideus*.

Of 32 permanent teeth was preserved only the upper right canine, vestibular-lingual diameter  $VL_{cor}$  of which is 8.1mm and mesio-distal diameter of the neck  $MD_{col}$  is 6,5mm. On the canine is seen a weak form of hypoplasia of enamel and dental calculus.

On the skull were revealed occipital structures (the development of tubercles on the occipital torus is good (TOT: score 2), that of retromastoid processes is small (PR: score 1). Structures located at the origin of the upper trapezius muscles are referred to as tubercles on the occipital torus (TOT) and those located where the superior oblique muscles insert (below the inferior nuchal line and lateral to the *rectus capitis* muscles) are known as retromastoid processes (PR). The formation of occipital structure is a response of the organism to physical load, chronic (multiple) microtraumas<sup>22</sup>. Had been observed also osteoarthritis of maxillary joint. Modern science regards osteoarthritis as a disease of an unknown etiology and studies different endogenous and exogenous risk factors. The development of osteoarthritis could be the result of a single injury, intra-articular fracture and inflammation. Porotic hyperostosis is seen near the ear canal and on the parietal bones. Also is registered exostosis near the ear canal.

**Individual N. 7.** Fragments of the skull belong to a 4-5 years old child. On the bones were revealed the next discrete-variable (non-metric) features: *os wormii suturae squamosum*, *foramina parietalia*, *os Incae* (Fig.13), *os wormii suturae lambdoidea*, *os asterion*, *foramina mastoidea*.



Fig. 13. *Os Incae multipartitum*, *foramina parietalia*

The tubercle of Carabelli is seen on the first upper molar, and the reduction of hypocones misses (M1). The first lower molar is quinetubercular with the Y-type ornamentation.

**Individual N. 8.** Fragments of the skull belong to a 2-3 years old child. On the bones of the skull are revealed the next discrete-variable features: *foramina zygomaticofacialia*, *os wormii suturae squamosum*, *os wormii suturae lambdoidea*, *condylus occipitalis bipartitum*.

The porousness and porosis is observed on the bones of the postcranial skeleton (particularly in the area of epiphysis of the humerus) (Fig. 14). The morphological

<sup>22</sup> Khudaverdyan 2016: 104-105.

picture is characteristic for the local ossification of hemorrhage (i.e. hemorrhage which lasted for some period). The differential diagnostics of this palaeopathology could include infectious disease or vitamin deficiency.

On the left parietal bone are discovered traces of inflammation in the form of *dura mater* on the inner plate (epidural hematoma) (Fig. 14). Around the defect was mentioned the existence of the destruction of cortical layer.



Fig. 14. Cribrotic changes on the surface of humerus

Endocranial pathologies fixed on the remains of the child are result of inflammation or hemorrhage of the meninx and are connected with the wide spectrum of diseases (tumor, tuberculosis, meningitis, syphilis, secondary infection of the meninx, vitamin deficiency of A, C and D etc.)<sup>23</sup>.



Fig. 15. Subepidural hematoma on the inner side of the right parietal bone

**Individual N. 9.** Fragments of the skull belong to a 1.4-1.6 year old child. On the bones is seen only *foramina mastoidea* (discrete-variable feature). Inflammation of the right mastoid process of the temporal bone (mastoiditis) is visible on the skull.

<sup>23</sup> Hershkovitz, Greenwald, Latimer, Jellema, Wish-Baratz, Eshed, Dutour, Rothschild 2002: 201–216; Lewis 2004: 82–97.

Thus, the individuals under study (NN 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) had artificially deformed heads (Fig. 16, 17). The change of the size and form of the calvaria speaks in favor of inborn or gained deformations. Gained deformations could be natural, i.e. consequences of a disease (plagiocephaly, rachitis, acromegaly etc.), and artificially caused. Hippocrates describes this custom among peoples residing along the shores of the Black and Azov seas. Depending on the methods of intentional deformation and spread of deformational impacts on the skull bone, Y.W. Zhironov<sup>24</sup> had suggested the next classification of the types of deformation: annular which in its turn is divided into high (with frontal-occipital level of deformational impacts) and low (when the compressive bandage is located on parietal bones or in the parietal-occipital area and lower jaw), frontal-occipital, parietal and occipital. But also numerous transitional types of deformation are registered.

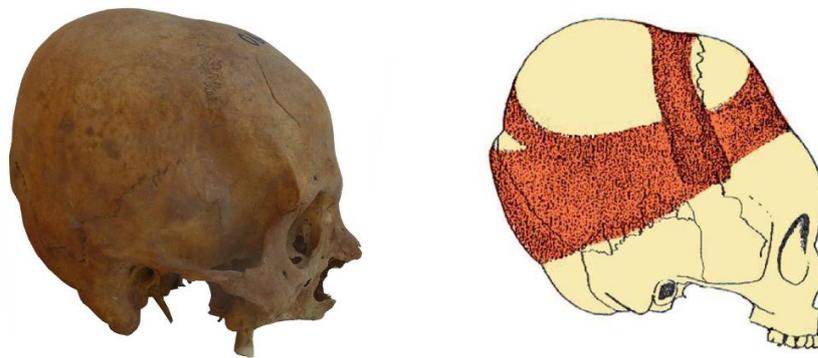


Fig. 16. Artificial deformation of the head (Individual N. 1)

In Hovhannavank are represented two types of deformation: annular parietal-occipital high type and annular parietal-occipital which comes near to the cone by form. In the case of the first type the parietal bone is straightened and elongated upwards, the occipital bone is flattened and does not have corresponding deflection and also is stretched upwards (individuals 1, 2, 4, 5, Pic. 16). From the pressure of the circular bandage on the parietal bones are registered traces of wide flattened strip, and a shallow groove on the occipital bone. In the second type the parietal bone is inclined from the backside and stretched upwards, occipital bone is flattened and stretched upwards, and parietal bones are convex in the area of the sagittal suture (individual 3, Pic. 17). The means and methods used for the desired form, degree of the expression of the skull deformation were diversified. Were used bandages, gauzes, kerchiefs, overlays made of wood, bone, or stones. Among some ethnic groups from the very beginning of life took place the “forming” of the head manually.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Zhironov 1940: 81-88.

<sup>25</sup> Dyachenko 1988: 46-49.



Fig. 17. Artificial deformation of the skull (Individual N. 1)

Motives for the intentional deformation of the head could be the next traditions or medical procedures: 1) unintentional action of some household item (special type of a cradle which brings to a flattening of the occipital bone), 2) underlining the social status and distinction from foreign groups, 3) correction of “irregular” form of the skull and desire to get “beautiful” form of the head which satisfies the aesthetic norms, 4) a possibility to change personality type of an individual, 5) necessity to stop rapid growth of the brain matter, 6) a desire to accelerate the process of the overgrowth of fontanel, 7) the result of a massage (to remove headache), 8) a desire to protect the head of the newborn from natural factors (frost, wind, heat).<sup>26</sup>

The character and location of injuries on the skull indicates on the social background where this or that dangerous situations could occur. Thus, anthropological materials should be regarded as independent sources during archaeological reconstructions performed in the course of archaeological investigations. Injuries with traces of the healing of the bone tissue occur in the case of four individuals. Injury with lethal outcome was found by one individual (N 3, ♀ 18-22 year old). To the category of facial injuries could be refer to: healed fracture of nasal bones (N 3, ♀ 18-22 year old; N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old), damage of the upper jaw (N 3, ♀ 18-22 year old) and suborbital region (N 4, ♂ 50-55 year old; N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old). Injuries of nasal bones were received by the blow from the left, i.e. individuals were trying to escape, retreated slightly backwards and to the right. The damage of lower jaw resulted from blow on the face in the area of frontal teeth. And the injuries in the area of suborbital region were received by contacting blow from the right, i.e. the people could not react to the blow. To another variant could be classified depressed damage by the blow of some blunt object on the left side of the parietal bone (N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old). Traces of healing and the absence of features of inflammatory process testify that injuries were received long before the death of individuals. In another case the oblong scar (N 3, ♀ 18-22 year old: length of the scar – 29mm; N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old: length of the scar - 4.5mm) made by

<sup>26</sup> Popov, Chikasheva, Shpakova 1997: 58; Khudaverdyan 2005: 91-95; 2011a: 602-609; 2011b: 39-41.

a tool having sharp cutting edge was found on the left side of parietal bone. On two individuals are seen fractures made by blows of some blunt object (N 1, 45-55 year old, N 3, ♀ 18-22 year old). Two other variants of damages are different from previous locations: they are detected on the parietal bones and on the mastoid. In the case of a male (N 4, 50-55 year old) and two females are seen traces of healed fractures of parietal bones (N 1, 45-55 year old, N 5, 30-35 year old). On these skulls were fixed impressions of the upper plate of the parietal bone from the right side, on two of them (N 4, ♂ 50-55 year old; N 5, ♀ 30-35 year old) also had been traced defects on the left side. On the right mastoid of the female (N 5, ♀ 30-35 year old) there is a surface disturbance of external compact (3×3 mm). The depth of the fossa is 3 mm. In the area of the damage are seen elements of sclerotization of the edges of injury.

In the group under study were revealed high rates of occurrence of pathology as porotic hyperostosis. By one grownup individual (N 1, ♀ 45-55 year old) was fixed porotic hyperostosis of eye sockets (*cribra orbitalia*). According to some palaeopathologists, *cribra orbitalia* in most cases is associated with deficiency anemia which is developed during chronic course of infective and parasitic diseases.<sup>27</sup> Porotic hyperostosis of bones of calvaria was fixed on 6 skulls (N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old; N 3, ♂ 18-22 year old; N 4, ♂ 50-55 year old; N 5, ♀ 30-35 year old; N 6, ♂ 35-39 year old; N 8, 2-3 year old child). Some scholars think that these pathologies on the bone remains are connected to each other.<sup>28</sup>

Benign tumors were found by some individuals. On the left parietal bone of one individual (N 1, ♀ 45-55 year old) were revealed two osteomas. Osteoma is a benign tumor which occurs after serious injury, infectious disease etc. In the ear canals of 6 individuals (N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old; N 3, ♂ 18-22 year old; N 4, ♂ 50-55 year old; N 5, ♀ 30-35 year old; N 6, ♂ 35-36 year old; N 8, 2-3 year old child) were registered exostoses. The appearance of exostoses is connected with the tension of periosteum and formation of new osteogenesis under the influence of cold water which fosters the vasoconstriction in the ear canal.

By the child (N 9, 1.4-1.6 year old) the study reveals inflammation of the right mastoid of mastoiditis. Inflammation of cells of the mastoid process more often appears as complication of sharp purulent inflammation of the middle ear. By mastoiditis bacteriums enter from the middle ear into the cells of mastoiditis where the inflammation results in the destruction of bone structures.<sup>29</sup>

Traces of local hemorrhage (ossification of hemorrhage) which were found on the surface of postcranial skeleton of a child (N 8, 2-3 year old) could point on the lack of vitamin C in the food (i.e. children's scurvy). By this child was detected inflammation in

<sup>27</sup> Ortner, Putschar 1981; Larsen 1997.

<sup>28</sup> Ortner, Putschar 1981.

<sup>29</sup> Nussinovitch, Yoeli, Elishkevitz, Varsano 2004: 261-265.

the form of *dura mater* on the inner plate of the skull which, probably, has hemorrhagic character. Traces of injuries during lifetime capable to lead to the appearance of hemorrhage process on the inner surface of the calvaria bone has not been found which excludes the probability of inflammation due to an injury. Possible causes of this pathology could be scurvy, bacterial or virus meningitis etc.

The enamel hypoplasia speaks in favor of a sharp stress which the individual had experienced during childhood (as a rule, between 6 months until 7 year). The effect of the tooth enamel has been detected by three individuals (N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old, N 3, ♂ 18-22 year old, N 4, ♂ 50-55 year old). More often this feature is fixed on the canines, premolars, and cutters. By two individuals (N 1, ♀ 45-55 year old, N 4, ♂ 50-55 year old) was fixed parodontosis. Causes of this disease could be different factors: infectious diseases, eating disorder, metabolism, disorders of the endocrine system, age factor, violation of vitamin balance, poor oral hygiene, food rich of carbohydrates, different anomalies of teeth growth, complications occurring during pregnancy.<sup>30</sup> Parodontosis has been detected in the area of molars ( $M^2$ : N 4, ♂ 50-55 year old;  $M_1$  и  $M_2$ : N 1, ♀ 45-55 year old). Dental calculus is fixed by three individuals (N 1, ♀ 45-55 year old, N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old, N 4, ♂ 50-55 year old). It was established that dental calculus and parodontosis are accompanying each other pathologies of the dental system.<sup>31</sup> Traces of odontogenic osteomyelitis (*alveolar abscess*) has been found by two individuals (N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old, N 4, ♂ 50-55 year old). Alveolar abscess is seen by the 50-55 year old male (N 4) on the right side of the upper jaw, in the area of the first molar ( $M^1$ ), and on the left side, in the area of the second molar ( $M^2$ ). By the second individual (N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old) this feature is fixed on the upper jaw (on the right side, in the area of the second premolar ( $P^2$ ) and first molar ( $M^1$ ), on the left side of the canine (C), first and second premolars ( $P^1$ ,  $P^2$ ), and on the lower jaw, in the area of the lateral cutter ( $I_2$ : from both sides). Alveolar abscesses could be provoked by parodontosis, injuries and pulp necrosis. By the male aged 40-49 (N 2) is fixed pathological the wear of dental tissue ( $P^2$  /right/), probably, caused by abnormal load on the dentoalveolar apparatus or anomaly of malocclusion. Premature abrasion of enamel and dentine could be conditioned by the diet which includes hard and coarse-grained food. The lost of the teeth during lifetime is seen by three individuals (N 1, ♀ 45-55 year old, N 2, ♂ 40-49 year old, N 4, ♂ 50-55 year old). More often were lost molars.

Below we shall present summarized anthropological (craniometric, cranioscopic, odontological) characteristics of individuals from Hovhannavank. The skulls of males have brachycranial braincase with very small longitudinal, small transversal, medium height diameters. The height of the skull is characterized by hypsicrany and acrocrary. The face is mesognathic, medium wide, high, medium flatness of horizontal profile. Orbits are medium wide and high, and are characterized by gipsikonkh altitude and

<sup>30</sup> Hillson 1986; Larsen 1997.

<sup>31</sup> Hillson 1986.

latitude indicator. The nose is high and wide, the palate is narrow, medium wide. Remains of the woman are characterized by general gracile complexion, with very poorly expressed relief in the area of brow. The braincase is brachycranial, with small longitudinal, big transversal, big height diameters. The height of the skull is characterized by hypsicrany and metriocrany. The greatest width of the forehead is very big, the smallest width is big. The face is orthognathic, medium high and medium wide, orbits are high and wide, the height of the nose is big, width - medium. Comparison of the dispersions reveals essential increase of variability of 32 features and indicators.<sup>32</sup> Plausible prevalence of empiric dispersions are fixed only through 8 features and indicators: 46, 60, 62, 9:45, 77, <zm, 52:51, 52:51a.<sup>33</sup>

On the skulls is seen high frequency of the next cranioscopic (discrete-variable) features: *os zygomaticum bipartitum*, *foramina mandibularia*, *stenocrotaphia* (X-shaped form), *spina processus frontalis* (protruding form), *os wormii suturae lambdoidea*, *os wormii suturae squamosum*, *sutura incisive*, *canalis condyloideus*, *processus paramastoideus*, *processus frontalis squamae temporalis*, *processus temporalis ossis frontalis*, *foramina mastoidea*, *foramina parietalia*, *os asterion*, *condylus occipitalis bipartitum*. The population is characterized by moderate and low frequency of occurrence of *foramina supraorbitalia*, *foramina infraorbitalia*, *foramen pterygospinosum*, *os Incae completes*, *os postsquamosum*, *sutura mendoza*, *foramen spinosum inco*.

The odontological complex characterizes individuals as representatives of the "western" odontological tree. The obtained results are evidence of the prevalence of the psalidodonta form of occlusion by the population. By one individual occurs labiodontic form. Diastemas between upper medial cutters were not found. General frequency of occurrence of crowding in the group is 33.34% (1/3). On lateral cutters of spade-shaped form were fixed only by one individual. The reduction of hypoconus on the second upper molars has been found by 66.67% of subjects (2/3). The occurrence of Carabelli tubercle equals to 33.34% (1/3). The form 3 of the first furrow of paracone on the first upper molar has been observed by one individual. Six-cusped forms on the first lower molars are missing, five-cusped forms are characterized by high frequency of occurrence (75%, 3/4), four-cusped forms are fixed by one individual. Bicipital grooves on the first lower molar fix high frequency "Y" type of the pattern. Four-cusped forms of the second lower molars were revealed by two subjects (66.67%, 2/3). Bicipital grooves on the second lower molar fix the "X" type of the pattern. On the lower jaw actually are completely missing signs of the eastern odontological tree. Protostylid, distal crest of trigonitis, 6-furrowed first lower molars, knee crease of metacone are absent. The inner middle additional furrow on the first lower molar was fixed by one individual. Variant "2" of the second furrow of metacone also appears by one subject.

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<sup>32</sup> Alekseev, Debets 1964.

<sup>33</sup> Khudaverdyan, Zhamkochyan, Hakobyan 2016: 13-21.

Craniological data also was subject to cross-group statistical analysis<sup>34</sup>. The comparative background chosen for the analysis includes the territory of the Caucasus, Middle East, and South-Eastern Europe (Table 3).

On the *first phase* of the cross-group analysis was constructed a model on the basis of data regarding the 14 dimensions of the skull and face (Table 4) in the 75 groups from the Caucasus and South-Eastern Europe. On the Picture 18 is represented the place of the groups under study in the space of I and II canonic vectors (CV). The first CV (29.97% of general variability) divides the studied groups by the complex of features of which the ratio of longitudinal and transversal diameters of the skull and the width of the neck are basic ones. At CV I the series from Kabardino-Balkaria (43, 42), Northern Ossetia (44), Dagestan (31, 28), Georgia (13), Azerbaijan (17, 18), Volga-Ural (61–66, 74, 70, 72), Ukraine (92) demonstrate maximum meaning and are concentrated in the positive field of variability in the right part of the chart. Almost all are characterized by mesocrany and brachycrany, wide and high faces. In the negative field of variability are localized series from Dagestan (30, 29), Azerbaijan (14–16), Armenia (2, 6), North-Western Caucasus (60), Northern Ossetia (47), Danube-Dniestr region (94), Western Ukraine (93), Krasnodar district (33, 35, 38), Volga-Ural (68, 85, 83), and Karachai-Circassia (41, 39).

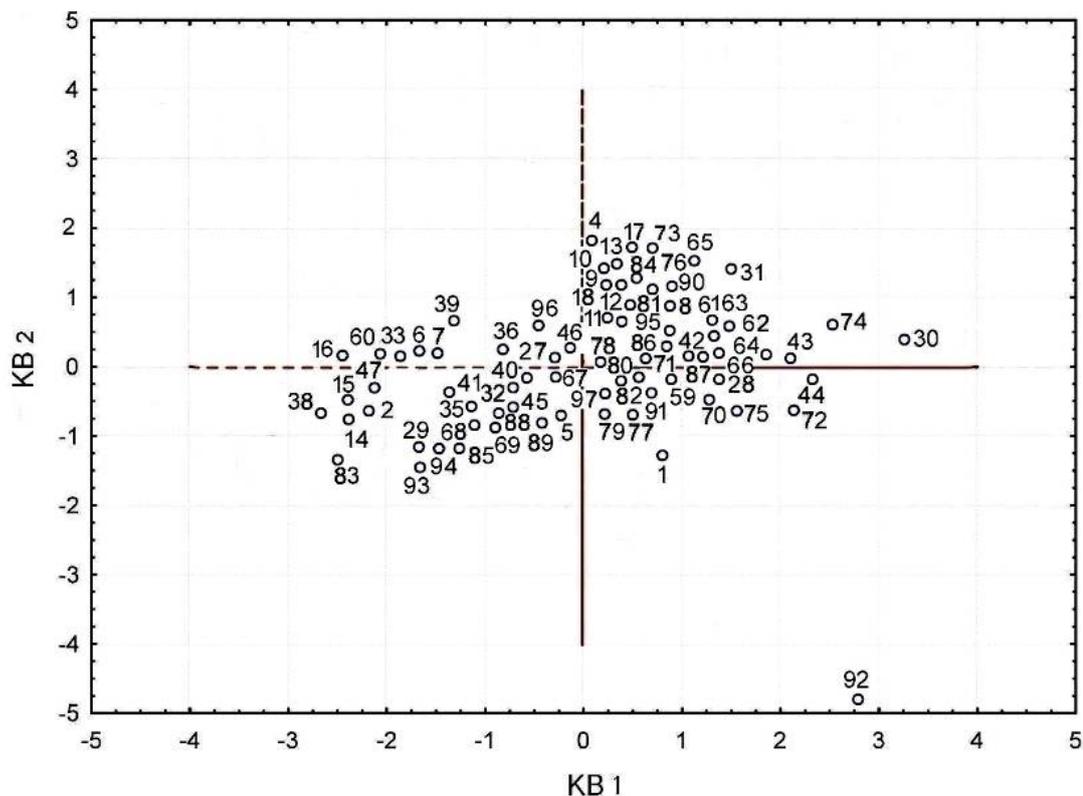


Fig. 18. The place of male craniological series in the space of the first and second canonic vectors. Numbers of series according to Table 3.

<sup>34</sup> Khudaverdyan, Zhamkochyan, Hakobyan, Babayan, Yengibaryan, Khachatryan, Yeganyan 2018: 78-84.

Samples from the catacomb burials of Mingeaur (14, 15) and the series from Armavir (2) demonstrate greatest similarity. The mentioned skulls mostly are dolichocranic, medium high, faces are medium wide and greatly profiled, eye sockets are medium high, nose is greatly protrusive. Is traced some similarity of the mentioned series with the groups from Northern Ossetia (47) and Krasnodar district (38). Skulls from Garni (5) and from the stone mausoleum of Middle Volga (89) are placed quite compactly. They are united by the medium high, narrow and greatly profiled face on the nasal-molar level.

In CV II (23% of variability) the largest load lays on the height of the orbit. The place of the analyzed groups in the space of the second vector-discriminator shows high positive size by the groups from Middle Volga (84, 65, 90, 76, 73), Dagestan (31), Georgia (9, 10, 12, 13), Azerbaijan (17, 18), and Armenia (4).

The Hovhannavank serie (4) reveals similarity with the Caucasioni groups from Georgia (10, 13, 12, 9). To them adjoin individuals from Christian and Muslim burials from Mingeaur. Therefore, the craniological serie from Hovhannavank (4) distinguishes intra-group heterogeneity. Differences in the morphological characteristics of the skulls are quite clearly observed visually for the male samples and for females. As it was mentioned above, for some features were revealed heightened meanings of the standard deviations. To the latter belong the width of the face (46, 45), height of the palate and alveolar arch, angles of the horizontal profiling of the facial skeleton, and orbital and frontal-zygomatic markers as well. Besides that by the five individuals were fixed horizontal zygomatic bone suture (*os zygomaticum bipartitum*), by two individuals - the Inca bone (*os Incae*), by one - the form 3 of the first furrow of paraconus on the first upper molar. On the typological similarity of Chevsur and Dusheti series with the Mingeaur groups was indicated by M.G.Abdushelishvili still in 1964.<sup>35</sup> In one cluster with the Hovhannavank (4) and Caucasioni groups of Georgia (10, 13, 12, 9) falls the serie from the cemetery near the building of the Greek palace (73). It is known that this necropolis belonged to the residents of the Armenian colony of the city of Bulgar, and the hyperbrachycranic of Caucasoid type male skulls of this serie, according to T.A.Trofimova,<sup>36</sup> almost by all features are comparable with the series of modern Armenian skulls.

The comparison of 51 female series was undertaken by 14 main features (Table 5). It appears that in the first CV (represents 43.854% of overall variability) greatest loads fall on the height dimensions of the face (52, 55, 48). In the space of CV I by high positives are characterized groups of Southern Caucasus (4, 7, 18, 9, 19), Northern Ossetia (48), and Volga-Ural (74, 87, 90, 66), and that of the negative - groups of

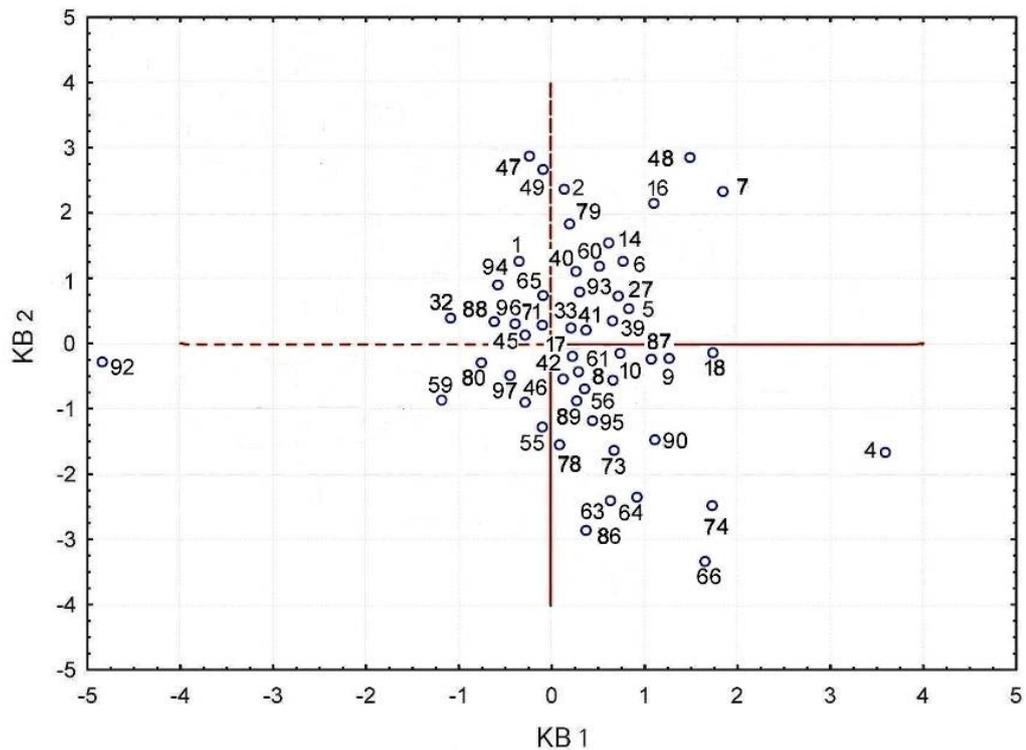
<sup>35</sup> Abdushelishvili 1964: 22.

<sup>36</sup> Trofimova 1956: 85-88.

Chigirin (92), Majar (59), Gamovski and nearby gorges (32). The Caucasioni morphological complex which is present among the series of Georgia (8–10), gets closer to the group from Pamyatnij znak (87)(Pic. 19). Among the series related to series mentioned above is that represented by the samples from the burials of Muslim type from the Samukh region of Azerbaijan (18). The skulls are mostly brachycranial, along with high, slightly profiled facial skeleton and high eye sockets. From the overall picture “is distinguished” the brachycranial serie of Hovhannavank (4). The craniological serie most strongly is distinct from other materials on the territory of Southern Caucasus and demonstrates other complex craniological peculiarities.

For the CV II (21.46% of the overall variability) became defining transversal, longitudinal diameters, the angle of the nasal bones. On the plane of the II vector-discriminator the high negative values were found by the skulls from the cemeteries of the Astrakhan district (66, 64), Middle (86, 90, 74, 78) and Lower Volga region and Lower Don region (63), Moldova (95), Karachai-Circassia (43), Northern Ossetia (55), and Armenia (4). On the opposite positive pole are grouped series from Northern Ossetia (47–49), Georgia (7), Azerbaijan (16, 14), Armenia (2, 6), Karachai-Circassia (40), North-western Caucasus (60), and Middle Volga (79). The sample from Dvin (1) occurs as statistically more related to the collective serie of Chernyakhov culture from Danube-Dniester region (94). But the latter slightly deviates towards the Mayachnij II group (65) of the Golden Horde period. Mesocranial, orthognathic, strongly profiled skulls with low orbits, medium wide nose characterize the population of Astrakhan district. It is notable that the female serie from Moshshhevaya Balka (60) is related to the earlier group (6) from Armenia. A similar complex of features exists among the population of the catacomb burials from Mingechaur (14). Here the skulls are mostly dolychocranial, medium high, faces are medium wide, strongly profiled, eye sockets are medium high.

On the wide comparative background is particularly visible (Fig. 19) that the greatest similarity exists between synchronous samples from the cemeteries of Garni (5), Upper Chir-Yurt (27) and the early group from Karachai-Circassia (39). In its turn, in this cluster falls the mesobrachycranial, having medium wide or wide face group from the Zhukov site (33) which represents one and the same combination of anthropological features inherent to individuals from the late group of Karachai-Circassia (40).



**Fig. 19. Place of female craniological series in the space of the first and second canonic vectors. Numbers of series according to Table 1.**

In order to take into consideration ancient Near-Eastern series, we have additionally analyzed our skulls with the reduced set consisting of 10 features (Table 6). First two more informative CV reflect in total 57.654% of variability. The most significant features by CV I (46.8% of overall variability) for the intergroup differentiation of 63 series are the length and width of the braincase. On opposite poles of the intergroup differentiation which describes the first discriminator, appear to be: on the one hand groups from Dagestan (31, 28), Northern Ossetia (44, 55), Kabardino-Balkaria (43, 42), Stavropol district (59), Iran (24, 25), Georgia (8-13), Azerbaijan (17-18), Moldova (95), and Armenia (4), on the other hand – craniological materials from the territory of Israel (26), Mesopotamia (19), Turkey (23), Krasnodar district (38), Circassia (41), Northern Ossetia (47-49), Azerbaijan (14-16), Armenia (6, 2), North-western Caucasus (60), Danube-Dniester region (94), and Western Ukraine (93).

Adding to the analysis new series has not changed substantially the relative position of already used male samples during the first analysis from the territory of Armenia (Fig. 20). But apart from the series of Caucasioni type from Georgia (11, 8) and skulls from the burials of Christian type from Mingechaur (17), in the list of the most closely related samples from Hovhannavank (4) turns out to be the group of Turang Tepe (25) from Iran. At the same time the results of analysis show an anthropological similarity of the mentioned groups with the brachycranial maturized skulls from the cist tomb burials of Kharkha, Daryal gorge (55).

The position of series speaks in favor of the greatest closeness of the Moshshevaya Balka sample (60) to the series from Armenia (6) and Mesopotamia (19). Among the series affiliated to the series mentioned above is the sample from Karachai-Circassia (41). The most massive skulls are those medieval series from Boghazkoi, Turkey (23) which are especially unique and are not similar with other series.

In CV II (10.854% of variability) the greatest load falls on the width of the orbit and height of the nose. The place of studied groups in the space of the second vector-discriminator shows high positive values by the groups from Southern Caucasus (2, 7, 14-16) and Mesopotamia (22). On the surface of the II vector-discriminator high negative values were found by the skulls from Turkey (23), Iran (24), and Armenia (1).

Comparative analysis shows that morphological characteristics of the Armavir serie (2) demonstrates close similarity with the samples of the catacomb burials from Azerbaijan (14, 15, 16). Here the most distant position occupy the artificially deformed skulls from Mingechaur (16) where longitudinal and transversal dimensions of the braincase are slightly smaller and height diameters (17, 48, 52) are bigger.

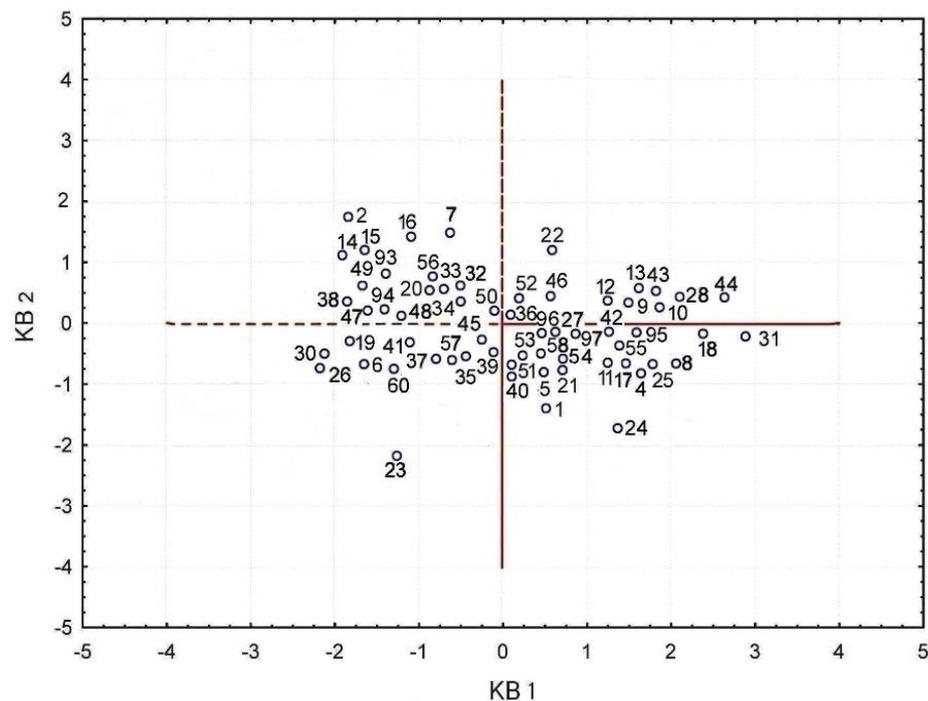


Fig. 20. Place of male craniological series in the space of the first and second canonical vectors. Numbers of series according to Table 1.

To summarize the materials studied in our article, it should be stressed that the population of medieval Armenia was not homogeneous. Some combinations of craniological features of South-European race are extant. According to the craniological data on our disposal today, among the late medieval population of Hovhannavank are present specific complexes of features not characteristic for the Armenian population of later periods. This complex of features stands close to the Caucasioni type. Closest

analogues to that type were found among the population of Georgia, Azerbaijan (Mingechaur) and Iran (Turang Tepe).

Some comments should be in place regarding the origins of the Caucasioni type. This type was named Caucasioni after the Georgian word for the Caucasus in 1953.<sup>37</sup> Based upon specific craniological features of Caucasioni type (extremely wide facial skeleton and some flatness on its upper part, clearly expressed brachycrany), G.F. Debets<sup>38</sup> had suggested that they might have genetic connections with the population of the Bronze age Eurasia. Brachycrany of the Caucasioni groups he was inclined to regard as a local and late phenomenon. Eastern European analogues proposed by G.F. Debets<sup>39</sup> were adopted by some scholars and treated as an argument for the possible migration of the ancestors of Caucasioni population from the north. Could be referred also the study of N.N. Miklashevskaya<sup>40</sup> who adds the above mentioned argumentation materials from Dagestan regarding the population of that region during the Sarmatian and Khazar-Alan periods. The ideas of G.F. Debets<sup>41</sup> were further developed by A.V. Shevchenko<sup>42</sup>. Studying the craniological groups of North-Caucasian and Yamnaya cultures which, according to him,<sup>43</sup> belong to the “extensive and poorly differentiated anthropological formation embracing the steppes of Eastern Europe during Neolithics and Early Bronze age” and comparing them with the closely related skulls of modern series of Caucasioni types, he shares the suggestion of G.F. Debets regarding the steppe origins of Caucasioni race. V.P. Alekseev<sup>44</sup> who shares the hypothesis of isolation as the main form-building factor, categorically opposed the idea of the possible northern elements in the formation of Caucasioni people.<sup>45</sup> He thought that<sup>46</sup> the isolation had preserved morphological peculiarities of the ancient population which had settled in the highlands of the Caucasus still in Palaeolithics. A.V. Shevchenko<sup>47</sup> disagrees with V.P. Alekseev<sup>48</sup> in that “brachycrany of the modern representatives of Caucasioni type is a later formation” and showed that the steppes of the North-western Caspian region and Kalmykia at the end of the III – early II millenniums BC were compact zones of brachycrany. Meanwhile not only the steppes of the North-western Caspian region and Kalmykia were brachycranic zone but during the mentioned period brachycranic variants were fixed in the palaeoanthropological

<sup>37</sup> Natishvili, Abdushelishvili 1955: 62-68.

<sup>38</sup> Debets 1956: 207-237.

<sup>39</sup> Debets 1956: 214.

<sup>40</sup> Miklashevskaya 1959: 89-110.

<sup>41</sup> Debets 1956: 214.

<sup>42</sup> Shevchenko 1986: 121-215.

<sup>43</sup> Shevchenko 1986: 128.

<sup>44</sup> Alekseev 1974: 134-138.

<sup>45</sup> Miklashevskaya 1959: 89-110.

<sup>46</sup> Alekseev 1974: 134-138.

<sup>47</sup> Shevchenko 1986: 198-202.

<sup>48</sup> Alekseev 1974: 100.

materials of the Near East and Armenian Highland.<sup>49</sup> The idea regarding the formation of Caucasioni type as a result of “conservation” shares also E.A. Javakhishvili.<sup>50</sup> Autochthonous character of Caucasioni type finds further argumentation in the studies of M.G.Abdushelishvili<sup>51</sup> and A.G.Gajiev.<sup>52</sup> By M.G.Abdushelishvili the process of brachycephalization and the increase in the skull diameter started during the Bronze Age and it brought to the gradual restructuring of the narrow-faced gracile variants to the modern Caucasioni type. Intense development of that process was fixed during the Middle Ages. To that same opinion came also A.G.Gajiev who had studied palaeoanthropology of Dagestan.

The results of the studies mentioned above tip “the scales” in favor of the concept of the local development of Caucasioni type. What says archaeological data regarding the origins of Caucasioni type? Doubtless, they speak in favor of the mentioned concept. According to A.G.Kozintsev,<sup>53</sup> bearers of that type are descendants of the ancient aborigines, population of mountainous regions – tribes who made the coarse ware. In the period before the III millennium BC these peoples, probably, occupy at least all Northern Caucasus. Newcomers from the Southern Caucasus settled down in the western and eastern parts of the Proto-Caucasioni area, made a “pincer movement”. These “pincers” were tightened until the period when the descendants of local population were driven to the mountainous regions (probably, unapproachable for the newcomers) where they were consolidated and form Caucasioni type with its compact area.

About the presence of Caucasioni individuals in Hovhannavank is told by the late medieval Armenian historiographer Zakaria Kanakertsi.<sup>54</sup> “...When St George was martyred in Cappadocia, his body was kept ... in Hovhannavank... At that time a malicious scab disease hit on the son of the Georgian king, he did not find healing. Then the king was told: “There exists ... a monastery which is called Hovhannavank and there is kept the body of St George and there go all lepers and handicapped people and find healing by St George. Send your son there and he will be cured”.... And so he [the king] decided to send [people] in order to bring bones of St George.... Then the king assembled many nobly children and sent them as hostages .... they were twelve people who arrived at the gates of Hovhannavank. They (monks) received children and from the relics of the saint they took part of the teeth and blood and the body they prepared for shipment. And so he (St George) remained in the Georgian country, and the sons of the Georgians remained in the Armenian country until now”.

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<sup>49</sup> Khudaverdyan, Gasparyan, Pinhasi, Kanayan, Hovhannesyan 2017: 85–86.

<sup>50</sup> Javakhishvili 1966: 106-107.

<sup>51</sup> Abdushelishvili 1964; 1972: 119-129.

<sup>52</sup> Gajiev 1975.

<sup>53</sup> Kozintsev 1974: 198-214.

<sup>54</sup> Kanakertsi 1969: 269-271.

Historiography tells<sup>55</sup> that “The children of Georgians remained in Hovhannavank ... one had died in Hovhannavank. One by the name of Tein remained in Hovhannavank and after him [his descendants] are called Teinenq; the other by the name Azipe went to Yeghvard and now [they] are called Azipenq; the next by the name Mutsa went to Kanaker and they are called Motsakenq; the next one by the name Khacho went to Mogni and [they] are called Khachikenq; one [of them] by the name Stepanos went to Byurakan and gave birth to a son by the name Babajan and they are called Babajanenq; the next by the name Shalove went to Ghazaravan and gave birth to a son by the name Baba and [they] are called Babenq; and someone by the name Gapo took as a wife his sister by the name Aguta, went to Kanaker and they are called Gaponq”.

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<sup>55</sup> Kanakertsi 1969: 273.

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**Table 1**

**Individual, average measurements and indices of late medieval skulls from Hovhannavank**

№ by Martin and others	Feature	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	♂	♀
		♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂		
1	Longitudinal diameter	170	168	165	169	–	–	168.5	167.5
8	Transversal diameter	147	133	140	140	145	142	138.4	144
8:1	Skull indicator	87.36	79.17	84.85	82.85	–	–	81.1	86.2
17	Height diameter from ba	133	134	142	135	125?	–	134.5	133.4
17:1	Height-longitudinal indicator	78.24	79.77	86,07	79.89	–	–	79.9	82.2
17:8	Height-transversal indicator	89.57	100.76	101,43	96.43	86.21	–	98.6	92.4
20	Height diameter from po	117	119.8	117.9	115	–	–	117.4	117.5
20:1	Height-longitudinal indicator	68.83	71.31	71.46	68.05	–	–	69.7	70.2
20:8	Height-transversal indicator	79.592	90.08	84.22	82.15	–	–	86.2	81.91
5	Height of the skull base	98.5	98	101.5	97	–	–	97.5	100
9	The least width of the forehead	91.5	97	103	89.2	–	–	93.1	97.3
9:8	Frontal-transversal indicator	61.62	72.94	73.58	63.72	–	–	68.33	67.6
10	Maximum width of the forehead	122	119	127	119	–	–	119	124.5
11	Width of the skull base	122	123	122	127	129	117	122.4	124.4
11:8	Auricular-transversal indicator	82.99	92.49	87.15	90.72	88.9 7	82.39	88.6	86.4

12	Width of the nape	115	107.5?	109	113	111	106	108.9	111.7
29	Frontal chord	111.5	111.5	107	111.5	–	–	111.5	109.3
30	Parietal chord	104	101	108	102	103	111	104.7	105
31	Occipital chord	96?	100.5	92.5	102.8	94.2	93	98.8	94.3
40	Length of the base of the face	83.5	97.8	88	101	–	–	99.4	85.8
40:5	Indicator of the relief of the face	84.78	99.796	86.69	104.13	–	–	101.97	85.8
45	Skull diameter	127.5	136	126.5	133	–	–	134.5	127
48	Upper height of the face	62.8	76	71	76.8	–	–	76.4	66.9
45:8	Transversal faciocerebral indicator	86.74	102.26	90.36	95	–	–	98.7	88.6
9:45	Parietal-zygomatic indicator	71.77	71.33	81.43	67.07	–	–	69.2	76.6
48:17	Vertical faciocerebral indicator	47.22	81.35	50	56.89			69.2	48.7
48:45	Upper facial indicator	49.26	55.89	56.13	57.75	–	–	56.83	52.7
46	Medium width of the face	90.5	101.5	89.5	92	–	–	96.8 (2)	90 (2)
60	Length of the alveolar arc	47?	54	48	55?	–	–	54.5	47.5
61	Width of the alveolar arc	52.8	61.8	60.5	60.5	–	–	61.2	56.7
62	Length of the palate	37.8?	43.7	38	49	–	–	46.4	37.9
63	Width of the palate	31	35	31	34.5?	–	–	34.8	31
63:62	Palatial indicator	82.02	80.092	81.58	70.41	–	–	75.3	81.8
55	Height of the nose	54	59	52	55	–	–	57	53
54	Width of the nose	26?	29	22	24	–	–	26.5	24
54:55	Nasal indicator	48.15	49.16	42.31	43.64	–	–	46.4	45.3
51	Width of the orbit from mf	40.8	44	43	41?	–	–	42.5	41.9
51a	Width of the orbit from d	38	40	37.8	38	–	–	39	37.9
52	Height of the	35.5	35.5	36	38	–	–	36.8	35.8

	orbit								
52:51	Orbital indicator (mf)	87.01	80.69	83.73	92.69	–	–	86.7	85.4
52:51	Orbital indicator (d)	93.43	88.75	95.24	100	–	–	94.4	94.4
MC	Maxillofrontal width	16	21.8	21	18	–	–	19.9	18.5
MS	Maxillofrontal height	9	11.5	10	10	–	–	10.8	9.5
MS:MC	Maxillofrontal indicator	56.25	52.76	47.62	55.56	–	–	54.2	51.94
DC	Dacrial width	18.5	27	27	22	–	–	24.5	22.8
DS	Dacrial height	13	17.5	16	11.5	–	–	14.5	14.5
DS:DC	Dacrial indicator	70.28	64.82	59.26	52.28	–	–	58.6	64.8
SC	Symotic width	9	14.5	10.2	8.2	–	–	11.4	9.6
SS	Symotic height	4.5	8	5	3.8	–	–	5.9	4.8
SS:SC	Symotic indicator	50	55.18	49.02	46.35	–	–	50.8	49.6
32n	Angle of the face profile from nasion	82	81	86	80	–	–	80.5	84
32gl	Angle of the forehead profile from glabella	80	75	82	71	–	–	73	81
72	Overall facial angle	97?	88	88	78	–	–	83	87.5
73	Medium facial angle	92	87	84	79	–	–	83	88
74	Angle of the alveolar part	99?	99	98	77	–	–	88	98.5
75(1)	Angle of the nose protrusion	31	34	32	32	–	–	33	31.5
77	Nasomalar angle	139	135	131	145	–	–	140	135
<zm	Zygomaxillary angle	125	126	126	125	–	–	125.5	125.5
68 (1)	The length of the lower jaw from the condyles	99	93.8	103	108	–	–	100.9	101
79	Mandibular branch angle	32.5	39	42	30.5	–	–	34.8	37.3
68	Lower jaw length from corners	73	73.8	73.2	80	–	–	76.9	73.1
70	Height of the lower jaw branch	60.5	61	52	68	–	–	64.5	56.3
71a	The smallest	27	30	29.2	32	–	–	31	28.1

	width of the lower jaw branch								
65	Condylar width	114	116	114	120	–	–	118	114
66	Angular width	96	103	107	103	–	–	103	101.5
67	Frontal width	43	41.8	43	50	–	–	45.9	43
69	Height of symphysis	27	29.5	32.8	30	–	–	29.8	29.9
69 (1)	Height of the body	21	26.8	23.5	27	–	–	26.9	22.3
69 (2)	Thickness of the body	11	12	13	17	–	–	14.5	12
47	Complete height of the face	125?	118.8	113.5	124.5	–	–	121.7	119.3

**Table 2. Dimensions of teeth of individuals from Hovhannavank**

	<b>Lower jaw</b>							
	Vestibular-lingual diameter VL <sub>cor</sub>							
	<b>Individual 1.</b> right left		<b>Individual 2.</b> right left		<b>Individual 3.</b> right left		<b>Individual 4.</b> right left	
<b>I1</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>I2</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>C</b>	–	–	–	–	7.6	7.9	8.1	–
<b>P1</b>	–	–	–	7.7	–	7.6	7.5	7.5
<b>P2</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	7.9	7.8
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	10.2	10	10.8	9.9
<b>M2</b>	–	–	9.4	–	9.9	9.9	10.4	–
<b>M3</b>	8.5	9	9.5	9.4	–	–	–	–
	Mesio-distal diameter MD <sub>cor</sub>							
<b>I1</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>I2</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>C</b>	–	–	–	–	6.8	6.8	6.8	–
<b>P1</b>	–	–	–	6.2	–	7.3	6.9	6.5
<b>P2</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	7.1	6.8
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	10.8	10.8	11.2	10.1?
<b>M2</b>	–	–	10.7	–	11	11	10.3	–
<b>M3</b>	7.9?	10.1	10.8	10.5	–	–	–	–
	Height of the crown H <sub>cor</sub>							
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	7.1	7.6	3.7	–
<b>M2</b>	–	–	4.5	–	7.1	7.6	3	5.2
<b>M3</b>	3.8	5.1	3.3	3.5	–	–	–	–
	Mesio-distal diameter of the cervix MD <sub>col</sub>							
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	8.3	8.5	8.7	–

<b>M2</b>	–	–	7.8	–	9.8	9.3	8.6	8.9
<b>M3</b>	–	–	8.9	8.9	–	–	–	–
	Area of the cervix MD × VL							
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	110.16	108	120.96	99.99
<b>M2</b>	–	–	100.58	–	108.9	108.9	107.12	–
<b>M3</b>	67.15	90.9	102.6	98.7	–	–	–	–
	Index of the cervix $I_{cor} (VL / MD) \times 100$							
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	94.45	92.6	96.43	98.02
<b>M2</b>	–	–	87.86	–	90	96.43	100.98	–
<b>M3</b>	107.6	89.11	87.97	89.53	–	–	–	–
	Module of the cervix $m_{cor}$ MD + VL / 2							
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	10.5	10.4	11	10
<b>M2</b>	–	–	10.05	–	10.45	10.45	10.35	–
<b>M3</b>	8.2	9.55	10.15	9.95	–	–	–	–
	<b>Upper jaw</b> Vestibular-lingual diameter VL <sub>cor</sub>							
	right left		right left		right left		right left	
<b>I1</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>I2</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	6.5	6.3
<b>C</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	8.2	8.6
<b>P1</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	8.9	8.8
<b>P2</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	8.8	–
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	11	11.5	–	–
<b>M2</b>	–	–	10.2	10.2	12.2	12	–	–
<b>M3</b>	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Mesio-distal diameter MD <sub>cor</sub>							
<b>I1</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>I2</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	6.7	6.5
<b>C</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	6.7	6.2
<b>P1</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	6.9	6.3
<b>P2</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	5.6	–
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	10.6	10.7	–	–
<b>M2</b>	–	–	8.8	8.7?	9.9	9.8	–	–
<b>M3</b>	7.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Height of the crown H <sub>cor</sub>							
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	6	6.9	–	–
<b>M2</b>	–	–	4.5	4.4	7.2	7	–	–
<b>M3</b>	4.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Mesio-distal diameter of the cervix MD <sub>col</sub>							
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	6.5	7.5	–	–
<b>M2</b>	–	–	7.4	7.3?	7.8	8.5	–	–
<b>M3</b>	6.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

	Area of the cervix MD × VL							
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	116.6	120.05	–	–
<b>M2</b>	–	–	89.76	88.74	120.78	117.6	–	–
<b>M3</b>	79	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Index of the cervix $I_{cor} (VL / MD) \times 100$							
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	103.78	107.48	–	–
<b>M2</b>	–	–	115.91	117.25	123.24	122.45	–	–
<b>M3</b>	126.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Module of the cervix $m_{cor} MD + VL / 2$							
<b>M1</b>	–	–	–	–	10.8	11.1	–	–
<b>M2</b>	–	–	9.5	9.45	11.5	10.9	–	–
<b>M3</b>	8.95	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

**Table 3. List of series, involved for the analysis**

	Region, site, serie	Date
1	Dvin	V–VI c.
2	Armavir	XII–XIII c.
3	Byurakn (deformed skulls)	XII–XIII c.
4	Hovhannavank	–
5	Garni	Early-feudal period
6	Benyamin	II – III B.
7	Georgia: Samtavro	IV–IXвв. (early-feudal period)
8	Georgia: Rustavi	Late-feudal period
9	Georgia: Dusheti	–
10	Georgia: Khevsuri	–
11	Georgia: Sioni I	VII–X c.
12	Georgia: Sioni II	XII–XIII c.
13	Georgia: Sioni III	XVII–XVIII c.
14	Mingechaur I (catacomb burials /without deformation of the skull/)	I–VII c.
15	Mingechaur II (catacomb burials /slight deformation of the skull/)	–
16	Mingechaur III (catacomb burials /strong deformation of the skull/)	–
17	Mingechaur IV (burials of Christian type)	VII–IX c.
18	Samukh region of Azerbaijan (burials of Muslim type)	XIV–XVII c.
19	Mesopotamia: Nippur	IX–X c.
20	Mesopotamia: Tell Gubba	Islamic period
21	Mesopotamia: Tell Songar	Islamic period
22	Mesopotamia: Assur	Islamic period
23	Turkey: Boghazköi	V–XI c.

24	Iran: Shah Tepe	VIII–X c. (Islamic period)
25	Iran: Turang Tepe	X c.
26	Israel: Bedouin	XVII–XVIII c.
27	Dagestan: Upper Chir-Yurt	V–VII c.
28	Dagestan: Gotsatl	VIII–X c.
29	Dagestan: Degva	–
30	Dagestan: Uzuntala	IX–XI c.
31	Dagestan: Miatli	XII–XIII c.
32	Krasnodar district: Gamovskoe and nearby gorges	V–VII c.
33	Krasnodar district: Zhukova	XIII–XIV c.
34	Krasnodar district: Ilichevsk hillfort	XIV–XVI c.
35	Krasnodar district: temple near the village Veseloe, tomb	IX–XI c..
36	Krasnodar district: temple near the village Veseloe, necropolis of the temple	–
37	Krasnodar district: temple near the Veseloe village, nave	–
38	Krasnodar district: temple near the Veseloe village, narthex	–
39	Karachaevo-Circassia: early group	III–V c.
40	Karachaevo-Circassia: later group	VIII–XII c.
41	Karachaevo-Circassia: Lower Arkhiz	–
42	Kabardino-Balkaria: Chegem	XIV–XV c.
43	Kabardino-Balkaria: Lower Julat	–
44	Northern Ossetia: Mozdok	XII–XIV c.
45	Northern Ossetia: Zmeiskaya	X–XII c.
46	Northern Ossetia: Upper Julat	XIV–XVII c.
47	Northern Ossetia: Mamisondon (in total)	VIII–X c.
48	Northern Ossetia: Mound-1	–
49	Northern Ossetia: OCHM	–
50	Northern Ossetia: Dzavgis-15	XIV–XVI c.
51	Northern Ossetia: Dzavgis-18	–
52	Northern Ossetia: Dzavgis -21	–
53	Northern Ossetia: Dzavgis -3	–
54	Northern Ossetia: Upper Koban	XIV–XVI c.
55	Ossetia: Kharkh	X–XIII c.
56	Checheno-Ingushetia: Duba-Yurt	IX–X c.
57	Checheno-Ingushetia: Keli-1	XIV–XVI c.
58	Checheno-Ingushetia: Keli-2	–
59	Stavropol region: Majari	XIV–XV c.
60	North-western Caucasus: Moshshevaya Balka	VI–VIII c.
61	Lower Volga-Lower Don region (in total)	II–IV c.
62	–	V–VII c.
63	–	VII–IX (X) c.
64	Astrakhan region: Bugor Vakurovskij	XIV c.
65	Astrakhan region: Mayachnij II	–

66	Astrakhan region: Samosdelka	XVI c.
67	Volga Bulgaria: City of Bilyar	X–XIII c.
68	Volga Bulgaria: City of Bulgar “Ladies hill”: summarily	X–XV c.
69	Volga Bulgaria: City of Bulgar “Ryadovoy”	–
70	Volga Bulgaria: City of Bulgar “Chetyrekhugol'nik”	X–XIII c.
71	Volga Bulgaria: City of Bulgar “Minaret”	XIII–XV c.
72	Volga Bulgaria: City of Bulgar - “Cultural layer”	–
73	Volga Bulgaria: City of Bulgar - “Greek palace”	XIV c.
74	Middle Volga: The cemetery of khan	XIV–XV c.
75	Middle Volga: Quadrangle 1	X–XIII c.
76	Middle Volga: Quadrangle 2	XIII–XV c.
77	Middle Volga: Quadrangle 3	X–XII c.
78	Middle Volga: 1 Starokuybishevskij	Before Golden Horde
79	Middle Volga: 1 Starokuybishevskij	Golden Horde period
80	Middle Volga: Izmerskij	XI–XIII c.
81	Middle Volga: Taktalachukskij	XIII–XIV c.
82	Middle Volga: Azmetevskij	–
83	Middle Volga: Barbashina Polyana	–
84	Middle Volga: The city of Bulgar (P 45)	–
85	Middle Volga: Murom townlet	X–XIII c.
86	Middle Volga: Mausoleums of the city of Bulgar	–
87	Middle Volga: Memorable sign	–
88	Middle Volga: the region of former airfield	–
89	Middle Volga: mausoleum of stone (CLXXIV)	–
90	Middle Volga: north of the townlet of Bulgar (CXCI)	–
91	Volga-Ural: Bukeevskaya steppe	XIV c.
92	Ukraine: Chigirin	XVI–XVII c.
93	Western Ukraine	Chernyakhov culture
94	Danube-Dniestr region: Bujak	–
95	Moldova: Old Orkhey -1	XIV c.
96	Moldova: Old Orkhey -2	XV c.
97	Moldova: Old Orkhey -3	XVI–XVII c.

**Table 4. Elements of first three canonical vectors (CV). Males**

№ by Martin and others	Feature	CV I	CV II	CV III
1	Longitudinal diameter	<u>-0,579</u>	-0,121	0,355
8	Transversal diameter	<u>0,819</u>	0,215	-0,245
17	Height diameter	-0,304	0,182	-0,232

9	Minimal width of the forehead	<u>-0,584</u>	0,347	-0,176
45	Zygomatic width	0,306	-0,173	-0,199
48	Upper height of the face	0,016	-0,003	0,200
55	Height of the nose	0,156	-0,064	-0,015
54	Width of the nose	0,052	0,344	0,190
51	Width of the orbit from mf	0,289	0,080	0,170
52	Height of the orbit	-0,208	0,645	-0,043
77	Nasomalar angle	-0,034	0,158	0,294
zm	Zygomaxillary angle	0,119	0,095	0,518
SS:SC	Symotic indicator	0,002	0,291	0,365
75(1)	Angle of the protrusion of the nose	-0,260	0,207	<u>-0,736</u>
Percentage in overall dispersion (%)		29,970	23,369	13,291

**Table 5. Elements of first three canonical vectors (CV). Females**

№ by Martin and others	Feature	CV I	CV II	CV III
1	Longitudinal diameter	0,034	<u>0,582</u>	0,503
8	Transversal diameter	0,095	<u>-0,799</u>	-0,464
17	Height diameter	0,240	0,151	-0,220
9	Minimal width of the forehead	-0,102	<u>0,551</u>	-0,100
45	Zygomatic width	-0,038	0,029	0,130
48	Upper height of the face	<u>-0,645</u>	-0,056	0,216
55	Height of the nose	<u>0,699</u>	0,017	-0,035
54	Width of the nose	0,167	-0,094	0,115
51	Width of the orbit from mf	-0,016	-0,317	-0,126
52	Height of the orbit	<u>0,705</u>	0,040	-0,116
77	Nasomalar angle	0,160	-0,108	0,330
zm	Zygomaxillary angle	0,179	-0,173	0,399
SS:SC	Symotic indicator	0,065	-0,105	0,444
75(1)	Angle of the protrusion of the nose	0,183	<u>0,561</u>	<u>-0,686</u>
Percentage in overall dispersion (%)		43,854	21,460	9,423

**Table 6. Elements of first three canonical vectors (CV). Males**

№ by Martin and others	Feature	CV I	CV II	CV III
1	Longitudinal diameter	<u>-0,767</u>	0,147	0,065
8	Transversal diameter	<u>0,803</u>	-0,255	-0,300

17	Height diameter	0,030	0,300	0,231
9	Minimal width of the forehead	-0,289	-0,306	0,164
45	Zygomatic width	0,229	-0,101	<u>0,861</u>
48	Transversal diameter	-0,031	-0,217	<u>0,585</u>
55	Height of the nose	0,062	<u>0,520</u>	-0,293
54	With of the nose	0,100	-0,174	-0,139
51	Width of the orbit from mf	0,361	<u>0,931</u>	-0,475
52	Height of the orbit	-0,008	-0,252	-0,037
Percentage in overall dispersion (%)		46,800	10,854	10,262

*Translated from the Russian by Aram Kosyan*

**THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE AND THE HEROIC SELF-DEFENSIVE BATTLES  
OF THE CILICIAN ARMENIANS  
(Historical-folkloric Review)**

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**Abstract**

Starting from April, 1915, the deportation and massacre organized by the Ottoman Empire had embraced, in a few months, almost all Western Armenia, Cilicia and the Armenian-inhabited localities of the Ottoman Empire.

In some localities Armenians organized self-defense battles. Although the Turkish tyranny cruelly suppressed the heroic resistance and the self-defensive battles started in various localities, nevertheless the devoted Armenian heroes, who fought for their elementary human rights and for the physical survival of their nation, recorded brilliant pages in the history of the national liberation struggle and their heroic characters inspire the Armenian people till today.

**Keywords:** *Cilician Armenians, Armenian Genocide, Self-Defensive Battles, Eyewitness Survivors, Testimonies*

In 1908, following the dethronement of Sultan Hamid, the Young Turks came to power and endeavored, professing the reactionary Pan-Turkish ideology, not only to preserve the Ottoman Empire, but to forcibly annihilate or to amalgamate and Turkify the Armenians and the other Christian peoples and to create an All-Turkish state, extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Aral Sea, which would enclose all the Mohammedans.

A year had not elapsed since the proclamation of the “Constitution” (1908), when Adana and the surrounding Armenian-inhabited villages, which were saved from the previous massacres, became the target of hatred of the Ittihad members.

In 1909, in the Holy Week of Easter, the blood-thirsty Turkish rabble attacked the Armenian quarters of Adana and of the neighboring villages, plundered all the shops, slaughtered the unarmed and defenseless Armenians, not sparing the women and children.

*“Let the Armenians cry, the cruel massacre  
Turned magnificent Cilicia into a desert,  
The fire and the sword and the merciless plunder*

*Ruined, alas, the House of Roubinians!<sup>1</sup>*

*Unarmed Armenians in a moment  
Fell before the mob under the swords,  
Churches and schools were lost in flames,  
Thousands of Armenians ruthlessly died.*

*The merciless Turks deprived  
The child of his mother, the bride of her groom,  
Smashed everything on their way,  
Swallowed and got repleted with Armenian blood.*

*Three days and nights the fire from inside,  
The enemy's sword and bullet from outside,  
Wiped out the Armenians from the face of the earth,  
Blood ran down the Armenian streets...  
Prosperous Adana, alas, is deserted,  
Entire Cilicia is burned to ashes...<sup>2</sup>*

The massacre of the Armenians of Cilicia was premeditated. That fact was disclosed by the telegram of the counsellor of Internal Affairs, Adil bey, addressed to all Turkish officials in the region of Cilicia where it was said: "The greatest care should be taken that no damage is done to foreign religious institutions and consulates."<sup>3</sup>

These historical-political events remained in the memory of the Cilicians as "*Slaughtered Adana.*"<sup>4</sup>

The following elegy saturated with expressive depth and artistic descriptiveness has been created under the immediate impression of the massacre of Adana:

*"Hey, cedars, cedars, variegated cedars,  
The resin drips whenever the sun strikes,  
The Adana River is full of blood and corpses,  
I've come to see you, slaughtered Adana!  
Alas! I've seen you, massacred children!"<sup>5</sup>*

About thirty thousand Armenians fall victims to the massacre of Adana. Dozens of Armenian-inhabited towns and villages were ravaged and burnt down, while Moussa Dag, Deurtyol, Hadjn, Sis, Zeytoun, Sheikh Mourad, Fendedjak and a number of

<sup>1</sup> The House of Roubinians - Armenian princely (1080-1198) and royal (1198-1219) founding dynasty in Cilician Armenia.

<sup>2</sup> The popularized version of the poem of the Zeytouni historian and novelist, Smbat Byurat, see Svazlian 1994, № 447, 173-174. Henceforth, the references to the original texts, which I have inscribed from the Cilician narrators, are made according to the continuous number and page of the book.

<sup>3</sup> Jizmejian 1930: 174.

<sup>4</sup> For more details see the memoir communicated by **Mikael Keshishian** (b. 1904) from Adana. Svazlian 1994, № 1409, 299.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., № 446, 173.

localities stopped the attack of tens of thousands of Turks with their heroic self-defense and were saved from the slaughter.

In fact, that was the beginning of the Great Genocide, when the Young Turks feverishly prepared the total extermination of the Armenian nation, waiting for a propitious occasion. That occasion presented itself when the First World War broke out. Turkey entered into the war, having expansionistic objectives and a monstrous scheme of realizing the annihilation of the Armenians.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1915, a secret order sent by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Turkish government, Tala'at Pasha, the War Minister, Enver pasha and the General Secretary of Ittihad and Minister of Education, Doctor Nazim, was sent to the authorities concerning the deportation and the extermination of the Armenians.<sup>6</sup> And Tala'at pasha warned with violent hatred: “We have to square accounts with the Armenians,” and promised to spare nothing for that purpose.<sup>7</sup>

During one of the sessions of the executive committee of Ittihad, Behaeddin Shakir had declared that it was necessary to immediately begin and finish the deportation of the Armenians and, in the meantime, to massacre the people: “We are at war,” he had added, “there is no fear of interference from Europe and the Great States, the world press also cannot raise any protest and even if it does, it will be without much result and, in the future, it will be considered as a ‘fait accompli’.”<sup>8</sup>

Tala'at pasha, had issued a special order: “The right of living and working of the Armenians on Turkish soil is completely abolished. In accordance with this, the government assumes on itself the whole responsibility and orders not to spare even the infants in the cradle...”<sup>9</sup>

The executive committee of Ittihad had foreseen to carry out the deportation and the massacre of the Armenians without the help of the army or the police, entrusting the job to the criminals and murderers released from the prisons.

In these historical-political circumstances, the general mobilization (Seferberlik – in Turk.) had become the greatest evil for the Christian nations living in Turkey, including the Armenians. Under the pretense of recruitment to military service, Armenian males aged 18-45 were drafted to serve in the labor battalions (Amelé tabour) and, according to the special order of Enver pasha were taken to secluded places and were killed out of sight of viewers.

That is why, the Armenian young man, who had received the call-up papers (Vesica) and was being forcibly drafted into the Turkish army had the premonition that *“that was the road to death”*:

*“Mother, wake me up, let me go to the training,  
Let me take in hand my mirrored rifle,  
This, they say, is the road to death,*

<sup>6</sup> Kirakossian 1965: 244.

<sup>7</sup> Antonian 1921: 232.

<sup>8</sup> Der-Zor 1955: 258.

<sup>9</sup> Nersessian 1991: 564-565.

*God protect us!  
There, they say, are lots of Armenians,  
God save us!”<sup>10</sup>*

And he had come to the right conclusion:

*“I shall join the Turkish army,  
I shall hold a rifle,  
What shall I do with Turkey?  
Behold! I am going to Armenia.”<sup>11</sup>*

The Turkish mobilization was accompanied by ubiquitous round-ups, during which, on the pretext of collecting “arms,” the Turkish policemen ravaged the houses of the Armenians, plundered their properties, arrested and killed many of them. In the following Armenian-mixed Turkish song, which is widely known among the Western-Armenians, the Turkish officer asks the young Armenian:

*“- Hey! gâvur, tell the truth,  
Have you got a gun?”*

The Armenian youth denies the accusation, considering it a slander:

*“- No, sir, it’s a lie,  
I don’t know, I haven’t seen.”*

But then he adds secretly in Armenian:

*“It’s hanging on the wall, I won’t tell,  
I won’t betray the Armenian nation.”<sup>12</sup>*

The arrest of the Armenian intellectuals followed the mobilization and the arms collection. On Saturday, April 24, at midnight, hundreds of Armenian notables of Constantinople were forcibly taken, in their night-shirts, to police quarters and were exiled on the very next day. Among those who were deported to the deserts of Changere and Ayash were the member of the Ottoman Parliament, the lawyer and writer Grikor Zohrap, the poets Daniel Varouzhan, Siamanto, the physician-writers Rouben Sevak, Nazaret DagHAVARIAN, the historian-novelist from Zeytoun, Smbat Byourat, the great musician Komitas, and numerous celebrated people from Svaz, Diarbekir, Marzvan, Erzroom, Kayseri, Izmir and other Armenian-inhabited localities.

Everywhere the Armenian schools and colleges were being closed:

*“They entered the school and caught the school-mistress,  
Ah, alas!  
They opened her mouth and cut her tongue,  
Ah alas!”<sup>13</sup>*

Since the school-mistress had dared to teach Armenian to the Armenian children.

<sup>10</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 424, 165.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., № 423, 165.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., № 437, 167.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., № 449, 174.

Besides the Armenian educational institutions, the Armenian churches were also ravaged. The Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople was incorporated into the Catholicosate of Sis and Catholicos Sahak II Khabayan was recognized as the spiritual leader of the Armenians of Turkey.

On March 15 and April 3, 1915, the Russian Intelligence informed about Turkey that Armenians were arrested throughout the country, systematic massacres were committed in Erzroom, Deurtyol, Zeytoun and its environs; bloody clashes took place in Bitlis, Van and Moosh; atrocities, plunder and murders occurred in Akn; economic collapse and a general massacre of the population were noted all over Asia Minor.

In the province of Van, connected with the military operations, the Turks succeeded, in spite of the one-month heroic self-defense organized by the valorous people of Van, not only in suppressing the revolt, but they had also time to exterminate on the spot thousands of Armenians. And when the Russian army units entered Van, followed by the Armenian writers Hovhannes Toumanian and Alexander Shirvanzadé, they became witnesses of bewildering scenes: "...Whenever they had the opportunity, they had massacre the Armenians," wrote H. Toumanian in his memoirs, "mainly the males and had taken away the beautiful women. And if they had sufficient time and when the terror of the Russian army and the Armenian volunteers had not been close, they had invented barbaric amusements; they had crucified people, various body parts of live people had been cut and arranged in different patterns; games had been invented: people had been put below the waist in cauldrons and boiled, so that the live half could see and feel...; they had cut with red-hot iron bars the various parts of the body and roasted them on fire; they had roasted live people; they had massacred children before the eyes of parents and parents – before the eyes of children."<sup>14</sup> And when the Russian troops retreated, a great number of Armenians, who had heroically fought in the self-defensive battles of Vaspourakan and Sassoun, migrated after them to Eastern Armenia:

*"Van, a little town with its districts,  
Full of corpses in hundreds and thousands,  
The field was colored red with blood,  
The clouds, the sky and the stars raised their voice  
And roared and ordered loud enough  
To be heard in Europe and America."<sup>15</sup>*

However, neither Europe, nor America interfered, and only the national heroes succored the helpless people, but they were little in number, while the enemy forces were innumerable, countless:

*"The province of Sassoun with its forests,  
With its high mountains as ramparts,  
Always withstood the Turkish army,  
Sassoun smells now of hot blood."<sup>16</sup>*

<sup>14</sup> Toumanian 1959: 212-213.

<sup>15</sup> Svazlian 1990: 127.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.: 128.

The smell of “hot blood” was spread also in Karin, Pontos, Moosh, Svaz, Shapin-Garahissar, Kharbert, Malatia, Diarbekir, in the Armenian-inhabited localities of Western and Central Anatolia, Izmit, Bursa, Ankara, Konia and elsewhere. They exterminated, with unspeakable cruelty, all the Armenians, not sparing even the infants.

The life of the Armenians of Cilicia also became a nightmare. The Baghdad railway, which had a particular importance passed through Armenian-populated Cilicia. This circumstance troubled the Turkish government, since the laborious and active Armenians living in Cilicia could, by their prosperous state, become predominant in Turkey’s economy. The Armenian villages and settlements were scattered in mountainous Cilicia from Hadjn, Zeytoun to Deurtyol and their populations, although engaged in silk-production, weaving, carpet-making and other national handicrafts, had a sufficiently enlightened new generation owing to the presence of Armenian and foreign schools and colleges, which had played an important role in the formation of their mental-conscious outlook. Besides, the outrages and the massacres, which had started in many provinces of Turkey, coupled with the promised, but not realized “Reforms” following the Russo-Turkish war had not completely exterminated the naturally freedom-loving Cilicians, who sought an occasion for their independence. Zeytoun, the eagle-nest of Cilicia had, for a long time, become the flashpoint of indignation at the Turkish tyranny and it was, therefore, high time to square accounts with the bold inhabitants of Zeytoun as well.

The Zeytounis, who had glorious traditions of the national liberation struggle in the past, could once again fight in self-sacrifice, but this plan was hindered by the Catholicos of Cilicia, Sahak Khabayan and other Armenian notables, who, deceived by the false promises of the Turkish government, called the Armenians to “obedience,” arguing that “a little movement could endanger all the Armenian population of the provinces of Turkey.”

The voluminous ballad *“The Black Message Came from the Catholicos”* (i.e.: not to take up arms – V. S.) we have written down relates in tragic words this “impracticality” imposed from above.<sup>17</sup>

The Turkish government had already, as in the other localities, collected the Armenians’ weapons and drafted the young men into the Turkish army, although many of them had been able to escape from the army and hide themselves in Zeytoun. Khourshid pasha came with an army of three thousand soldiers to claim the deserters, who had taken refuge in the ancient St. Astvadsadsin (Holy Virgin) Monastery, built on the top of the Berzenka Mountain. On the 25th of March, 1915, the enemy started to shell the monastery. The self-defensive fighters of Zeytoun, under the leadership of Panos Chakerian, responded to the enemy’s attack, sparing their scanty bullets.

*“Mister Panos Chakerian said:*

*‘This job has already become hard,*

*Own gold has become tin in the enemy’s hand,*

*The rose of Zeytoun withered before it opened’.*<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 406, 158-159.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., № 398, 155.



Karapet Tozlian  
(1903, Zeytoun)

*“...The monastery was just opposite the town of Zeytoun,”* told us an eyewitness from Zeytoun, **Karapet Tozlian**, *“And we, the Zeytounis, were standing and watching. Suddenly we saw a few policemen, who carried kerosene in tin containers to burn the monastery, but the gunmen fired at them from inside the monastery and killed them...”*<sup>19</sup>

After this battle, which lasted for twelve hours, the Zeytouni young men jumped from the rear windows of the monastery by night and ascended the mountain...<sup>20</sup>

On the following day, the Turkish soldiers launched a new attack on the monastery and, thinking that the rebels were still there, they set the monastery on fire.

On the 9th of April, the notables of Zeytoun were taken to the military barracks, followed also by their families, who were all deported to unknown places. These were the first exiles. The forcible deportation from Zeytoun started. First, the district of the monastery was deprived of its inhabitants and, subsequently, all the villages surrounding Zeytoun were deserted.

Then the eagle-nest Zeytoun was ravaged...

The chairman of the missionaries in the Middle East, Johannes Lepsius, has referred to the deportation of the inhabitants of Zeytoun in his secret report “Massacres in Armenia”: “...The deportation of the whole Armenian population of Zeytoun was accomplished within a short time, numerous caravans following one another. The deportees were about twenty thousand in number. The town had four districts. The inhabitants were taken away one after the other, the women and children being often separated from the male adults; since one male from each profession was allowed to remain, only six men were chosen to stay behind. The deportation process lasted for several weeks. In the second half of May, the town of Zeytoun was completely evacuated. Of the denizens of Zeytoun six to eight thousand people were sent to the marshy regions of Karapunar and Suleimanié, situated between Konia and Ereğli, while the fifteen-sixteen thousand people were deported to Deyr-el-Zor, to the steppes of Mesopotamia, near the Euphrates River. The endless caravans passed through Marash, Adana and Aleppo. Food was scarce and nothing was being done to settle the deportees in some definite place or to bring the deportation to an end...”<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Ibid: № 1393, 260.

<sup>20</sup> Fighting a life or death battle, sixty braves combating in the monastery came to the rescue of their brothers in Fendedjak, near Zeytoun, whom the enemy was threatening to exterminate. During the heroic battle, which lasted for nine days, the enemy suffered hundreds of losses. The Armenians’ supply of bullets began to run short and they continued to fight with stones. During these fights, twenty-six Zeytounis, who had come to the rescue, fell victims, several others were saved among them the well-known hero of Zeytoun, Aram Cholakian with his comrades in arms.

<sup>21</sup> Galoustian 1934: 178.

The deportation and massacre of the Armenian population of Cilicia started. One after the other, Zeytoun, Fendedjak, Marash, Ayntap, Sis, Tarson, Mersin, Yarpouz, Albistan, Adana, Hadjn, Antioch, Iskenderoun, Kessab and Beylan were deserted.

The genocide organized by the Turkish tyranny had embraced, in a few months, almost all the Armenian-inhabited localities of the Ottoman Empire, namely, Moosh, Karin, Pontos, Svaz, Shapin-Garahissar, Kharbert, Malatia, Diarbekir, the Armenian-inhabited localities of Western and Central Anatolia, Izmit, Bursa, Ankara, Konia, reaching up to Chanak-Kalé, Rodosto and elsewhere.

The disarmed, leaderless and helpless Armenian people were driven, with tearful eyes, thirsty and hungry, from their flourishing homes under the strokes of whips and bayonets of the Turkish officers. "The forcible deportation of the Armenians was only a fraudulently veiled death sentence,"<sup>22</sup> wrote the French publicist, René Pinon. On the roads of exile, the ruthless policemen, the criminals and murderers set free from the prisons and wearing military uniforms, plundered and robbed everybody, ravished and dishonored the women and the girls.

The extermination of the Armenians was realized both on the spot and in the places of exile, in the vast deserts of Mesopotamia, especially in Rakka, Havran, Ras-ul-Ayn, Meskené and Deyr-el-Zor.

*"The nightingale sings, it's spring,  
Don't uncover our wound; it's deep, deep,  
Oh! Merciful Lord, what is this Der-Zor?  
Weeping and weeping our eyes got blind!"<sup>23</sup>*

And since it was prohibited to speak Armenian, they had to express their sorrow and affliction mostly in the enemy's language.<sup>24</sup>

*"The desert of Der-Zor was covered with mist,  
Alas, alas, our condition was lamentable,  
I got up in the morning, the sun was shining,  
The gunmen, seated, were oiling their arms,  
I looked at the Armenians, they were crying bitterly,  
Armenians dying for the sake of faith!"<sup>25</sup>*

The indescribable sufferings and the martyrdom of the Armenians started on the day of the Resurrection of Christ:

*"They dismantled the tents on Zatik-Kiraki (Easter-Sunday),  
They drove all the Armenians into the desert,  
They slaughtered the Armenians like goats,  
Armenians dying for the sake of faith!"<sup>26</sup>*

<sup>22</sup> Pinon 1916: 27.

<sup>23</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 451, 174.

<sup>24</sup> Concerning this item see also Svazlian 1987: 38-47.

<sup>25</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 457, 176.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., № 473, 178.

And the corpses of the Armenians “*dying for the sake of faith*” were scattered everywhere:

*“The place called Der-Zor was a large locality,  
With innumerable slaughtered Armenians,  
The Ottoman chiefs have become butchers,  
Armenians dying for the sake of faith!”<sup>27</sup>*

Innumerable were not only “*the slaughtered Armenians,*” but also the sick people and the moribunds, since the typhoid epidemic was raging:

*“A row of apricot-trees in the desert of Der-Zor,  
The Armenian exiles were infected with typhoid,  
Alas, alas, our condition was lamentable,  
At the time we were in the desert of Der-Zor.”<sup>28</sup>*

The desert of Der-Zor had become a living cemetery:

*“Mint has grown in the desert of Der-Zor,  
The stench of corpses has spread all over the world,  
This exile is worse than death for us,  
Armenians dying for the sake of faith!”<sup>29</sup>*

Then the bewildering scenes followed one another, while lonely and helpless were the Armenian people in their distress:

*“There are many wounded in the desert of Der-Zor,  
Don’t come, doctor, don’t come, it’s useless,  
We have no one, but the Lord Himself,  
Armenians dying for the sake of faith!”<sup>30</sup>*

And the people passing their road of death have expressed their indignation with curses:

*“You should lose your sight, Enver pasha,  
No more Armenian youths are left...”<sup>31</sup>*

Or:

*“May the person, who planned this exile,  
Be sacrificed on the road to hell!”<sup>32</sup>*

The condition of the despoiled and child-deprived mothers was particularly distressing. Deprived of the elementary conditions of existence, after giving away their properties to the Turkish government and the armed brigands and feeling their imminent death, the Armenian mothers preferred to leave their beloved children to the kind Arabs

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., № 460, 176.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., № 466, 177.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., № 468, 178.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., № 496, 182.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., № 531, 187.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., № 519, 185.

(or Kurds) in order to preserve the children's life in case they themselves would be martyred.

*“Khabur<sup>33</sup>, make way for me, let me cross the desert,  
My child is in the Arab village, bare and naked.”<sup>34</sup>*



Grigor Gyouzelian  
(1903, Moussa Dagh)

A 90-year-old survivor, **Grigor Gyozealian** (b. 1903, Moussa Dagh), remembered in his memoirs, with a feeling of infinite gratitude the kind old Christian Arab woman from the village of Muhardi on the road to Homs-Hama, who distributed in secret every evening the rice she had cooked and the pieces of bread thrust in her belt to the Armenian orphans lying exhausted at the base of the walls and then disappeared in the darkness...<sup>35</sup>

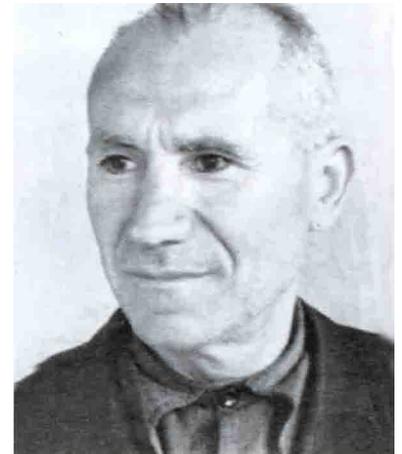
In that unspeakable turmoil of slaughter and carnage the children lost their parents:

*“I stayed confused in the desert of Der-Zor,  
I lost my mother and father there,*

*Oh, mother! Oh, mother! Our condition was lamentable*

*At the time we were in the desert of Der-Zor”.*<sup>36</sup>

In the memoirs we have recorded there are numerous testimonies about the forcible apostasy of the Armenian children. **Harutyun Alboyadjian** (b. 1904) recalled with bitterness the painful days he had passed in the Turkish orphanage, where hundreds of starving Armenian children (even suckling infants), who had lost their parents, swarmed the center of the large hall of the Turkish orphanage, lying on a heap of straw, unaware that many among them had already died of hunger, while the Turks dragged those, who were still alive, took them away to circumcise them and to change their names and faith...<sup>37</sup>



Harutyun Alboyadjian  
(1904, Fendedjak)

That is why, in order not to deny their faith, not to become the wife of a Turk and not to bear Turkish children,

*“...Hand in hand, Armenian girls threw themselves  
Into the Euphrates<sup>38</sup> River...”<sup>39</sup>*

<sup>33</sup> A river flowing near Der-Zor.

<sup>34</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 500, 182.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., № 1400, 280.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., № 492, 181.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., № 1410, 301-303.

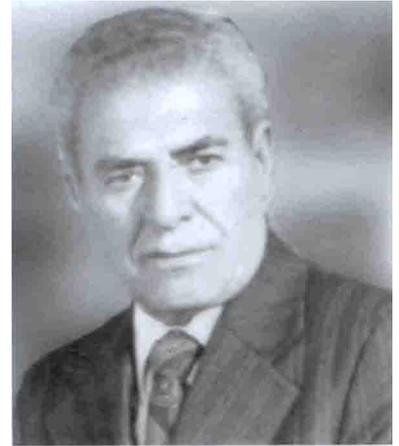
<sup>38</sup> The word “Yeprev” used in the original text is another name for the River Euphrates.

And as a protest, the Armenian girls' oath resounded:

*“Armenian girls, going, going!  
One day death will come upon us,  
Before becoming the enemy's wife,  
Let us find death in the Euphrates...”*<sup>40</sup>

And the River Euphrates was dyed red with the Armenians' blood...

*“The desert of Der-Zor is stony and impassable,  
The waters of the Euphrates River are bitter,  
You can't drink a single cup!  
You can't drink water mixed with the blood of  
Armenians!”*<sup>41</sup>

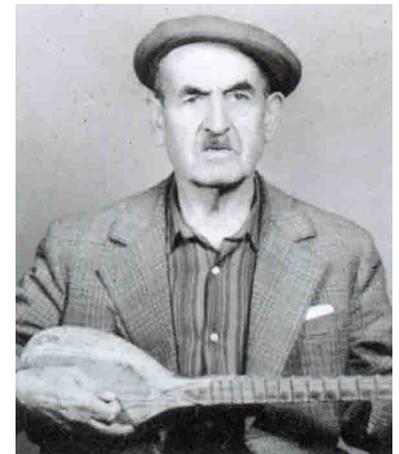


Soghomon Yetenekian  
(1900, Mersin)

An eyewitness from Mersin, **Soghomon Yetenekian** (b. 1900), who was fifteen years old at that time has communicated us: *“...Girls and women, three to four hundred in number, united their belts, fastened themselves together and, one after the other, jumped into the Euphrates River. The current of the river could not be seen then. The corpses had risen to the surface and were piled up one upon the other like a fortress; the dogs got enraged by eating human flesh...”*<sup>42</sup>

An eyewitness of these events, **Poghos Soupkoukian (Ashugh [Minstrel] Develli)** (b. 1887), from Moussa Dagh, communicated us, in 1956, his impressions about the deportation from Cilicia in the form of the following ballad:

*“The Turk pashas Enver and Tala'at  
Instigated the exile  
And totally exterminated the Armenian  
nation,  
Plague on them! They ordered  
In nineteen hundred and fifteen  
The massacre of the Armenians of Cilicia!  
If only their tongues were paralyzed and  
did not order!  
What was the sin of the little infants?  
If only those sword-holding hands were broken!  
How can we forget the calamity of Cilicia,*



Poghos Soupkoukian  
(1887, Moussa Dagh)

<sup>39</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 450, 174.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., № 568, 196.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., № 506, 183.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., № 1425, 314.

*The girls threw themselves in water together with their sisters,  
No one protected the Armenian nation.*<sup>43</sup>

And indeed, “no one protected the Armenian nation,” which, disarmed and desperate, was being driven along the roads of exile. The deportation and massacre initiated by the Turkish tyranny had, within a few months, attained enormous proportions involving the regions of Lesser Hayk and Anatolia.

The towns of Svaz, Shapin-Garahissar, Kharbert, Malatia, Diarbekir, Izmit, Bursa, Ankara, Konia and the other Armenian-inhabited localities of Central and Western Anatolia were being deserted one after the other.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of July, an order for the deportation of the Armenians of Kessab arrived. Seeing that their turn would soon come, nearly all the inhabitants of the seven villages of Moussa Dagh united together, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of July, and decided to disregard the disastrous order of deportation.<sup>44</sup>

*“Yessayi Yaghoubian’s words resounded:  
‘Let us all go up the mountain,’ he said,  
‘We will not bend our necks before the enemy,  
Let us strike, be stricken and die on our land’.*<sup>45</sup>



Movses Panossian  
(1885, Moussa Dagh)

The last participant in the heroic battle of Moussa Dagh, the 106-year-old **Movses Panossian** (b. 1885), narrated those events to us with a juvenile ardor peculiar to him, recalling the oath of the inhabitants of Moussa Dagh:

*“I was born here, I will die here,  
I will not go to die as a slave,  
I will die here with a gun in my hand,  
But I will not become an emigrant!”*<sup>46</sup>

Everybody was filled with a feeling of protest and vengeance. Men and women, children and old people left their homes and orchards and ascended the inaccessible summit of Moussa Dagh to defend their honor and dignity, to withstand the attack and to fight against the innumerable soldiers of the enemy.

All without exception and without delay, started, in an orderly manner, to set up tents and huts, to dig trenches, to build ramparts with solid walls, leaving small

<sup>43</sup> Svazlian 1984: 128.

<sup>44</sup> Pastor Tigran Andreassian from Zeytoun had already escaped from the procession of the deportees from Zeytoun, had reached his native land, Moussa Dagh, and had recounted about the sufferings endured by the poor exiles. He has been one of the active participants of the heroic battle of Moussa Dagh and, according to Alexander Pashayan, he was the prototype of Aram Tovmassian, one of the heroes of Franz Werfel’s novel “The Forty Days of Moussa Dagh” (See Andreassian 1967: 5).

<sup>45</sup> See the entire epos in Svazlian 1984: 128.

<sup>46</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 1397, 268.

embrasures from inside for shooting. In some places, they cut down the thick forest to enable them to see the enemy. Even the little boys, the so-called “telephone boys,” worked as signalmen. The women organized the food, the girls and the young brides carried water for the fighters from afar. Step by step, the enemy approached the positions of the Moussa Dagħ fighters, but gunfire opened from different spots created the impression of a complete encirclement, and the Turks fled, terror-stricken, leaving hundreds of dead soldiers.

During forty days, violent battles were fought. During that period, four serious battles took place on the heights of Kezeldja, Kouzdjegħaz, Damladjek and Kaplan-Douzagh. The enemy concentrated new forces to chastise the rebellious Armenians. The provisions and armaments of the Moussa Dagħ people were exhausted. The heavy rain rendered the three hundred shotguns they had, all in all, unfit for use, but they did not give themselves up to despair and continued to fight bravely:

*“We are courageous Moussadagh braves,  
We are all well-trained gun-carriers,  
The Turks want to deport us  
And exterminate us in the deserts.  
We do not wish to die like dogs,  
We wish to leave a good memory,  
To die with glory is an honor for us,  
To be martyred is our nation’s praise.”<sup>47</sup>*

The enemy had besieged the mountain on three sides. Seeing no way out and hoping to receive aid from the fourth side, from the Mediterranean Sea, the Moussa Dagħ people tied white bedsheets together, they drew the sign of the Red Cross and the note: “The Christians are in danger, save us!” and displayed them on the mountain slope overlooking the sea. After a few days, the French battleship “Guishen” passing offshore noticed the petition and on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September, 4,200 inhabitants of Moussa Dagħ were transported to Port-Said.<sup>48</sup>

The heroic battle of Moussa Dagħ shook the world. It demonstrated to the mankind the immense capabilities of a handful of people, who have heroic traditions and unanimous willpower.<sup>49</sup>

Still in May 1915, the new governor of Urfa (Yedessia), Ali Haydar, an Ittihad member, had organized the arrest of forty local Armenian notables and had demanded from all the Armenians to hand over their arms in forty-eight hours. At the end of July, the enlightened primate of the Armenian Diocese of Urfa, the Very Reverend Artavazd

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., № 402, 157.

<sup>48</sup> For the memoirs we have recorded from the participants in the heroic battle of Moussa Dagħ, **Movses Panossian** (b. 1885), **Movses Balabanian** (b. 1891), **Hovhannes Ipredjian** (b. 1896) and others see Svazlian 1994., № 1397-1399, 268-274.

<sup>49</sup> For more details concerning this item see Andreassian 1935 and Goushakjian 1970, and for the historico-folkloric songs and epic poems about these events see Svazlian 1984: 128-133.

Galenterian, was put under arrest. In August, one thousand five hundred young Armenian recruits from Urfa were slain in the localities of Gutemé and Karaköprü. Subsequently, the Turks apprehended one hundred Armenian tradesmen and collected bribes from their kinsfolk saying that they would let them free, but they killed them all. They captured also one hundred others, who were destined to the same lot. In those days the caravans of the exiled Zeytounis and of the poor Armenians deported from the six provinces of Turkey, all dispossessed of their valiant youth, arrived in Urfa, together with sobs and laments of the child-deprived mothers, the horrifying stories about the young girls and innocent infants...

Seeing all that, the thirty-five thousand Armenians of Urfa decided, after a special deliberation, to have recourse to arms similar to the inhabitants of Moussa Dagh.

In October 1915, the heroic self-defense of Urfa was organized under the command of Mkrtitch Yotneghbayrian and Haroutyoun Rastkelenian. The whole Armenian population of Urfa rose up. Children and old people, boys and girls fought like one man, in self-oblivion, during twenty-five days and nights uninterruptedly. The Armenian quarters were divided into six fighting regions, where eight hundred fighters were positioned. The Urfans took an oath: "We are ready to die the arm in our hands."<sup>50</sup>

However, the Turkish policemen and the rabble made a new attack and occupied the Armenian Catholic Church. The Urfans let the enemy soldiers invade the Armenian quarter and, lying in ambush, annihilated them. Their intrepidity had become proverbial:

*"Urfa is large, it cannot be separated,  
Its ground is firm; it cannot be dispersed,  
The braves of Urfa  
Are alone of their kind."*<sup>51</sup>

Meeting an obstinate resistance, a regular army of six thousand soldiers with a cannon, under the command of Fakhry pasha, was sent to Urfa, to which joined twelve thousand brigands. The defenders of Urfa put up a heroic resistance and inflicted heavy losses on the Turkish murderers. Fakhry pasha, enraged, declared in a worried tone: "What will our situation be if, in these critical days, several Urfas stood against us?"<sup>52</sup>

Seriously wounded in the knee and lying on a stretcher, Mkrtitch Yotneghbayrian passed from one position to another and encouraged the fighters.

Fakhry pasha sent a mediator, the well-known German rug-factory owner, M. Eckart, to M. Yotneghbayrian, exhorting him to stop the battle and to surrender. But the heroic son of Urfa answered him: "If you have the feelings of a civilized and Christian man, save the innocent Armenian nation, which is being massacred in the deserts."<sup>53</sup>

The next day, the enemy tightened the siege and destroyed the Armenian quarter with a heavy cannonade. The condition of the Armenians became more critical day after

<sup>50</sup> Sahakian 1955: 818.

<sup>51</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 404, 158.

<sup>52</sup> Arzoumanian 1969: 453.

<sup>53</sup> Memorial-book of the Great Genocide 1965: 804.

day. On October 23 the Turks invaded the Armenian quarter and cruelly slaughtered the devoted heroes of Urfa and deported the surviving eight hundred families of the neighboring Armenian-inhabited village of Kamourdj to Deyr-el-Zor and ruthlessly massacred the majority of them on the road.

Thus, the deportation and the massacre had already embraced not only Cilicia and Western Armenia, but also Lesser Hayk, the Armenian-inhabited provinces of Eastern and Central Anatolia, in other words, the entire Ottoman Turkey. About two million Western Armenians became the victims of the Great Armenian Genocide or were dispersed to the various countries of the world.<sup>54</sup>

The executioner of the Armenian people, Tala'at, had declared boastfully, that he had solved the Armenian Question in a few months, while Sultan Hamid had not succeeded in doing it during decades.

Still in the days of the First World War, in 1916, two of the Allied countries, England and France, had signed a secret agreement (Sikes-Picard) that, in case of the defeat of Turkey, Cilicia, having two million six hundred thousand hectares of arable and fertile lands, would pass under the supervision of France. The English and French authorities had agreed earlier with the Armenian National Delegation that, if the Armenian volunteers fought against Turkey, the Armenians would enjoy ample political rights after the victory and the Armenian volunteers would constitute the garrisons of the towns of the newly formed Autonomous Armenian Cilicia.

Consequently, Armenian young men from the Turkish army, from the roads of exile, from various places and even from remote America (natives of Moussa Dagh, Zeytoun, Ayntap, Marash, Kessab, Hadjn, Hoosenik, Chenkoosh, Sebastia, Kharbert, Arabkir and other localities) were enlisted in the French army, creating the Oriental (Armenian) Legion.

The Armenian volunteers, filled with a feeling of vengeance for their numerous innocent martyred kinsfolk and defying death, defeated the German-Turkish armies and won the magnificent victory of Arara, near Nablous-Palestine.

The valorous Armenian legionnaires won the praise of the French and British Army High Commands. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of October, 1918, General Allenby sent a telegram to the President of the Armenian National Delegation, Nubar Pasha, saying "I am proud to have the Armenian regiment under my command. They fought courageously and had a great share in the victory."<sup>55</sup>

The Treaty of Sèvres, signed after the war, provided that the Entente countries should establish supervision over Cilicia and that the Turkish troops should have already been evacuated from Cilicia.<sup>56</sup>

Numerous Armenian deportees, miraculously rescued from Deyr-el-Zor, Ras-ul-Ayn and other living cemeteries, exhausted, emaciated and destitute, gradually returned

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<sup>54</sup> For more details see Kirakossian 1965.

<sup>55</sup> Keleshian 1949: 592.

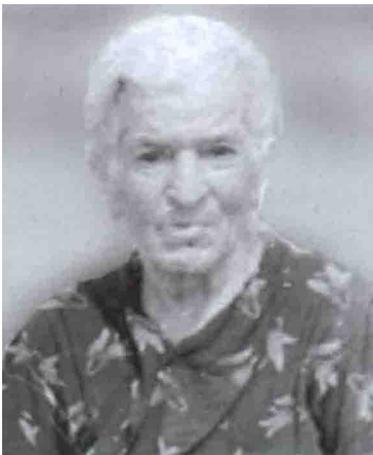
<sup>56</sup> For more details see Sahakian 1970: 117.

and resettled in Cilicia. With hope and faith with regard to the future, they began to restore the ravage and to cultivate the abandoned orchards. However, the Kemalists, who had come to power, succeeded in coming to an agreement with the Allied States and urged the French to evacuate their forces from Cilicia. Unfortunately, not only did the French military administration showed unwillingness to undertake serious measures to ensure the security of the Armenians, but they left the local authority in the hands of the Turkish military officials, who, furthermore, were not disarmed.

Ignoring the Treaty of Sèvres and taking advantage of the indecision and weakness of the French military administration, the Kemalist forces and the local bandits directed their arms towards the Armenian population of Cilicia.

Starting from January 1920, the Kemalist forces launched an attack on the Armenian localities of Cilicia. During the violent battles, which lasted for twenty-two days, the eleven thousand Armenians of the town of Marash were slaughtered and burned to ashes.

*“Marash is called Marash, alas!  
Marash, how do they call you Marash?  
When they burn a church in Marash  
And they burn Armenians in the church!”<sup>57</sup>*



Verginé Mayikian  
(1898, Marash)

A miraculously saved eyewitness survivor from Marash, **Verginé Mayikian** (b. 1898) narrated us: *“The Karassoun Mankants’ (Holy Martyrs’) Church of Marash was built on a hilltop. The Armenians sheltered inside the church waited for the doors to be opened at night. Ten o’clock in the evening came, then eleven o’clock, then midnight, but nobody opened the door. The Armenians were overcrowded inside. There was no water and no light inside the church, there was ordure everywhere, one was crying, another lamenting, and still another praying, in one word, a complete commotion. We heard their voices from the cellar of our house where we were hidden. At half past one after midnight we noticed from our narrow casement that a few Turks were climbing over the arched roof of the church and were throwing kerosene-soaked burning rags through the church cupola. The smell of burning flesh spread all over. The voices reaching from the church were heart-breaking. The monsters had realized their plan. Nobody was alive anymore in the church and in the neighborhood. The space of several hundred meters around the church, which was paved with large stones, was apparently covered with a thick layer of soap. It was, in*

<sup>57</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 539, 188-189.

*reality, the grease of the burned Armenians, two inches in thickness, which had flowed down the threshold of the church and had hardened...".*<sup>58</sup>

Subsequently, the surviving eight thousand residents of Marash, together with six thousand Armenians from Urfa, were forcibly deported to Syria, to Aleppo and Damascus, to Beirut, Jerusalem, Baghdad and to the regions of Anatolia under Greek domination.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of April, 1920, the Kemalists besieged Ayntap. The life of about ten thousand Armenian refugees from Ayntap and eight thousand from Sebastia, who had just re-established and found peace there after the end of the war and the armistice, became once more turbulent. A central military committee adjoining the National Union was created on the spot under the leadership of Adour Levonian. The latter took stock of the arms and the ammunition and organized the manufacture of shells.

These historic events have been recounted us by **Gevorg Hekimian** (b. 1937) from Ayntap: *"...Adour pasha collected the copper cauldrons from the inhabitants of Ayntap and had them melted to make shells. He and his volunteers attacked the enemy and broke through the siege, forcing the twenty-four thousand soldiers commanded by Ali Kelendj to flee in dismay in one night shouting 'Gâvurun gözü kan doldu' ('The gâvur's eye is filled with blood' – in Turk.; that is: 'The Armenians are full of revenge'). They had composed this song about Adour Levonian in our Ayntap:*

*"Adour pasha, get up!  
Light your kindlings!  
The Turks are attacking,  
Charge, volunteers!"*<sup>59</sup>



Gevorg Hekimian  
(1937, Beirut)

The Armenians of Ayntap organized the self-defense of the town. A regiment composed of about seven hundred and fifty people was created. That unequal battle continued, with some interruptions, for a long time...

In the meantime, the commander-in-chief of the Turkish army for the occupation of Cilicia, Gozan oghlu Doghan bey, laid, with his innumerable soldiers, siege to the town of Hadjn. The town had initially an Armenian population of 30-35 thousand, of which only six thousand had been rescued from the Great Genocide. In the Kemalists' opinion, "the complete destruction and extermination of the Armenian citadel of Cilicia, Hadjn, was an hour's job and that they would be capable of burying the six thousand Armenians with a slight attack."<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., № 1414, 306-307.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., № 407, 160.

<sup>60</sup> Terzian 1956: 241.

The inhabitants of Hadjn, however, were resolute. They formed the superior council of the self-defense of Hadjn under the leadership of their governor, advocate Karapet Chalian, and elected as the defense commandant officer Sargis Jebejian, General Andranik's comrade-in-arms. Four military companies and a squadron composed of sixty cavalymen were organized. Hadjn and its environs were divided into four defense regions. Trenches were dug. Everybody was in fighting trim. Freedom-loving songs resounded everywhere:

*“Onward, onward, people of Hadjn,  
Our deadly Turk enemy has come,  
Onward, let us fight, take up your arms,  
Let's see, what does the enemy want?”<sup>61</sup>*

The available 132 rifles were distributed to the 1,200 males aged 16-50, who were capable of taking up arms. Subsequently, 300 more rifles were obtained, but these were also insufficient to fight against the Kemalist army, which was armed with the inexhaustible Bolshevik ammunition.<sup>62</sup>

That is why the Hadjnis, who were in great need of arms, waited impatiently for that help expected from abroad through the National Union of Adana; that help included not only arms and ammunition, but also new fighting forces. At last the long-expected airplane appeared in the sky:

*“The airplane came with great news,  
Our hearts were filled with joyful hopes,  
All the fighters wandered unarmed,  
They wanted to kill the Turks with all their soul.*

*The brothers already wrote letters,  
‘Fight, brothers, we’ll come to your help!’ they said.  
The days went by, however, what happened?  
Two out of a thousand didn’t show up.’<sup>63</sup>*

The condition of the unarmed Hadjnis became desperate. The French high-ranking military representatives, Theyartayi and Colonel Bremont conducted an equivocal policy and though they had promised to provide provisions, arms and ammunition for the self-defense of Hadjn, they not only broke their word, but informed also the Turks about the self-defensive plan of the Armenians.

*“To live or to die, valiant people of Hadjn,  
Let's seize, they said, otherwise we'll die,  
Let's seize the mighty cannon,  
Let's gain the glorious victory!”<sup>64</sup>*

<sup>61</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 413, 163.

<sup>62</sup> For this and subsequent events see the memoir of **Hovsep Bshtikian** (b. 1903) from Zeytoun. Ibid., № 1392, p. 253.

<sup>63</sup> **Nazeni Satamian** (b. 1926) from Hadjn has communicated us, with a feeling of pride, but also with tears of regret, Aram Aspet's present poem converted into a song. See Svazlian 1994, № 414, 162.

The Hadjn freedom-fighters seized the enemy's enormous cannon with great difficulty, but they could not use it to defend themselves for the lack of shells. Starvation caused a great distress to the inhabitants of Hadjn, *“people were obliged to eat cats, mice, dogs, leather, the bark of trees, moccasins...”*<sup>65</sup> The enemy reinforced the army with new cannons and innumerable regular armed forces. After a prolonged and heroic resistance, which lasted for seven months, the Kemalist forces were able to destroy and to burn down all the stone houses of Hadjn by cross-wise heavy cannonade. Hundreds of valorous combatants fell on the fortifications; thousands of Hadjn denizens were cruelly massacred. Only 380 people succeeded in accomplishing a breakthrough by fighting and coming out of the terrible encirclement of fire:

*“Three hundred Armenian braves,  
All armed with rifles,  
Gave a heavy blow to Doghan bey's army,  
Hadjn fell shouting ‘Vengeance!’”*<sup>66</sup>

With yells of “Vengeance” fell also the town of Ayntap, which had heroically resisted, fighting intermittently for 314 days, as well as the ancient capital, Sis, the town with a historic past, Tarson, the commercial center, Adana, and various other Armenian-inhabited localities of Cilicia, since the French government, breaking its obligations as an ally, handed Cilicia over to Turkey by an agreement signed on the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 1921, in Ankara, condemning the Armenian population of Cilicia to the danger of massacre... The Armenian-scented eagle-nest, Zeytoun, which, still in 1862, had fired the first shot of rebellion against the Ottoman tyranny, had lost the greater part of its joyful and lively inhabitants numbering 30,000 souls; only 1,058 people had been miraculously saved during the Great Genocide, had returned to their native land and had barely started to restore their ravaged and burnt houses, when in reply to their national hero and leader, Aram Cholakian's, his comrades-in-arms, Hovhannes Simonian's, freedom-fighter Karapet's, Manouk's and other braves' appeal, many of them joined Avetis's (from Hassanbek – Adana) rebellious group of heroes in the Amanos Mountains.<sup>67</sup> That large group of about 500 male and female braves, which grew denser every day, spread terror, fighting gun in hand morning and night in the impassable mountains of Taurus, among the neighboring Turkish villages, though chased by the enemy soldiers and overcoming unspeakable difficulties, they continued to fight against the Turkish army until the Armistice, hoping to save the cradle of their ancestors, the former flourishing Cilicia established by the Roubinians Dynasty...

In 1921, after the forcible deportation of the Armenian population of Cilicia, it was the turn of the Armenians of Anatolia, whose majority had been ruthlessly massacred

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Aspet 1961: 242.

<sup>66</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 415, 163.

<sup>67</sup> See the group-photograph of the Amanos braves and the memoir of **Hovsep Bshtikian** (b. 1903) from Zeytoun. Svazlian 1994, № 1392, 253.

during the Genocide and those, who were miraculously rescued continued their existence in the Armenian-inhabited localities and especially in the port of Izmir (Arm. Zmyurnia).

In 1922, the Kemalists also burned down the Armenian and Greek quarters of Izmir, driving the Christians to the seashore.<sup>68</sup> That horrible event has been recorded in the memory of the people as “the calamity of Izmir.”



Arpinn Bartikian  
(1903, Afion-Garahissar)

A survivor of the Genocide of 1915, **Arpiné Bartikian** (b. 1903) remembered with emotion the ghastly scenes she had witnessed and told us: *“...We lived there (in Izmir – V. S.) in the Armenian quarter. We had hardly started to draw a breath, when the Kemalist movement started. Izmir was committed to the flames. They burned the Armenian quarter, Haynots, in the first place and set fire to the Saint Stepanos Church since all the Armenians had taken shelter in it. We fled and ran to the seashore. There were numerous boats in the sea, but the Turks had drilled holes in advance in all the boats in order to prevent the Armenians from escaping. The poor Armenians sat in the boats and sailed to the open sea, but, after some time, the boats were filled with water and sank. The swollen bodies of the drowned people floated on the surface of the sea. They took us with the living ones to Baldjova and lodged us in wooden huts near the shore. They started to inspect us. They dragged and forcibly took away the pretty girls...”*<sup>69</sup>

And along with the people’s torment the following mournful dirge was woven:

*“We came out of Afion  
And came to the town of Izmir,  
I didn’t find my dear mother,  
And sobbed my heart out.*

*Ah, dear mother, they deceived us,  
They separated me from you,  
They threw you in the fire  
And burnt you, they charred you...”*<sup>70</sup>

The situation was fatal and inextricable. There was fire behind and water in front. Only those, who gave their last gold coins and ornaments to the Turks to save their lives were rescued from the hell-like turmoil, while those, who had no means, threw themselves into the violent sea-waves and, defying death, tried to swim to the ships

<sup>68</sup> For more details see Nersissian 1992: 87-93.

<sup>69</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 1455, 361-363.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., № 546, 191.

anchored at a distance and bearing European flags, which would carry the homeless Armenians to unknown destinations...

*“We left for Constantinople,  
We stayed at the church door,  
They gave us bread and olives  
And kept us for three days.*

*We fled from there to Greece,  
Many others to France,  
Still others to Egypt,  
Thus we were dispersed in all directions.”<sup>71</sup>*

Uprooted from their ancestral homes and lands, the Armenian exiles found themselves in foreign lands, unaware of foreign languages and laws and only fit to work as cheap labor, despite the fact that the talented skill of the Armenian artisans and the elegant handiwork of the honest and diligent Armenian women had won the admiration of foreigners. Moreover, the dread of assimilation, degeneration and, particularly, unemployment gave the wandering Armenians no rest:

*“We found ourselves in foreign lands,  
I yearn and long and cry,  
May the Armenian Question be solved soon,  
Have patience, my soul, have patience!*

*Rejoice and do not cry in grief,  
Stand firm on your feet,  
You will soon hear about Repatriation,  
Have patience, my soul, have patience!”<sup>72</sup>*

And the caravans of Western Armenians to Eastern Armenia followed one another announcing the beginning of Repatriation, first, in the years 1920-1930, from Turkey, France and Greece, followed, in the years 1946-1948, by the mass Repatriation from Syria-Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, France, Greece, the Balkan states...

The repatriates came to their Motherland full of nostalgia and exaltation, singing: *“Free, Soviet Land, Armenia...”*. They came to put, hand in hand with their sisters and brothers in the Homeland, a soothing balm over the wounds of their Motherland caused by the Second World War. For that noble purpose, the laborers brought the strength of their arms; the craftsmen – the skill of their hands; the intellectuals – their knowledge; the rich – their belongings and factories; the parents – their children...

*“I will go to Armenia  
And stay there permanently.  
What shall I do in foreign lands?*

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., № 547, 191.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., № 603, 202.

*Lo! I go to Armenia!*<sup>73</sup>

The dense caravans of repatriates returned to Armenia encouraged by the victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War and, particularly by its official claim for the Armenian and Georgian lands laid to Turkey on November the 1, 1945...<sup>74</sup> And along with the great expectations the popular song was woven from mouth to mouth:

*"I want to go to Armenia,  
I want to see Yerevan,  
I want to hoist the flag  
On the top of Mount Ararat!"*<sup>75</sup>

Or else:

*"Kars and Ardahan will  
Soon be returned to us,  
In order that we transform  
Those deserted lands into Paradise."*<sup>76</sup>

However, the real life conditions waiting for them in Armenia were different. The displacement from the temperate coasts of the Mediterranean Sea to the Motherland having abrupt climatic changes was not a mere geographical migration for the repatriates. Along with the post-war difficulties, it assumed, first of all, a new public-political, socialist mode of life with its unusual system and willful laws, which were often incomprehensible and unintelligible to the newcomers. The latter had barely accommodated themselves to the new life conditions.

In spite of all these difficulties, however, a great number of repatriates started to study in the Motherland, raising the level of their secondary and professional education. Many of them became eminent figures of labor, arts, sciences and culture. With their diligence and the experience peculiar to the refugees to overcome the difficulties, they began to build their native home and village, founding around Yerevan new burghs and districts perpetuating the memories of their former cradles, such as: Nor (New) Zeytoun, Nor Hadjn, Nor Yedessia, Nor Aresh, Kilikia, Marash, Ayntap, Moussa Ler (Dagh), Kharbert, Arabkir, Malatia, Sebastia, etc., with comfortable private residences and well-cultivated personal plots. However, the ache of the former ruined house and extinguished hearth continued to fume in their memory and the dream of the lost native land was entrusted as the call of the soul from generation to generation in the form of a song:

*"When the doors of hope will be opened,  
And we shall return to our country again,  
Our magnificent Roubinian Country,*

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., № 605, 202.

<sup>74</sup> Subsequently the Turks answered: "We owe no debts to anyone in Turkish lands and rights. We shall live as honorable people, we shall die as honorable people." (See Lazian 1946: 372-373).

<sup>75</sup> Svazlian 1994, № 606, 202.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., № 611, 204.

*Which was taken from us with violence.*

*I wish to see my Cilicia,  
Its air is pure, its water clear,  
I wish to see my Cilicia,  
Monasteries and fortresses are plenty there.*

*When the Armenian Question will be solved  
And our ancestors' land will be given to us,  
We will cultivate our fields  
And will populate our villages.*

*I wish to see my Cilicia -  
Zeytoun, Hadjn and Moussa Dagh,  
Tarson, Marash, Sis and Ayntap,  
We, certainly, will embellish.<sup>77</sup>*

It is remarkable, that the folkloric materials communicated by our narrators reflect also the way of thinking of the Armenian people.

Although the Turkish tyranny cruelly suppressed the heroic resistance and the self-defensive battles started in various localities, nevertheless the devoted Armenian heroes, who fought for their elementary human rights and for the physical survival of their nation, recorded brilliant pages in the history of the national liberation struggle and their heroic characters inspire the Armenian people till today.

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., № 597, 200.

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

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# HISTORY

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## GRIGOR JANSHYAN'S HELP TO THE WESTERN ARMENIANS DURING THE HAMIDIAN MASSACRES

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### Abstract

The Armenian massacres in 1894-1895 and the national liberation movements of the Armenian people caused concern within the Russian government. The Armenian question posed difficulties for further Russian-Turkish rapprochement in foreign policy. The Russian government turned its back on the Armenian, considering the Armenian question to be the Sultan's internal affair. Russian progressive intellectuals sharply criticized the attacks on Western Armenians for political purposes and the latter's expressions, which misled the Russian society. Armenian intellectual, historian and public figure Grigor Janshyan published the collection "Brotherly Aid to the Armenian Victims in Turkey" with the financial help and active participation of pro-Armenian Russian intellectuals V. Golstrem, A. N. Sazanov, A. N. Greny, Nikolsky and others, the entire income of which was donated to refugees, as a material and moral assistance, fleeing the massacres and crossing the Russian border, in particular to thousands of orphaned children.

**Keywords.** *Grigor Janshyan, "Brotherly Aid to the Armenian Victims in Turkey", orphanages*

The Armenian massacres in 1894-1895 and the national liberation movements of the Armenian people caused concern within the Russian government. The Armenian question posed difficulties for further Russian-Turkish rapprochement in foreign policy, and the Armenian unrest in domestic policy could be dangerous in the Caucasus.<sup>1</sup> The authorities considered the Arab-Armenian refugees crossing the Russian border to be revolutionaries, fearing the spread of the liberation movement among the Armenians of the Caucasus. The Russian government turned its back on the Armenian, considering the Armenian question to be the Sultan's internal affair. Among them were the newspapers "Moskovskie vedomosti", "Novoe vremya", "Grazhdanin", "Kremlin", which unanimously launched a large-scale propaganda that the Caucasian Armenians wanted to restore the "Greater Armenia", which would include the main Russian territories.<sup>2</sup> By adopting its policy, the Russian government was eager to prevent the moral and material assistance to the Western Armenian refugees entering the Russian border by inciting hatred against the Armenians among the Russian people.<sup>3</sup> In order to resist

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<sup>1</sup> Novoe vremya 1896, № 7069.

<sup>2</sup> Moskovskie novosti 1896, № 56; Novoe vremya 1896, № 7069; Grazhdanin 1896, № 112.

<sup>3</sup> Sankt Peterburgskie vedomosti 1896, № 341.

these baseless accusations of the Conservatives, the progressive press started large-scale pro-Armenian activities. And the Russian progressive intellectuals believed that helping the Armenian people was not only a moral issue, but also it was of great political and tactical importance for Russia.

Although Russia had adopted a cautious policy in the 1890s, the Western Armenians were considering their only salvation through the way of being liberated from the undeveloped Turkey with the help of Russia. Refugees who escaped the Kurdish and Turkish swords were shouting "we are saved" when setting foot on Russian soil.<sup>4</sup>

Russian progressive intellectuals sharply criticized the attacks on Western Armenians for political purposes and the latter's expressions, which misled the Russian society. And in this difficult moment of the Armenians of Russia, the Russian intellectuals assumed the "role" of a philanthropist.

And so, the Armenian intellectual, historian, publicist and public figure Grigor Janshyan<sup>5</sup> published the collection "Brotherly Aid to the Armenian Victims in Turkey" with the financial help and active participation of pro-Armenian Russian intellectuals V. Golstrem, A. N. Sazanov, A. N. Greny, Nikolsky and others, the entire income of which was donated to refugees, as a material and moral assistance, fleeing the massacres and crossing the Russian border, in particular to thousands of orphaned children. The collection consists of 960 large pages, contains 118 articles, novels, poems and 114 images. The collection consists of three parts. The first part summarizes the articles written about the Armenian refugee orphans. The second part, in turn, consists of two parts. The first consists of general literary materials, and the second one of articles on the past and present history of Armenia. The most moving is the third part, which describes the Armenian massacres, the past of the unfortunate Armenian question, and the current situation. Only 128 pages long, it has a lot of heartfelt content.<sup>6</sup> The progressive press considered it a call to the Russian people, the initiative of the collection was well received, which testifies to the rapid consumption of the collection. In 1897 23,000 francs received from the collection were transferred to the Embassy of Constantinople to provide assistance to orphans affected by the massacres.<sup>7</sup>

The collection was of great interest to the general public, which prompted the editorial board to publish a new edition. In 1898 the second edition of the collection "Brotherly Aid to the Armenian Victims in Turkey" was published in Moscow. The book was dealing with the description of the past and present life of an Armenian, depicting in vivid colors the horrible massacres and horrors of the Armenians in the years under question, which destroyed and turned Western Armenia into a heap. The book consists

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<sup>4</sup> Sankt Peterburgskie vedomosti 1897, № 38.

<sup>5</sup> Gr. Janshyan was born in 1851 in Tbilisi (Georgia). After graduating with a gold medal from the Moscow Lazaryan Seminary, he entered the Faculty of Law, Moscow University. He dealt not only with law, but also with history, literature, art, economics and other issues.

<sup>6</sup> Taraz 1897, 41.26.10, p. 651-653.

<sup>7</sup> Brotherly help to the Armenian Victims in Turkey 1897:

of an extensive introduction and two sections. In the preface of the book, Janshyan describes the suffering of the Western Armenians with convincing facts, the condition of the orphaned children, trying in every way to move the pity of the most indifferent reader to the bitter condition of the poor Western Armenians. And in the second part of the book he brings up some sad realities from the actions of the Turks and the Kurds, noting that hundreds of girls threw themselves into the abyss to avoid falling into the hands of Turkish and Kurdish executioners. Citing factual materials, the author mentions that in Kharberd about 55 Armenian mothers threw themselves into the river with their children, defending their honor from the Turks.<sup>8</sup> There are many cases when fathers killed their daughters for the same purpose. With these facts, Janshyan was trying to provide the Russian society with accurate information about the Western Armenians. 60,000 roubles were received from the second edition of the collection.<sup>9</sup>

The editorial board of "Brotherly Aid" carried out large-scale humanitarian activities not only for the Armenian orphans, but also for the Armenian refugees in Russia. The editorial board decided to open orphanages with a part of the proceeds from the books in Western Armenia, which was welcomed by the Russian Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire I. A. Zinoviev and M. Ormanyan, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople. And from the amount generated from the first printing, 13140 roubles and 65 kopecks were sent to Constantinople through the Russian Embassy to help Western Armenians. In addition, he sent 5,000 roubles to establish an orphanage. With that amount it was planned to take care of 25 children for 4 years. This calculation was based on the one planned by the Patriarch's father, according to whom the care of a child required about 50 roubles per year. M. Ormanyan planned to establish an orphanage in the city of Palu in Diyarbakir province, as, according to the patriarch, it is one of the most affected places, where 2250 orphans were gathered. The orphanage was to be established in the oldest monastery of the Sweet Mother Mary of God of Armenia.<sup>10</sup> The orphanage was named "Armenian-Russian", founded through a donation made by the editors of the collection "Brotherly Aid to the Victims of Armenians in Turkey".<sup>11</sup>

Gr. Janshyan did an invaluable, selfless work for the Armenian people. With the funds received from the book, seven orphanages were opened in Akhtamar and Palu, one in the Kaghtsrahayots Armenian Monastery, Mayravank in Sis, Kyurin, Charsanjak, and Hasan-Pey village.<sup>12</sup> Then Gr. Janshyan sent 2,500 roubles<sup>13</sup> to Ormanyan to open the 8th orphanage. And since Babken, the vicar of Mush, thought it was necessary to open an orphanage for girls on the spot, it was decided that the money will be used for that purpose.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Araks 1898: p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> Hambaryan 2001: 225.

<sup>10</sup> Araks 1898, Book 1: 110; Mshak 1898, 203.11.07, p. 2; Murch 1898, № 10-11, p. 1618-1619.

<sup>11</sup> Nor dar 1898, 203, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Arevelq 1900, № 4389, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Murch 1900, № 2, p. 266.

<sup>14</sup> Ararat 1900, 1, p. 24.

As a result of the publication of the valuable collection "Brotherly Aid to the Armenian Victims in Turkey", 12 orphanages were opened in Diyarbakir, Akhtamar, Palu, St. Bartholomew monastery in Aghbak, St. Astvatsatsin monastery of Frnuz, Alashkert, St. Salnapat of Grigor Monastery in Van, Sis, Kyurin, Charsanjak, Hasan Bey and Mush.<sup>15</sup> In addition to these valuable books, Janshyan published the publicist-scientific study "The Armenian Question in Turkey" in 1893 in Moscow, which demanded that the Armenian question be resolved rightly. Invaluable is Gr. Janshyan's charity for the Armenian people and the Patriarch, M.Ormanyan, deservedly awarded his grateful son the honorary title of "sponsor of orphans".<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Arevelq 1900, № 4389, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Simonyan 2003: 387.

## AN EPISODE FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

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### **Abstract**

The conflict between the two Catholicoses Davit and Daniel started due to their desire to ascend to the throne of the Catholicosate which lasted about 6 years (1891-1897). The underlying issues of the conflict were conditioned by such factors as the self-interest of different members in the ecclesiastic elite, their interpersonal and in-group discords. The rivaling Russian and Persian diplomatic circles who desired to keep their influence on the Catholicosate, fuelled the ongoing discords. Moreover, the Ottoman government pursued an indirect policy toward the conflict which was reflected in the fact that during this period the Patriarch Grigor Khamsetsi succeeded the Catholicos Hovhannes after his forced resignation. At the same time, the given circumstance showed that the elite of the Armenian community in Constantinople had changing attitudes towards the two Catholicoses Davit and Daniel in terms of their recognition.

The existing controversy between the groups, supporting either Catholicos Davit or Daniel is also obvious. This controversy had a negative impact on the Armenian communities in both Constantinople and Smyrna. It disrupted the communities' normal life, leading to unnecessary disputes among the population.

**Keywords.** *Catholicos Davit, Catholicos Daniel, Patriarch of Constantinople Grigor Khamsetsi, Margar Aproyan, Ambassador V. Tomarov, Archbishop Martiros, the order of St. Echmiatsin.*

During Tanzimat period and even long before it along with the differences in the means of organization, the national administration of the Smyrna Armenian community mainly tackled ownership, property related issues as well as matters, concerning financial allotment and the money supply to hospitals and schools via traditional institutions up to 1860s. The supervision of church-community money was carried out by secular leaders or the so called "*ishkhans*" (noblemen). Among these *ishkhans*, as a rule, were wealthy merchants as well as the ecclesiastic leader and people who enjoyed public trust. However, this system which seemed to have stood the test of time might unavoidably be disrupted due to disagreements, emerging from the ongoing rivalry between the members of the elite that handled community matters or due to the controversy between the leader and the public (tax imposition or fair administration of public finances would be a case in point) and finally because of the outbursts of greed or vanity from which no society is secured. Generally, the costly issues of church renovation or church building as well as the fundraising for public buildings caused

controversy. Such were the processes of charging donation taxes when the clergymen responsible for collecting donations, driven by their desire to please Echmiatsin or succumbing to their own preferences surpassed the reasonable amount of contributions dedicated to church. The Echmiatsin Catholicoses themselves repeatedly called for commonsense.

Since 1775 we have witnessed the unfolding discord over church building in the Smyrna Armenian community. Zakaria, the Patriarch of Constantinople was forced to issue a *kondak*<sup>1</sup> directed to parties involved in the controversy: “However the issue of church building ended in bold fulfillment, unreasonable acts and biased behavior. Thus, I order that everybody - the clergy, noblemen and other important figures involved secure peace and unity among themselves”.<sup>2</sup>

It is worth mentioning that no church was built in Smyrna in 1775, hence the patriarch was either to refer to the renovation of St Stepanos church or to an initiative of a church building (either building or renovation) in one of the dioceses which led to constant discords in the community, otherwise the patriarch would not have interfered to placate the parties.

In the second half of 1790 the construction of St Lusavorich Church in VerinTagh, in Manisa led to equally serious escalation among the Armenian community of Smyrna. The church finances were to cover the expenses of building St Lusavorich Church. Margar Aproyan, one of the outstanding figures of the community paid 350 *kurushes*<sup>3</sup> for the *ferman* of building the church on condition that he got a refund from the national treasury. Some of the bigwigs of the Armenian community opposed paying back the debt. Subsequently, Catholicos wrote to his supporters that they were unaware of the sum that Margar had paid for the *ferman*. It follows that according to the Catholicos, it was Margar’s own initiative to spend the sum, leaving the community to cope with the accomplished fact.<sup>4</sup> Patriarch Zakaria’s *kondak* (issued on August, 4, 1796), addressed to the Smyrna Armenian community proves that the Ottoman authorities entrusted the Patriarchate of Constantinople to make an inquiry in which the representatives of the parties, “*alt gemmat*” (six districts that is how the Armenian community of Constantinople were referred to in the official documents) and fifteen *amiras* participated. The given arbitral meeting confirmed that Margar’s claim in respect to the sum of the expenses was grounded, “thus, during the trial they reached a verdict that the church should pay the expense of the *ferman* to Mr. Margar”.<sup>5</sup>

It is noteworthy that the patriarch did not conceal his and jury’s reverence for Margar who represented the seedy Aproyans’ family. Moreover, he admonished “some

<sup>1</sup> An official written manifesto issued either by Catholicos or bishop on a matter of great importance.

<sup>2</sup> MM, f. 6, doc. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Lira was the currency of the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>4</sup> See The corpus of Armenian history 1909: 393.

<sup>5</sup> MM, f.6, doc.89. The same *kondak* by the Patriarch has been preserved. In the manifesto (*kondak*) he warns of the possible sad consequences which will cause the eventual failure of building the church (MM, f. 6 doc. 71).

rivaling bigwigs” to accept the court’s verdict and not to protest, appealing to the Sultan’s or great Vizier’s mercy, otherwise they would impose great sanctions on the complaining party. The patriarch urged to take into account the fact that “his deceased ancestors” (the Aprozian dynasty - A.Kh.) originally worked hard for the benefit of our nation”.<sup>6</sup> It should be mentioned that Daniel, the Archbishop of Smyrna supported Margar Aprozian all along the dispute which would turn Aprozian’s adversaries against the Patriarch.

As further developments show the opponents of Margar Aprozian continued their fight up to 1799, when Daniel Surmaretsi who during the unfolding dispute was the ecclesiastic leader of Smyrna had already occupied the patriarchate throne in Constantinople. It is also evident that Margar in his turn was not satisfied with the financial compensation provided by his adversaries as this time he demanded 1000 *kurushes* from the Manisa community in return for the sum he had spent on building the church. The new leader of Smyrna Archbishop Martiros having replaced Daniel in 1797, tried to impede the refund, but in vain as the dispute did not end till Grigor Khamsetsi’s interference who was back then the Patriarch of Constantinople. Despite the ecclesiastic leader’s and his supporters’ strong opposition, by the order of G. Khamsetsi Margar received the refund. In December, 1802 the Archbishop Martiros notified the Catholicos Davit about the refund.<sup>7</sup> This refers to the notorious conflict between Davit and Daniel the backlash of which would long be present in Smyrna.

The controversy between Davit and Daniel is one of the darkest pages in the new history of the Armenian Church. It reflects the striking vanity in some members of the Armenian ecclesiastic elite, their obsession to rule or occupy important posts and their “rich artillery” which was used to satisfy their thirst for power via vile actions. This was a fight between two high-rank clergymen which reminded of the notorious Constantinople patriarchate rifts of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. People and church had to suffer long the consequences of the fight. Throughout his fight to occupy the Catholicos’ throne Davit’s negative traits were fully exposed, i.e. via impingement and conspiracy against the elected Catholicos Daniel, by violating his right he tried to ascend the much desired throne. The origin of the issue, its circumstances and details were revealed in *vardapet* Manvel Kyumushkhiant’s famous account based on a primary source can be regarded to be of great value of as well as M. Ormanian’s bulky work where in point characterizations are introduced.<sup>8</sup> The 1801-1807 lengthy conflict ended in the Catholicos Davit’s dethronement and Daniel’s return to the Catholicos’ throne that brought about a belated but fair outcome. Quite understandably, following the logical thread of our investigation the involvement of the Smyrna diocese’s ecclesiastic leader and community in the conflict between Davit and Daniel is even more noteworthy. A.

<sup>6</sup> MM, f.,6, doc. MM,c.71. Catholicos Ghukas sensibly prioritized the peace of people. The Patriarch Zakaria pursued the same policy, thus, maintaining neutrality he hailed the peacemaking activities.

<sup>7</sup> MM, f. 13, doc. 264, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> See The corpus of Armenian history 1917; Ormanyan 2001: 3786-3861.

Ayvazian was right in stating that in comparison with other cities Smyrna had a far greater involvement in the Catholicos controversy.<sup>9</sup> The reasons for such an involvement were introduced above, it is also worth mentioning that the Diaspora communities of Smyrna and other coastal regions had already been divided into groups in the years of Daniel's rule as Catholicos which was vividly expressed in escalation (the point in question were the arguments over the financial allotment to building a church in Manisa). The controversy between Davit and Daniel was certainly to lead to local arguments between the elite and different layers of population in various Diaspora regions, and one of the parties would naturally support Daniel, while the other one would sympathize with his rival in their unrelenting fight. Furthermore, Martiros, the new leader of eparchy occupied the vacant patriarchal post and united Davit's supporters as because of Daniel Martiros was forced to leave Smyrna, in 1797 being unable to find common ground with his opponents. It was under Martiros' protection and on his instruction that in 1801-1807 the large number of our compatriots in the Smyrna diocese supported Davit, opposing Daniel's backers with whom he had some unresolved issues. In Echmiatsin Martiros quite possibly had already developed certain affection for the outstanding people before occupying his post in Smyrna. K. vardapet Shahnazarian who was really knowledgeable in the issue stated: "Being Daniel's opponent, Martiros came to Izmir patriarchate and allied himself with many people in his fight against the latter."<sup>10</sup>

His character and behavior was similar to his defendant Davit Enegetsi who had boldly seized the Catholicos' throne. Throughout the three years of his first term as the leader of eparchy he succeeded in forming a significant group of supporters both in Smyrna and other locations of the diocese and leaning on them he managed to be re-elected. In this respect, Davit with contentment referred to loyal priests and *ishkhans* in 1801 "who asked to appoint their favorite archbishop as the leader of eparchy".<sup>11</sup>

Martiros' influence on Smyrna was strengthened due to the support offered by Catholicos Davit's followers. Famous merchants were among Martiros' supporters who were well-respected in the community and with whom Davit was in correspondence. Davit himself was obliged to them as they helped him to gain enough support among the secular and ecclesiastic elite for him to be able to fight against Daniel. Among Davit's supporters were Hovh. Savalanian nicknamed Moskof, K. Chelikian, St. Khachatryan an imprinter at chintz factory and many other people who continued the work of uniquely entitled patriarchs. Harutyun di Murat, Petros di Papi, Karapet di Harutyun, Poghos Aghachanian, Georg di Ohan and other imminent figures of the community were Davit's ardent followers. The majority of Davit's supporters had the honorific "*mahtesi*".<sup>12</sup> On May 5, 1803 they sent a credential to the Catholicos Davit in

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<sup>9</sup> Ayvazyan 1900.

<sup>10</sup> The corpus of Armenian history 1899: 746.

<sup>11</sup> The corpus of Armenian history 1904: 100.

<sup>12</sup> Mahtesi signifies a Christian devotee who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

which they acknowledged his patriarchal authority.<sup>13</sup> Margar Aproyan, the Melikzarmians along with their followers opposed Davit's supporters as their relationships had worsened with the abovementioned outstanding individuals because of the arguments over the construction of Manisa church in 1790s.

As seen in Davit's correspondence with Margar and Arakel Aprozans, he displayed fake amiability to soften or neutralize those Smyrna Armenians who posed real danger to him.<sup>14</sup> If necessary, when he didn't have to resort to cunning maneuvers, Davit attacked his rivals with direct intent of weakening them. In 1803 he tried to turn the Smyrna Armenians against Margar Aproyan, reminding them about the aforementioned notorious incident of "church building *ferman*". Davit exhorted to demand that Aproyan should return the sum which the latter had allegedly seized from the community.<sup>15</sup> On March 13, 1803, Martiros informed the Catholicos Davit who was his ally and patron that Margar Aproyan had neither returned the money to Echmiatsin (which was formerly donated by Margar's brother) nor the expropriated sums which were spent on the *ferman* of building the church.<sup>16</sup> Since Davit's self-proclamation as Catholicos, Martiros became more intolerant towards his diocesan adversaries. Meanwhile in the Armenian community of Constantinople, which was oscillating within the discords between Davit and Daniel, Patriarch Hovhannes claimed victory (he succeeded Grigor Khamsetsi). The Patriarchate naturally could not remain indifferent to the ongoing events, when Patriarchs of Constantinople were either elected or dethroned due to the twists of this fight, depending on which group of *amiras* and high rank clergymen gained more favorable position. The latter was achieved via efficient strategies of bribes and corrupt intentions which had been part and parcel of the Armenian community in Constantinople since the notorious Patriarchate fights in the 17<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. While now throughout the conflict between Davit and Daniel the Patriarch Hovhannes lost his position to Gr. Khamsetsi (October, 1801) then in a year's time Khamsetsi himself ceded the Patriarchate throne to Hovhannes.<sup>17</sup> These replacements were conditioned by the fact that the Patriarch Hovhannes led Davit's supporters, while Khamsetsi was the head of Daniel's followers. The fact that up to the end of the conflict (1807) and in the aftermath Hovhannes remained on the Patriarchate throne testifies that Davit's followers had triumphed in Constantinople at the Ottoman government's dictation to counterbalance the political favorites of the Russian government. It should be noted that Davit's victories (in addition to Martiros' triumph in Smyrna) over his rivals were conditioned by the Patriarch Hovhannes' and his fellow *amiras*' support. It was these *amiras* who turned to the Russian ambassador V. Tomarov, exhorting to acknowledge Davit's election as legal (1803 April - May). Moreover, they sent a written

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<sup>13</sup> MM, f. 14, doc. 56. See also The corpus of Armenian history 1904: 584-586.

<sup>14</sup> See The corpus of Armenian history 1899: 187-188, 234-238, The corpus of Armenian history 1904: 282-285.

<sup>15</sup> The corpus of Armenian history 1909: 394.

<sup>16</sup> MM, f. 13, doc. 262.

<sup>17</sup> See Ormanyan 2001: 3814, 3832.

appeal to the military commander of the Russian armed forces in Tiflis asking him not to give importance to Bishop Yeprem and others who were promoting Davit's cause.<sup>18</sup>

In the Smyrna community Davit's and Daniel's followers alternated each other as leaders of the national administration, depending on which party gained more advantageous position in Echmiatsin and Constantinople Patriarchate. In his letter to the ecclesiastic leader of Prusa Poghos vardapet (July 1802) Davit wrote that Daniel got a *ferman* from the Ottoman court and sent it to Smyrna "In order to arrest Martiros, the ecclesiastic leader of the Smyrna diocese. He was placed on a horse naked with his hands chained like death convict and was made to walk to Daniel's vicious supporter who had caused so much damage to the poor residents of Smyrna".<sup>19</sup>

Indeed in 1802 the Patriarch Gr. Khamsetsi, being Daniel's ardent follower turned to a certain Aghaton who served in the Russian diplomatic corps and informed him that people recognized Daniel as Catholicos, whereas Martiros, the ecclesiastic leader of Smyrna forbade to mention his name in church: "thus, following the noblemen's advice, by the regal order he found it appropriate to send Martiros to the Holy See since his arrival".<sup>20</sup>

With the help of heartrending details Davit probably exaggerated the rumors that the Patriarch Khamsetsi persecuted Martiros. However, T. Palian's following statement testifies to the fact that the authorities tried to fulfill the Patriarch's wish: "On March 26, 1802 decree on Martiros' exile was sent to Smyrna a deacon named Arakel and a policeman came there. Martiros with all his property found shelter in agha Ruseci's house. Deacon Arakel and the policeman having come to Smyrna did not find Martiros as he stayed at the abovementioned agha's house, which was situated in Burnova (a district in Smyrna - A.Kh.) up to November 8, while on St Angels' celebration day he entered the city with great pompousness."<sup>21</sup>

Successfully escaping the exile and supporting Davit anew, the leader of the eparchy had more active involvement in the community life up to 1807 when Daniel (Davit's rival) claimed a final victory. In August and September of the same year in their letter to Nerses Ashtaraketsi (who initially being Daniel's supporter and adherer had greatly contributed to his success especially among Russian elite) the Melikzarmians of Smyrna complained that Martiros persecuted Daniel's supporters in Smyrna. On the church altar the leader of the eparchy ranted and raved at the rivaling party's followers: "he wished to annihilate and destroy Daniel's supporters".<sup>22</sup> Another letter by the Melikzarmians revealed that Davit's followers occupying administrative positions in the

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<sup>18</sup> MM, f. 13, doc. 263.

<sup>19</sup> The corpus of Armenian history 1904: 543. Davit's supporters from Smyrna saved Martiros. Moskof Hovhannes Savalanian played an important role in saving the latter. As Davit wrote in August, 1802 "from the tricky evil machine" (The corpus of Armenian history 1904:568).

<sup>20</sup>The corpus of Armenian history 1902: 195.

<sup>21</sup>Palyan 1921: 60.

<sup>22</sup>MM, f. 18, doc. 108.

community had abused their power, using it against their rivals. They asked for Nerses Ashtaraketsi's help "to cleanse the community institutions (A. Kh.) where fights and scandals occur".<sup>23</sup>

The conflict between Davit and Daniel would have ended far sooner but it had ceased being only a purely Armenian issue as political interests and unavoidable conflicts between Russia and Persia along with the Ottoman directives on the aforementioned parties escalated the matter.

Driven by the strategy which consisted in strengthening and extending their positions in Transcaucasia, the Russian political and diplomatic circles were noticeably active as they sought to achieve greater influence on the Catholicosate of Echmiatsin. They took into account the future Catholicos' political sympathies towards Russia and in this respect his reliability. Russian diplomat Tomarov's (in the Armenian sources he is referred to as Tamarov, Tamar) and his confidant Aghayekov's active involvement in Davit's promotion played quite an important role in the latter's ascension to the Catholicosate throne (April, 1801). Then in September of the same year they started backing Daniel and made the move official when the Russian government drastically changed its policy, favoring the latter.<sup>24</sup> Undoubtedly, in the light of conflict certain factors such as the inherent traits in Catholicoses Daniel and Davit as well as the initiatives that ecclesiastic and secular figures took in their name were of great significance. However, it was not for the aforementioned factors that would secure Daniel's victory in this never ending conflict (1807). It was the final say of the Russian authorities along with Persian government's acceptance of resolution that put an end to the conflict. Even the superior position of Daniel's rivals was of minor importance during the phase of the clashes when in the person of the Constantinople Patriarch Hovhannes with a united front the whole Patriarchate acted to strengthen the self-proclaimed Catholicos Davit's willfulness (the appeal of December, 1802 via which the Armenian community of Constantinople acknowledged Davit as Catholicos).<sup>25</sup>

The conflict between Davit and Daniel could only be used by Russia and Persia but nothing more; neither of them was interested in the continuation of the conflict. Moreover, in this respect the election of the Echmiatsin Catholicos could merely mean that target was "hit". To a certain extent the followers of the aforementioned Catholicoses escalated the conflict when the Echmiatsin fraternity supported Daniel, while the Patriarchs of Constantinople Hovhannes and Grigor along with their fellow *amiras* who were Davit's supporters acted in line with their preferences.

The eminent figures of the Smyrna Armenian community were also involved in the conflict. On one hand, these outstanding individual served as link between the wealthy people of Echmiatsin and those figures, acting in European markets on the other hand,

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<sup>23</sup>MM, f. 18, doc.133.

<sup>24</sup> With a written notice served on September 26, 1802 Alexander I ordered Tomarov to change the previous policy and cease supporting Davit (See Ormanyanyan 2001: 3810).

<sup>25</sup> Ormanyanyan 2001: 3833.

they connected the latter with the ecclesiastic and secular elite of Constantinople. In this context the Smyrna Armenian community was bound to have a great significance in the unfolding conflict. Moreover, the Echmiatsin and Constantinople Patriarchate forced the escalation of the conflict (which had both local and intermediated significance) between the eparchy leader Martiros and rivaling bigwigs of Smyrna. The given controversy had a negative impact on the Armenian community of the Aegean coast as they were caught in unnecessary discords and turmoil. The community was forced to be part of a futile and lengthy conflict where neither part could claim victory, perhaps with Archbishop Martiros' exception who successfully escaped the turmoil of the struggle. After Daniel had been indisputably proclaimed Catholicos (1807-1808), Martiros kept his position either thanks to Daniel's forgiveness or to his prudent policy which consisted in not agitating Davit's supporters in Echmiatsin and Constantinople. Archbishop Martiros was one of the longest ruling eparchy leaders in the Smyrna diocese, keeping his position during Catholicos Yeprem's (since 1809) ascension to the throne. He did not return to Echmiatsin up until 1816, conceding his position to the Archbishop Pilipos.

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### ABBREVIATIONS

MM - Matenadaran after Mesrop Mashtots (The Corpus of Catholicosate).

*Translated from the Armenian by Arpine Madoyan*

## ADOPTION OF THE PROGRAM-DECLARATION OF TRANSCAUCASIAN SEIM AND ITS LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES (FEBRUARY–MARCH)

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### **Abstract**

The article deals with the first legislative activities conducted by the Transcaucasian Seim in February – March, 1918. Main topics of the sessions were the law of elections, composition of the Seim, the attitude towards Bolshevik Russia, peace treaty with Turkey, territorial-national division of Transcaucasia etc. Georgian Mensheviks and the Muslim party of Musavat had joined their efforts in seceding from Russia, while the Armenian Revolutionary Dashaktsutyun (ARF) actually was left isolated and saw itself in the political camp of mostly Russian socialist and state-oriented SR-s and Cadets, in this aspect giving up party principles in favor of national interests. If the tactics of Georgian Mensheviks and Musavatists was mostly aggressive, ARF held cautious, wait-and-see attitude which basically is connected with the Turkish invasion and defenseless Western Armenia.

**Keywords** – *Transcaucasian Seim, Constituent Assembly, ARF, Mensheviks*

At 13<sup>00</sup>, February 10, 1918, in the royal theatre of Tiflis started the first session of Transcaucasian Seim. The session begins with the speech of N.Chkheidze.

Claiming the Seim as being the “Most precious goods of the Russian revolution”, he reminds that it should not deviate from the circles of All-Russian democracy, try to reach the slogans of the revolution that is Constituent Assembly, democratic peace, and the principle of self-determination of nations. He concluded his speech by the next words: “Your task is difficult citizens-members of the Seim, in the past it used to be said god bless you, and I shall say revolution bless you. Long live Russian revolution, long live Transcaucasian Seim”.<sup>1</sup>

Despite difficult situation in the region, the absence of communication, anyway the Transcaucasian central elective commission, after it had generalized the results of elections, compiled the number of deputies from each party. That same commission thrice reducing the meter accepted for the Constituent Assembly and taking into account the declaration of some parties regarding the joining of the remaining, established the total number of deputies of Transcaucasian Seim by parties. It should be mentioned also the circumstance as to which parties had agreed in case of the remaining and which one had benefited: a) Social-democratic Mensheviks had joined with Turkish Social-democratic “Hummet”; “Hummet” gained one vote, b) Armenian Peoples’ Party (APP) had joined the Russian cadets; the latter appeared as benefactor, c) Turkish federalists (“Musavat”) joined the Turkish socialist block; the former gained one vote.

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<sup>1</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918; Ashkhatavor, February 14, 1918, n.19.

**General picture**

	Received number of votes	Deputies	
		Constituent assembly	Transcaucasian Seim
1. Social-democratic Mensheviks	661.934	11	32
2. Russia's peoples Liberation party	25.673	-	1
3. Socialist-revolutionaries	117.522	1	5
4. Armenian Revolutionary Dashnaktsutyun	558.400	9	27
5. Social-democratic Bolsheviks	93.581	1	4
6. Georgian socialist-federalists	22.754	-	1
7. Armenian Peoples' Party	15.180	-	0
8. Georgian national democrats	25.733	-	1
9. Russian national socialists	570	-	0
10. Turkish socialist-federalists and nonparty Turks, "Musavat"	615.816	10	30
11. Turkish social-democrats, "Hummet"	84.748	1	4
12. Block of Turkish socialists	159.770	2	7
13. Muslims of Western Transcaucasia	71	-	0
14. Russian Muslims	66.504	1	3
15. Jewish Sionist party	7.018	-	0

Total` 2.455.274 36 115<sup>2</sup>

In regard to the composition of representatives of the Seim made comments Social-democratic Menshevik G.Gharajyan (Arkomed). He stated that "There does not exist any legislative institution which could take over legislative functions with such limited number of representatives as that of Transcaucasian Seim ... have legislative body of 100-110 members for 7 millions of population, it's not good for anything".<sup>3</sup> He concludes that Armenian Revolutionary Dashnaktsutyun (ARF) could join the left wing while after the exit of Socialist-revolutionaries (SR) the proportion in the Seim was changed to the benefit of Musavat. As a social-democrat, Arkomed summarized: "it is evident that the militant and reactionary nationalism threatens the significance of the Seim and even its existence as a democratic legislative institution".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, Seventh session, February 19: 5. See Horizon, March 3, 1918, n.45. One deputy of the Seim was elected from 20.681 voters.

<sup>3</sup> Payqar, February 23, 1918, n.39.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

In his study “Political life of Transcaucasia in 1918” G.Gharajyan finds that “The Seim had come into being as an example of political decentralization which could play political role in the country in the case of favorable conditions in the best sense of the word...”.<sup>5</sup>

In the second, February 13 session of the Seim were discussed issues of its chairman, report of the government, mandatory commission etc. All fractions and the first among them ARF suggested the candidacy of N.Chkheidze which was accepted by ovations. After a durative speech the latter presented the application of Commissary regarding the suspension of commissars’ executive functions.<sup>6</sup>

In his report-analysis the newly elected socialist-menshevik chairman expressed his concerns by the fact that all main reasons of post-October difficulties were results of the reality that the region’s “authority was Soviet, revolutionary one”.<sup>7</sup> The axis of his speech comprised the problem of the peace and the position of Transcaucasia’s new government, which we shall discuss below.

In this session were discussed also events in Yelizavetpol and Shamkhor, that of Alexandrian garden, the behavior of Bolsheviks and the strategy of Commissary and the Seim in regard to St.Shahumyan. National-democrat G.Ghvazava asked whether in the context of Commissary’s resignation and the establishment of the Seim the Workers and soldiers deputies’ council is going to resign, which caused negative reaction in the hall.<sup>8</sup> Although N.Chkheidze withdraw this question from the agenda, but it became clear that already in the very first session of the Seim again dominated the problem of political authority. It is impossible to ignore that even in the report of N.Chkheidze this suggestion was cleverly put forward by a socialist-menshevik, and G.Ghvazava only played the role of accompanying person. In contrast to Commissary, which however was regarded as a socialist organization, it was made an attempt to completely hand over the power in the region to Georgian Mensheviks, in this case to the nationalistic force which had initiated the second authority. The expression of this attempt was that in the February 13 session the issue of new negotiations with Turkey even had been moved into geopolitical field.

In his second speech G.Ghvazava raised the question of Seim’s competency and authority in the negotiations with Turkey, pursuing other goals. He reminded: “is this government of state, legislative-constitutional one or not?,” which was followed by an underlying demand, that is: “Transcaucasia should be withdrawn from Russia which exists on behalf of Lenin and his companions”.<sup>9</sup>

G.Ghvazava mentioned: “Here the citizen Gegechkori apologizes for actions conducted towards Bolsheviks. There is no need to apologize, on the contrary, it’s high

<sup>5</sup> Gharajyan 1919: 19; also Arkomed 1923: 11.

<sup>6</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, Second session, February 13: 1-10.

<sup>7</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, Second session, February 13: 2.

<sup>8</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, Second session, February 13: 11.

<sup>9</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, Second session, February 13: 11-12.

time for Transcaucasia to secede from the Bolshevik country; democratic Russia currently is not a unified political power. Would you agree with me or not, but you could not negotiate with Turkey while comprising a part of Russia. I say this being a jurist; from the point of view of international law, you have no right to negotiate on behalf of Transcaucasia, the Seim should announce that Transcaucasia is independent from Petrograd and Moscow".<sup>10</sup>

N.Zhordania submitted his view on the relationship of the new power with the former government and transitional period, and suggested an imperative proposal. By his opinion, "Seim should deal with the problem of new government's formation and it could be realized through uncovering of its political image, when all fractions would provide their programs, which will reveal ruling majority and that same majority should form new government".<sup>11</sup>

Let us stress the circumstance that during the discussion and definition of these important problems, at the second session of the Seim, the fraction of ARF held passive position, not a single speech, what makes us think that by this ARF expressed its consent to these fundamental topics. In this regard it seems groundless that in April 1918, first during the independence of Transcaucasia then in May, at the period of the declaration of Republics, the Armenian national party was caught by surprise and the political elite of the region's Armenian population was unaware and not ready to deal with these challenges.

With the establishment of Seim had begun crucial phase of the history of the region where Georgian Mensheviks and nationalistic forces acted more confidently.

The third session of the Seim was held in February 15.<sup>12</sup>

The main topic was presentation of declarations. On the basis of the principle of fractions' majority the next parties were given opportunity for speech - N.Zhordania (Georgian social-democratic Mensheviks), G.Aghaev (Musavat), H.Qajaznuni (ARF), I.Lortkipanidze (social-revolutionaries), I.Haidarov (Muslim socialist block), M.Mehtiev (Muslim party), G.Laskhishvili (Georgian federalists), Yu.Semenov (party of peoples' liberty), and G.Ghvazava (Georgian national democrats).<sup>13</sup>

**N.Zhordania.** Speaking on behalf of the Georgian and Menshevik Muslim "Hummet", he was hopeful that declarations and announcements could form basis for the future activities of regional authorities.

First of all in the speech of N.Zhordania was apparent the tendency that in February 1918 was completely neglected the Bolshevik coup and the existence of Soviet power, and that while saying "the current revolution" the leader of regional Mensheviks meant February revolution. And from this standpoint was presented the program of Menshevik fraction. He mentions: "We think that the current revolution does

<sup>10</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, Second session, February 13: 11-12.

<sup>11</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, Second session, February 13: 10-11.

<sup>12</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, Second session, February 13: 1.

<sup>13</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, Second session, February 13: 11-12.

not go beyond the frames of commodity economy and that this revolution does not blow to the foundations of bourgeois society. And this opinion does not follow from our desire, on the contrary, our desire is that this revolution might destroy the entire bourgeois society and we could reach the kingdom of socialism ... if you want to deepen the revolution in the direction which lacks foundation, we could get not revolution but reaction - regress. We have great example, the historical example is evident (he means the Bolshevik coup - V.M.).<sup>14</sup>

He suggests the All-Russian, united-democratic scales to reach "Ultimate goal" - socialism, and since that bond has been broken with the Bolshevik coup and the Council of Peoples' Commissars handed over Russia to the economic and political yoke of German imperialists', that bond became more shaky. Hence the conclusion of N.Zhordania: "now the main goal of our Seim should be the making of our young region, Transcaucasia organized Transcaucasian Republic in the legal sense. We could not wait to do this together with Russia, so while at the beginning we assume that Seim should have only legislative credentials, now we think that Seim should organize all components of our social and political life".<sup>15</sup> N.Zhordania regards the general warranty to reach it with the problem of peace treaty with Turkey, but not like that as it was the one signed by Bolsheviks. "We are not going to sign such treaty, - says N.Zhordania, - and we think that it is better to die on the front rather than being disgraced and give ourselves to the curse of generations".<sup>16</sup>

With skillful demagogy N.Zhordania succeeded in alienating step by step the national, socialist, and anti-Bolshevik forces of Transcaucasia from Russia.

As to the program-conceptual topics, it is worth to mention that the speech of N.Zhordania pursued one ultimate goal, a threefold unity, that is to justify by means of the repetition of workers, agrarian, and national problems all existing bonds with the Bolshevik Russia. The speech in general was not new, and this regard some contradictions could be mentioned.

Thus, accepting that the attitude of Transcaucasian industrial workers, even that of "Menshevik" were Bolshevik-oriented, a question arises how the Menshevik leader was going to "truthfully" solve the workers' problems in that same Bolshevik environment, or did he imagine the industrial development of Transcaucasia without Russia when he insisted again the thesis "either rules the capital and the worker is exploited, or rules the worker and in that case there is no capital".<sup>17</sup> He accepts that the unification of the interests of industry and working class is a difficult task but at the same time mentions that the policy of Mensheviks in regard to the workers has to follow that way.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 2-3; also Zhordania 1919: 64.

<sup>15</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 3-4.

<sup>16</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 4.

<sup>17</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 5.

<sup>18</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 5.

Stressing the dual character of national problem in Transcaucasia, that is the relation of the region to the center and interrelations of Transcaucasian nations N.Zhordania underlines as success that “the first form is withdrawn from the agenda”.<sup>19</sup> N.Zhordania’s logic in regard to the first problem was the next: if revolution (he meant February revolution – V.M.) gives autonomy to nations and peoples, then this autonomy either way should have national form.

He thought that in Transcaucasia are many peoples, partly mixed, so how should be given autonomy to any nation so as not to disturb each other. How could this problem be resolved”. N.Zhordania considered equal rights for any of them as the only basis. “If some party or nation, - mentions he, - would raise before us imperial demands, imperial demands could raise also small nations, if we could have imperial demands, we shall say that indeed we would not have national peace”.<sup>20</sup> Taking further thought N.Zhordania mentions that if the nation desires to be self-governed, it has territorial claims, and since in Transcaucasia “almost every nation” could not receive that territory completely, and always would be extant the possibility of regressive reaction of national minority towards national majority, for that reason national problem could not be resolved.<sup>21</sup> Then N.Zhordania gives mostly Georgian but not Menshevik variant to the solution of the problem: “We are forced to carve out in Transcaucasia limited national-territorial units, so that one nation, for example, Armenian, Georgian, or Tatar, would be disintegrated into several autonomous units and that nation would live in numerous own national cantons. If we take Eastern Transcaucasia, then we can see that here this is how it should be done, since it is impossible to find such total territorial unit which included only one nation and does not include numerous other nations”.<sup>22</sup>

Speaking in modern terms, it goes without saying that N.Zhordania completely rejected the principle of historical right and, understandably, suggested a solution in the interests of Georgian nations’ imperialism.

Here also exists a significant contradiction. Focusing on Eastern Transcaucasia, the Georgian politician takes under his wing North-western Transcaucasia where lived more multi-layered national composition, which, naturally, did not proceed from the interests of Georgians who comprise minority here. Further, he was trying to manipulate with Armenian-Tatar confrontation.

It should be mentioned N.Zhordania’s political foresight. Only some months later and mostly at the expense of neighboring nations’ territories would be formed “imperialistic” Georgia and Azerbaijan which became the crown of anti-Armenian process after February 1917.

Another part of his program was the problem of national armed forces; it was aimed at the fulfillment of his far-reaching goals. He did not hide his negative attitude

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<sup>19</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 5.

<sup>20</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 6.

<sup>21</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 6.

<sup>22</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 6-7.

towards “the so-called national armed forces”. This could be explained by the fact that Armenian military formations were the most combat-ready ones among these forces, which, as is well-known, were supported by the Provisional government and anti-Bolshevik governments, particularly from the Russian general A. Denikin. Obviously self-serving sounds N. Zhordania’s attitude: “There exist numerous headquarters, numerous masters, while the authorities does not possess with power in order to own some military unit, it should plead and some national council might have mercy and provide armed force. This is not authority but the name of authority. All armed forces of the country, all national armed forces should be directly subordinated to the Seim and bodies established by the Seim”.<sup>23</sup>

Again we encounter a contradiction. During the February revolution N. Zhordania acts as an advocate of national armed forces, but now suddenly rejects their necessity, and even asks attendants what means national armed force while in any other country they do not exist. One of those who during the events at Shamkhor and Yelizavetpol had stolen Russian arms and ammunition together with Tatars in order to equip national armed forces now suggests to have joint army which should defend the peoples of the common territory. “That army should be not the army of one nation but, - says he, - a single territorial army, so we are trying to make the army territorial but not national”.<sup>24</sup>

“Fair” N. Zhordania makes one reservation in favor of Muslims; they have their distinct customs, so they could have their own territory, kitchen, food. In the condition of the Turkish invasion he suggested democratic undertakings – elimination of regular army and transfer to militia.<sup>25</sup> In this regard a parallel with L. Trotski’s slogan “neither war, nor peace” should be in place.

It is clear that in the context of anti-Bolshevism and especially the failure of St. Shahumyan’s program could be suggested such concept which rests on the anti-Bolshevik strategy but not on the diverse interests of Transcaucasian peoples and nations. How did N. Zhordania imagine the possibility to confront the Turkish invasion with the unified Armenian, Georgian, and Tatar army, especially when the role of Georgian armed units in the re-conquest of Western Armenia, the handover of Kars and other shameful deeds were well known.

At the end N. Zhordania on behalf of the Menshevik fraction suggested Seim to accept this program and “form such an authority which could agree with this program, but also have opportunity and will bring it into life and thus save the country from anarchy and destruction”.<sup>26</sup>

On behalf of “Musavat” and party-less Muslim democratic fractions held a speech G. Aghaev.

<sup>23</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 5.

<sup>24</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 5.

<sup>25</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 5.

<sup>26</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 10.

Labeling Seim as Constituent assembly, he focused especially on the problem of peace, actually suggesting a Bolshevik formula – democratic peace without annexation and contribution on the basis of self-determination of peoples.<sup>27</sup> The land had to be given to working people as personal property. In regard to national problems he mentions that “we will stop at nothing in reaching our national objectives”.

As to the definition of national minorities' rights G.Aghaev suggested the Seim to compose constitutions for every people which shall secure the principle of national-territorial autonomy, and also rights of national minorities. Speaking in favor of “Russia of free peoples” and unionist idea, he regards the realization of “national-territorial autonomy of Azerbaijan” as his fractions primary goal.<sup>28</sup> It is noteworthy that at the wake of events in Baku at March and Turkish invasion the deputy claiming on national autonomy of “Azerbaijan”, speaking on fundamental principles of foreign policy stresses the impermissibility of foreign interference in domestic affairs. He especially stresses that all-Transcaucasian problems should not connected with the “creation of mechanical majority”, and Seim should solve them “taking into account the principle of actual proportion of national groups”, especially in the context of regional authorities' formation.<sup>29</sup> S.Vracyan observes that G.Aghaev raises the “demand of strict coalition” taking into account real proportion of national-ethnic groups. For him homogeneous-socialist government was unacceptable since “the reason is evident. Among Muslims begs and landowners comprise the ruling class”.<sup>30</sup>

Demanding coalitional regional government G.Aghaev regarded immediate introduction of *zemstvos* as guarantee for its successful functioning, asked for special attitude towards establishing Muslim national armed units. Infinitely demagogical was his speech that “Transcaucasian Turks who did not awarded by imperial government to be among warriors defending honor and dignity of motherland, were treated likewise by the democratic government of Kerensky”.<sup>31</sup> Exactly for this reason was needed Seim to Tatars, whose representative G.Aghaev advices to listen to “foreign forces”, i.e. state-oriented Russian military command, states of Entente, and Soviet power of Baku. Even after the events at Shamkhor and Yelizavetpol he defended at any cost Transcaucasian commissary and demanded new regional government to be free of external influences.<sup>32</sup> In this regard once more and completely becomes clear the idea of Georgian Mensheviks and Tatar Musavatists to form “strong” government which fairly was directed against Armenians.

**H.Qajaznuni.** He regarded as negative for the region the termination of Constituent assembly. According to him, the regulation of national life is directly related

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<sup>27</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 10-12.

<sup>28</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 12.

<sup>29</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 12-13.

<sup>30</sup> See Vracyan 1996: 77.

<sup>31</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 13-14.

<sup>32</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 14.

to the strong and united Russian democratic federal republic and the Transcaucasian Seim as its organizational center. It should be mentioned that, on the contrary to Georgian and Tatar deputies, he did not use the term “Armenia”.<sup>33</sup>

H.Qajaznuni assures, in regard to the Peace-treaty that it should lead to the creation of Turkish Armenia. He believes that the power should be unitary-socialist which might prevent also the “return to political opportunism and social stagnation”. As “Greatest political problem he also distinguished territorial division of Transcaucasia, based on the principle of peoples autonomous cantons united in the framework of Transcaucasian federation”.<sup>34</sup>

Expressing his solidarity with all democratic forces he had stressed the question of ARF’s membership in the international socialist family and was hopeful that “Transcaucasian Seim could become hearth of socialist thought and creation, center of Transcaucasian Socialist International”.<sup>35</sup>

Summarizing program speeches of representatives of the three main Transcaucasian nations some points could be stressed:

1. After the elimination of All-Russian Constituent assembly Transcaucasian socialists and especially Mensheviks and ARF understood that the distancing and separation of this region from Russia is inevitable, and that it is necessary to organize their own national life.

2. Transcaucasian Seim was regarded by Mensheviks and Musavat as a best mean for solving their national problems, they submitted demands which contain anti-Armenian context and look like they were coordinated beforehand.

3. Evidently, ARF still relies upon unitary All-Russian democratic family and his assistance by historical inertia.

We should state that exactly the Georgian and Tatar deputies demonstrated realistic evaluation of current situation.

The speech of H.Qajaznuni did not contain any sharp moments. The loss of the sense of reality was expressed in the fact that one of the ARF leaders was relying upon the support of socialist movement and European Socialist International, while N.Zhordania and G.Aghaev were trying to solve only national problems under the cover of socialism and democracy.

Maybe he was aware of the growing Georgian-Tatar alliance, but still by inertia could not resist the anti-Armenian Commissary – problem of administrative-territorial division, problem of *zemstvos*, riots in Yelizavetpol and Shamkhor atrocity; negotiations in Trapizon, events in Baku in March, and numerous challenges connected with Turkish invasion were coming up.

Anyway, let us follow other speeches.

<sup>33</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 16.

<sup>34</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 17.

<sup>35</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 17.

**Socialist-revolutionary Iv.Lortkipanidze.** He states that after the elimination of Constituent assembly where his party comprised majority appeared in difficult situation. At the same time he states with sorrow that it is not desirable to solve the problems connected with the treaty which had to deal precisely Russia. His conclusion that social-revolutionaries would try to create joint Russian front along with other socialist parties, again was far from Transcaucasian realities. Iv.Lortkipanidze especially was concerned with the secret 4<sup>th</sup> paragraph of Brest-Litovsk treaty which was directed against the SR program of the socialization of land. There it was said that every citizen who shall declare of his German origin could use that land on his behalf, i.e. he became its owner. This means that other nations who shall find themselves under German rule could not socialize land.<sup>36</sup>

The declaration of SR deputy that even the working class problem should be solved by Transcaucasian authorities based on the national-territorial principle was met with ovation. "National-territorial parliament should raise general problems of Transcaucasian regional government, - concludes he, - and we shall insist in that new government should try to create national-territorial authority".<sup>37</sup>

The first point of SR declaration concerns the solution of land problem; socialization of land should be solved by Transcaucasian national-territorial Constituent assemblies established by the Seim. SR's vision of the treaty with Turkey was possible in the case if the Russian Republic's Constituent assembly would be recognized by neighboring countries.<sup>38</sup>

Iv.Lortkipanidze supported the idea of homogeneous-socialist government which could secure the achievements of February revolution. The traditional weakness of SR party was national problem and it is strange that here they gave way significantly in favor of national government which could be explained by their anti-Bolshevik position, and the solution of national problem continue to remain "satisfaction of national needs of all peoples of Transcaucasia under the flag of socialist internationalism".<sup>39</sup>

**I.Haidarov.** On behalf of Muslim socialist group he greets the Seim and spoke as supporter of democratic peace. The solution of national problem he tries to connect with its two components. By national-political part, every historical nation seeks to reach complete separation, creation of independent political unit, and the economic component forces every nation to establish such close relations with neighboring nations which could be able to secure the process of their economic development. Taking into account interrelationship of these two components, he suggested to form common Transcaucasian and, if possible, joint Caucasian Seim with common government and cultural-national autonomy for every nation.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 18-19.

<sup>37</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 20.

<sup>38</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 21.

<sup>39</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 22.

<sup>40</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 23-24.

**G.Laskhishvili.** On behalf of Georgian socialist-federalist revolutionary party he expressed an opinion that the union of Transcaucasian free nations should be organized not from the top but from the bottom. First the peoples must be self-determined, create their national-territorial autonomies, and only after establish federative government and federative Seim. He says exactly the next: “Those who think that the current Transcaucasian Seim is an eternal and ready building of Transcaucasian peoples’ political co-existence we shall answer that it does not differ from any numerous revolutionary combinations which, like previous ones, is condemned to *destruction since there never exists unified Caucasus all the more Transcaucasia. What we call Caucasus or Transcaucasia is no more than geographical term.* On this space live different peoples with different cultures, lifestyle, social structure, so common legislation and governance is nothing more than aimless stagnation. I don’t want to say that Transcaucasian peoples lack common goals, no, they exist; it is the mighty economic-financial goal but the protection of this goal requires other type of Seim, other Council which was born and rests upon national-territorial units. *What we have now, it was reached in the curse of revolution when we completely distanced from Russia,* the creation of common Transcaucasian institution is connected with the solution of urgent problems.<sup>41</sup> Among urgent problems are the peace with Turkey, those of authority, agrarian, national etc. Regarding the government he especially focused on “amazing jealousy” which is displayed by revolutionary bodies and the center regarding the defense of achievements of revolution. According to him, the new government should be completely free and accountable only to Seim. The socialist-federalist deputy connects the problem of self-determination of nations with the urgent solution of agrarian problem. “Member of the Seim, a new page of Caucasian peoples has been opened. Your names should appear on these pages. If you want these pages not to dunk in brotherly blood, apply all efforts to solve agrarian problem”.<sup>42</sup> Like all socialists and Bolsheviks he connects the idea of national liberation with the liberation of peasantry, closing eyes on Muslim riots which were shaking the region and which rest upon national and even more on its wildest anti-Armenian manifestation – Pan-Turkism.

He regards the principle of nations’ resettlement on the basis of national separation, referendums, especially in provinces, then wide security of the rights of national minorities: “When the last barrier should be destroyed, I think that the time will come for National Constituent assembly to work out *democratic constitution of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia.* We don’t want to predict the future of our motherland, whether it would remain as confederation of Transcaucasian peoples forever or later could be incorporated into All-Russian federation, is connected with the course of further events”.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 28-29.

<sup>42</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 30-31.

<sup>43</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 31-32.

As we can see, in February 1918, during the third session of the Seim definitely figures the problem of the creation of independent national states. In their November 1917 national congress Georgian Mensheviks already had touched upon this question and now the separation from Russia perceives as a good time for the establishment of national sovereignty. To us, radically should be changed the current thesis of Armenian historiography that the independence process had begun after the surrender of Kars, the declaration of Transcaucasia and, moreover, in the context of heroic battles of May. We can state with confidence that the establishment of Seim, especially political vacuum which had come into existence after the elimination of the Constituent assembly was considered as a measure to step out of political isolation and crisis. In the condition of a threat to Sovietize Transcaucasia, the independence process was regarded as expected and at the same time saving haven. Mechanisms and methods for reaching it were still unknown, especially during the Turkish invasion and the upcoming treaty with Turkey. Let us add that the records of Transcaucasian Seim, except the discussion of some private matters by different authors\*, are introduced for the first time, so they elucidate the problem in a new way.

**Yu.Semenov.** He was trying to consider Transcaucasia as part of international events and stresses the circumstance that “National centrifugal trends were the first manifestation of the decay of Russia’s social self-consciousness which destroyed the state-wide and nationwide idea of the revolution”.<sup>44</sup> He regards as the only active component of Transcaucasian new authority precisely national self-consciousness, national organizations, and councils. At the same time he reminds that Seim was came into existence by revolution and no matter how long it could benefit and use national principle, anyway it would declare the main principle of functioning of democracy and “escape falling into national desires”.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, he regarded as important also the coherent policy with Russia and in opposed the defeatist and separatist position of N.Zhordania, especially “the policy of separately jumping out of fire circle of the war”.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, Yu.Semenov concludes that:

1. The establishment of Transcaucasian Seim is a natural exit from political situation which was a result of the Bolshevik party’s coup and seizure of power in Petrograd.
2. But the current form Transcaucasian Seim, along with All-Russian central government, should be replaced by other institution or institutions ratified by basic laws of Russia.
3. Granting Seim with state power, other institutions have no right to share power or perform monitoring functions.

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\* See Stavrovskij 1925 (Brest-Litovsk, Trapizon, Batum); Arkomed 1923 (Trapizon); Avetisyan 1997 (negotiations in Trapizon).

<sup>44</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 33.

<sup>45</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 34.

<sup>46</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 35.

4. Since the life of Transcaucasia is going to proceed in the context of inter-ethnic policy, and also the necessity to organize unified armed forces, Seim should manage the regional policy so that the regional and state interests of Transcaucasian peoples were going to be coordinated.
5. Closest tasks of the Seim are:
  - a) To keep initiative in restoration and reunification of all parts of the Russian republic,
  - b) Establish regional executive authorities accountable before the Seim,
  - c) Secure the warranty and authority of independent court,
  - d) Establishment of order in the region and conditions for peaceful co-existence of Transcaucasian peoples,
  - e) Elimination of those preconditions which trigger inter-ethnic conflicts.<sup>47</sup>

It is noteworthy that only the speech of Yu.Semenov did not meet ovations. The reason is that he contradicts to the Georgian-Menshevik line and directly opposed to the declaration of N.Zhordania, particularly in regard to secession from Russia.

On behalf of Georgian nationalists against Yu.Semenov and reincarnation of Russia spoke G.Ghvazava, the leader of Georgian national democratic parties' fraction. He did not accept "the so-called All-Russian democracy and Constituent assembly", regarding them false, unrealistic ideas.<sup>48</sup> He especially rejected the Constituent assembly saying that "we directly declare war against those peoples who were liberated from Russian imperialism – Finland, Crimea, Ukraine etc."<sup>49</sup>

"Who will consist of Constituent assembly, to whom will belong majority, who will represent Georgia, again we will fall under imperialistic yoke".<sup>50</sup> G.Ghvazava stresses that this union should rest upon free relations and free treaty. Identifying Cadets with Bolsheviks he mentions that only now Cadets speak about self-determination of peoples and that their national program is well-known. "Aren't they who want to conquer Constantinople and strengthen imperialism; any speech about Constituent assembly is groundless, for us it is dangerous tale".<sup>51</sup>

This central problem became a topic for all further developments, the axis of the Caucasian front against Turkish invasion. This "dangerous tale" currently fits well with the Armenian interests, but the ARF fraction, under the influence of anti-Bolshevik and anti-Russian policy of the Commissary did not dare to pave way for his nearest national route and again appeared in dangerous isolation. The fraction desired to reach national independence, but at the same time did not dare to raise fundamental questions like Georgians and Tatars, and reject Russia. Relying upon the principle of self-determination of peoples declared by the February revolution, G.Ghvazava justly

<sup>47</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 37-39.

<sup>48</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 39.

<sup>49</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 40.

<sup>50</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 40.

<sup>51</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 40.

reminds that it was overlooked, was transformed into agenda and none of the parties managed to realize it. Bolsheviks who also accepted the idea of self-determination declared war to Ukraine and other peoples. But at the same time G.Ghvazava falsifies while speaking about all inter-ethnic massacres and riots happened in the region including that of Yelizavetpol, Shamkhor, and Muslim riots in Yerevan province and regards them as expressions of Bolshevism.<sup>52</sup> What the leaders of Georgian Mensheviks haven't allowed themselves yet, spoke a national-democrat deputy who reminds the 1783 Russian-Georgian treaty and its consequences for Georgia, 1855 generalissimo Omar Pasha's obligation to secure Georgia's independence (he bypasses the fact that Transcaucasia is more than Georgia and the Seim was not Georgian government), article N.30 of Paris treatise by which England demands from Russia to withdraw from Georgia, the petition of Georgian people submitted to the 1907 Hague conference.

G.Ghvazava concludes that by legal situation Georgia had entered the international legal sphere and "for Armenians, Tatars and not only for Georgia it has great significance".<sup>53</sup> He thus identifies Georgian problems with the Armenian question, converting it into international diplomatic one, and unfortunately Armenian deputies did not oppose him asking only what means the orator when he says "Georgia" and how could he justify the existence of "Georgian question" in international diplomacy, which never existed.

In this context he "leaves aside the Russian Constituent assembly" and stresses the role of the Seim as the only legislative body in Transcaucasia and also was hopeful that national problems and conflicts of Transcaucasian peoples would be solved peacefully, through the Seim.

It remains obscure the statement of G.Ghvazava regarding the establishment of national councils; we are inclined to think that it was a manner to ignore the significant role of the Armenian national council in the region, especially the Armenian national corpus.<sup>54</sup>

**N. Ramishvili.** On behalf of Georgian Mensheviks and Muslim-socialist "Hummet" this deputy, without discussion, submitted a joint declaration, the main theses of which were developed in the speech of N.Zhordania. Interestingly, was not discussed also the question of its voting and N.Chkheidze, the chairman, proceeded to other questions.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, we can conclude that under the great pressure of Georgian Mensheviks and chairman N.Chkheidze the third session of Transcaucasian Seim accepted the program-declaration of Transcaucasian government.

In the editorial of "Horizon" S.Vracyan responded on this important session (entitled as "Let us wait and be patient"). The article was distinguished by uncertainty

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<sup>52</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 40-41.

<sup>53</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 42.

<sup>54</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 43.

<sup>55</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, third session: 47-51.

and confusion. Although the author thinks that “to this moment the problem of the relationship between Russia and Transcaucasia which no more has practical significance remained obscure”,<sup>56</sup> or “actual face of some parties was not clarified”, but it seems that precisely during this session was fully expressed the tactics of parties, including that of ARF. It becomes clear that the latter was sure in the irrelevance of relationship between Russia and Transcaucasia. And as to how could explain its silence the ARF fraction in the case of independent republics or why did he accept the Georgian Menshevik inspired declaration of the Seim, we could not find any discussion on this topic in the archives of the party. It appears that after the elimination of Constituent assembly in Transcaucasian political arena reigns uncertain situation, but at the same time national parties were patient concerning the relations with Bolshevik Russia. Several meetings of the Seim were completely devoted to the Brest-Litovsk treaty, separate negotiations and possible peace with Turkey where the relation with Russia the Seim had defined by the majority of votes (except Russian Cadets). The handover of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum to Turks accelerated and even fostered the distancing from Russia and in elaborating own policy.

In the February 19 seventh session of the Seim A.Lomtatidze, the chairman of the Mandatory commission raised several topics which could be divided into three groups.<sup>57</sup>

1. Does the commission of the Seim had right to discuss and revise the results of the elections of All-Russian Constituent assembly or simply limit itself with mechanical calculation. The commission unanimously adopted that it actually usurped that part of the corresponding point of election law, owning the right to implement elections in Transcaucasian electoral district.
2. In the January 22, 1918 session of the Transcaucasian members of the Constituent assembly was decided that since not all members of the All-Russian Constituent assembly could attend the work of the Seim, one member could be temporarily replaced by other member. Mandatory commission unanimously rejected such practice.
3. The question concerns representatives from the standing army. From Caucasian army were elected 6 deputies for All-Russian Constituent assembly - 1 Bolshevik and 5 SR-s who were regarded as representatives of Caucasian army. A.Lomtatidze spoke about the dilemma saying that if accepting the principle “no front, no army” then where is the reason to have such deputies in the Seim. In the course of discussion three different approaches had been expressed:
  - a) By the first, the rear and Caucasian front as well should have representatives since some detachments of the army were still in the front,
  - b) The second opinion was that army should not be represented since 50%-60% of the soldiers were citizens of Transcaucasia and during civilian elections the army also had participated. If they should be refused to have representatives in Seim,

<sup>56</sup> See Horizon, February 17, 1918, n.35.

<sup>57</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session, February 19: 1-6.

then it would appear that a part of Transcaucasian electorate might be left without their representatives. They insisted also that the army defends Transcaucasia. Opponents of this opinion say that the army was mostly recruited from the population of Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus, Don and other regions, so this could mean to make artificial representation. Those who were eager to have deputies elected from the army say that Russians were the majority of Caucasian army who were deprived of regional elections, which mean that a significant part of Transcaucasian population might appear left out of the Seim.

- c) According to the third group, army should have its deputies in Seim but such mandates could be given to those persons who are already members of the All-Russian Constituent assembly.<sup>58</sup>

Discussions in the session show that even routine, sometimes procedural topics gradually were becoming subject to serious controversy.

For example, G.Ghvazava opposes those deputies who think that the missing members of the Seim could not be replaced by others. G.Ghvazava refers to the French revolution where the deputy could have been replaced by other. He was moked by V.Tevzaya: "he is going to turn our Seim into an organization which I could not imagine, where people constantly replace each other by their will".<sup>59</sup>

The discussion became sharper after the speech of S.Vracyan. He mentioned that "there never existed such Seim as ours; does not 3/4 of our Seim consist of representatives appointed by parties but not elected".<sup>60</sup> By S.Vracyan, if the party had a right to send to the Seim deputies, then that same parties should have right to replace one member with another. He tries to justify this principle on the example of his party. Thus, if currently 5-6 very important members of the Constituent assembly are absent from Transcaucasia, should that party lose these places.

A.Lomtadze's answer was more sincere and revealed Seim's imperfection, in some aspects illegal character. "If the members of Seim, - mentions he, - sitting on this high place say that they were appointed by a party but not the people, they would do us disservice".<sup>61</sup>

M.Rustambekov from "Musavat" stated that even if the front existed anyway its representatives could not have right to send deputies to Seim, but only to the All-Russian Constituent assembly. Moreover, if now the front never exists from the legal point of view they are deprived of such right. Chemodanov from SR opposed him saying that "*if we would strictly follow legal principle, then we have to re-elect Seim, city autonomies etc. From the legal point of view Transcaucasian Seim does not represent Transcaucasian population, many people had left many were wrongly elected. I repeat that if we adopt formal approach we should have organized new elections* (emphasis is ours - V.M.).<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 3-4.

<sup>59</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 12.

<sup>60</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 12-13.

<sup>61</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 14.

<sup>62</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 19, 21.

N.Tarkhanyan, the official representative of SR fraction moved from the question of army deputies into other topic. He opposed the approach that only Caucasian peoples should be represented in the Seim and also denies that allegedly Armenians or Muslims had voted by the principle of nationality. "I declare with confidence, - says he, - that Armenians in the front had voted in favor of SR and I think that ARF will not deny it. There was not any list of ARF in the front".<sup>63</sup>

N.Tarkhanyan's conclusion was justified. Seim had received its authority in the meeting of deputies elected to the Transcaucasian Constituent assembly and the January 22 session of the front. "If, - he says, - in that meeting of deputies representatives of the front miss, only in that case it would be possible to legally leave aside the front and neglect it. If we want to get rid of the front deputies, then we shall release from duty also representatives of those parts of the army which had voted in the rear".<sup>64</sup> He concludes that the party regards the Seim as a part of All-Russian Constituent assembly, and it doesn't matter whether they were elected from Caucasian front or the rear. In legal sense the question could not be doubted. Its moral-political aspect demands the problem to be discussed not just within the framework of local interests, as it was, for example, in the case of political reconstruction of Transcaucasia. While Transcaucasia does not declare its independence it was considered as an ally of Russian Federative Republic, so the Russian democracy also had an interest in the solution of all problems. "After all, here we must realize decisions of the All-Russian Constituent assembly, - says N.Tarkhanyan, - moreover, Caucasian army which during three and half years defended Transcaucasia, do care how should be solved the problem of the treaty, is not clear the future of Transcaucasia and it is possible that we might apply to that democracy seeking its support. If you ignore representatives of the army and give such a solution to the issue, then SR fraction completely refuses to have representatives of the army and will not be responsible for the future peace".<sup>65</sup>

N.Tarkhanyan's approach was opposed by Musavatist G.Rasul-zade\* who said that if the front should be granted participation in the works of the Seim which never exists, then should be given representativity also to those who does not have their electorates.<sup>66</sup>

Menshevik N.Ramishvili also had tried to make profit from this questioning and finds that if the army has already departed, then in Transcaucasia remain the population who voted for that army;<sup>67</sup> first of all he meant western Armenian refugees.

In favor of ARF spoke also M.Arzumanyan and A.Shakhhatunyan, who opposed national factor to SR and socialist approach. A.Shakhhatunyan insists that even during

<sup>63</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 24-25.

<sup>64</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 25.

<sup>65</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 26-27.

\* The founder of Musavat.

<sup>66</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 29.

<sup>67</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 31-32.

Tsarism the Russian military authorities had officially declared that 22% of Caucasian front comprised Armenians. "I don't know how many were Georgians, - says A.Shakhhatunyan, - but Armenians comprise 22% of standing army and these Armenians of the front has voted in favor of that list (SR - V.M.), by the decision of the ARF Caucasian congress".<sup>68</sup>

Eventually, N.Ramishvili on behalf of the Menshevik fraction submitted a resolution: "From the front district are approved as deputies of the Seim those persons who are already members of Constituent assembly, the decrease of electoral meter is refused".<sup>69</sup>

"Musavat" and the nonparty block declared their will not to vote.

The resolution was accepted by 40 votes against 33 abstained in the voting.

With extraordinary statement held speech SR I.Lortkipanidze: "I am honored to declare that after our friends from the front - Shengelaya, Jafarov, Lortkipanidze, Tarhanyan, Kartsivadze, Sundukyants, Zandukeli, and Gobechia are withdrawn, on behalf of Merkhalev, Levin, Chemodanov, Sakhno, and Yugatov, members of the Constituent assembly, that they renounce their membership in the Seim, and our fraction of the rear district leaves conference hall as a sign of complaint".<sup>70</sup>

Thus, in the February 19 meeting were discussed several questions in the context of which was clearly manifested the most urgent problem - secession of Transcaucasia from Russia and its independence. The question of SR deputies representing Caucasian army contains the idea of unified Russian federative republic's preservation. Georgian socialist and national leaders, as well as Musavatists who were delighted with the destroyed and emptied Caucasian front, regarded that fact as the important warranty to secede from Russia.

We can conclude also that ARF silently accepts these fundamental problems but at the same time saw itself in the political camp of mostly Russian socialist and state-oriented SR-s and Cadets, in this aspect giving up party principles in favor of national interests. If the tactics of Georgian Mensheviks and Musavatists was mostly aggressive, that of the ARF could be determined as cautious, wait-and-see attitude which basically is connected with the Turkish invasion and defenseless Western Armenia. During these meetings ARF became convinced that the projects and tactics of social-revolutionaries, especially in the context of Brest-Litovsk, isolate this party from the main political developments, the latter loses its once actual and solid role. Deprived of their social support, mostly the military contingent of Caucasian army, the Transcaucasian SR party appeared in political isolation. ARF was concerned with the circumstance that their party could find itself trapped in the Georgian-Tatar claws. If immediately after Bolshevik coup and the rapprochement with this union in the Commissary and relations were built mostly at first sight favorable anti-Bolshevik wave, now inside the Seim ARF understood

<sup>68</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 35-37.

<sup>69</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 37-38.

<sup>70</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, seventh session: 39.

that anti-Bolshevism of Transcaucasian authorities has consecutive anti-Russian and separatist nature and that in the condition of Turkish invasion the party and Armenian population had appeared in isolation and alone against all.

In the 13th meeting of the Seim, February 28, A.Lomtadze, chairman of the Mandatory committee declared that the commission had approved the final list of fractions which is represented below:

1. Social-democrat Mensheviks - 1. N.Zhordania, 2. I.Tsereteli, 3. N.Chkheidze, 4. Ye. Gegechkori, 5. A.Zurabyov(yan), 6. N.Ramishvili, 7. I.Ramishvili, 8. A.Chkhenkeli, 9. M. Skobelev, 10. V.Jibladze, 11. G.Georgadze, 12. M.Smirnov, 13. G. Bekzadyan, 14. A. Lomtadze, 15. G.Ter-Ghazaryan, 16. G.Makharadze, 17. R.Arsenidze, 18. Ye. Bernstein, 19. V.Tevzaya, 20. A.Jibladze, 21. N.Khomeriki, 22. G.Eradze, 23. K. Andronikov, 24. D. Oniashvili, 25. S.Pirumov(yan), 26. G.Anjaparidze, 27. R.Chikhladze, 28. V.Gurjua, 29. G. Abashidze, 30. G.Gagloev, 31. L. Dadeshkeliani, 32. V.Akhmetelov.
2. Russia's peoples Liberation party – Cadets - 1. Yu. Semenov.
3. Socialist-revolutionaries - 1. V. Lunkevich, 2. L. Atabekyan, 3. I. Gobechia, 4. S. Sahakyan, 5. I. Lortkipanidze.
4. Armenian Revolutionary Dashnaksutyun 1. R.Zoryan, 2. M.Hovhannisyan (Varandyan), 3. H.Ohanjanyan, 4. K.Hambartsumyan, 5. Ya. (Hakob) Zavriev(yan) 6. A. Shahkhatunyan, 7. H.Qajaznuni, 8. S.Tigranyan, 9. K.Ghazazyan, 10. A.Chilingaryan, 11. S. Gruzinyan-Vracyan, 12. G.Khatsov(yan), 13. A.Nalchajyan, 14. G.Dzamoev(yan), 15. A.Khatsov(yan), 16. S.Khachatryan, 17. Kh. Karchikyan, 18. M.Harutyunyan, 19. H.Yaghjian, 20. Kh.Hamaspyur, 21. G.Cholokyan, 22. A.Sahakyan, 23. P.Levonyan, 24. G.Ter-Harutyunyan, 25. A.Qocharyants, 26. G.Mandalyan, 27. V.Ter-Gevorgyan.\*
5. Georgian revolutionary social-federalists - 1. G.Laskhishvili.
6. Georgian National-democratic party - 1. G.Ghvazava.
7. Musavat and nonparty group of Transcaucasian central Muslim committee - 1. M. Jafarov, 2. A.Topchibashev, 3. G.Rasul-Zade, 4. N.Usub-bekov, 5. G.Aghaev, 6. Kh. Sultanov, 7. B.Mamedov-bekov, 8. M.Mahmadov, 9. Seidov-Mirgidayad, 10. A. Kardashev, 11. M. Rustam-bekov, 12. F. Khan-Khoisky, 13. Kh.Khas-Mamedov, 14. M. Hajinskij, 15. D. Melik-Yeganov, 16. M. Hajibaba-bekov, 17. G.Akhundzade, 18. M. Akhijanov, 19. Kh.Melik-Aslanov, 20. M. Behbutov, 21. M. Hajinskiy, 22. F. Qocharlinskiy, 23. A.Mahmud-bekov, 24. K. Mikailov, 25. I.Vekilov, 26. G. Shahtakhtinskiy, 27. A.Kulibekov, 28. I.Vekilov (2), 29. Yu.Efendi-zade, 30. M.Yusuf-zade.
8. "Hummet" group - 1. D.Akhundov, 2. I. Avilov, 3. A.Sheikkh-UI-Islamov, 4. S. Aghamalov.

\* According to "Horizon", 12 deputies out of 27 comprise the list n.4, 8 – accredited from Central committee, and 7 from the mixed assembly (Horizon, February 13, 1918, n. 32).

9. Fraction of Muslim socialist block - 1. I.Haidarov, 2. A.Kantemirov, 3. A. Safikyurdskiy, 4. A.Pepinov, 5. V.Rizaev, 6. D.Hajinskiy, 7. M.Magaramov.
10. "Ittihad-Islam" Muslim fraction of Russia - 1. S.Ganiev, 2. M.Mehtiev, 3. Ye. Mamed -bekov.<sup>71</sup>

The total number of deputies was 111.

Besides the main composition, were submitted also other candidates who were nominated by Musavat and Transcaucasian central Muslim committee, 21 Turks in total, including Nariman Narimanbekov\* under number 11, and Jevanshir Behbud-agma (12), from Socialist-revolutionaries – I.Lortkipanidze, G.Natadze, N.Tarkhanov(yan), G. Kharmandaryants, Shengelaya.

With principal disputes and opposition was met the topic of the Sionists and Armenian Peoples Party which desired to have one deputy each. They were refused taking into account the principle that Seim had established the number of votes for one deputy (20.661), while the Jewish Sionist party has about 8.000 and ARF about 19.000 votes.

Anyway, APP had announced that the whole nation is represented in the Seim by only one party (ARF), while other peoples – also by others. Mandatory commission refused this request saying that the majority of Armenian people support ARF.<sup>72</sup>

To our opinion, ARF and Georgian Mensheviks had come into terms in this regard, and also prevails the main demand of the socialist wing in establishing homogeneous socialist government.

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<sup>71</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, thirteenth session, February 28: 4-6.

\* Very soon he should become Bolshevik by the name Nariman Narimanov.

<sup>72</sup> Transcaucasian Seim 1918, thirteenth session: 6.

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

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POLITICAL SCIENCES  
AND INFORMATIONAL  
SECURITY

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**AZERBAIJAN: THE HISTORY OF A DISEASE OR EXTERNAL FACTORS  
OF THE FORMATION OF GENOCIDAL POLITICAL CULTURE OF  
TRANSCAUCASIAN TURKS  
(Multidimensionality of the problem)**

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**Abstract**

In the article is discussed the policy of intolerance towards Armenians which started with the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan (1918-1920), later to be transformed into genocidal consciousness through further spiritual-political mutation. Stalin's project of the building of new Azerbaijani nation in practice was transformed into the project of ultimate formation of a new Turkified state and society – bearer of sophisticated forms of genocidal policy and behavior.

**Keywords** – *Caucasian Tatars, genocidal behavior, Stalin project of the building of Azerbaijani nation, policy of perestroika and glasnost, project of dismantling of the USSR into national republics, genocide of Armenians of Azerbaijan, external factors in the rise of genocidogenic culture*

The phenomenon of intolerance in interethnic relations, which is expressed first by means of the language of hatred, is one of the most dangerous social diseases of the modern civilization. The history testifies that the virus of intolerance can infect whole societies, become source for social cataclysms of historical scales. This virus is a root of many forms of social diseases – aggressive nationalism, Nazism, apartheid, segregation, racism.<sup>1</sup> In its extreme forms it is able to give birth to genocide - a crime against the whole human civilization. By its different forms, as a rule, intolerance exhibits itself as a part of expansionist policy, imperial chauvinism, hidden and apparent forms of colonialism. However, our vision of cultural, social-historical, political, and psychological motives for such activities are not enough for the diagnostics of the spiritual condition of states or societies which are prone to commit them, and for the preventive actions and treatment of these social diseases. In the condition when the spread of a virus of intolerance has a tendency to outgrow into pandemics, the concealment of genocidal acts by means of different falsifications, their rejection for reasons of political expediency, from whom it might come - is an indulgence to genocidal policy which pushes humanity to new disasters. Meanwhile, the practice of hiding and releasing criminals from responsibility are becoming humdrums of history, some sort of allowed norm of powerful peoples' behavior which transforms our civilization into jungle.

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<sup>1</sup> Nazism, apartheid, chauvinism, Nazism – all these social viruses are grown up from the “leaven” of aggressive intolerance.

Genocidal acts of the XX century, particularly the genocide of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey sheds light on the matter. It lies in the politicization of these crimes, deliberate lowering of the “rank” of genocidal acts, their reduction into “regrettable tragic events” or incidents, which allegedly could not fall into the category of genocide. Extant facts of the hiding of evident genocidal acts in terms of common sense and spirit of justice are enough for scholars who realize their moral responsibility for that state of affairs to sound the alarm. The validity of in-depth understanding of the problem is evident. After all, currently are missing satisfactory answers to the next, it would seem, simple questions: a) why and how are accumulated impulses of intolerance and hatred to others by one or the other communities or actors on the international political ring, and b) how they appear in the behavior of the subjects - bearers of these mental-psychological qualities?

Of course, any of the mentioned social diseases has important specificity for its identification which is fixed in the definition of the phenomenon. Some of them are very significant in the context of the discussed problem. Hatred and intolerance, for example, could appear as mutual, reciprocal relations, while the discrimination, apartheid and genocide suppose the existence of sides unequal by power and status: usually the crime of genocide conduct more powerful peoples in regard to weaker ones.

The problem is multifaceted and we think that the main aspects of the “large topic” could be encompassed, speaking conventionally, through the outline plan consisting of the next points:

- a) Internal historical-cultural processes of the rise of aggressive intolerance and genocidal behavior;
- b) External factors which induce the forming of genocidogenic political culture;
- c) Reflection on the genocidal act by the criminal, victim, and international community;
- d) Punishment for the crime against humanity as a condition of extirpation of genocidal acts from political relations of peoples and states;
- e) Improvement of international legal, political and cognitive means of evaluation of acts of genocide as a condition for the elaboration of preventive mechanisms of such crimes and overcoming of their consequences.

This analysis mainly regards the point (b) mentioned above. The clarification of our approach further comes down to what that the problem of the genocidal behavior is considered not on the general theoretical principles and concepts for their applying to specific acts. We are trying to reveal the problem on concrete example, aiming at the extraction of generalizations from such analysis. just for general theoretical and philosophical conclusions.

As such example serves the contralateral state-like political formations which exist in the east of Transcaucasia in the XX century, in regard to which was embedded an unrelated toponym *Azerbaijan*, the name of the north-western Iranian province. The first

such state-like political formation named Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan (DRA)<sup>2</sup> in Transcaucasia appeared in 1918 as a result of the intervention into the region of Turkish army. The second one was established by the XI Red army in April 1920 in the form of Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan (Az. SSR). The third in this chain which came into existence in the course of the dissolution of the USSR and a member of UN since 1992 is the Republic of Azerbaijan (RA).

This example is chosen by us because it represents an anomalous case in the history of the XX century genocidal acts: despite the flashy evidence of the aforementioned genocidal behavior of all three formations, the fact remains unnoticed by the international community. It requests explanation, but already from the point of view of internal motivations of the subject of crime, and from the point of view of external actors who kept some relations with the criminal.

It is apparent that aggressive intolerance and hatred towards others, especially political behavior with such qualities does not emerge at once. The genesis and rise of these qualities, their rooting in the culture and in the specific forms of political behavior<sup>3</sup> suppose not only historically established internal motives, but also external stimulus favoring that process. This circumstance brings together the problem of the formation of genocidogenic culture in the RA with the analysis of changes of the region's state-juridical status during the last two centuries which were undertaken by means of the interference of external forces. The problem which requires political and civilizational conceptualization is as follows. Did the external factors contribute to the formation of genocidal behavior of the modern RA, and if yes, then what are the motives? In this context are clearly distinguished the next periods of the rise of the society (and currently the state) – the bearers of that culture:

- From 1813 until 1918 (from the attachment of the region to the Russian empire until its disintegration; the period of the creation of non-ethnic community of Caucasian Tatars by the Empire),
- 1918-1920 (the period of chaos triggered by World War I and the disintegration of the Russian Empire),

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<sup>2</sup> It was the first attempt of Turkey to create new Turkish states beyond their borders which predates the establishment of the Northern Cypriot Turkish Republic.

<sup>3</sup>We should not touch upon more deep roots of aggressive nationalism in the modern Azerbaijani society and genocidal behavior of the Republic of Azerbaijan which are related, as we have formulated above, to internal historical-cultural roots of the formation of predisposition to these qualities among nomadic Turks who in the Middle ages, along with the Mongol-Tatar invasions appeared among sedentary peoples of Persia and Near East. As a possible precondition could be, for example, referred to the extensive form of management with which nomadic Turkish tribes were familiar in the steppes of Central Asia. The nomad who is accustomed to take ready products from the nature, among sedentary people did not lose this "attitude towards the world", which is manifested in the propensity to steal and loot. Nomad who had moved to a sedentary lifestyle, except the conquest of someone else's territory and applying brutal force and cruelty towards subordinated peoples, could not have neither cultural, nor economic leverages in the foundation of a state.

- 1920-1930 (from the rise of the Bolshevik scenario of the creation of the non-national Azerbaijani SSR as an outpost of “red revolution” in the East until the Stalin's program of the building of new socialist Azerbaijani nation),
- 1930-1988 (the advance of Stalin's program of Azerbaijanization of Caucasian Tatars and its further mutation),
- 1988-1992 (from punitive operations against the Karabagh movement and the genocide of Armenians of Azerbaijani SSR until the disintegration of the USSR),
- From 1992 until today (the West and the intensification of genocidal mentality of the Azerbaijani society in the post-Soviet period).

Below these periods should be studied by the order mentioned above. For all these periods exists numerous special studies. Our goal is not the detailed study of these periods but the highlighting of political subtexts and vectors of every period which throws light on the details, logics and results of these transitions.

### **1813-1918s: INITIAL LESSONS OF PERMISSIVENESS AND IMPUNITY. FIRST TRANS-ETHNIC MUTATION - FROM PERSIANS INTO CAUCASIAN TATARS**

Immediately after the attachment of Transcaucasia to Russia in 1828 in line with promises given to Armenians of Karabagh by the Empire<sup>4</sup> was formed the Armenian *oblast* which however did not include Karabagh. But soon after, in the course of territorial-administrative reorganization of the region Armenian *oblast* was abolished. The last such reorganization was undertaken in 1867. In Transcaucasia were organized five provinces (*gubernia*) – Kutaisi, Tiflis, Yerevan, Elizavetpol, and Baku. The territorial-administrative division of the region was carried out by the Empire in order to avoid the creation of independent national states, and it logically was in accordance with the Empire's policy. First of all it concerned Armenia and Georgia since exactly they had centuries old traditions of statehood. In the light of this it becomes clear the elimination of Armenian *oblast* and the fragmentation of Eastern Armenia, with their attachment to the Yerevan, Tiflis, and Elizavetpol *gubernias*.

Other tasks arose before the Empire in the multiethnic Eastern Transcaucasia where the local Muslim peoples live for centuries in the area of highly developed Persian culture and spiritually were leaning towards Iran as their motherland (*Vatane*). This is why the Empire undertook the policy of de-Iranization of the region, its spiritual-cultural alienation from Persia. It kept ignoring the Muslim nations and ethnic groups of the region which initially were called Persians<sup>5</sup> and “collected” them under the general term “Muslims”. The multicolored ethnic patchwork of the region was presented by its confessional “two-toned portrait”: *Christians - Muslims*. But the policy of de-Iranization

<sup>4</sup> See: From the order of F.A.Potyomkin to P.S.Potyomkin issued in April 3, 1783, in: Armenian-Russian relations 1990:239.

<sup>5</sup> Precisely as *Persians* were identified the local “indigenous peoples” in the first descriptions of the Muslim population of Baku. See: Tagiev 1999: 44.

anyway rests upon the support of these nameless Muslim masses. As such the Empire had chosen the scanty community of anti-Persian oriented local Turks. It took them from the “brace” of the regional Muslim *umma*, renamed them “Caucasian Tatars”<sup>6</sup> and, according to the logics of that policy, granted them with all possible privileges. According to the 1846 rescript, the Empire opened doors of civil services before the sons of Caucasian-Tatar Muslim aristocracy, actively contributing in the replenishment of their number. But the “ethnic-political *perestroika*” was not completed by this act. It turned out that the initial confessional line *Christians - Muslims* for separating the peoples of Eastern Transcaucasia did not secure the neutrality of the Russian community in future conflicts on which the Empire might rely upon while dealing with this complicated region in future. Christian Russians whose influx was permanently increased, involuntarily had to become acting side of conflicts, if the “confessional portrait” of the region would not be changed. Soon in the political usage was introduced a new, this time ethnic-confessional line of separation. Was chosen a new tandem of the concept *Muslims - Armenians* which fixed the main sides of future conflicts. Through a number of political reboots the terminological evolution took shape of a format acceptable for the Empire consisting of three key concepts – **Armenians, Muslims, Caucasian Tatars**. In this format were clearly designated the sides of future conflicts, in the Muslim mass was distinguished a reliance in the policy of de-Iranization, were driven into the zone of politically marginalized those peoples and ethnic groups who gravitate to Iran, and, finally, in the future conflicts was secured the neutrality of Russians living in the region.

The highlighting of “Caucasian Tatars” in the Muslim mass and granting them economic and other privileges attracted into this section of the society unnamed masses of migrants from Persia - *workers*<sup>7</sup>, whose influx was not hampered by the Empire, because of a need of working force in this rapidly developing region. In the mixer established by the Empire “Caucasian Tatars” (i.e. heterogeneous population of the region to which was attached this epithet) at the beginning of the XIX century although became the most populous in the Muslim mass, they did not gain ethnic identity. It was not an ethnic but statistical commonality. But precisely that faceless statistical

<sup>6</sup> Here brackets are in place since it was clarified that this was not ethnic commonality but heterogeneous tribal groups who migrated from Persia to Russia *en masse* especially after the elimination of serfdom in 1861 and were nominated as such by imperial services.

<sup>7</sup> A large part of nameless ethnic mass of migrants from Azerbaijan (north-western province of Persia) comprise Turkish-speaking “nomadic pastoralist and marauding tribes” which, as it is mentioned in the encyclopedic dictionary of Brockhaus and Efron, were settling down near the cities and were engaged in brigandage (See: Brockhaus and Efron, vol.I: 213). The number of migrants as to the last quarter of the XIX century, according to Russian services, was about one million people who replenished the army of laborers in industrial Apsheron peninsula and settled down in the fertile valleys of Kura and Araxes – in the areas most suitable for pastoralists. This influx of ethnically heterogeneous and mostly Turkish speaking mass of migrants, attributed to Caucasian Tatars by Russian administration had determined the turning point in the demographic situation of Eastern Transcaucasia in the sense of increase of the community named by the Russian administration as *Caucasian Tatars*.

commonality became suitable for services of the Empire in her political operations in the region. It was supposed that due to uncertainty of ethnic affiliation and almost complete illiteracy, in contrast to Armenians and Georgians, it would not pretend on the creation of national statehood, would not be involved into social movements and, therefore, could not represent political threat for the Empire. Perhaps, in the XIX century it became the main motivation for the Empire to favor them.<sup>8</sup> But towards Armenians the attitude of the Empire at the end of the XIX and beginning of the XX centuries became markedly negative. Were closed Armenian schools, taken away monastic lands and property of churches which became reason for the growth of antimonarchic attitude among the Armenians. In response, in 1905-1907 the Tsarist secret police began to incite against Armenians Caucasian Tatars throughout whole Transcaucasia provoking them to organize massacres. The Empire already regarded Caucasian Tatars not only as the factor of de-Iranization but also a punitive power.<sup>9</sup> Imperial services gave to massacres the name of “Armenian-Tatar clashes”, hiding the aggressive side of these “clashes”, and their sympathy to them.<sup>10</sup> **Economic, administrative and other privileges of Caucasian Tatars in the 1905-1907 Armenian massacres outgrow into the privilege of robbery and violence. On the one hand still unfading nomadic habits of assigning someone else’s property and on the other hand the ethnic impersonality became the moral-psychological leaven, which triggered the transformation of granted social privileges into privileges of permissiveness and violence. In this way the masses of nomadic migrants which did not have ethnic identity, and had “become” Caucasian Tatars, received sanction on permissiveness in regard to Armenians and indigenous Islamic peoples.**

But at the end of the XIX century the imperial policy of de-Iranization brought to unforeseen results. The educated part of the new generation of “Caucasian Tatars” looked towards Istanbul and became bearer of the ideas of Pan-Turkism. In fact, the policy of Eastern Transcaucasia’s de-Iranization took the form of Turkification of this region. An apparent mistake in calculations to the benefit of numerous agents of Istanbul in the region. Turkish agents, better than the highest Russian administration, evaluated the perspectives of imperial policy of de-Iranization and acted in that direction. **Whatever it was, the output of implemented policy was not “the product” the Empire expected to receive. It cultivated a power hostile to her at the expense of peoples which were natural allies, at which had pointed count Illarion Ivanovich Vorontsov-Dashkov, the governor of the Caucasus.**<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Probably, it was also assumed that by this mass could not appear social-economic pretensions in view of their undisputed privileges in those spheres of social life.

<sup>9</sup> On the policy of mobilization of Caucasian Tatars by the Empire in order to punish Armenians points Vorovskij, one of the notable Bolsheviks, See: Vorovskij 1933: 106-107.

<sup>10</sup> To these events is dedicated the book of Alexander Novikov, ex-governor of Baku (1902-1904)(Novikov2015).

<sup>11</sup> “Your Majesty is aware,- writes to Nicholas II the viceroy of the Caucasus,- that during the whole history of our relations with Turkey regarding Caucasus until the 1877-1878 war which ended with the attachment to our territory modern Batumi and Kars regions, the Russian policy permanently, beginning from Peter the Great rests on the

In such atmosphere at the Caucasus in 1917 the Russian empire was thrown into whirlpool of upheavals and disintegration. In November, just after Petrograd and Moscow, in the industrial Baku was established Soviet power. Armenians became the national support for Soviet power since they were afraid of the secession of the region from Russia due to the threat of Turkish invasion. Armenians who had important positions in the economy of the region were aware that by the Soviet power they could lose their property. But in that moment they made a choice not between Socialism and Capitalism but between genocidal Turkey and Soviet Russia.

### **1918-1920: FROM PERMISSIVENESS TO GENOCIDAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND BEHAVIOR DURING THE TURKISH INTERVENTION IN TRANSCAUCASIA**

In March 1918, the deputies of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly from Transcaucasia who 'came back from Petrograd', formed Transcaucasian Seim in Tbilisi in order to establish a breakaway state -Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic (TDFR) which actually survived only about one month and was dissolved in May, 1918, due to the efforts of external forces (mostly Turkey). In May 26, Georgia announced about its exit from TDFR. In May 27, the Muslim fraction of Transcaucasian Seim adopted the text of the Declaration of the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan (DRA), and in May 28, 1918, declared its independence the Republic of Armenia. Turks waited for the dissolution of TDFR expecting to put an end to Armenia and Armenians and at the same time give over the power in Baku to the government of DRA consisting mainly from the members of "Musavat" party.<sup>12</sup>

On the first day of its independence the Republic of Armenia defended his right to live in the battles at Sardarapat and Bash Aparan against invading Turkish army. Turks did not succeed to fulfill their goal of elimination of revived Armenian state. But they get a chance to continue intervention towards Baku, en route setting on fire dozens of Armenian settlements. In September 15, 1918, Baku was captured. Due to the bayonets of Turkish army and with the assist of the German expeditionary corpus the government of DRA "arrived" in Baku. During three days Turkish soldiers and the crowds of Caucasian Tatars organized a "bloody feast".Tens of thousands of Armenian civilians

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friendly attitude towards Armenians who reciprocated with active assistance during military actions ... Only in 90s of the last century that original policy towards Armenians has been drastically changed during the Sassoun massacre when Armenians were categorically refused by the prince Lobanov-Rostovskij in intercession before Turkey. Your Majesty is well aware to what sad results brought the change of our policy, due to failed measures undertaken in regard to Armenian church in Russia, creating anti-Russian attitude of all Armenians in general including also Russian subjects who were thereby involved in revolutionary movement hostile to the Russian government ... I think, Sir, that now it is time to return to the original Russian policy of patronage of Turkish Armenians and it is absolutely necessary to find only those forms to which now it will turn into" (See: Red archive, № 1, (26) 1928: 118-120).

<sup>12</sup> Although the latter was not declared, probably "remained on the paper", unless the interference of Turkey into the ethnic-political processes of Transcaucasia.

fell victims to massacre.<sup>13</sup> Handling with Baku Turkish army moved to Mountainous Karabagh (Artsakh) in order to execute the citadel of Armenians in the region. But in October 18, 1918, the Karabagh forces of self-defence crashed the Turks near the village of Mrmna. By the order of Entente the Turks who were defeated in World war left the region. But during that short period they had succeeded to change the ethnic-political situation in the region. It concerns not only the overthrowing of legitimate power in Baku and its transfer to the "imported government" of Musavatists. They involved Caucasian Tatars into the *pogroms* of Armenians, and this time not on the "economic jealousy" but ethnic hatred and aggressive intolerance. The Musavatist government continued its policy of extermination of Armenians in March 1920 in Shushi, the historical capital city of Artsakh setting on fire the city and organizing the massacre of more than 30.000 inhabitants of the city and nearby villages. **Fully infected by the virus of genocidal consciousness from the Turks in the course of Turkish intervention Caucasian Tatars passed through further spiritual-political mutation. Their diverse mass in the condition of the absence of own historical-cultural heritage as a basis for consolidation found commonality in the hatred towards their opponents in the ethnic-political problems of the region - towards Armenians and other indigenous nations - and began to identify himself on that basis.**

In 1919 DRA which was established by the Turkish army and had large territorial claims (from Baku to Batumi including also Armenian Mountainous Karabagh) applied for the membership of the League of Nations but was refused. In fact, DRA claims over the territories where it did not have neither administrative nor military and political presence. In April 28, 1920, DRA stepped off the stage of history without being recognized or actually undefined borders when the XI Red army of Soviet Russia entered Baku, deposed the Musavatist government appointed by the Turkish army and "established" the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan (Az.SSR). Az.SSR was not the successor of DRA, but as further events show, inside the elite circles of the republic were preserved spiritual state of hatred towards Armenians and to all indigenous nations. After all, participants of recent massacres in Baku and those who burnt down Shushi joined communists.

#### **1920-1930s: FROM PROMOTION UNTIL CLOSING OF THE PROJECT OF INTERNATIONAL AZ.SSR AS THE COMMON STATE OF ARMENIANS AND MUSLIMS**

Still before coming to power the future Turkish leader Kemal Atatürk who promised Moscow to become the outpost of "red revolution" in the East, in 1921 succeeded in the incorporation of Armenian lands of Nakhijevan and Mountainous Karabagh into the limits of Azerbaijan. In the political background Armenian communists were calmed

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<sup>13</sup> The practice of creating new satellite-state by Turkey outside its borders as the consequence of intervention was used when in 1974 it "established" the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

down by saying that Soviet Azerbaijan should be the embodiment of the idea of fundamentally new solution of the national problem in the conditions of socialism. It was presaged the status of non-national (were current also such terms as *cosmopolitan*) republic, an international republic without the title nation. Moreover, the concept of *international* was understood not as a synonym to the concept of *multi-national* what actually was Eastern Transcaucasia. Political meaning of the concept "international Azerbaijan" exactly pointed on non-national character of the republic but on the common state for peoples inhabiting it. Two communities - Muslims and Armenians should comprise the main "human material" for the building of that non-national state. The inherited from the Russian empire perception of Eastern Transcaucasia as an Armenian-Muslim region represented through the tandem of the concept "Armenians - Muslims" stood until 1930s. In the official and non-official documents the concepts *Armenians* and *Muslims* constantly figure as a pair, stressing the unique legal-political character of Az.SSR as a new type of socialist cosmopolitan republic without title nation.<sup>14</sup> It remains distinctive the wording which starts actually the unaccepted but realized decision of the Caucasian bureau dated to June 5, 1921, according to which Mountainous Karabagh against the will of its population was included into Az.SSR. The document begins with these words: "Because of the need of national peace between Muslims and Armenians..." which proves that precisely Armenians and Muslims were both sides of the ethnic-political dispute around the national-state organization of Az.SSR. Another "background argument" in the tearing away of Mountainous Karabagh and Nakhijevan from Armenia was the idea that in the unified union of the USSR which was going to be established, the borders of republics would be of no significance for the citizens of this great federation. At the beginning seemingly were maintained all formalities of the building of non-national Az.SSR. The autonomy was substantiated as a Soviet form of national-state formation, highlighting it in this status in separate allocation in its yearly economic reports.<sup>15</sup> On the flag and emblem of the Autonomous Republic of Nakhijevan along with the Turkish name was written also in Armenian. Armenian was recognized as the language of relations with the Autonomous Republic of Mountainous Karabagh. In the preamble of the decree concerning the establishment of Armenian autonomy, while speaking about the events of 1905-1907, it was intentionally underlined that the goal of the Soviet power is to secure brotherly cooperation of peoples "in the unified state union".<sup>16</sup> In the VI Congress of the Communist party of Azerbaijan its political leader S.M.Kirov had underlined that with the establishment of the Autonomous Republic of Mountainous Karabagh is ensured the "legal presence of Armenian people in the limits of Soviet Azerbaijan".<sup>17</sup> During the first years it seems that

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<sup>14</sup> Precisely the phrase "strong cosmopolitan center and source of class revolution in the East" was used in the letter sent to Moscow in the summer of 1920 by outstanding peoples of different nationalities among whom also Nariman Narimanov, the leader of Azerbaijan, where was put forward this idea (See: Guliev 1989 (ed.): 39). <https://bit.ly/2whRzKP>

<sup>15</sup> See: Guliev 1989: 273.

<sup>16</sup> See: Collection of legalizations 1923: 384-385.

<sup>17</sup> S.M.Kirov, Report on the VI congress of the C(b)PA. 05.05.1924, APD APA, coll. 1, l. 169, f. 249/11, p. 3.

political processes were in accordance with the creation of the common state for Armenians and Muslims in Az.SSR. But following actions of the Bolshevik center showed that the project of non-national (international) Azerbaijan was no more than cover for the looting of Armenian lands. Soon in Az.SSR, in the non-national Soviet republic, were undertaken measures on the implementation of political indigenization, ousting of the representatives of other nationalities from the state and party apparatus and implementation of Caucasian Tatars into these structures.<sup>18</sup> The policy of indigenization in Az.SSR proceeded especially actively, although it was provided specifically for national republics but not for the international republic of Azerbaijan. The Lenin's cohort of Bolsheviks acts in accordance with the Turkish designed program of the establishment of new Turkish state in Eastern Transcaucasia. But at the end of 1920s and early 1930s Stalin decided to realize the building of new "Azerbaijani nation" instead of this "outpost of socialism in the East". He decided to correct the mistake of the Tsarist Russia and Bolsheviks in the national policy of the region which brought to the Turkification (exactly Turkification but not Türkification) of Caucasian Tatars.<sup>19</sup>

**1930-1988s: MUTATION OF STALIN'S PROJECT OF AZERBAIJANI NATIONS' BUILDING. FURTHER METAMORPHOSIS WITH THE BAGGAGE OF GENOCIDOGIC CULTURE: FROM CAUCASIAN TATARS TO AZERBAIJANIANS**

The idea laid on the basis of Stalin's project seems simple: "melting in one boiler" the Islamic peoples and other peoples of the republic and get a new nation which would be equally distinct from Persian and Turkish identities. The building of new nation was

<sup>18</sup> The meaning of *political indigenization* lies in the preparing of national personnel in the national republics. More detailed on this see: Sventekhovskij, Russian governance, modernizing elites and the rise of national identity in Azerbaijan. [http://www.sakharov-center.ru/publications/azrus/az\\_016.htm](http://www.sakharov-center.ru/publications/azrus/az_016.htm)

<sup>19</sup> The Turkish world is not homogeneous in genetic as well as in historical-cultural aspect. The map of Kazakhs' genetics proves the high percentage of Chingizids among them.

<http://xn--clacc6aafal.c.xn--plai/?page%20id=349>)

This is not true for the Transcaucasian and Ottoman Turks. Their linguistic communality with Kazakhs or Kirgizis are derived from historical circumstances. In the context of our topic is more important not so much the genetic but historical-cultural and psychological remoteness of the Turks from the rest of Turkish peoples. The nomadic Turk who appeared in the area of sedentary peoples and establishes an empire, faces a choice: either master the high culture of sedentary peoples and being assimilated into them, or assimilate these peoples by forcing them to adopt its own culture. Turks had chosen the second path, which in the course of centuries had developed in them aggressive forms of attitude towards enslaved peoples, leading to the genocide of Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians. These cultural codes of Turks' behavior simply could not come into existence by Kazakhs or Turkmens. The remoteness of Turks from other peoples of the Turkish world in the sense of political culture gives reason to fix that difference in the concepts "Turk" and "Türk". Other Turkish peoples are not responsible in any way for the crimes committed by the Turks. But it appears that some Turks are trying to associate the whole Turkish world to the criminal conduct of Turks against humanity. For example, in the connection with the fact that in January 2012, the Senate of France had supported the bill which introduces criminal prosecution for the rejection of Armenian genocide in the Ottoman empire during World War I, the Azerbaijani filmmaker and screenwriter Rustam Ibrahimbekov stated: "The anti-Turkish tendency of the new law is evident. But in fact the representatives of the whole Turkish world are becoming its hostages ...". <https://novostink.net/politics/30554-velika-poterya-ibragimbekov-otkazalsya-ot-francuzskogo-ordena.html>

thought to be realized at the expense of the culture and history of non-Turkish indigenous peoples. And this is clear. The Turkish speaking tribes who had come from Persia and were called *Caucasian Tatars* by the Empire, did not have historical connections with this region and possess with necessary material and spiritual background for the realization of the program as well.<sup>20</sup> By Stalin, in this boiler Caucasian Tatars (already partly Turkified) who had become bearers of the history and cultural values of indigenous peoples would feel themselves not as Turks but just Azerbaijani nation.<sup>21</sup> The great Persian poet Nizami Gyanjevi was declared as Azerbaijani poet, only on the grounds that he lived and worked in Gandzak (Gyanja). That fate was shared by those Iranian poets who at least once had visited "these places" or were born in the Iranian province of *Azerbaijan*.<sup>22</sup> All this was accompanied with the persecution of indigenous non-Turkish peoples and their displacement from the ethnic map of the republic, looting of their history and culture for the benefit of the "nation under project". Should be remembered the notorious tax "Lezgi pul" regarding the teaching of mother tongue for indigenous nations. Only the parents of those schoolchildren were exempted from taxes who registered themselves as Azerbaijani. In the whirlpool of assimilating processes were involved actually all non-Turkish peoples of the republic, including Armenians. Are well known the attempts of Azerbaijanization of medieval Armenian historians and cultural figures such as Movses Kaghankatvatsi, Kirakos Gandzaketsi, Mkhitar Gosh etc. Were usurped monuments of Armenian culture on the territory of Az.SSR, including *khachkars*. Having failed in this attempt of robbery of the cultural heritage of other people, in 2005 in Baku was destroyed the biggest medieval cemetery of *khachkars* which was included in the list of non-material cultural heritage of the humanity. The authorities in Baku did not permit the representatives of UNESCO to the place of the crime which was characterized by the British "The Guardian" as "the worst cultural genocide of the XXI century".

Azerbaijanization of the republic was new Soviet imperial project and could not be subject for appeal.<sup>23</sup> Protesters were accused in nationalism.<sup>24</sup> Moscow remained

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<sup>20</sup> Details of the nomination and promotion of the idea of a new nation named *Azerbaijanians* by Stalin has been thoroughly revealed by Aris Ghazinyan (Ghazinyan 2011).

<sup>21</sup>It has also a geopolitical idea. Turks named the state established by them in 1918 Azerbaijan, usurping it from the north-western Iranian province in order to create in the future Great Azerbaijan at his expense. Stalin was fine in the realization of the Turkish project of Great Azerbaijan at an appropriate moment but in the "Soviet execution". During World War II he was close to the realization of that idea. In the post-Soviet period it appears again in the folder of Turkish geopolitical plans.

<sup>22</sup> To the looting of cultural values of other peoples by the newborn nation is dedicated the book by Asatryan and Gevorgyan 1990.

<sup>23</sup> Azerbaijanization of the republic which had started in 1930s, continues until today. The new nation had not come into existence yet. As a result of Azerbaijanization, instead of the conglomerate of Caucasian Tatars appeared the conglomerate of Azeris with the preservation of nucleus of political orientation on Turkey. In the post-Soviet conditions is in progress the process of returning of people to their ethnic roots, their exit from the national underground. By Lezgi, Talish and other peoples of Eastern Transcaucasia gains power the movement for the restoration of their ethnic identity. "Azerbaijanians" are statistical but not ethnic commonality, as were "Caucasian Tatars".

hostage of the forged Stalin project of the building of new Azerbaijani nation and after the death of the "peoples' father", although discrepancies between the initial vision and the results of its realization were evident. **Stalin's project of the building of new Azerbaijani nation in practice was transformed into the project of ultimate formation of a new Turkified state and society – bearer of sophisticated forms of genocidal policy and behavior.** After all, the informed participation in the looting and usurping of the history and culture of other peoples expects a man of special spiritual attitude. Much of the inner "kitchen" of this transformation has not been revealed yet. Has not been opened archives concerning the case of Baghirov – the first secretary of the Communist party of Azerbaijan who over 30 years drew the "party line" by the forced Azerbaijanization of indigenous non-Turkish peoples of the republic. Nonetheless, it could not be said that the project of Azerbaijanization of Islamic peoples of the republic was materialized. Indigenous peoples went into peculiar national underground and although to all them were given passports where was written "Azerbaijani", they know "by themselves" who was Turk and who not. Since in the post-Soviet conditions this "chimeric ethnos" immediately showed features of decomposition<sup>25</sup>.

#### **1988-1991: CENTER AND THE GENOCIDE OF ARMENIANS OF AZ.SSR**

During the Soviet decades the problem of Mountainous Karabagh permanently emerged. The authorities of Soviet Armenia repeatedly raised the problem of correcting mistakes made in 1921. Highest authorities were "bothered" also by the people of Mountainous Karabagh who several times sent appeals to the Center demanding the restoration of historical truth and reunification of the region with Arm.SSR. Taking into account these appeals, in November 23, 1977, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the USSR gave its conclusion regarding the problem. Mentioning that "Mountainous Karabagh was artificially attached to Azerbaijan", the Presidium concluded: "Mountainous Karabagh ("Artsakh" in Armenian) must be attached to the Arm.SSR. By this everything should be in its legitimate place".<sup>26</sup> But this was not done. Hopes of joining with the motherland became more realistic when in 1985-1987 M.Gorbachev, the new leader of the USSR declared the "course of *perestroika* and *glasnost*". Peoples' delegations who visited the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) brought back encouraging news saying that the Center favors "our requests and demands".<sup>27</sup> In institutions and meetings of the party people began to speak openly on that topic which was unthinkable before. With such prehistory in

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<sup>24</sup> In reality, indigenous peoples did not disappear although they were partly Azerbaijanized. Many of them went into peculiar national underground. Harrassments and persecutions were especially cruel towards the main opponent to this policy – Armenians.

<sup>25</sup> «It would seem that the finally found identity (ethnonym, linguonym) suddenly began to split into regional components "Türks" - "non-Türks". See: Badalov 2001: 274.

<sup>26</sup> Barseghov 2008: 665.

<sup>27</sup> About this wrote Vazgen Manukyan, one of the leaders of Karabagh movement (Manukyan 2002: 36).

February 20, 1988, the Extraordinary session of the people's deputies of the regional Council of the Nagorno-Karabagh Autonomous Region (NKAO) appealed to the Supreme Councils of Az.SSR, Arm.SSR, and USSR to consider and positively decide the problem of the transfer of the *oblast* from Azerbaijan to Armenia. This problem was not considered. It was re-addressed to the crowd of Azeris who were replenished by criminals and which the next day after the decision of the Regional Council moved from Agdam towards Stepanakert to "bring order there". The crowd did not reach Stepanakert. On the Agdam-Stepanakert highway they were blocked by the residents of Askeran. The campaign to Stepanakert did not take place. By the end of the day it turned out that two young Azeris had been killed. One of them – Ali Gajiev was killed by an unknown Azeri policeman who was then taken away by another policeman from Agdam. This fact was proved by all people who were there.<sup>28</sup> Only a month later was opened a criminal case but it remained undisclosed. At these same days from Arm.SSR (from the city of Kapan) where to that date were not registered inter-ethnic disputes, the Azeri population began to leave in orderly fashion. The city authorities began to negotiate with the leaders of the neighboring Azerbaijani regions and they succeeded in persuading some to return to their houses. But they failed to convince all people. By reaching Baku they were re-directed to Sumgait where on the organized meetings they inflamed the crowd by means of false stories about violence against Azeris in Kapan. In this strained situation Katusev, the deputy Prosecutor-General of the USSR who came to the region, spoke on television saying in regard to the murder of two Azeris near Askeran in a manner which showed that they were killed by the Armenians. The provokers from Kapan and Katusev "worked synchronously" and directed the furious crowd against the Armenians. Only two days later in the city arrived actually unarmed cadets of the Interior Ministry of the USSR who were ordered "not to interfere!". Gorbachev, Secretary-general of CPSU (Communist party of the Soviet Union) on the session of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR held in June 18, 1988, strongly denied that the accident was genocidal act. He claimed the motives of the crime as being «hooliganism». His ominous question "Have you thought about Armenians of Baku?" addressed to the Armenian participants of the session of the Presidium of the Supreme Council, in fact, did have the sense of a sanction on the continuation of massacres. A single court case was divided into several unrelated processes. In Baku the position of the Center was understood appropriately and already in the Autumn of 1988 had begun meetings demanding to release the "heroes of Sumgait". Waves of massacres involved all Az.SSR.

Like in 1988, during the following two decades, in evaluating "events in the Mountainous Karabagh and around it" (from February 1988 exactly such a label was

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<sup>28</sup> See: Vasilevskij 1988. The uncle of Ali Gajiev who worked at the Stepanakert motor depot, told his friends about this. As in Agdam, in Stepanakert all people know that detail regarding the incident. Katusev could not be unaware, especially given the fact that Henrich Poghosyan, the newly elected leader of the communist party organization of the *oblast* explicitly asked him to take into account that fact in his statements.

attached to the events), the behavior of the Center mainly is characterized by means of the categories of *hesitation, confusion, unprofessional, inability to manage conflicts* and similar concepts. In 1988-1991 perhaps Soviet analysts could not suppose other suggestion. In the higher political circles of post-Soviet Russia until now prevails a cautious *tabu* on the topic of the behavior of the Secretary-general and his Central Committee associates (Yakovlev, Yeltsin, Shevardnadze).<sup>29</sup> The problem is delicate. The contribution of Gorbachev into the dissolution of the USSR is highly estimated by the West which regards him as the main engineer in the dismantling of the "evil empire". It is no coincidence that in October 15, 1990, when in the country ruled by him were raged *pogroms* and massacres, he was awarded with the Nobel prize. Obviously, in Kremlin people fear that the West could take the criticism of Gorbachev as a proof of its intention to restore the USSR. Gorbachev's merit in the dissolution of the USSR is evaluated positively also in the newly created states on the post-Soviet space. After all, just he, destroying the USSR handed them independence. We refrain from historical-political evaluation of the project of the disintegration of the USSR in favor of Union republics and people who had materialized it. This topic needs special study. Meanwhile, actually every month in Russia (and not only in Russia) is published a book claiming that Gorbachev was a traitor.

The topic declared in the headline of our article in the context of the objective consideration of Gorbachev's team oriented on the elimination of the USSR is relevant in two aspects. The first is that in the actions of the Secretary-general of CPSU in any other sphere so evidently is exposed his intention to eliminate the USSR as in the conflict "around Mountainous Karabagh". The second aspect is connected with deeper penetration of Azerbaijani society into the mentality of aggressiveness, permissiveness, and impunity.

Above we had focused on the events of the first days of the conflict not coincidentally. The march of the crowd from Agdam on Stepanakert, not detaining the policeman who publicly killed Ali Gajiev and nondisclosure of that case, organized exit of Azeris from peaceful Kapan and their arrival in Sumgait for participation in meetings, a delay on almost three days of the army's entry into the city—all these could take place only with the knowledge of the Center. It wasn't about confusion or hesitation and even more so in the ability of highest USSR authorities. Center was able to stop these events, and it needs to have an idea about the might of the Soviet special services in order to doubt it. And therefore the events of 1988-1991 "in Mountainous Karabagh and around it" receive more reliable explanation in the context of other assumption, unthinkable in 1988: Gorbachev and his team worked towards the dismantling of the USSR into Union republics.

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<sup>29</sup> In March 2011, D. Medvedev, the president of the Russian Federation awarded Gorbachev with the order of St. Andrew, mentioning that he sees it as a "symbol of respect to the state ... which was our common motherland – Soviet Union". After all, Medvedev was aware that precisely during Gorbachev USSR ceased to exist. Were these words ambiguous or not, is difficult to say. The fact is that Moscow still refrains from evaluation of the Secretary-general's and his command's acts directed upon the dismantling of the USSR. <https://ria.ru/20110302/341189157.html>

This political version we had tested in an article dealing with this goal and discovered that in the conflict around Mountainous Karabagh there is not a single event of 1988-1991 which could contradict to this statement.<sup>30</sup> Everything is becoming clear. The goal of dismantling of the USSR by the Union republics supposed to find most vulnerable point in that construction. All people know that it lies in inter-ethnic relations. Gorbachev also knows it. Why was chosen Mountainous Karabagh? Because its people during the Soviet period never condoned arbitrariness committed against him and was ready to "enter through the opened doors of *glasnost*", to reach the solution of the Karabagh problem based upon Truth and Right. It was believed that Gorbachev's declared course on democratization and *glasnost* gave people possibility to 'reach out to the top'. That possibility was granted. In 1987 under the petition addressed to the Central Committee of CPSU demanding to correct the historical mistake and give back Mountainous Karabagh to Soviet Armenia was signed actually by all adult population of the region. Unique referendum! Nobody was persecuted nobody was arrested like in the past in similar cases. People think that the course of *glasnost* handed them a chance for a fair solution of the problem. But soon after it became clear that *glasnost* was declared not for the fair solution of the problem. It was revealed immediately after the publication of the decision of NKAO *oblast* council requesting the administrative re-subordination of the *oblast*. In February 24 the newspaper "Pravda" informed that the Central Committee of CPSU examining that request evaluated it as the act conducted by "extremist individuals". Central Committee of CPSU concluded: "actions and demands directed on the revision of current national-territorial system contradict the interests of the working peoples of Azerbaijani and Armenian SSR and harms inter-ethnic relations". But only a month before the delegation of that same "extremist individuals" was given "pink hopes" in Moscow.<sup>31</sup>

With the provocation near Askeran and Sumgait massacre the petition of the NKAO *oblast* council to "*consider the problem*" was moved into the plane of bloody conflict, turning it into a detonator of explosive charge of national relations. Center was not interested how it could affect the fate of the peoples of the region. Keeping an eye

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<sup>30</sup> Manasyan 2016.

<sup>31</sup> That was another delegation of representatives of estimated intellectuals of NKAO and was received by P.N.Demichev, the candidate to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of CPSU, V.A.Mikhailov, head of the department of inter-ethnic relations of Central Committee of CPSU, at the beginning of February – by A.A.Gromiko, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. Precisely Mikhailov gave positive answer to the question of Karabagh leaders when asked if there exists hope on justly solution to the problem. After the delegation were back to home, in Stepanakert appeared leaflets evidently written under the impression of Moscow meeting: "People of Karabagh, the fate of our *oblast* depends only on us thanks to *perestroika*, *glasnost* and democracy. It is time to organize in principal facilities, collective farms and Soviet farms of the *oblast* overall party, labor union and *komsomol* meetings, and in the agenda should be introduced a problem of reunification with the Motherland. The spirit of *glasnost* and democracy should become an impulse for the open and sincere discussion of the problem. Extracts from the resolution of these meetings, certified by seals, should be sent to the Central Committee of CPSU" (See: "Black garden": how the downfall of the USSR started. [https://www.bbc.com/russian/russia/2013/02/130131\\_karabakh\\_history.shtml](https://www.bbc.com/russian/russia/2013/02/130131_karabakh_history.shtml)).

on the rhythms of the conflict, by means of provocative articles (mostly in "Pravda") and telecasts by central TV the Center permanently adds fuel to the fire when protest movement declined.<sup>32</sup> As justification of his policy the Center puts forward also legal arguments. They came down to the Article 78 of the Constitution of the USSR that without the approval of the republic the transfer of the *oblast* from Az.SSR to Arm.SSR is impossible.<sup>33</sup> As to the USSR, its history knows over twenty cases of the transfer of territories from one republic to other or the change of the status.<sup>34</sup> Could the Center enter the problem solving process into familiar course knowing that Mountainous Karabagh was attached to Az.SSR forcibly, that Armenians were displaced from Nakhijevan actually completely and that in relation to NKAO Baku pursues the same policy of de-Armenization. Indeed could! There was every reason for the positive answer on the petition of NKAO *oblast* council. But they didn't take even at the formal consideration of the problem. The negative answer was ready beforehand. Main argument of the Center was Article 78 of the Constitution according to which the territory of the Union republic could not be changed without his approval. This argument which attributed some integrity to the sovereignty of the republics, became crucial in the behavior of the Center. All its meaningful steps during 1988-1991 receive explanation exactly in the context of the dismantling of the USSR into Union republics, for which the Karabagh conflict (also other conflicts "emerged overnight") served as necessary background on the way of its realization. The Sumgait massacre, following acts of mass violence throughout all republic, bloody *pogroms* of Armenians in Baku in January 1990, the blockade of NKAO and Armenia by Azerbaijan, all these events might show the breaking down of the Soviet state system due to the conflicts between Union republics. But unbiased analysis of 1988-1991 events proves the reverse: inter-ethnic problems were transformed into the conflicts for the sake of the dismantling of the USSR into Union republics. From this it follows that **not the request of the NKAO *oblast* council on re-subordination of the *oblast* but the Sumgait massacre and following *pogroms* of Armenians<sup>35</sup> starts the process of USSR's decay, since just they**

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<sup>32</sup> From the mid-November, 1988, during the whole month in Baku were razed protest rallies against cutting of relic trees in the place Khachin tap for the building of a guest house there for the Yerevan plant of aluminum, while in that place never existed trees! The Center could dispel this false information and defuse the heat of passion by means of a single TV report. It just needed to say the truth. Aware of the truth the Center concealed it in the case of the Askeran incident, Sumgait massacre, the exit of Azeris from Kapan. Lie served as a flywheel in the promotion of the conflict.

<sup>33</sup> In the interview given to the TV channel ArmNews in August 2020, Paul Goble, as a response to the question concerning his plan of the Mountainous Karabagh conflict's regulation mentioned as being strange the circumstance that many experts were completely unaware that during the Soviet years happened numerous cases of the change of Union republic's borders. <https://bit.ly/32zMUzY>

<sup>34</sup> The bloody January 1990 in Baku revealed Gorbachev's falsity of the statement that the army was late in Sumgait only three hours. Survivors testify that the vandals were rioting in the city at least two days "without witnesses". As to the entry of army into Baku, it was impossible to conceal the truth. The army waited in the Baku airport almost a week until the rioters could finish their job.

<sup>35</sup> Massacres and *pogroms* of Armenians in DRA and Az.SSR were not limited with beating and looting. They were accompanied with mass killing of civilians and were acts of genocide.

**showed that the Center which was able to stop the vandalism and secure physical safety of the unified state's citizens, took the side of the thugs.** By the way, from Az.SSR came first call about the legal downfall of the USSR when in January 19, 1990, the Nakhijevan ASR declared of its independence and exit from the USSR. This act was preceded by *pogroms* of Armenians of Nakhijevan and destruction of the 700 km length state border with Iran. The USSR dismantling project could not be oriented on the civil solution of the existing inter-ethnic problem. Blood and a victim were needed. **On the altar of the downfall of the USSR became the Armenian population of Az.SSR which several decades before that was a target of sophisticated technology of "soft" pressure.**

**In the bloody butchery of 1988-1991 had suffered genocide the people - co-founder of that Soviet republic. In the context of our topic is actual the conclusion resulting from that said above: Az.SSR and Caucasian Tatars who "became" Azeri concluded their residence in the USSR with deeper rooting of aggressive permissiveness in the public conscience and confidence in impunity for their crimes against humanity.**

#### **FEEDING OF GENOCIDAL BEHAVIOR OF AZERBAIJAN IN THE COURSE AND AFTER THE FALL OF THE USSR**

Reminding the *pogroms* in Sumgait, by the November 19, 1989 Resolution the USA Congress obliged executive authorities to contribute to the achievement of the conflict around Mountainous Karabagh in the bilateral negotiations with the Soviet leadership "which could truly reflect opinion of the population of the region".<sup>36</sup> A whole list of documents accepted in the capital cities of Western states could be compiled which express concerns regarding the fate of Armenians, victims of mass violence in Az.SSR. All were aware of committed atrocities. But at the same time the West didn't hide his sympathies towards Gorbachev. Not without reason in October 15, 1990, when in the country ruled by him fires were burning he was awarded the Nobel prize for his "leading role in the peace process", as it was said in the statement of the Nobel committee. On this background statements and resolutions which condemn bloody *pogroms* of Armenians should have been arranged in the wording which bypasses the responsibility of the Secretary-general for the embedding into chaos 1/6 part of the planet towards such "peace process". For such large-scaled project of the USSR's dismantling the tortures to which were doomed Armenians of Az.SSR, probably were perceived by the authors of the project as regrettable but also as its inevitable details.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.congress.gov/bill/101st-congress/senate-joint-resolution/178/text/es>

<sup>37</sup> Unlike states, the conscience of world community on behalf of leading philosophers, sociologists, rights defenders, and public figures of the XX century from Europe, Canada, and USA sent an Open letter addressed to the world community, calling things by their proper names. Authors of the letter perceived in the Armenian *pogroms* in Az.SSR continuation of the Armenian genocide in the Ottoman empire. The Open letter signed by 132 was published in the

Events of the February 1988 described in the last paragraph didn't leave room for doubt that the USSR's dismantling project through inter-ethnic hatred was in the working folders of the West already during the days of the Sumgait *pogrom*.

Who is the author of that project? It is probable that it was designed and initiated by the Secretary-general of CPSU himself and his command, and the new course of "*Perestroika* and *glasnost!*" served as cover. In this version the West had to support only the process of "democratization of the evil empire" launched by its new leader which was openly done. It is possible also that the hint on key ideas originated from the West which provided support to the Secretary-general of CPSU in the course of the process in the form of prompt expertise. Like in the first case, in the second also the conviction of *pogroms* should have been of declarative character and avoided to cross the line of formal complaints, which they actually were.

Whatever it was, the West was aware of Secretary-general's goal regarding the sovereignty of the Union republics and renovation of the USSR which could be seen in his activities and speeches. That goal was USSR's dismantling by Union republics. The formula was suitable for the West. After all, precisely the West took into account the willingness of political elites of many Union republics to such dismantling, which could secure the most realistic and cheapest plan for the realization of the dismantling. Yes, for the initiation of the process a conflict needed and in the role of such became the conflict around Mountainous Karabagh. But, having a historical chance to obtain full sovereignty, republics had to postpone "their own Karabaghs", which was easy to calculate.

The attitude of the West towards the project "Dismantling by Union republics" was announced in the critical moment of events, immediately after the declaration of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus about the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in Belovezhskaya pushsha in December 8, 1991. By the decision of European Council (Maastricht, December 9-11, 1991)<sup>38</sup> in December 16, 1991, in Brussels the session of the EU at the level of foreign ministers announced about the criteria of EC for the recognition of new states in Eastern Europe and on the territory of the USSR.<sup>39</sup> Among the criteria of the official recognition of new states in Eastern Europe and on the territory of the USSR was also "respect for the inviolability of all borders which could not be changed unless peaceful means and common consent".

The states – members of EU as a requirement for the international recognition of the former Union republics put forward a demand of mutual respect of all borders. But even under such conditions among new states the Republic of Azerbaijan, like in the

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newspaper NewYorkTimes, July 27, 1990 (the text of the letter see also in [https://aga-tribunal.info/en/open\\_27-7-1990\\_en/](https://aga-tribunal.info/en/open_27-7-1990_en/)).

<sup>38</sup> The date of the session of the Council of European Union on the next day of the Belovezhsk agreement speaks in favor of the suggestion that the project of the dismantling of the USSR into Union republics was already in the EU's folder, which hurried to announce about it in order to escape complications and for the sake of acceleration of legal registration of the downfall.

<sup>39</sup> [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/998\\_119#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/998_119#Text)

past DRA and Az.SSR appear as special case. The Republic of Azerbaijan had already evaluated the Sovietization of Azerbaijan as annexation and, by refusing to be successor of Az.SSR declared the restoration of the DRA which existed in 1918-1920. The act of recognition of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the limits of Az.SSR turned out to be absolutely deprived of legal foundation, since the state whose successor the Republic of Azerbaijan had declared, was neither recognized nor actually had established borders. Europe did not notice these "details" and recognized the Republic of Azerbaijan in the borders of Az.SSR. Nonetheless, if we assume that Europe which has a custom of getting to the most insignificant details regarding other problems, could ignore this fact that does not fit the legal logic, a more striking fact contradicts not only the traditions of European legal culture but also to international law. The Republic of Azerbaijan could not have been recognized in the borders of former Az.SSR along with the Nakhijevan by virtue of the treaty of Kars of October 18, 1921, according to which it was put under the protection (but not sovereignty!) of Az.SSR.<sup>40</sup> If that treaty is to be recognized as legal nonsense from the very moment of its signing, then we have to go back to the status of Nakhijevan as the territory of Armenia recognized by Azerbaijan itself.<sup>41</sup> Another legal obstacle against the recognition of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the borders of Az.SSR is the declaration of independence of Mountainous Karabagh in full compliance with all norms of international and internal laws of the USSR. It gave preference to Azerbaijan where before December 16, 1991, i.e. until the moment of EU's criterions was never occurred any act of self-determination (referendum) on the subject of sovereignty and on that grounds the establishment of legitimate borders!

Granting the Republic of Azerbaijan with illegitimate borders, Europe continue the line of Kemalist Turks and Bolsheviks, joining them post factum and had legalized the arbitrariness towards Armenians like it was in the session of the Caucasian Bureau of Russian Communist party(b)<sup>42</sup>, and also during the signing of the Kars treaty. In justifying Europe could be suggested an argument that cases of "Karabaghs" in the USSR were many and that in December 1991 Europe might have not considered "these details". Yes, similar problems existed, but nowhere the problem was connected with the genocide of a state-forming nation which were Armenians of Az.SSR, and violation of the existing treaty. Ignorance of this fact reveals also the motives why the continuous

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<sup>40</sup> Precisely Nakhijevan was handed over to Az.SSR in the legal status of protectorate by the Young Turks and Bolsheviks by the Russian-Turkish treaty of Moscow in March 16, 1921, which already in December 1920 was recognized as an integral part of Soviet Armenia. In the treaty of Kars the status of protectorate was replaced by the status of patronage which usually is treated as being weaker form of the protectorate. The status of patronage (protectorate) means that the territory given to some state as protectorate is alien one, and legally does not belong to the protector state. Own territory could not be given to him under protection, and such legal nonsense is not registered in international practice.

<sup>41</sup> By the way, that contradictory treaty had been second time violated in 1923 when was changed the status of Nakhijevan as a protectorate territory and «presented» to it the status of autonomous republic inside Az.SSR.

<sup>42</sup> The decision of Caucasian Bureau of Russian Communist party(b) was not issued at all. It was regarded as "accepted" without discussion and voting.

mass *pogroms* of Armenians about four years throughout all Az.SSR had not been evaluated as acts of genocide by Europe. It was not just that such evaluation could cast shadow on Gorbachev who was responsible for the downfall of the USSR. The classification of bloody *pogroms* of the Az.SSR Armenians as acts of genocide could hinder the implementation of the principle of "Downfall by Union republics" on the final stage of the USSR's dismantling. Europe carefully avoided such classification of brutalities with respect to Armenians in Az.SSR, in order not to hold the side of a genocidal state while recognizing new states according to the principle "Downfall by Union republics". Already in February 1988, the Sumgait fanaticism against Armenians was not regarded as genocidal action. And in this lies indirect proof that already during those days of February 1988 the principle "Downfall by Union republics" was in the folders of the West.

But legally and morally unpleasant sides of the recognition of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the borders of Az.SSR are not limited to this. Such recognition not only released Baku from the burden of crime against humanity. By this act Europe provoked Baku to begin war against NKR in order to liberate "its" territories from Armenian "occupation". Hardly the West had considered the consequences of such attitude for the spiritual world of the Azerbaijani society when it opted for the principle of "Downfall by Union republics" for the sake of easy dismantling. It was not just a conspiracy of silence regarding the genocide of Armenians of Az.SSR. Europe granted the Republic of Azerbaijan with Armenian territories. And this could not be understood in Azerbaijan otherwise but encouragement of its behavior.

The consequences did not take long to wait. Ethnic cleanings were followed by persecution of half-breeds from mixed Armenian-Azeri marriages. Armenophobia became official ideology in the domestic and foreign policy. Propaganda of hatred towards Armenians reached to kindergartens and school textbooks. Baku started to supply Islamic fundamentalists with terrorists and financially support the Islamic state of ISIS.<sup>43</sup> Manifestation of the spiritual state of Azerbaijani society became national jubilation over the extradition of Ramil Safarov from Hungary,<sup>44</sup> who in 2004 killed in Budapest the Armenian officer Gurgen Margaryan while he sleeps, where they together were trained within the program of NATO "Partnership for peace".<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Hambaryan Gagik, The terrorist organization "Islamic state" and Azerbaijan. <https://bit.ly/3lxMxhT>

<sup>44</sup> In the Internet could be found numerous articles dedicated to that terrible story (see, for example, <https://lenta.ru/articles/2012/09/03/hero/>). Baku asked Budapest for the extradition of Safarov allegedly promising that he will be sentenced in Azerbaijan. But at the same day of his return to Baku Ilham Aliiev, the president of Azerbaijan not only signed a decree of his pardon but also raised his rank and donated him an apartment. The people cheered. The name of the murderer became very popular for the newborn children. That reminds of the cheering and fireworks in Baku in December 7, 1988, when in Armenia happen destructive earthquake of Spitak.

<sup>45</sup> Baku not only triumphantly received killers of Armenians. There exists a tradition to bury such "good guys" as national heroes. Still in 1967, with such honor was awarded Arshad Mamedov, the director of a school who committed a brutal cultic murder of an Armenian schoolboy Nelson Movsisyan. At the funeral attended top officials of the republic who promised to erect for the hero a worthy monument. For details see: <https://artsakhpress.am/rus/news/7332/>

The case of Safarov who was heroized for the murder of a sleeping man was iconic. With its habits Baku in the open went out on the international stage and, as before, got off with verbal demarches and "severe complaints". More adequate means for Baku were not found. Do not follow any sanctions for the perversion of European structures by "caviar diplomacy". Expanding the formats of self-realization and implantation of their own political-cultural standards on the international arena which had begun from the case of Safarov should have further development. Indeed, Baku had every reason for confidence that it gets away with it. In the summer of 2020, in Moscow Azeris launched the so-called "apricot war", trying to provoke Armenian-Azeri conflict on the Russian soil, well aware what kind of threat it resembles for the multi-ethnic Russia.

Typical manifestations of Azerbaijani political culture, beginning from education of children at schools, kindergartens in the spirit of Armenophobia, looting the history and culture of the peoples of the region, and until heroization of the sleeping Armenian officer, sponsoring ISIS and launching of the "apricot war" in Russia hardly could be imagined to be spontaneously or impulsively emerged phenomena. These are not actions of nomadic encampment where the alarm resonates from one tent to other and all tribe splash runs out to defend the encampment. The acts of Azeris outside Azerbaijan apparently are not manifestations of bygone instinctive solidarity. They are impossible without governing center (institution) of planning and coordination. Crimes which remained unpunished inspire Baku on new large-scaled terroristic acts on the international arena. Chronologically, the last message coming from external authors on the permission of the realization of accumulated potential of fascist aggressiveness became the silencing of the Az.SSR Armenians' genocide and recognition of the Republic of Azerbaijan along with Nakhijevan and Artsakh which legally do not belong to him. Whether they wanted it or not in western capital cities, but it became encouragement of genocidal behavior of the Republic of Azerbaijan, a stimulus for becoming one of the world centers of the ideology of aggressive nationalism and genocidal behavior. Evidence of this is its attempt to transfer Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict on the Russian soil in July 2020.

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## **CHAPTER VII - RUSSIAN ARMENIA.**

### **ARARAT, ALAGOZ, PLATEAU OF LAKE GOK-CHAJ, AND ARAXIS BASIN.**

THE Araxis basin presents on the whole a marked geographical unity, forming, north of the Iranian tableland, a broad semicircular zone, with its convex side facing southwards, and everywhere enclosed by lofty mountains, except near the Caspian, where the hills fall towards the alluvial plains of the Kura and Araxis. Neither of these rivers forms a uniform ethnological domain, for Armenians, Georgians, and Tatars dwell on the banks of the former, while the Araxis valley is occupied by Armenians, Kurds, and other Tatar peoples. Still the Armenians everywhere preponderate not only in culture and influence, but also in numbers. Politically also the Araxis basin is divided between the three converging states, the region of all the head-streams belonging to Turkey, and most of the right bank of the main stream to Persia, while more than half of the whole basin, including the best strategical points for a descent on the Euphrates valley, are now Russian territory. Russia is thus mistress of the famous Mount Ararat, and of the convent of Echmiadzin, the religious capital of the Armenians, and centre of their nationality.

### **OROGRAPHY – ARARAT - ALA-GÖZ.**

North of the sources of the Araxis the mountains sloping northwards towards the Euxine are cut up by ravines and glens into irregular chains and spurs, such as the Kirechli, Soghanli, and Childir-dagh, which, north of the Kars basin, merge in the lacustrine plateau bordered eastwards by the Abul and Samsar volcanoes. Although presenting serious obstacles to intercommunication, none of these ranges attain the altitude of the Caucasus and Anti-Caucasus, the highest summit being the Kizil-dagh, or "Red Mountain," between the Kars basin and Lake Childir, which is only 10,460 feet, and consequently below the normal snow-line. South of the region of the Araxis head-streams the highlands become narrower, but more elevated, here forming a single parting range running east and west between the Araxis and Euphrates or Murad valleys, with several extinct craters over 10,000 feet high, and culminating with the Perli-dagh in the centre, and the Chingil, near the eastern pass leading from Erivan to Bayazid, both about 10,830 feet above the sea.

Several streamlets flowing to the Araxis indicate, by their name of Tuzla-su, the nature of their waters, which spring from extensive salt beds. North of the Perli-dagh

stands Mount Kulpi, one of the largest masses of rock-salt in the world, rising on a tertiary plain near the point where the Araxis passes through a narrow basalt gorge above its junction with the Arpa-chai. The surrounding hills, destitute of vegetation, and composed of red, blue, green, or grey marls, impart to the landscape a most motley appearance. The Kulpi salt mines, which are confined to a central layer from 100 to 210 feet thick, have probably been longer worked than any other out of China. The Armenians tell us how Noah drew his supplies from this source, and even show the very spot where he began his mining operations. In the abandoned parts of the works hammers and other implements are frequently picked up, dating from the stone age. These objects are all made of diorite, a rock found nowhere in the district, and which must have procured from distant countries. The mining operations are still carried on in a rude manner, and owing to the absence of roads, the produce is limited to the Tiflis and Erivan markets. Between 1836 and 1876 the average yield has risen from 4,000 to 16,300 tons.

Ararat, "historical centre of the Armenian plateau," and central point of the line of tablelands stretching across the eastern hemisphere from the Cape of Good Hope to Bering Strait, rises above the eastern continuation of the volcanic chain running between the Araxis and the Euphrates. But its snowy crest towers to such a height above the surrounding mountains that they become dwarfed to mere hills, while the hilly plateau seem to stretch like plains at its base. Its very name of Ararat, probably of Aramean origin, is synonymous with supereminence, while its Armenian designation, Masis, is also said to mean "grand," or "sublime."

The Turks call it Agri-dagh, or "Steep Mountain," and the Persians Koh-i-Nuh, or "Noah's Mount." This superb mass, grander than the Hellenic Olympuses, naturally became a sacred object to the peoples of the plains, the mysterious summit whence men and animals descended to people the world. The Armenians show the very spot where Noah's ark grounded, and where it is still guarded by genii armed with flaming swords<sup>1</sup>.

Viewed from Nakhichevan, Ararat looks like a compact conic mass rising on the north-west horizon; but from Bayazid on the south, and Erivan on the north, it is seen to consist of two distinct mountains disposed in the direction of the Caucasus-Great Ararat, with a double peak in the north-west; Little Ararat, with a rounded crest in the south-east, and with a deep intervening depression. Both masses, with their counterforts, occupy an area of about 380 square miles between the plains of Bayazid

<sup>1</sup> Elevations of the Araxis and neighbouring plains: -

Great Ararat .....	16,760 Feet.
Little Ararat .....	11,680 Feet.
Intermediate Col. ....	8,785 Feet.
Bayazid (citadel).....	6,634 Feet.
Echmiadzin .....	2,810 Feet.
Erivan .....	3,200 Feet.

and Erivan. Like those of Etna, their slopes are almost everywhere gently inclined, although the ascent is rendered very difficult lower down by occasional lava streams, and higher up by the snows, nearly always softened under the solar rays in summer. The Armenians speak of the prodigies by which too daring shepherds have ever been prevented from scaling the "Mother of the World," and the failures of Tournefort and Morier lent a colour to their statements. When Parrot at last scaled the highest crest in 1829, they unanimously denied the truth of his account, and for a long time succeeded in casting a doubt on his veracity, until the exploit was repeated by other adventurers. In 1850 Khodzko passed five whole days on the summit in order to prosecute his work of triangulation in Caucasia. He passed thence south-east to Mount Salivan, 204 miles off, and north-west to Mount Elbruz, distant 264 miles, corresponding by means of heliotropic signals with the astronomers stationed on Mount Akh-dagh, in the centre of the Gok-chai plateau.

At an elevation of 11,600 feet, Ararat is still everywhere clothed with vegetation; but herbage ceases at 12,500 feet, while nothing occurs except an Alpine flora between 13,200 and 14,300, which marks the line of perpetual snow. The species of the Upper Ararat are all either identical with, or allied to, those of the Alps, but they are much less numerous, a fact doubtless due to the greater dryness of the atmosphere on the Armenian mountain. Its fauna also is comparatively very poor. The wolf, hyena, and perhaps the panther, haunt the thickets at its base about the Araxis; but higher up nothing is met except an ibex, a polecat, and a species of hare.

Although only 3° of latitude farther south than the Pyrenees, the lower slopes are free of snow much earlier, and the snow-line itself is about a mile lower down than on the Iberian range. Still the snow reaches much further down in the ravines of erosion by which its flanks are furrowed. In several gorges these snows become true glaciers, of which the chief is that of St. James, whose cirque has undoubtedly been formed by a former eruption analogous to that of the Val del Bove on Mongibello. In more remote times the glaciers reached much lower, as shown by the scored and polished surface of the trachite rocks.

Notwithstanding the vast quantity of snow lying on its slopes, Ararat is almost entirely destitute of water. Wagner failed to discover anything beyond two springs at its base, from which mere rills trickle away amongst the stones. Hence its sides remain arid and parched, while the neighbouring mountains, also of volcanic origin, discharge torrents numerous enough to form vast and deep lakes at their foot. During dry seasons Ararat becomes altogether uninhabitable, the want of shade and moisture driving away the flocks, and even the birds of the air. It is therefore probable that the water from the melting snows disappears in crevasses, or beneath the ashes and lavas, either collecting in underground lakes, or forming a network of hidden streams. These waters, transformed to steam by the subterraneous fires, may perhaps explain the terrible eruption of 1840, when an old crater above the convent of St. James suddenly reopened, ejecting a dense vapour far above the summit of Ararat, and diffusing

sulphurous exhalations round about. The mountain groaned threateningly, casting up from the fissure vast quantities of stones and rocks, some weighing as much as 5 tons. Jets of steam escaped through numerous crevasses, and springs of hot water bubbled up from the bed of the Araxis. The convent itself disappeared beneath the débris, together with the rich and populous village of Arguri, supposed by the Armenians to be the oldest in the world, and to mark the spot where Noah planted the vine on leaving the ark. There perished on this occasion, besides the 2,000 inhabitants of Arguri, several thousands at Erivan, Nakhichevan, and Bayazid, victims of the earthquake felt at those places. Four days afterwards a fresh disaster destroyed nearly all the land under cultivation about Arguri. The water and slush, collected in the crater partly from the melting snows, burst their barriers, overflowing in long streams of mud down the slopes, and converting the plain into a vast morass. The Arguri eruption is the only one mentioned in historic times, though Ararat has been the scene of frequent and violent earthquakes. The statement of Reineggs that he saw flames and smoke emitted from the summit in 1785 is more than doubtful, for the phenomenon was witnessed by none of the natives.

The Allah-ghöz, or rather Ala-göz ("Motley Mountain"), faces Ararat from the opposite side of the Erivan plain. It is a volcanic mass, with a truncated cone 13,900 feet high, but with its counterforts occupying a wider area than its haughty rival. Its lava streams descend south and east towards the Araxis valley - west and north towards Alexandrapol, in the Arpa-chai basin. It takes its name from the diverse colours of its scoriae, pumice, and obsidians, varied here and there with herbage and bright flowers. Three of the old craters now form as many small lakes, although but few streams reach the plains, the running waters generally disappearing beneath the scoriae, and feeding the Aiger-göl, a lake lying south of the mountain, and draining through the Kura-su to the Araxis.

### **LAKE GOK-CHAI - THE KARABAGH - FLORA AND FAUNA.**

Isolated like Ararat, the Ala-göz is connected only by low ridges with the northern highlands. These run parallel with the Caucasus, and connect the volcanic chain of the Akhalkalaki plateau with the mountains overlooking Lake Gok-chai, east of Erivan. These mountains - Somkhet, Pambak, and others from 8,000 to 10,000 feet high-stand on such an elevated plateau that the ridge is easily surmounted by passes approached by long and gently sloping inclines. The Eshek-Maidan Pass, on the trade route between Tiflis and Erivan, stands at an altitude of 7,230 feet at the north-west angle of a hilly plateau, where the intersection of the various axes of the Caucasus forms a labyrinth of chains radiating in all directions, although mainly running north-west and south-east, parallel with the Great Caucasus.

The ridges maintain a mean uniform elevation, rising everywhere about 3,300 feet above the plateau forming their common base, although a few extinct cones attain a

relative height of 5,000 feet, or about 13,330 above sea-level. This intersection of ridges of uniform elevation explains the formation of a vast lake filling a cavity in the plateau 6,440 feet above the Euxine, and in summer only discharging its waters through Zanga, south-west towards the Araxis. This is the Gok-chai, or "Blue Water," of the Tatars, and the Sevanga of the Armenians. Although 550 square miles in extent, or two and a half times larger than Lake Geneva, Chardin is the first European traveler who mentions it. The mean depth varies from 150 to 250 feet, but its waters, fresh in the northern section, slightly brackish in the south, harbour five species only of fish, including the trout and salmon, although those are so numerous that from 2,000 to 3,000 trout have been taken at one haul.

The lake forms an irregular triangle, contracted towards the centre by two advancing headlands, and as it is everywhere encircled by grey and snowy mountains, the landscape presents on the whole a grand and solemn, though somewhat sombre aspect. The lava and porphyry slopes are perfectly bare down to the water's edge, while of the old cities nothing now survives except crumbling masses, beneath which numerous coins have been found dating from the time of the Sassanides. The villages also lie hidden away in sheltered nooks, so that little is visible beyond a few hamlets half buried in the ground, and the so-called "Tombs of the Giants," numerous tumuli scattered over the plateau, which is under snow eight months in the year. Nearly all the cultivable land has long remained fallow, so that the country has again become a desert. Till recently no craft navigated the lake, which, notwithstanding the fierce storms sweeping down from the hills, is often ice-bound in winter. On a volcanic islet in the north-west corner stands the convent of Sevan, noted throughout Armenia since the ninth century. It would be hard to conceive a more forlorn place of exile than this bleak island of black rocks, whose inhabitants are condemned to silence except for four days in the year. But the villages of the neighbouring plateau have become convalescent retreats for the people of the unhealthy town of Erivan, where dangerous fevers are endemic.

East of the Gok-chai and its encircling volcanoes, conspicuous amongst which is the Alapolarim, the labyrinth of intersecting ranges is continued south-eastwards, under the collective name of Karabagh, the Rani of the Georgians. Although the ravines preserve their snows throughout the year, not more than three or four of the crests in this region rise above the snow-line. Such are the Gämish (12,460 feet), source of the Terter, the Kazangöl-dagh, and its southern neighbour, the Kapujish (12,380 feet), continued southwards towards the town of Ordubat by steep rugged hills crowned with peaks. South of these culminating points of Eastern Armenia, and beyond the gorge of the Araxis, rise other mountains of equal height, and similarly furrowed with snowy ravines. Between the chain commanded by Mount Kapudish and the Shusha Mountains lies the Zangezûr basin, at a mean elevation of 4,000 feet, apparently an old lacustrine depression, like the Gok-chai, whose waters have been drawn off by the Bergushet and Akera Rivers, which unite before reaching the Araxis valley. In the centre of this basin

the conic Ishikli, or Kachal-dagh, rises to a height of over 10,000 feet, and the scoriae and ashes ejected by the surrounding volcanoes have been accumulated on the bed of the old lake to a thickness of several hundred yards, since deeply furrowed by torrents.

The flora of these highlands bears a remarkable resemblance to that of the European Alpine regions. Here are the same beeches, oaks, aspens, undergrowth, and flowering plants. The upland valleys, covered with a thick layer of black loam, are very fertile, whence probably the name of Karabagh, or "Black Garden," by which this country is known. But on the arid slopes, with the thermometer at 104° Fahr. during the summer months, little grows beyond the wild sage and other aromatic plants, while the fauna is chiefly represented by reptiles, scorpions, and formidable tarantolos (*Phalangium araneoides*). The Karabagh horses, however, which climb the cliffs like goats, are said to be the finest in Transcaucasia.

### THE ARAXIS BASIN.

The Araxis, or Aras, pre-eminently the Armenian river, rises beyond Russian territory to the south of Erzerum, and receives its first tributaries from the Bingöl-dagh volcano, the "Mountain of the Thousand Streams," some of which flow southwards to the Euphrates. After entering Russian Transcaucasia its still feeble volume is doubled by the junction of the Arpa-chai, or Akhurean, descending from the volcanic plateaux of Alexandrapol and the Ala-göz. Thanks to this supply, it is enabled to contribute largely to the irrigation of the Erivan basin, which would else become a desert waste. Diverted southwards by the Gok-chai and Karabagh highlands, it escapes from the old lacustrine bed through a narrow rocky gorge with falls from 200 to 270 feet broad, where its seething waters descend between steep rugged cliffs at an average rate of 15 feet in 1,000 yards, falling at one point as much as 45 feet in the same distance. Ordubat, above the Arasbar gorge, is still 3,090 feet above the Caspian, yet within 60 miles of this place the river has already reached the lowlands. After receiving the Bergushet it sweeps round the southern base of the Diri-dagh, beyond which it is joined by several torrents from the Persian highlands, ultimately joining the Kura after a course of about 470 miles. At the Diri-dagh it is crossed by the Khudaferin Bridge, attributed traditionally to Pompey, but which is certainly of more recent date. Higher up are the ruins of another bridge, referred by the natives to Alexander the Great, but which may well be a Roman structure. Below that of Khudaferin there are no other bridges, and here the former hydraulic works and irrigation canals have been mostly abandoned, so that instead of promoting the fertility of the steppe, they combine with the swamps of the Kura to render this tract of the Caspian seaboard all but uninhabitable. The Araxis is said to be showing a tendency to trend more to the right, and again separate itself from the Kura, and flow independently to the sea, as in the time of Strabo.

The Araxis basin is exposed to greater extremes of temperature than most regions in Western Asia. The climate of Erivan is even more severe than that of Tiflis, the

temperature falling in winter to - 20° Fahr., and rising in summer to 104° and even 110° Fahr. Hence the frequency of malignant fevers and other epidemics in Erivan. "In Tiflis," says the Armenian, "the young are not to be distinguished from the old; in Erivan the living are no better than the dead." Fortunately during the summer heats the Erivan plain is swept at nightfall by a cool north or north-west wind, blowing fiercely from the Ala-göz highlands. It generally begins to blow about five P.M. and lasts the greater part of the night, but is accompanied by such clouds of dust, and even sand, that the inhabitants are confined to their houses during its prevalence. All the poplars in the neighbourhood of Erivan are slightly inclined toward the south-east.

These pyramidal poplars are a conspicuous feature of the landscape in the Araxis basin. But a more remarkable plant is the *nölbönd*, a species of elm, whose leafy branches form a vast canopy of foliage absolutely impenetrable to the solar rays. Although one of the finest ornamental trees in the world, it is found nowhere beyond the limits of Russian Armenia. The apricot grows in all the gardens, and rice, cotton, and sesame are also cultivated, besides a vine producing a strong wine of a brown colour, somewhat like sherry or madeira. But this vine has to be buried underground in winter, and regularly watered in summer. In this climate everything perishes, and the ground becomes baked like burnt clay, except where the irrigating channels convert the desert to a green oasis. The former irrigation works were all developed by the Persians, and an English engineer now proposes to distribute the waters of the Arpa-chai over the desert plains of Sardarabad. Meantime field operations are carried on in the most primitive fashion. Although skilful traders, the Armenians are bad agriculturists, but scarcely worse than their Tatar neighbours. In several districts the land is also exposed to the ravages of wild boars, which haunt the brushwood and sedgy banks of the Lower Araxis. Yet the zealous Tatars hold these unclean beasts in such horror that they will neither soil their hands by pursuing them themselves, nor allow others to interfere with them.

### INHABITANTS - THE ARMENIANS.

The chief nation in the Araxis basin, numerically the fourth in Caucasia, and second to the Russians alone in influence, are the Armenians, or Haï, Haïk, or Haikan, as they call themselves. The term Armenia, of Aramaean origin and probably meaning "highlands," is extremely vague, and applied in a general way to all the region of plateaux overlooked by Ararat. Armenia proper, or Hayasdan - that is, land of the Haïk - has shifted its borders from century to century with the political vicissitudes and migrations of the race. At present it comprises most of the Araxis basin, a large portion of the Kura valley, all the Upper Euphrates basin as far as the junction of the two main bend-streams, the shores of Lake Van, and a few isolated tracts in Persia about Lake Urumiyah. The centre of gravity of the nation has been gradually removed northwards from the neighbourhood of Lake Van and the Eastern Euphrates valley, where a village

still bears the national name of Haïk. But from all parts of the globe the scattered fragments of the people turn their eyes towards Ararat and the plains of the Araxis as their true fatherland. Here they are still found in the most compact and homogeneous masses, and here the Armenian tongue is spoken in the greatest purity, approaching nearest to the old language still employed in the churches, but which has ceased to be current since the close of the fourteenth century.

At the time of the Russian conquest in 1828-30, about 130,000 Armenians of Persia and Turkey migrated to the Araxis and Kura valleys, here replacing the Kurds and Tatars, who in their turn took refuge in the lands that had remained in the power of the Mohammedans. During the war of 1877-8 a similar cross migration took place. The districts of Ardahan in the Upper Kura valley, and of Kars in the Araxis basin, lost the greater part of their Mussulman inhabitants, receiving in their stead a multitude of Armenians from the Upper Euphrates, the Chorukh, and especially from the tract ceded to Russia by the treaty of St. Stefano, but restored to Turkey by the Congress of Berlin. These national movements were doubtless attended by a frightful loss of life, and even now religious and racial hatred gives rise to terrible tragedies. But the populations have, on the whole, been grouped more in conformity with their natural affinities.

Hitherto no reliable estimate has been formed of the number of Armenians in Asia Minor under Moslem rule, but they are probably less numerous than those subject to Russia.<sup>2</sup> The whole nation, usually estimated at three and even four millions, would seem scarcely to exceed two millions, of whom no less than 200,000 reside in Constantinople. Tifiis, the second Armenian city in numerical importance, lies also beyond the limits of Armenia proper, and the same is true of several other Transcaucasian towns in which the Armenian element preponderates.

Deprived for centuries of all political unity and national independence, the Armenians have been scattered over the Eastern world since the days of Herodotus, who met them in Babylon. When their country fell a prey to foreign conquerors they preferred to become "strangers amongst strangers than remain slaves in their native land." They migrated in multitudes, and since the eleventh century have been settled in Russia, Poland, Bukovina, and Galicia. At present they are found in all the large emporiums of trade from London to Singapore and Shanghai, everywhere distinguished by their commercial enterprise. They have often been compared with the Jews, whom they certainly equal in religious tenacity, spirit of fellowship, mercantile instincts, and commercial skill. But they are less adventurous, and whereas individual

<sup>2</sup> Probable number of Armenians in the world: -

Caucasia and European Russia .....	840,000
Asiatic Turkey .....	760,000
Persia .....	150,000
European Turkey .....	250,000
Elsewhere .....	60,000
Total .....	2,060,000

Jews have penetrated to the ends of the earth, sustaining alone the struggle for existence, the Armenians seldom advance except in compact groups. The majority of the nation have also remained in their original homes, where they are far from showing the same aversion as do the Jews to agricultural pursuits. In several districts of Transcaucasia all the peasantry are of Armenian stock, and in some of their villages in the Karabagh district they are occupied temporarily as masons or carpenters, pursuits which the Jews are never found engaged in.

Nevertheless the Semitic element probably entered largely into the formation of the Haïk race, for numerous migrations and even transportations in mass have taken place from Palestine to Armenia. The Haïks may in a general way be regarded as Aryans closely allied to the Persians; but during the incessant wars, conquests, and migrations of the last four thousand years they have become mingled with all the neighbouring peoples, and especially with the Jews, multitudes of whom were removed by the Assyrian kings to the Armenian highlands. The Bagratides, the most famous royal race that has ruled over Hayasdan and Georgia, even claim to be descended from David of Israel. Amongst the other foreign elements said to have exercised a considerable influence on the nation, mention is made of the Mamigonian tribe, introduced in the third century of the new era into Somkhet, in Armenia, by a prince of Jenasdan - that is, of China. But the chroniclers show clearly that most of these foreigners, arriving, like the Normans and Varangians, as warriors and mercenaries, were in fact Iranians, probably allied to the Tajiks of the Oxus basin.

The Armenian language is included by all philologists in the Aryan family. Its affinities are chiefly with the Bactrian ("Zend"), its syntax is completely Iranian, and its vocabulary greatly resembles the Greek and Slavonic. Although very harsh and abounding in consonants, it rivals the Hellenic in its wealth of words and grammatical forms, as well as in its flexible structure and unlimited power of word-building. Still the numerous modern varieties have borrowed largely from Turkish and Georgian, and the speech current in the Lower Araxis basin is a veritable jargon, in which the Tatar element at times prevails over the Haïkan, while in Shirvan numerous Armenian communities have forgotten their mother tongue as completely as have the more distant settlements in Bukovina and Transylvania. In the convent of Echmiadzin, where it is spoken in its purest form, it still remains a purely Iranian dialect, whose origin and development are well illustrated in a local literature, continued uninterruptedly over a period of two thousand years. Rock inscriptions in the cuneiform character occur in the Van district. Other Haïkan documents are extant in Persian and Greek letters, and in the flourishing literary period (fifth century A.D.), when three hundred schools were open in the country, the peculiar alphabet now in use was introduced. The people still show a great love of instruction; schools are supported in all the communes; and the villagers have often to contend either with the Russian Government, or with the clergy, jealous of the influence exercised by their teachers. The scientific and literary movement has become very active, and in proportion to their numbers the Armenians probably print

more books than any other people in the empire. To the former theological, historical, metaphysical, and grammatical works are now added translations of foreign masterpieces, and even in Anatolia are found close students of French literature. In 1854 about twenty-two Armenian presses were at work in Europe and Asia, issuing periodicals in Tiflis, Constantinople, and other towns, and publishing the old monuments of the language, especially in Moscow, Vienna, Paris, and Venice. The most famous establishment of this sort abroad is the convent founded in 1717 by the monk Mekhitar, or the "Consoler," in the island of San Lazzaro, near Venice. Here are published many valuable documents, and in the library are preserved some rare Oriental manuscripts.

The Mekhitarists, like most of the communities residing beyond the limits of Transcaucasia and Turkey, belong to the United Armenian rite, in union with the Roman Church, while preserving some of their traditional practices. But the bulk of the nation in the Euphrates and Araxis valleys have remained faithful to the old Orthodox cult. The dogmatic differences dividing the nation into two hostile religious sects turn chiefly on the nature of Christ, hell, and purgatory, the authority of the councils, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and sundry rites. But beneath the outward teaching of both forms are preserved numerous symbols dating from still older religions. The Armenian was the first nation converted in mass by Gregory the "Illuminator," about the beginning of the fourth century. But while changing its deities, it lost few of its traditions, and modified its worship very gradually. The sacred fire is even still commemorated, as in the days of Zoroaster. On the annual feast a recently married couple consume in a copper basin the richest fruits of the earth, dowers of all sorts, ears of corn, the vine and laurel branches. On all important occasions the people turn towards the sun as if to seek for aid from that source. During the great feasts bulls or rams crowned with wreaths and decorated with lighted candles are led into the churches or under the sacred trees, and afterwards sacrificed with songs and prayers - evidently the sacrifice of Mithra bequeathed by the old to the new religion.

The "Katholicos," or spiritual head of the nation, derives his power from the possession of a precious relic, the right hand of the martyred Gregory. Chosen by the dignitaries of Echmiadzin when not designated by his predecessor, he is obeyed by all his co-religionists of the Gregorian rite; he names the bishops, who are nearly always selected from the monkish communities; and he addresses the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem as a superior. Hence the extreme importance attached by the Russian Government to the possession of Ararat and the sacred convent of Echmiadzin. By seizing this strip of territory, so renowned throughout the East, the Muscovites have at the same time secured the spiritual ruler of over 2,000,000 human beings. The St. Petersburg authorities, who usually view with scant favour all religions antagonistic to the Orthodox Greek, have accordingly been careful to treat the Katholicos with the greatest respect, thus acquiring a sort of protective right over all the Armenians settled in Turkey. On several occasions excessive zeal for the "Russification" of all the inhabitants of the empire has doubtless led to acts of violence and oppression

even in Armenia. But the caprice of governors and political dreams do not prevent the Armenians from, on the whole, exercising a considerable influence in the empire - an influence due to their knowledge of languages, to their tact, often even to their intriguing spirit and adroitness in gaining access to the bureaucratic circle. They have long enjoyed a large share in the government at Constantinople, and they have already begun to play a part in St. Petersburg analogous to that often exercised by wily Italians at the French courts. Even in Transcaucasia they are gradually taking possession of the soil and constantly encroaching on their Tatar neighbours.

The Armenians of Russian Transcaucasia differ little in their physique from the Georgians, except that their features are generally rounder, their neck shorter and thicker. Many are inclined to obesity, probably from their sedentary habits. With fine heads of brown hair, large, black, and languid eyes, they seem to be of a gentle and almost melancholy temperament. Yet they do not lack valour in resisting attacks, as shown by the Seven Years' War of Independence, which they sustained in the beginning of the eighteenth century against the Persians in the Karabagh highlands, and since then in many local revolts against the Turks. Though they do not go about armed with an assortment of pistols and daggers, like the Georgians of the Rion basin, they have contrived far better to preserve their liberties, and have never fallen under the hard yoke of serfdom, which has been the lot of most of their neighbours. Notwithstanding the prevailing ignorance, they betray a remarkable degree of intelligence and aptitude, especially in the acquisition of languages. It has been said that "the intelligence of the Georgians is only in their looks, whereas that of the Armenians is in their head." But on the whole they seem to take life too seriously, and are somewhat indifferent to the charms of poetry, although they have produced some good poets even in recent times. Their favourite studies are theology, metaphysics, and philology, and their influence has been chiefly felt in the more solid walks of literature. Fragments of Eusebius, Philo, Chrysostomus, and other Greek fathers, which were supposed to have been irrevocably lost, have been found in old Armenian translations by the Mekhitarists of Venice and Vienna.

In most places the Armenians keep themselves aloof from the surrounding populations, generally forming distinct trading communities, and in the Tatar and Georgian towns rendering themselves no less indispensable, hated, and despised than the Jews in East Europe and Germany. But popular feeling is of little consequence to men living quite apart in the seclusion of the family circle, where they still practise patriarchal habits. The grandfather commands - children, sons-in-law, and grandchildren obey. The wife, condemned to silence till the birth of her first child, wears round her neck and the lower part of her face a thick bandage concealing the mouth, and obliging her to converse in signs like a dumb creature. Even after childbirth she speaks only in a low voice till advanced in years, but undertakes all the household duties till the marriage of a sister-in-law. Strangers are rarely welcomed into the domestic circle, and many villages might be traversed without suspecting them to be inhabited, so completely are dwellings and gardens walled off from the outer world.

The Tatars of the Lower Araxis valley differ in no respects from the Turki tribes of the Kura basin. Here also are found a few Gipsies, besides some Kurdish herdsmen, mostly temporary immigrants from Persian and Turkish Kurdistan. Amongst them are several hundred Yezides, regarded by all their neighbours with a sort of horror as devil-worshippers. The sedentary Kurds are numerous only in the Zangezour district, south-east of the Gok-chai, where they number about 13,000, mostly assimilated in dress, and often even in speech, to the Tatars.

### TOPOGRAPHY.

The chief town of the Upper Araxis valley is Kaghizman, pleasantly situated in the midst of trailing vines, cherry, apricot, peach, and other fruit trees. In the same district, but on a tributary of the main stream, lies the capital of Upper Russian Armenia, the celebrated city and fortress of *Kars*, thrice conquered from the Turks in 1828, 1855, and 1877, and definitely ceded to Russia in 1878. Even before the Russo-Turkish wars it had often been exposed to attack. Capital of an Armenian kingdom during the ninth and tenth centuries, it was sacked by Tamerlane, by Amurat III., and again by the Persians, its strategical importance constantly attracting the attention of invaders. For it occupies a central position between the upper basins of the Kura, Araxis, Chorukh, and Euphrates, commanding all the mountain passes between those valleys. At this point the Kars-chai, confined in a narrow rocky bed, makes a double bend, first partly encircling the town, and then sweeping round the citadel. Built of lava blocks, and standing on a black basalt eminence, Kars could formerly defy the attacks of its assailants. But since the invention of artillery it was found necessary to fortify the surrounding heights, and during the late war the eleven detached forts enclosing an entrenched camp formed a line of defence 11 miles in circumference. These forts, with their basalt and obsidian rocks, are the only attractions of a town which, although 6,150 feet above sea-level, enjoys a considerable trade.

A carriage road descending eastwards from the Kars-chai to the Arpa-chai valley connects Kars with *Alexandrapol*, a Russian stronghold whose fortifications have been continued almost uninterruptedly since 1837. At that time nothing existed here except the village of Gumri, peopled by Armenian refugees. Situated near the east bank of the Arpa-chai, in a basin commanded on the south by the Ala-göz, and 1,330 feet lower down than Kars, Alexandrapol lies in a better-cultivated district, abundantly watered by the Arpa-chai. It succeeded to *Ani*, former residence of the Armenian Bagratides, which was destroyed by an earthquake in 1319, and whose extensive ruins still cover a triangular headland overlooking the right bank of the Arpa-chai. According to probably exaggerated accounts of the native chroniclers, Ani had at one time a population of 100,000, with 1,000 churches and other public buildings.

South-east of Ani is *Talish*, which also seems to have been an Armenian capital, the ruins of whose high walls and towers now afford shelter to a wretched hamlet. The

whole of the Lower Arpa-chai valley is a land of ruins. To the west are the remains of *Pakaran*, or "Assembly of the Gods," and a little farther south those of two other capitals, *Erovantashad* and *Erovantagerd*, built successively by Erovan II. north of the Araxis and Arpa-chai confluence, and said to have formerly contained 30,000 Jewish and 20,000 Armenian houses. *Armavir*, also founded by the same king, has left but few remains on a hill overlooking the plain skirted by the Kara-su Canal, near the Araxis. Lastly, south of this river stands *Kara-Kaleh*, the "Black Castle," wrongly supposed by some to have been the ancient Tigranocertes, but still a most picturesque object perched on a frowning precipice, with towers built of alternate rows of red porphyry and black lava, at whose feet rush the foaming waters of a mountain torrent.

*Echmiadzin*, the present religious capital of the Haïkans, lies to the west of Erivan, nearly in the middle of the plain. In the neighbourhood is the small town of *Vagarshabad*, but Echmiadzin itself is little more than a vast convent surrounded by a cob-wall, and commanded by a church with pyramidal belfry and side turrets. The lower story of the buildings is concealed by a plain quadrangular enclosure of dull grey walls, so that there is nothing to relieve the monotony of these heavy masses except the surrounding thicket of poplars and fruit trees, a few flower beds, and limpid streams. Yet this monastery, whose name means "the only son has descended," is the capital of the Armenian world. Here, according to the legend, the "Son of God" appeared to Gregory the Illuminator, and at one thunder-stroke hurled the pagan divinities beneath the earth. For here formerly stood Ardimet-Kaghat, the "City of Artemis," the "Armenian Venus," to whose shrine worshippers flocked from all quarters. The deities have changed, but for at least five-and-twenty centuries this has remained a hallowed spot. The library contains six hundred and thirty-five old manuscripts, and its printing-press, the oldest in Armenia proper, publishes a periodical and some popular works. One of the bells bears a Tibetan inscription with the famous mystic words, *om mani padmi hum*, showing that at some unknown epoch Armenia must have had relations with the Buddhist world.

*Erivan*, capital of the chief government in Russian Armenia, and the second city of the Araxis valley, stands at the north-east angle of the old lacustrine basin traversed by the river, and on the banks of the Zanga, here diverted into a thousand irrigating rills. It is chiefly inhabited by Armenians, who have succeeded to the Tatars occupying it under the Persian rule. It holds an important commercial and strategical position at the entrance of the upper valley leading to Tiflis and the Kura basin over the Gok-chai plateau, and its fortress, perched on a columnar basalt cliff, has been the scene of many stirring events. Built mostly in the Persian style, it boasts of some picturesque structures, including a handsome mosque decorated with arabesques, and shaded with magnificent elms. The district, commanding a superb view of Ararat, is very fertile and well watered. But the wretched climate, with its violent changes of temperature, dust, and fevers, would soon depopulate the place, but for its extreme strategical importance on the Turko-Persian frontier and the rich rock-salt mines in the neighbourhood. In

summer the Russian officials retire to Semonovka, Delijan, and other sanitarium among the surrounding hills. The copper mines of this region are no longer worked.

East of Erivan are the ruins of *Bash-Karni*, or Garni, another old capital, which the natives pretend was founded four thousand years ago, and which contains the remains of a Greek temple, probably dedicated to the Armenian Venus. But more remarkable than its ruins are its basalt columns, blue, green, red, and other igneous rocks, the scene of former eruptions, through which now foams a mountain stream. In the same wild and rugged region lies *Kegart*, Kergash, or Aïrivank, the "Convent of Hell," half of which is hollowed out of the tufa and lavas. In the centre of the plain, watered by the Karni-chai, stood *Artaxates*, built by Artaxias, General of Antiochus, on the plains of Hannibal, and which remained the capital of Armenia till destroyed by Corbulo in the reign of Nero. It was succeeded by Neronia, which yielded later on to Vagarshabad, and was finally overthrown by Sapor II. in 370, when its 200,000 Armenian and Jewish inhabitants were put to the sword or carried captive into Persia.

*Nakhichevan*, or Nakhijevan, capital of the district stretching south-east of Ararat, is said to be even an older place than Echmiadzin, having been traditionally founded by Noah after planting the first vine on the slopes of Ararat. Its very name means the "First Dwelling," and a mound is shown in the neighbourhood in which Noah is supposed to be buried. The town, already mentioned by Pompey under the name of Naxuana, has been repeatedly rebuilt, and all the present houses are constructed of stones from previous ruins. The gateway of an old palace flanked by two brick minarets bears a Persian inscription surrounded by rich arabesques, and near it stands the "Tower of the Khans," a twelve-sided building bearing a long inscription with letters in relief. Nakhichevan is now inhabited chiefly by Tatars occupied with gardening and vine growing, and has been much reduced since the time of the Persian rule, when it had a population of 40,000. The district is well watered, and in the neighbouring hills are rich salt mines, worked since prehistoric times. The millstones, cut from a variegated sandstone, are highly esteemed throughout Armenia.

South-west of Nakhichevan is the frontier station of *Jufa*, on the banks of the Araxis, and facing an old Persian caravanserai, which is commanded by a stronghold perched on a red sandstone escarpment. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Jufa was the richest and most industrious place in Armenia, with a population of 40,000. But Shah Abbas the "Great" commanded the inhabitants to emigrate in mass to New Jufa, near Ispahan, those who lagged behind being thrown into the river, and the town burnt to the ground. Its most noteworthy remains are its ruined bridge and the tombs of its vast necropolis. In 1854 the population had dwindled to ten families living in a ruined caravanserai.

*Ordubat* stands on the Araxis, below Jufa, near the Migri Gorge, south of the Karabagh Mountains. It is the pleasantest place in Armenia, being in a fertile district watered by numerous streamlets and irrigation rills, and studded with villas scattered over the wooded heights of the neighbourhood. A few miles to the north-west is the

thriving village of *Akulisi*, inhabited by wealthy Armenians. The copper mines of the surrounding hills yielded no more than 117 tons of pure metal in 1877.

The double basin of the Bergushet and Akera, between the Ordubat and Shusha Hills, comprises the administrative district of Zangezûr, and contains no towns, but several important villages peopled by Armenians, Tatars, and Kurds. The largest is *Khinzirak*, but the administrative capital is *Girûsi*, the Koriss of the Armenians; that is, the "Village of Pillars," so called from the "needles" of tufa rising above the slope of the terrace on which the village is situated. The flat-roofed houses are disposed in the form of a flight of steps, beneath which the inhabitants move about in underground streets. Other dwellings are excavated in the igneous scoria of the terrace, but the present village is a modern place 1,000 feet lower down than the old *Girûsi*. For a few weeks in summer it becomes a busy trading-place, when 50,000 nomads of the surrounding districts drive their flocks to the rich Zangezûr pastures.

**Élisée Reclus**

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## **CHAPTER V.**

### **ASIATIC TURKEY.**

As in European Turkey, the portion of Western Asia subject to the sultan of Constantinople forms a dismembered political region, the remnant of an empire still kept together mainly through the sufferance of the great European powers. In the north-east the frontier has recently been rectified to the advantage of Russia, which has seized on the strategic points about the main water-partings. The very routes are already planned by which her armies are to descend the Euphrates, and add the Armenian and Kurdish territories to her other conquests. England, also, unable directly to prevent these political encroachments, has sought compensation in the island of Cyprus, whence the course of events may at least be observed, if not controlled. Even the Greeks of the Anatolian seaboard have begun to reassert the old Hellenic autonomy, by the constitution of the principality of Samos, under the official suzerainty of the Porte.

While the Turkish empire in Asia is thus threatened, either by foreign powers on the frontiers, or by its own subjects on the coast, it is fast losing its cohesion in the interior, through the conflict of its discordant national elements. Greek and Turk, Laz and Kurd, Armenian, Maronite, Druse and Ansarieh, have begun that restless agitation which anticipates and hastens the final rupture of the ties still binding them together in one political system. The various provinces of the empire are, moreover, separated by intervening deserts or wasted lands; and in the south long journeys must be made across the wilderness, in order to reach the Euphrates from the cultivated valleys of the Lebanon. Since the Roman epoch the waste spaces have increased in extent. Round about Palmyra and other ancient cities nothing is now to be seen except scattered nomad camping-grounds. Even since the beginning of the present century, many cultivated tracts have become depopulated, either by famine, emigration, or the frequent conscriptions of soldiers seldom destined to revisit their homes.

Hence, whatever be the official administrative divisions, it will be convenient to treat as distinct lands the various countries of Asiatic Turkey, which present a certain unity in their geographical outlines, their history, and ethnical relations. One of these natural regions is formed by the closed basin of Lake Van, with the Kurdish and Armenian highlands between Trans-Caucasia and the Upper Euphrates. The Mesopotamian plain, formerly the seat of powerful empires and of many famous cities, also constitutes a well-defined geographical and historical land. The same is true of the Anatolian peninsula, whose seaboard, fringed with islands and islets, develops a vast

zone of cultivated lowlands round about the thinly-peopled inland region of plateaux and saline steppes. Cyprus, now constituting a portion of the prodigious British empire, must also be studied apart, presenting as it does a distinctly original culture, intermediate between those of Greece and Phoenicia. Lastly, the long hilly district of Syria and Palestine, skirted on one side by the Mediterranean, on the other by the desert, forms a separate physical region, whose inhabitants have played a leading part in the history of the world by their discoveries, commercial enterprise, and diffusion of ideas. There remain the Turkish possessions on the Arabian seaboard, which are best considered in connection with the peninsula with which they form a geographical whole.

### **LAZISTAN, ARMENIA, AND KURDISTAN. (Black Sea Coast-Basin of Lake Van and the Upper Euphrates.)**

Although the present political limits of Asiatic Turkey no longer correspond with its natural frontiers, Mount Ararat forms at least a convenient corner-stone at the converging point of the Russian, Turkish, and Persian territories. From the depression between the Great and Little Ararat, where the three empires meet, the Turkish frontier follows for 90 miles to the west the water-parting between the Aras and Euphrates basins. This is confessedly a temporary arrangement, and to judge from past experiences, fresh wars must sooner or later be followed by fresh annexations to the Russian empire. Elburz, giant of the Caucasus, may repeat to Tandurek, Bingöl-dagh and Argæus what it formerly said to Kazbek, in the lines of Lermontov: "Tremble! Peering towards the icy north, I behold sights of ill-omen! From Ural to Danube the clash of arms; brazen batteries moving forward with sinister rumblings; smoking fuses ready for battle!"

West of Ararat, the green plain of the Echmiadzin basin is skirted by a rugged volcanic chain, some of whose cones, such as the Chinghil and Perli-dagh, exceed 10,000 feet, or about 5,000 above the plain. But the range falls gradually towards the west and south-west, again rising towards the water-parting, and with other converging ridges forming the Bingöl-dagh, or "Mountain of the Thousand Lakes" (11,500 feet), whose winter and spring snows feed the streams radiating in all directions, east to the Aras, north and south to the Kara-su and Murad, the two main branches of the Upper Euphrates. Beyond this point the chief crest of these highlands runs for 150 miles westwards parallel with the Euxine seaboard. Here an opening is at last made for the Kara-su, which trends abruptly south-east to join the other branch of the Euphrates.

The Bingöl-dag is connected with the Erzerum Mountains by a lofty ridge running north, and forming an irregular water-parting east of the sources of the Kara-su. Along this line passes the great military highway between Erzerum and Kars. Here the culminating point is the Palandöken (10,450 feet); but farther west a still greater altitude is attained by several summits of the Perli-dagh, which is skirted by the first great bend of the Kara-su. North of the Erzerum basin the Bingöl is rivalled by the Ghiaur-dagh,

another great centre of streams radiating in various directions. Such are the Tortum-su, which, after forming one of the finest waterfalls in the Old World, flows through deep lava gorges with walls 1,000 feet high, to the Choruk and Black Sea; several head-streams of the Aras and Kura, belonging to the Caspian basin, and lastly, the main source of the Euphrates, which flows to the Persian Gulf. The latter is associated with many local Armenian legends, and is regarded as sacred even by the Turks, who believe that while ordinary sins are washed away by the healing waters of the Euphrates, they prove fatal to those pursued by the wrath of Allah. After its junction with numerous other mountain torrents, the sacred stream descends into the Erzerum basin, where the extensive Sazlik swamps become flooded during the melting of the snows in spring. These swamps are probably the remains of an old lake formerly filling the Erzerum basin, although Radde failed, after a long search, to find any species of lacustrine molusc in its bed.

The hills encircling this basin are largely of igneous origin, as is evident from the regular cones rising here and there above the crest. At the very gates of Erzerum is a crater formerly filled with water, which has escaped through a deep gorge northwards to the Kara-su marshes. But the highest and most remarkable of these volcanoes is the Sishchik of the Ghiaur-dagh range, which rises to the north-west of Erzerum, 3,960 feet above the plain, and to an absolute elevation of 10,550 feet. From the centre of the crater, which resembles Vesuvius in shape, but greatly exceeds it in size, there springs a cone of black and brown scoriae, round which runs a grassy zone covered with flowers in spring.

### **THE LAZISTAN AND KURIDSTAN MOUNTAINS.**

The Kara-su Valley is skirted on the north by a chain of hills running mainly parallel with the Black Sea, and merging westwards in the Sivas plateau. This is the Paryandres of the ancients, now better known as the Kop-dagh, from a peak of that name rising 13,000 feet above the great highway between Erzerum and Trebizond. The pass crossed by this route, the most remarkable engineering work in Turkey, is 9,000 feet high, or about the same altitude as the Stelvio of the Central Alps. North of it is the Churuk Valley, which, with that of the Kharshut, or Gumish-Kaneh River, forms a surprisingly regular semicircular depression. From the port of Batum, near the mouth of the Churuk, to Tireboli, at the mouth of the Kharshut, the road runs along a vast avenue of peaks, and rises nowhere higher than the pass (6,330 feet) between the sources of the two rivers, near the village of Vavug. The vast crescent enclosed by these two streams is occupied by the Pontine Alps, a lofty range culminating with the Khachkar peak, about 12,000 feet. In these Lazistan highlands the paths are blocked by snow for six months in the year. "The birds themselves," say the natives, "are unable to fly over the hills in winter."

The mountains coasting the Euxine, west of the Kharshut, towards the Kizil-irmak, although less elevated than the Pontine Alps, are still high enough to render the communications very arduous. They project lofty headlands at intervals seawards, one of which still bears the name of Yasun-burun, that is, Cape Jason, from the navigator of Greek legend. Numerous traces of old glaciers and moraines are visible in the upland valleys of the Pontine Alps, whose lavas, porphyries, and other eruptive rocks have been everywhere scored by the ice-streams. In this region the glacial period seems to have been preceded by the igneous activity, the only surviving indications of which are the frequent earthquakes and numerous hot springs at the foot and on the slope of the hills. According to Strecker, the Kolat-dagh (9,600 feet), rising above the main range over 30 miles south of Trebizond, is the Mount Theckes whence Xenophon's ten thousand first sighted the sea on their retreat from Babylonia. But this peak is scarcely accessible to an army on the march, while the descent on the north side is altogether impracticable. But south of it, and close to the route which the Greeks must have followed, there stands a hill 8,000 feet high, whence the Euxine is perfectly visible. On its highest point stands a monument of porphyry blocks some 30 feet high, surrounded by some truncated cones, which according to Briot, were erected by the Greeks to commemorate their arrival at the coast.

The vast labyrinth of the Anti-Caucasus, or Armenian Alps, comprises not only the region between the Kura basin, Black Sea, and Upper Euphrates, but also the extensive basin of Lake Van, south of Ararat, and the surrounding districts as far as the Persian frontier. Throughout the whole of this region the mean elevation of the land is very great. Even the lacustrine depression of Lake Dalik-göl, south of the Perli-dagh, stands at an altitude of 7,500 feet, whence its overflow is discharged to a tributary of the Aras. South of it flows the Murad, or Southern Euphrates, in a narrow rocky bed over 6,500 feet above sea level. Northwards this rugged upland region is bounded by the peaks of Ararat, southwards by the less elevated Ala-dagh, whence flow the highest head-streams of the Euphrates, at an elevation of 11,700 feet. Due east of this point stands the still loftier Tandurek (11,850 feet), known also as the Sunderlik-dagh, Khur, or Khori, which of all the Armenian volcanoes still preserves the most numerous traces of the former plutonic forces. The chief crater, over 3,000 yards in circumference and 380 deep, is now flooded by a small Alpine lake. But smoke still escapes from its flanks, and on the eastern slope is a cavern emitting vapours at a temperature of 265° F. Here is heard a continuous booming, which resembles the sound of distant artillery, and which, during one of the Russo-Turkish frontier wars, caused an alarm in the two hostile armies encamped in the neighbourhood. At the north-west foot of the Tandurek well up the copious sulphur springs of Diyadin, covering the ground with their many-coloured incrustations, and forming a thermal stream, which descends through a series of smoking cascades down to the icy waters of the Murad. Farther down the Murad itself disappears in a basalt underground channel, which is continued by a deep canon between two vertical rocky walls.

The Tandurek is connected north-westwards with the Perli-dagh by a ridge, which is crossed by the route from Erzerum to Tabriz, and which would appear to form the true natural frontier between Turkey and Persia. But the eastern valley, watered by Lake Balik with its emissary of like name, is at present included within the limits of the Ottoman empire. The range running east of Tandurek over against Ararat also forms a natural frontier, both slopes of which are occupied by semi-independent Kurdish tribes between the two conterminous states. Eastwards this range projects a few short spurs, terminating with abrupt headlands towards Lake Urmiah. But in the direction of Lake Van several branches stretch for a long way westwards, gradually merging in the plateau, which has here a mean altitude of over 6,000 feet, while some of the peaks on the main range itself rise to an absolute height of 10,000 feet. The same elevation appears to be attained, if not exceeded, by the Hakkiari hills, which sweep round to the south along the southern shore of Lake Van. The circuit of mountains enclosing this lacustrine basin is completed on the north and north-west by another range, culminating with the extinct volcanic peak of Seiban, or Sapan, (about 12,000 feet), which, according to Tozer, is covered with snow for ten months in the year. This majestic cone, formerly supposed to rival Demavend in height, and associated with Ararat in the Armenian legends connected with the Noachian deluge, commands a magnificent prospect of the northern highlands, sweeping round in a vast curve of 180 miles from Ararat to Bingöl-dagh. Southwards is visible the side crater flooded by the Aghir-gol, or "Still Lake," beyond which stretches the basin of Van itself, with its inlets, bays, marshes, and encircling hills. At the west foot of Sapan lies the freshwater lakelet of Nazik, on the water-parting between Van and the Euphrates, to both of which it sends emissaries.

The last southern terraces of the Armenian plateau terminate above the Mesopotamian plains in a line of rugged cliffs scored by deep river gorges, but forming in their normal direction a regular north-western continuation of the Luristan border range. Immediately west of Lake Van rises the vast crater of the Nimrud-dagh composed entirely of scoriae, the south side of which is indented by an elliptic bay, section of another volcano now partly submerged. The whole of Upper Armenia is an igneous region, still subject to frequent earthquakes.

### **LAKE VAN.**

Lake Van, the Tosp of the Armenians, whence its classic name of Thospitis, stands at an altitude of 5,400 feet; that is, 1,100 feet higher than Urmiah. It has an estimated area of 1,470 square miles, or somewhat less than its Azerbaijan neighbour, which, however, it considerably exceeds in depth, and consequently also in volume. On the east side, within 2 miles of the town of Van, the soundings give 80 feet of water, while the bed of the lake sinks to far greater depths along its southern shore. The great bay, however, which penetrates some 36 miles north-eastwards, forms a shallow

expanse, where in spring the mountain torrents develop extensive alluvial deltas. According to a local tradition, this inlet was formerly a fertile plain watered by two streams which continued their winding course south-westwards to Bitlis. In any case, the data collected by Jaubert, Loftus, Strecker, and others, leave no doubt regarding the great changes of level undergone by this inland sea. Between 1838 and 1840 it rose from 10 to 13 feet, and a similar rising seems to have occurred early in the seventeenth century, the waters again subsiding after a few years. Several of the islets along the coast have at times been flooded, and old promontories have been transformed to islands constantly diminishing in extent. The highway skirting the north side has in the same way steadily receded farther inland. The town of Arjish, on the north-east bay, has almost entirely disappeared; while Adeljivas, on the north coast, is now threatened by the rising waters. On the east side also the lake is advancing towards Van, which has itself already replaced a more ancient city of that name. The village of Iskella has been partly abandoned, and the boatmen moor their craft to trunks of trees which now stand far from the shore. To these constant invasions are perhaps to be attributed the local traditions regarding large cities formerly swallowed up by the lake. What is the explanation of a phenomenon, the very opposite of what is observed in nearly all the other Asiatic lacustrine basins? Unless it be due to some local atmospheric currents attracting to this region more rain-bearing clouds than elsewhere, the reason given by the inhabitants themselves must be accepted. According to their statements the underground passages, through which copious streams formerly escaped to the head waters of the Tigris, have been partly effaced, and the reservoir receiving more supplies than can now be carried off by evaporation and subterranean emissaries, must continue to rise until an equilibrium is established, or until the excess is discharged south-westwards to the torrent of Bitlis. It is also stated that the neighbouring nomads have rolled a huge block to the head of one of the underground outlets, and since then the lake has been gradually but steadily rising. The lakelet of Ercek, east of Van, is also expanding, a circumstance which would seem to point rather at a change of the local climatic conditions. Ercek also resembles Van in its saline properties, but contains, according to Millingen, a strong proportion of arsenic.

Van itself is far too brackish to be potable by man or beast. But being still less saline than Urmiah, it contains a more developed fauna. At the mouths of the streams considerable captures are made of a species of fish wrongly identified by Jaubert with the anchovy of the Black Sea. As shown by the naturalist Deyrolle, it is a blay (*Cyprinus Tarachi*), which appears to avoid the more saline waters, and shows itself near the surface only in the spring, from March to May, when the fresh supplies from the melting snows are spread over the heavier salt layers found at lower depths. The saline deposits round the shores both of Van and Ercek, consist in even proportions of carbonate and sulphate of soda, utilised in the manufacture of soap, which is exported as far as Syria.

Boats are rare on Lake Van, although Fanshawe Tozer recently crossed it in a fishing-smack, accompanied by a flotilla of five others, and a steamer was launched on its waters by the American missionaries in 1879.

### CLIMATE-FLORA-FAUNA

The very existence of Van, Urmiah, Gokcha, and of the numerous smaller lacustrine basins on the Akhaltzikh plateau, between Kars and Tiflis, is sufficient proof that the climate of the Armenian uplands is far more humid than that of Persia. The whole of Lazistan and the hilly region comprised by the ancients under the name of Pontus, lie, in fact, within the influence of the western and north-western winds, which bring from the Euxine an abundant supply of rain during the summer storms, and of snow during winter. Although the rainfall is less copious than on the southern slopes of the Caucasus, where the annual discharge exceeds 75 inches in Mingrelia and Imeria, it amounts to at least half that average in some of the more favoured valleys of Lazistan. In the absence of accurate returns, the mean yearly discharge may be approximately estimated at about 20 inches for the whole of the Armenian uplands.

On the other hand certain districts, such as the Olti plateau, shut off by lofty ranges from the rain-bearing clouds, have seldom sufficient moisture for agricultural purposes. Hence, as on the Caspian slope of Trans-Caucasia, the brooks have here to be collected in reservoirs, and dispersed in a thousand channels over the arable lands. But notwithstanding the barrier of the Pontine Alps, most of Southern Armenia is exposed to the influence of the moist winds, which blow from the Euxine across the Sivas plateau into the funnel-shaped upland valleys facing westwards. They prevail chiefly in winter, when they clothe with a thick mantle of snow the amphitheatre of hills about the head-waters of the Euphrates. In summer they are succeeded by the dry northern and eastern breezes from the great polar current, which traverse the Asiatic continent and melt the Alpine snows. A supply of moisture is also yielded by the south-western winds from the Mediterranean, to which are due the soft, hazy outlines of the hills, and the delicate tints of the landscape, conspicuous even in clear weather. On the northern slopes the superabundant humidity from the Euxine is sufficient to develop rivers, such as the Choruk and Kharchut, whose volume is out of proportion with the extent of their basin. Enough remains even for the southern slope, where it feeds the Euphrates and Tigris, whose united stream in the Shat-el-Arab exceeds all other rivers between the Indus and the Danube. The Euphrates may thus be regarded as a great emissary of the Black Sea, whose evaporated waters are precipitated through this perennial channel into the Persian Gulf.

On the shores of the Euxine a tolerably mild temperature prevails throughout the year. Here the glass seldom falls 10° F. below freezing point, while the moderating influence of the sea prevents the summer heats from exceeding 77° F. But the Turkish Armenian uplands, lying beyond this influence, are subject to extreme vicissitudes of

heat and cold. There is scarcely any spring at Erzerum, where the winter snows rapidly melting, suddenly change the torrents into large rivers. Extended observations are still needed to form a just estimate of this climate, as compared with that of other countries in Europe and Asia, whose meteorological conditions are already determined. But differences of no less than 60° F. have been recorded between dawn and noon, while the glass seems to oscillate between the extremes of 13° F. and 112° F. of absolute cold and heat. The vegetation, retarded by the winter and spring frosts, is stimulated by the early summer heats, when all nature bursts suddenly into full bloom. Wheat is developed from sprout to ear within the space of two months; but it would soon be burnt up by the fierce midsummer sun, were it not supplied with sufficient moisture by artificial irrigation. This cereal is cultivated to an altitude of 6,000, and barley up to 7,000, feet; but at these extreme heights the crops are threatened by the sudden return of frost in the early autumn. On the whole, agricultural operations are confined to lower limits on the Armenian highlands than on the more northerly Georgian slopes of Caucasia. This is due probably to the form of the Armenian ranges, which give access through numerous openings to the northern winds, against which the Great Caucasus presents an unbroken barrier.

In the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, the vegetation resembles that of Mingrelia, but presents fewer species and a less varied display of bright colours. Lazistan, say the natives, is the land of fruits, while Armenia is supposed to be the original home of the vine, pear, and many other species. In the Trebizond district, the hills are clothed from base to summit with a rich vegetable humus, which supports a varied growth of garden plants, orchards, grassy tracts, evergreen and other trees. The towns and villages on the coast are surrounded by citron and olive groves, which are succeeded higher up by the walnut, oak, and chestnut. Beyond these comes the zone of scarlet rhododendrons and azaleas, to the latter of which has been attributed the poisonous action of the honey that intoxicated or demented the Greek soldiers of Xenophon's expedition.

Further inland the Armenian highlands are mostly destitute of arborescent vegetation. Nothing is seen but bare rocks and pastures, in a region which might be covered with timber. Hence animals and even birds are rare, most of the slopes being occupied by nomad pastors, with their flocks of fat-tailed sheep, guarded by half wild collies, which are often more dangerous than bears or wolves. There is also a good breed of horses, extremely gentle yet full of spirit, but inferior in strength to the Turkoman and in graceful action to the Persian species. But the chief resource of the whole of this region is the sheep, of which as many as forty millions are said to be found between Ararat and the Persian Gulf. At the beginning of the century Jaubert estimated at 1,500,000 the number sent annually to Constantinople from the Armenian uplands. Aleppo, Damascus, and even Beirut, are supplied with mutton from Armenia and Kurdistan, and during their campaigns the Turkish armies largely depend for their provisions on the region of the Upper Euphrates.

## INHABITANTS - THE LAZES AND ARMENIANS.

The inhabitants of Lazistan, Turkish Armenia, and Kurdistan, estimated altogether at upwards of two millions, belong mainly to the same ethnical groups as the populations of Trans-Caucasia. Here the political frontier forms no ethnographic parting-line. On both sides dwell peoples of Georgian stock; the Turkish Erzerum, like the Russian Erivan, belongs to the Armenian domain; Kurdish nomad pastors frequent the shores of lake Van as well as those of lake Gokcha. At every fresh Russian conquest, migrations, forced or voluntary, have taken place between the conterminous states. Between 1828 and 1830 over 100,000 Armenians passed from Turkey and Persia into Russian territory, where they received the lands of the Turki and Kurdish immigrants into the Mohammedan countries. Since 1877 similar shiftings of the populations have taken place between Turkish Armenia and the provinces annexed to Russian Trans-Caucasia. The Turks of Ardahan and Kars have retired to Erzerum and Sivas, those of Artvin to the Van plateau, the lands thus left vacant being occupied by Armenians from the Upper Chorukh, from the Erzerum and Van districts. In this readjustment of the populations, the Ottoman empire has on the whole benefitted most. The Mussulmans almost unanimously flee from their new Russian masters, whereas many Turkish Armenians prefer the misrule of the pashas to the meddling interference of the Muscovite administration. Thus the chief result of the Russian invasions has been to transform Armenia into another Turkestan.

Nevertheless these displacements, which have been constantly accompanied by a frightful mortality caused by famine, fever, homesickness, and hardships of every sort, are still far from having produced an ethnological grouping coincident with the conventional political frontier. In case of fresh conflicts with the Porte, Russia naturally derives great diplomatic and military advantages from the presence of kindred communities in the conterminous provinces. On behalf of her Trans-Caucasian Georgian subjects, she acquires a right or pretext for interfering in the affairs of their Laz brethren in the Trebizond district. As mistress of the Kurdish pastors, she may claim the prerogative of maintaining order amongst these restless nomads on both sides of the frontier. But especially as possessor of the holy city of Echmiadzin, and guardian of the Armenian Christians, she may feel called upon to insist upon those administrative reforms which British influence has hitherto been powerless to introduce into Turkish Armenia. In European Turkey, Russia has successfully interfered on behalf of the Bulgarians, and obtained for them an autonomous territory stretching nearly to the Gulf of Salonica. In the same way, when the occasion serves, she will be ready armed with a pretext for intervention in favour of the Armenian communities scattered over Western Asia from Erzerum to the Gulf of Alexandretta, over against Cyprus, England's new acquisition in the East. England herself can scarcely expect to offer an efficacious guarantee against farther Muscovite encroachments on the present limits of the Ottoman empire. She can no longer control the course of events in these regions, and

the refusal or neglect of the Turk to introduce the much needed reforms will merely serve an excuse for withdrawing from her new "Protectorate."

It is sad to reflect that such a rich land, one of the fairest, and formerly one of the most productive in the temperate zone, is now so little utilised by man. The population, which cannot be estimated at more than ten or twelve to the square mile, seems to be even diminishing. Yet the dominant Turki race, although still mostly in the tribal state, possesses many sterling qualities, which ought to secure it a considerable part in the common work of human progress. Laborious, long-suffering, persevering, the western Turkoman unweariedly returns to field labours interrupted by invasions. Conscious of the renown of their forefathers, the Kara-Koyunli and the Ak-Koyunli - that is, the "Black" and "White Shepherds" - preserve a feeling of national cohesion unknown to most of their neighbours. Hence the facility with which they absorb fresh ethnical elements, such as Lazes, Circassians, and Kurds, who gradually become assimilated to the ruling race, especially in those districts where nomad habits have given place to agricultural pursuits. For Turkey the true source of regeneration lies rather in these vigorous Turkoman peasant communities than in political alliances or "European capital."

The Lazes of the seaboard and the Ajars of the coast ranges between Batum and Trebizond, are Mohammedans of Georgian stock, endowed with the same fine physical qualities as their Trans-Caucasian kinsmen. Their speech is closely allied to that current on the Mingrelian lowlands, but affected by Turki and Greek elements. At the same time, the migratory habits and different religious and political institutions of the Lazes, cause their dialect to diverge more and more from that of the Russian Georgians, and become more assimilated to the Turkish, which has even already displaced it in some districts on the Upper Chorukh river. These mountaineers are a hardy, industrious race, fond of adventure, formerly much addicted to piracy on the Euxine waters. They are now chiefly occupied with fishing, agriculture, and the transport of merchandise, while thousands seek employment as porters, coppersmiths and tide-waiters in Constantinople. In Lazistan proper, which reaches westwards to Cape Kemer, the inhabitants are almost exclusively of Laz stock. But beyond this point, in the direction of Trebizond and Platana, Laz communities become gradually less numerous, and more interspersed with Greek and Turkish populations. Next to them the most important ethnical elements are the Cherkesses, Abkhasians, and other refugees from the Caucasus, about 6,000 of whom are annually moving westwards. The Armenians have only a small group of villages about Kopi, on the frontier of the Batum district, and the Greek colony is reduced to a few isolated families in the towns along the coast. In certain inland villages, especially at Jivislik, on the road from Trebizond to Gumishkaneh, there occurs an intermediate class of "Mezzo-mezzos," in the morning speaking Turkish and visiting the mosques, in the evening conversing in Greek and celebrating Christian rites. These half caste Hellenes and Lazes have by some been identified with the Macrones, who, according to Herodotus, practised circumcision, and who may have consequently been regarded as a sort of Mussulmans before the Moslem conquest.

Although nowhere in Trans-Caucasia or Asiatic Turkey forming a compact national community, the Haikans (Armenians) form the dominant population on the southern slope of the Chorukh Valley, as well as on the main branches of the Upper Euphrates. They are also in exclusive possession of some upland valleys in the Jihun basin, Asia Minor, where the traditions of the old Armenian empire are still best preserved. The total number of Armenians in the provinces left to Turkey has been variously estimated, according to the political bias of the writers, at from 500,000 to 2,000,000 or 3,000,000. They may approximately be calculated at some 700,000 or 800,000 - that is to say, about one third of the whole Armenian nation. In Erzerum, as in Constantinople, they are distinguished from the Turks by their greater love of instruction and industrious habits. In the vilayet of Van they have almost a complete monopoly of the local trades. They readily migrate, and thousands are now settled in Constantinople, and the other cities of European and Asiatic Turkey, where they find employment especially as builders, artisans, and carriers.

### **THE KURDS.**

While the centre of gravity of the Armenian nationality now lies at the foot of Mount Ararat within Russian territory, the Kurds are concentrated chiefly on the Van plateau, whence their numerous tribes radiate over a vast extent of country. Including in this group the Luri and Bakhtyari of the Persian border ranges, and the various nomads removed by the Persian sovereigns to Khorassan and the Baluch frontier, their domain is found to stretch for about 600 miles from the neighbourhood of Ramadan to Aintab, with a mean breadth of 150 miles. But the few tribes scattered amongst the Armenians, Georgians, and Tatars of Russian Trans-Caucasia, have little cohesion with the Persian and Turkish divisions of the family. The majority recognise the sovereignty of the Porte, although various communities, especially in the Dersim highlands, south-west of Erzerum, still form petty semi-independent states. Elsewhere also, and notably in the basin of the Great Zab, they constitute a compact nationality, powerful enough to aspire to political autonomy in the Turko-Persian border lands. Attempts have even been made to found a common league or confederacy of all the Kurdish tribes, which, however aggressive towards other races, seldom quarrel amongst themselves.

Scattered over such a vast range, the Kurds naturally present considerable diversity of physical types. In some respects they even form distinct ethnical groups, some being affected by Turkoman or Tatar, others by Armenian or Persian elements. Certain tribes, regarded as of pure Armenian stock, are supposed to be descended from old Christian communities converted to Islam. Nearly all the Turkish soldiers stationed in the Kurdish highlands intermarry with the natives, whereby the physical appearance becomes still farther modified. Some are noted for their coarse and even ugly features, while others rival the finest Cherkesses in grace and symmetry of form. Those of the Urmiah and Van basins, who are regarded as the descendants of the Kudraha,

mentioned in the Persepolis inscriptions (the Kardukhi and Gordyans of Greek writers), are of middle size and thick-set, with a haughty expression; while those of the Persian frontier have generally a receding brow, wide eyebrows, long lashes, large mouth, projecting chin, pointed aquiline nose. Many, especially of the Persian tribes, dye their bushy beards and hair red or black, although naturally light hair and even blue eyes are far from rare. Five skulls measured by Duhouset are strongly brachycephalic, thus presenting a marked contrast to the East Persian, Afghan, and Hindu crania. But no general conclusion can be drawn from such partial measurements, still less from the vague comparisons made by the American missionaries with the Redskins of the New World.

The children are very pretty, and the features of the women, who never go veiled, distinguished by great regularity, large eyes, aquiline nose, robust figure, deep black hair, well harmonising with a slightly brown or swarthy complexion. Unfortunately they are too often disfigured, like their Hindu sisters, by the gold ring passed through the nostrils. Both sexes are fond of finery, bright-coloured, costly robes, high head-dresses, enveloped by the men in gorgeous turbans. The Kurd completes his costume by an arsenal of small-arms-revolvers, knives and yatagans - attached to the girdle, rifle swung to a shoulder-belt, a long lance decorated with ribbons and carried in the hand. But this is mere parade, most of such encumbrances being dispensed with in actual combat.

Most explorers and missionaries that have resided any time amongst them have recognised two well defined castes, descended probably from distinct ethnical stocks, and known as the *Kermani* or *Assireta* - that is, nobles - and *guran*, or peasants. The latter, four or five times more numerous than the former in South Kurdistan, are regarded, not without reason, as the descendants of a conquered and enslaved race. Like other serfs attached to the soil, they are known in Turkey as *raya*, or riots. In certain districts they are compelled to till the land for masters who claim over them the right of life and death. Under no circumstances can they rise to the rank of warriors, but, like cattle, change their owners according to the vicissitudes of battle. On the other hand, the military, or noble caste, would be dishonoured by agricultural labour. Besides stock-breeding, their only occupation is pillage and warfare, either on their own account or as mercenaries. The type is inferior to that of the Gurans, being marked by angular features, small sunken eyes, heavy figures. Amongst them are also found a few Chinghianehs, or gipsies, differing in no respect from those of Europe; and the Tere-Kamehs, who occupy about a hundred villages near the Persian frontier, and who, owing to their Turki speech, are regarded as of Tatar descent.

Like the race itself, the Kurdish language presents a great diversity of form, although the common structure is essentially Iranian. The vocabulary has been enriched in the east by Persian, in the west by Arabic and Turkish words, in some district even by Syriac and Russian terms. The Zaza, current at Mush and Palu, presents certain analogies with the Ossetian of the Caucasus; and, according to Lereh, there are

altogether five distinct dialects, one of which, the Kermanji, is spoken by all the tribes west of Mossul. All these idioms are harsh, sounding like a series of explosions, yet less affected by sibilants and gutturals than most of those current amongst the surrounding peoples. To the national literature, consisting of a few songs in praise of their heroes and wild mountain scenery, the American missionaries have added a translation of the Bible and a few religious works. Having no distinct writing system, the Kurds employ the Arabic as modified by their Persian neighbours, and the lettered classes usually exchange the rude national speech for the more cultured Turkish or Persian.

Neither Baluch, Bedouin, nor Apache has developed the marauding instinct to a higher degree than have the warlike Kurd tribes. The chief, whose mountain fastness commands like an eyrie the entrance of the gorges, entertains a band of freebooters, who scour the surrounding highways, and sweep the plunder into his inaccessible den. Armed robbery is regarded as the most honourable of deeds; but smuggling, which might be so easily carried on in an upland region on the confines of three empires, is held in contempt. Advantage, however, is taken of the conterminous frontiers, in order to organise excursions now against one, now against another of the neighbouring states, and when pursued rapidly retire across the border. It is to avoid these dangerous hereditary foes of their race and religion that so many Armenian communities have forsaken their homes and withdrawn to Russian territory. In many districts of the plateau, a chronic state of blockade is kept up against whole towns and groups of villages, where the inhabitants live in constant dread of the marauders. The drastic measures, such as impaling and the stake, taken against them, instead of striking terror into these brigand tribes, have often the effect of stimulating them to frightful reprisals. Suppressed in one place, the incessant struggle breaks out in another, at times compelling the Turkish Government to fit out costly military expeditions. According to Polak, there is one Kurdish sect which strictly forbids the plunder of the living, in consequence of which these sectaries first scrupulously murder their victims before rifling them. Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, human life is respected, and clothes and provisions are even occasionally left to the poor in the villages plundered. Bloodshed is avoided except in the case of personal or hereditary feuds, when the laws of vendetta may be enforced in the mosque itself. The chiefs, to whom all yield blind obedience, keep open table, and return in banquets the presents exacted and the products of their plundering raids. The stranger also is well received when he presents himself as a guest.

Notwithstanding their warlike habits and marauding propensities, the Kurds are on the whole more honest and trustworthy than the surrounding races. In general they respect their women, who enjoy for greater freedom than their Turkish and Persian sisters. But the incessant toil to which they are condemned renders their existence so burdensome that mothers are said frequently to make away with their female offspring, in order to save them from their hard lot. But, unlike the Circassians, whom they resemble in so many other respects, they have never been accustomed to sell them to

the purveyors of the Turkish harems. Notwithstanding their many sterling qualities, the Kurds are threatened with extinction in many districts in Persia and Turkey, where they are diminishing in numbers, and here and there merging in the surrounding populations. The serfs, who constitute the bulk of the nation, have no interest in maintaining the relations binding them to the warlike caste, which on its part is condemned to exhaustion by its very mode of existence - a perpetual warfare against all their neighbours. Religious animosity contributes to the work of destruction, at least in Persia, where three-fourths of the Kurds are zealous Sunnites, and consequently regarded by the Iranian Shiah as heretics deserving the worst of fates.

### **THE KIZIL-BASHES, YEZIDIS, AND NESTORIANS.**

In this land of transition, where the remnants of so many peoples have become amalgamated, traces have survived of the most varied forms of worship. A Kurdish community in the sanjak of Sert, has even been mentioned as professing no religion. Amongst the tribes on the Armenian and Kurdistan plateau there exist not only members of every Mohammedan and Christian sect, but also unconscious heirs of the old Persian Mazdeism. The Kizil-Bashes, or "Red Heads," a term applied in Afghanistan and other eastern countries to peoples of Persian stock, are for the most part Kurds. Of 400,000 of these sectaries not more than 15,000 are of Turkoman descent, while two or three tribes call themselves Arabs. The Red Heads, who are centred chiefly in the middle Euphrates basin, on the banks of the Ghermili and Upper Kizil-irmak, are included by the Mussulmans among the Christian sects, because they drink wine, allow their women to go unveiled, and practice the rites of baptism and communion. They are also accused, rightly or wrongly, of celebrating nocturnal feasts or orgies, in which unbridled licentiousness prevails. Hence the term *Terah Sonderan*; or "Extinguishers of Lights," by which they are commonly known. Their religious chief resides in the Dersim district, near the river Murad.

Other detested sectaries are the so-called "Devil Worshipers." These Yezidi, or *Shemsieh* Kurds, although they number scarcely 50,000 souls altogether, are scattered over a very wide area. Their chief settlement is in the Sinjar hills, north of the Mesopotamian plain, but they are also found on the Van and Erzerum plateaux, in Persia and in Trans-Caucasia, near the east bank of Lake Gokcha. One of their colonies is even said to have penetrated westwards to the Bosphorus, over against Constantinople. Hated by all their neighbours, persecuted and reduced by famine and epidemics even more than by the sword, they have nevertheless contrived to survive from age to age, with nothing to sustain them except their faith, and the memory of their trials and afflictions. They pretend that their great saint, Sheikh Adi, wrote a code of doctrine, the so-called *Aswat*, or "Black" Book. But the assertion is unsupported by any documentary evidence. The autonomous Sinjar Yezidis, half-caste Kurds and Arabs, were mostly exterminated in 1838, when those who had taken refuge in the caves were

smoked to death, and their women sold into slavery. Since then no Yezidi community has maintained its political independence.

The accounts given by travellers of the different Yezidi tribes vary so greatly that these sectaries have been referred to several distinct origins. Those residing near the Armenians seem to belong to that ethnical group, and extant documents mention a village in the Van district where the sect was founded in the ninth century. In Sinjar, on the contrary, they are traced to an Arab source, and their cult associated with Islam. In Persia again they are regarded as Guebres. Yet they are connected with the Mussulman world by their very title of Yezidi, derived from Yezid, the detested caliph, grandson of the prophet, and murderer of Hussein. Lastly, the Kurds confound them with the Christian sects of the lowlands, attributing to all alike every conceivable abomination. The ceremonies vary with every district. Some baptise their children and make the sign of the cross; others practice circumcision, which is prohibited elsewhere; in one place polygamy prevails, in another all are strict monogamists; formerly blue was chiefly worn; now this colour is held in horror, and replaced by white.

But the common bond of union between all the Yezidis, is the worship of the *melek* Taus, their peacock or phoenix king, Lord of Life, Holy Ghost, Fire and Light, represented under the form of a bird with a cock's head, perched on a chandelier. His "prime minister" is Lucifer, the morning star, still venerated notwithstanding his fall. Having themselves fallen, by what right, they argue, could they curse the fallen angel? And as they themselves hope for salvation through the divine favour, why may not Lucifer also resume his rank as chief of the heavenly hosts? The prophets Moses, Mohammed, Jesus Christ, may themselves have been his incarnations: possibly he has already returned to heaven, in order again, as supreme minister, to execute the decrees of the divine legislator. They are struck with horror when they hear the archangel's name blasphemed by Moslem or Christian; and the sentence of death is said to be pronounced against those amongst them who take the name of "Satan." Those who hear it are bound to kill, first the blasphemer, then themselves. They scrupulously comply with the orders of their priests, and many make the pilgrimage to the shrine of Sheikh Adi, on the route to Amadiah, north of Mossul. Their pope, or Sheikh-Khan, resides at Baadli; but the sanctuary is in the village of Lalest, where lived a prophet, the "Mohammed" of the Yezidi. Here are performed the great ceremonies, and here the holy effigy of the *melek* Taus is exposed to the veneration of the faithful. Travellers, and even Christian missionaries amongst them, unanimously represent the Yezidi as far superior, morally, to their Nestorian or Gregorian, Shiah or Sunnite neighbours. They are perfectly honest, showing a scrupulous regard for the property of others. They are also extremely courteous to strangers, kind to each other, faithful to the marriage vow, and of industrious habits. The songs sung by them while tilling the land, or during the evening rest from labour, consist either of fragments of epic poems celebrating the great deeds of their forefathers, love ditties full of sentiment, or else plaintive appeals for redress. "The jackal preys only on carrion; but the pasha drinks the blood of our youth. He severs the young man from his betrothed. Cursed be whosoever two loving hearts

sever. Cursed be the ruler to pity a stranger. Its dead the grave gives not up, but the angel of doom our cry will hear!"

Of the Christian sects surviving in Kurdistan, the most important is that of the so-called Nestorians, a title, however, which they reject, calling themselves "Messianic Nazarenes," "Syrian Nazarenes," or simply "Nazarenes." Their language is an Aramean dialect derived directly from the Syriac; hence the surprising facility with which they learn Hebrew, which the missionaries have introduced into their schools. Numbering, perhaps, 200,000 altogether, they are scattered, like the Yezidi, over a vast territory; and to them probably belonged the now extinct Nestorians of China, as well as the Nassareni-Moplaks of the Malabar coast, whose liturgical language is the Syriac, and who recognise as their head the Babylonian patriarch residing in Mossul. Their diffusion to such remote regions doubtless preceded the occupation of Mesopotamia by the Mohammedans, who did not invade the Julamerk highlands between lakes Van and Urmiah, where the Nestorians had their strongholds and most important communities. But in 1843 their villages were overrun by the surrounding Mussulman Kurds, who massacred the men taken in arms, carried the women into captivity, and brought up the young in the Mohammedan faith.

At present the Porte has no more loyal subjects than the surviving Christians of Julamerk, who, like the neighbouring Kurds, are divided into two classes, the *assireta*, or nobles, and the peasants, little better than slaves. They are governed by a sacerdotal hierarchy, under the patriarchate of a priest-king known as "Mar Shimun," or "Lord Simon." The Nestorians trouble themselves little with the theological subtleties on the human and divine nature of Christ which gave rise to the schism of Nestorius. But ceremonial differences have sufficed to create secular hatreds between them and the other religious sects. The Chaldeans of Mesopotamia and Zagros, who are settled mostly in the Diarbekir district and north of Bagdad, have been united at least officially to the Church of Rome since the sixteenth century. Nevertheless they retain various old rites, and celibacy is restricted to the higher orders of the clergy. Recently, however, some of the Catholic missionaries have been endeavouring gradually to assimilate the Chaldean to the Latin ritual. On the other hand, the Nestorians, who remained faithful to the old Nazarene cult of Syria, have since 1831 been brought chiefly under the influence of the American missionaries. These Protestant evangelisers maintain about sixty stations in the country, contribute to the support of the native clergy and schools, and have more than once protected their highland congregations from the Turks and Kurds.

### TOPOGRAPHY.

There are comparatively few towns in these upland regions, which have been so frequently wasted by pillage, famine, and military expeditions. Half the population still leads a semi-nomad existence between the winter and summer pastures, residing during the heats in felt tents 15 to 20 feet high, for the rest of the year in hovels half buried in the ground, with grass-grown roofs rendering them almost indistinguishable

from the surrounding land. Some of the powerful Kurdish chiefs possess large stone houses, but always so disposed as to keep in view the horses who form their main pride and delight.

West of Batum and the Chorukh delta, recently ceded to Russia, no town of any consequence occurs for a distance of over 90 miles along the coast. *Atina*, an old Greek colony, formerly known by the name of Athens, consists of a few scattered houses, and in the neighbourhood some mural remains mark the site of *Eski-Tirabzon*, or Old Trebizond. West of Atina follow the open roadsteads of *Rizeh*, and *Surmeneh*, beyond which comes the famous city of *Trebizond*, the Trapezos of the Greeks, founded some 2,600 years ago by a colony from Sinope. Trebizond was the capital of Pontus, and in the thirteenth century became the metropolis of the empire which was founded by Alexis Comnenus, and which for over 250 years arrested the progress of Islam. Although now merely a provincial capital, it preserves a certain importance as the outlet of Persia on the Black Sea. Notwithstanding its unsheltered anchorage, it has at all times been the port where passengers and goods are landed for the Iranian plateau, and where the produce of Persia is shipped for the West. The route, carried southwards over the rugged intervening highlands, is essentially a historic highway, the shortest and easiest between the Euxine and North Persia by the Bayazid Pass and the plain of Erzerum. The section between Trebizond and Erzerum now forms a fine carriage-road 200 miles long, accessible even to artillery. But the Trans-Caucasian railway from Batum and Poti through Tiflis to Baku, which must sooner or later be continued round the Caspian seaboard to Persia, is already threatening to deprive Trebizond of most of its trade. Nevertheless the imports and exports were still valued in 1881, at £1,733,000 and £1,000,000 respectively; and since the interdict imposed by the Russian Government on the Caucasian transit trade, the French sugars and English woven goods intended for the Persian market have again been diverted to the old route over the Armenian plateau.

Of the old ramparts, built in form of a trapezium, whence the name of the city, the lines are still marked by several ivy-clad towers and a ruined castle on the coast. The modern quarter of Ghiaur-Meidan, lying beyond the walls on a cliff east of the town, is occupied by Armenians, Greeks and the European merchants settled in the place. Here is also a considerable Persian colony, which supplies nearly all the local artisans. In an enormous cave on the Kolat-dagh hills south of Trebizond is the famous Panagia of Sumelas, the Miriam ana, or "Mother Mary," annually visited by 8,000 or 10,000 Greeks in the month of August. Even the Turkish women flock in large numbers to the shrine to implore her intercession against fever or sterility. She can dispel all calamities, but is especially potent against locusts, whence the title of "Panagia of the Locusts," by which she is known from Paphlagonia to Cappadocia. To the monastery belong extensive domains along the Euxine seaboard between Trebizond and Constantinople.

West of Trebizond other Greek names recall the days when Hellenic influence predominated on the coast of Pontus. *Tireboli*, or *Tarabulus*, is one of the numerous

*Tripolis* or "Three Cities," whose walls afforded a refuge to people of threefold origin. It has the advantage over Trebizond of lying at the mouth of a considerable stream, the Kharshut, which, however, flows through gorges too narrow to allow of a road being opened along its course. Farther on is the little seaport of *Kiresun*, the old Greek settlement of Kerasos, so named from the Armenian *keraz*, cherry, whole forests of which tree formerly encircled the town. But the staple exports at present are filberts, of which 3,500 tons, valued at £60,000, were shipped for Russia and other places in 1881.

Between Trebizond and Erzerum the chief station is *Baiburt*, which lies at the foot of the Kop-dagh on the eastern head-stream of the Chorukh. Like most other upland towns in Turkish Armenia, it is little more than a collection of hovels and ruins, commanded by a strong citadel dating from the Seljuk period. In the neighbourhood is a still finer castle, the Ghenis-kaleh, built by the old Genoese traders on the highway to Persia. The silver mines in the vicinity, as well as those of *Gurmish-khaneh*, lying further west in the upper Kharshut basin, are no longer worked, having been partly flooded since the middle of the present century, when they were the most productive in the Ottoman empire. The copper mine situated some 12 miles to the south-east of Baiburt, at one time employed 500 hands, and its deepest shaft descended 1,300 feet into the ground. The whole valley of Chorukh is strewn with the ruins of castles, churches, and towns. Yet the entire district might be changed to a vast garden, like the lateral valley of *Tortuni*, which supplies Erzerum with fruits and vegetables. In the neighbourhood stand the church and monastery of *Erek Vank*, the most remarkable monument of Georgian art.

*Erzerum* retains some of its former importance as the most advanced bulwark of Turkey towards Russia, and as the converging point of the caravans crossing the Armenian highlands, or radiating from this point towards Trebizond and Batum, Sivas and Diarbekir, Bagdad, Teheran, and Tiflis. The transit trade between the Euxine and Persia has greatly diminished since the completion of the Trans-Caucasian railway from the Black Sea to the Caspian; and after the Russian invasions of 1829 and 1877, the most skilful and industrious Armenian artisans, notably the workers in metal, left the city in the wake of the conquerors. Thus deprived at once of its trade and industries, and threatened with further aggression and political changes Erzerum has in recent times suffered greater losses than most other Turkish towns. It is also avoided by strangers, owing to its excessively severe winter climate. Lying at an altitude of 6,500 feet above the sea, in a treeless, marshy plain, its streets are blocked by snow for more than half the year. But during the summer months it presents a more inviting aspect, with its amphitheatre of mountains and snowy cones, the grassy slopes of the lower hills, and the cultivated tracts of its fertile and well watered alluvial plain.

The isolated hill crowned for centuries by the citadel of Erzerum, explains the choice made of this spot for strategical purposes. The ancient Armenian trading city of *Arzen* stood farther east. The fort of *Theodosiopolis*, erected at the beginning of the fifth century above the city of *Garin (Karin)*, also took the name of Arzen, or *Arzen-er-Rum*, that is, "Arzen of the Romans" (Byzantine Greeks), whence the modern Erzerum. Few

places have been subject to more frequent assaults than this stronghold, which was successively taken and retaken by the, Persian Sassanides, by the Arabs, Mongols, Turks, and Russians, belonging in turn to every nation except the people in whose territory it stands. According to the vicissitudes of war, the population has fluctuated enormously. Before the siege of 1829, Erzerum is said to have contained 130,000 inhabitants, who were reduced the following year to 15,000. Its only striking monuments are the picturesque gray basalt citadel, and the mosque of the "Two Minarets," covered in the Persian style with enamelled porcelain. With the exception of leather-dressing, and some metal works, the local industries have almost disappeared, and the neighbouring mines are now closed. Yet this is the traditional home of the first workers in metal, those Tibarenians and Chalybes, who forged arms, and bronze and iron instruments, at a time when their neighbours were still in the stone age.

West of Erzerum, the main route follows the banks of the Kara-su (Upper Euphrates) down to the hot springs of *Ilja*, the most frequented in Armenia, and across several populous basins alternating with narrow gorges. But for a distance of 120 miles no town of any size occurs, till the ancient city of *Erzenjan*, or *Erzingan* (*Erez*), is reached, which lies in a fertile plain watered by several small tributaries of the Euphrates. Even before the Christian era, Erez was famous as the sanctuary of the Armenian goddess, Anahid (Anaitis), who became successively the Artemis of the Greeks, the Roman Diana, and the Panagia of the Christians, when the old temple was transformed to a church of the Madonna. Before the rise of Erzerum, Erzenjan was the chief city of the Haïk country, whence the Armenians take their national name of Haïkans; and even when visited by Marco Polo it was still a large place, where were produced the finest "bouquerans" (muslins?) in the world. But it was overthrown by an earthquake in 1667, when half of the inhabitants perished in the ruins. Lying at an elevation of 4,500 feet, it enjoys a milder climate than Erzerum, and on its fertile plain are successfully cultivated the vine, melon, and other fruits of the temperate zone.

Below Erzenjan, a bluff overhanging the Euphrates, before it plunges into the profound gorges lower down, is crowned by the walled city of *Kemakh*, where the kings of Armenia at the beginning of the Christian era had their finest temples, their treasury, state prison, and tombs. But a still more remarkable place is *Eghin* or *Akin*, which stands on the right bank of the Kara-su (Euphrates) above the confluence of the Chalta-chai. Here the river is deflected from its westerly course towards the Mediterranean, and begins to describe the series of bends through which it escapes from the Armenian highlands to Mesopotamia. In this romantic region Eghin occupies one of the finest sites in Western Asia, and has become a favourite retreat for the Armenian traders who have made their fortunes in Constantinople and in the cities of the lowlands. In the tributary Chalta-chai valley the chief place is *Divrig* or *Divrighi*, which is supposed to stand on the site of the *Nicopolis*, or "City of Victory," founded to commemorate the triumph of Pompey over Mithridates. Goitre is very prevalent in these highlands, and especially in the Eghin district.

East of Erzerum the main route to Persia crosses the easy pass of *Deveh-boinu*, leading from the Euphrates to the Aras basin, and formerly fortified to protect the city against the Russians. Here is also the old fortress of *Hassan-kaleh*, now a mere collection of hovels at the foot of a hill crowned by the ruins of a fort wrongly attributed to the Genoese. Below *Hassan-kaleh* the route bifurcates near the Trans-Caucasian frontier, one branch running north-east along the course of the Aras to the town of *Khorasan*, and thence to Kars, the other winding up to the *Deli-baba* Pass and down to the valley of the Upper Murad, or Eastern Euphrates. Here are *Topra-kaleh*, almost entirely abandoned since the first Russian invasion; *Uch-Kilissa*, or the "Three Churches," a much frequented place of pilgrimage; and *Diyadin*, at the foot of an ancient fortress at the junction of the head-waters of the Murad. Near *Diyadin*, now merely a ruined caravan station, formerly stood the great city of *Zahrawan*, destroyed by the Persians in the middle of the fourth century, when it is said to have contained about 80,000 inhabitants, of whom 50,000 were Jews.

*Bayazid*, which lies south of the main route to Persia, and of the water-parting between the Euphrates and Urmiah basins, replaced the old Armenian city of *Pakovan*, founded in the first century of the new era. The present town, which is named after its founder, Sultan Bayazid I., forms one of the most picturesque groups of ruins in Western Asia. The steep slopes are covered with an amphitheatre of buildings, above which rise a half-ruined palace and a graceful minaret, commanded by a strong citadel. Still higher up a red marble crag streaked in white forms, with a snowy crest, a suitable background to this romantic scene. The palace, built by a Persian architect, was, till recently, the finest in the Turkish empire. Porticoes, colonnades, and walls are entirely constructed of the rich red marble from the neighbouring hill; the interlaced arabesque and foliated sculptures display marvellous taste and delicacy, combined with a sobriety of judgment rare amongst Persian artists. The mosque has been degraded to a barrack; the neighbouring buildings have been rent, and a large portion of the city levelled to the ground, by earthquakes; but the graceful minaret still maintains its equilibrium. Convalescent fever patients were formerly sent from Erivan to enjoy the benefit of the pure air of Bayazid.

South and south-west of the old lacustrine basin, where the Murad is joined by the *Sharian-chai* from the *Pasin* plateau, the course of the Upper Euphrates has not yet been entirely explored, although traversed by numerous travellers. No great caravan route runs in the direction of this upland river valley, which is inhabited by fierce and formidable Kurdish tribes. Amongst the few centres of population in this wild region, the most noteworthy are *Melezgherd* (*Manazgherd*), which supplies a great part of Armenia with salt from the *Tuzla-su*, or "Salt River," and *Mush*, capital of the Pashalik, watered by the Murad. *Mush* lies not on the river itself, but on an extensive lateral plain at the issue of a rocky gorge commanded by mountains, on which the snow lies for six months in the year. But lying 1,600 feet lower down than Erzerum, it enjoys a milder climate, in which fruit-trees and even the vine are cultivated. The ruined citadel was formerly the

residence of those Mamigonians who were governed by princes from Jenasdan that is, China - during the first centuries of the vulgar era. In the Mush district were born two illustrious Armenians: Mezrop, inventor of the Haïkan alphabet, and Moses, the historian.

After its junction with the Kara-su, which flows from a "fathomless" crater in the plain of Mush, the Murad plunges into a deep gorge, forming a cataract, from the sound of whose roaring waters the neighbouring village of *Gurgur*, or *Kurkur*, takes its name. Although already very copious, the river is not yet navigable below this point. Dashing against its rocky walls, the current here recoils in swift eddies, or descends in rapids over the reefs. At certain points the hills running athwart its course confine it to a very narrow bed between vertical walls or abrupt escarpments rising several hundred yards above the stream. Near the village of *Akrakli*, the Murad is only some twenty paces broad, and assumes the character of a regular river only after passing the town of *Palu*. But the attempts made to navigate it, from this place to the confluence of the two Euphrates, have hitherto proved unsuccessful. The current, which at *Palu* is still 2,880 feet above sea-level, is too swift for ordinary craft, which are here replaced by the *kelleks*, or rafts made of thin planks bound together with ropes and supported by inflated sheepskins. Six of these floats will carry four men over the eddies and rapids. The last bridge across the river above Hilleh is at *Palu*, which is commanded by a picturesque citadel, traditionally attributed to the hands of genii. In the neighbourhood is a cuneiform rock inscription, and the district yields the best wine in Armenia. A little farther south are the important iron-works of *Sivan-maden*, where the hills and valleys are strewn with rich blocks of black ferriferous ore. Near *Sivan-maden* the water-parting between the Tigris and Murad lies within half a mile of the latter river, whose chief northern affluent is the *Mezur-su*. Near the junction is the wretched hamlet of *Mazgherd*, in which Taylor recognises the Iranian Hormuz-ghere, or "City of Hormuz." Here formerly stood a fire-temple, whose remains, visible at a vast distance, are still venerated by the neighbouring Kizil-bash and Armenian communities.

Below the confluence of the Murad and Kara-su, the main stream is still locally known as the Murad, a name said to be derived from the numerous forts erected on the surrounding hills by Murad I. The term Frat (Euphrates) borne by the Kara-su, is not usually extended to the united waters till they reach the plain. No large town has sprung up at the confluence, and *Kyeban-maden*, which stands on the left bank a little lower down, evidently owes its origin to the recently abandoned argentiferous lead mines of the vicinity. The cliffs here at intervals confining the stream to a narrow bed, also prevent the formation of roads, so that all the caravan routes, towns, and strongholds, lie higher up on the plateaux and in the lateral valleys. In the triangular space formed by the two Euphrates, the chief place is *Chemech-gadzak*, the ancient *Hierapolis*, which is enclosed on three sides by sandstone rocks, full of formerly inhabited caverns. On the western plateaux *Arabkir*, or "Arab Conquest," lies 2 miles south of *Eski-shehr* ("Old Town") in a depression encircled by black basalt scarps. This gloomy upland recess has

been converted into a smiling garden by its industrious inhabitants, whose weavers import spun cotton from England for the local looms.

The peninsular district limited north by the Murad, west and south by the great bend of the Euphrates, is commanded by the fortified city of *Kharput* (*Karberd*), which overlooks a fertile and well cultivated plain, yielding all the fruits of the temperate zone. In the middle of this plain stands the town of *Mezereh*, known also as "New Kharput." The "Armenian College" founded at Kharput by the American missionaries, has become the chief centre of public instruction for the whole of Armenia and Kurdistan.

In the south-eastern section of the Armenian plateaux, the largest place is *Van*, which gives its name to the neighbouring lake. It stands about 2 miles from the east bank in a level plain, surrounded on the north, east and south by bare limestone hills. The city proper is enclosed on three sides by broad ditches, and a double rampart of crenelled walls flanked by towers. But the outer city, that of the *Baghlar* or "gardens," is far more extensive, stretching a long way across the fertile plain, which has given rise to the saying, "Van in this, heaven in the next world!" In summer nearly the whole population leaves the inner town for the suburban district, whose glories are mostly concealed by high walls from the passing traveller. The wine of the local vintages is light and very pleasant to the taste. The native women weave a species of goat-hair waterproof moire antique, highly esteemed even in Constantinople. The walled town, like so many other places in Kurdistan and Persia, is sometimes known as *Shemiram* or *Semiram*. In this case, however, there is historical evidence to show that, before taking the name of Van, from an Armenian king, its second founder, it was specially designated by the title of *Semiramgherd*, or "City of Semiramis." The historian, Moses of Khorene, who saw the magnificent palaces attributed to the famous queen, states that she brought from Assyria sixty architects and 42,000 workmen, who were employed for five years in the construction of those palaces and gardens which became one of the "wonders of the world." Here Semiramis chose her summer residence in order to enjoy the pure air of the highlands. Although no trace remains of the Assyrian buildings, the rock of Van, which towers in isolated majesty above the terraced houses clustering at its foot, offers none the less an inexhaustible mine of wealth to the archaeologist. This huge mass of nummulitic limestone, which is 2,000 feet long and about 100 high, comprises three main sections, all containing numerous galleries, flights of steps, crypts, and inscriptions. At all elevations the lines of cuneiform characters are visible on the bare rocky walls. Schultz, who was afterwards assassinated in Kurdistan, was the first to study them by means of a telescope erected on the top of a minaret. Rubbings were subsequently taken by Deyrolle, by means of ropes and ladders suspended in mid-air. One of the inscriptions, which, like that of Bisutun, is trilingual, relates almost in the same words the great deeds of Xerxes, son of Darius. But other far more ancient writings had long defied all efforts to interpret them, till they yielded up their secret to the patient labour of Professor Sayce und M. Guyard. Their texts, composed in Old Armenian, are no longer a mystery, and the events here recorded in marble archives

will gradually be revealed by these imperishable documents. But in the Van district there are other rock inscriptions, which still await an interpreter, for the attempt made by Sayce to find a key for their solution in the Georgian language of Trans-Caucasia cannot yet be regarded as entirely successful.

*Topra-kaleh*, another Assyrian stronghold, south-west of Van, has been recently explored by MM. Chantre and Barry. From the fortifications, which form three distinct systems of basalt walls and towers, a view is commanded of the vast amphitheatre of hills, and of the lake, in whose blue waters is mirrored the snow-capped cone of Seibandagh. Farther on, the town of *Akhlat* occupies a point on the lake, where the route to Mush and the Euphrates begins to ascend towards Lake Mazik. But little now remains of this formerly populous city, whose ruins are scattered amidst the surrounding gardens, and whose tombs are still to be seen hollowed out of the surrounding sandstone rocks. East of Van the town of *Erchek* overlooks the southern shore of Lake Erchek or Ertesh, beyond which runs the border range between the two empires. Here the "Cut-throat Pass," familiar to the marauding Kurds, leads down to the military station of *Kotur*, which belonged formerly to Turkey, but which, by the Treaty of Berlin, has been ceded to Persia, together with a territory some 500 square miles in extent. The last Turkish valley in this direction is the lovely plain of *Abaga*, which begins at the southern foot of the Bayazid Mountains.

From Van is visible towards the south-west the hilly islet of *Aktamar*, which was formerly a peninsula, but is now about 2,5 miles from the shore. To the Armenian kings, who long resided here, is due the church, dating from the tenth century, which stands in the middle of the island. It is the finest and richest in Turkish Armenia, and its patriarchs at one time claimed equal rank with those of Echmiadzin. In a river valley south of Van is another famous monastery, that of *Yeddi-Kilissa*, or the "Seven Churches," where young Armenians of good families are educated in a college, modelled, like the normal school of Van, on the training establishments of the West. The Armenians of this district are great travellers, thousands annually seeking employment in Constantinople and the cities along the Euxine seaboard, or visiting Bagdad, Aleppo, Vienna, Paris. The total number of emigrants was estimated at upwards of 30,000 in 1837, when the return movement averaged about 3,000.

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DOCUMENTS:  
ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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**THE DOCUMENTS REGARDING THE ATROCITIES OF THE ARMENIAN  
POPULATION OF THE VILAYET OF MAMOURET-UL-AZIZ IN 1915**  
Extracted from "THE TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS  
IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1915-16)"

**(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. 257-283.

VII.  
VILAYET OF MAMOURET-UL-AZIZ.

*This province lies south-west of Erzindjan, where the Kara-Su bends from west to south and effects its junction with the Mourad-Su, to form the united stream of the Euphrates. The remnant of the convoys from the Vilayet of Erzeroum passed through this district on their way to Mesopotamia, and the Armenian inhabitants of Mamouret-ul-Aziz itself were sent after them in the first weeks of July.*

*The great advance of the Russians in the winter of 1915-6 brought this province within the immediate war zone, and apparently provoked a second outburst of persecution. On the 24th February, 1916, the Paris journal "Le Temps" published the following telegram from Rome: "According to information that has reached the Vatican, the Turks have carried fire and sword through the region of Mamouret-ul-Aziz, killing all the Christians, including the Catholic Armenian Bishop, Mgr. Ivraklon, who was subjected to prolonged and fearful tortures."*

*The name of the town to which most of the documents in this section relate is, for obvious reasons, withheld.*

**64. H.: STATEMENT MADE BY MISS DA., A DANISH LADY IN THE SERVICE OF  
THE GERMAN RED CROSS AT H., TO MR. DB. AT BASLE, AND  
COMMUNICATED BY MR. DB. TO LORD BRYCE.**

Sister DA. left the German Red Cross Mission at H. in April, 1916, travelling through Ourfa to Aleppo, and thence by road and railway across Anatolia to Constantinople. Mr. DB. met her at Basle, on her way from Constantinople to Denmark, in the house of a mutual friend.

Sister DA. told Mr. DB. that on the 16th March, 1915, the German Vice-Consul appointed provisionally to Erzeroum (the Consul himself being interned in Russia) was passing through the town of H., accompanied by two German officers, and arranged to dine that evening with the German Red Cross Staff, after paying his respects to the Vali. At the hour fixed, only the two officers appeared. They said that they had called,

with the Vice-Consul, upon the Vali, but that after a time the Vali had shewn signs of being irked by their presence, and so they had taken their departure, leaving the Vali and the Vice-Consul together. The company waited for the Vice-Consul about two hours. He arrived about 9.30 p.m., in a state of great agitation, and told them at once the purport of his interview. The Vali had declared to him that the Armenians in Turkey must be, and were going to be, exterminated. They had grown, he said, in wealth and numbers until they had become a menace to the ruling Turkish race; extermination was the only remedy. The Vice-Consul had expostulated and represented that persecution always increased the spiritual vitality of a subject race, and on grounds of expediency was the worst policy for the rulers. "Well, we shall see," said the Vali, and closed the conversation.

This incident occurred on the 16th March, 1915, and Mr. DB. points out that it must have been practically simultaneous with an interview given by Enver Pasha at Constantinople to the Gregorian Bishop of Konia in the course of February, 1915, Old Style. In this interview the Bishop had asked Enver whether he were satisfied with the conduct of the Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman Army, and Enver had testified warmly to their energy, courage and loyalty - so warmly, in fact, that the Bishop at once asked whether he might publish this testimonial over Enver's name. Enver readily consented, and the Gregorian Patriarchate at Constantinople accordingly circulated an authorised account of the interview to the Armenian, and even to the Turkish, press.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in the latter part of February, 1915, the Central Government at Constantinople was advertising its friendly feelings towards its Armenian subjects, while by the 16th March, less than a month later, it had given its representative in a remote province to understand that a general massacre of these same Armenians was imminent.

To return to Sister DA.'s narrative - she told Mr. DB. that between February and the beginning of May, 1915, about 400 Armenians had been arrested and imprisoned at H. They were the young men, the strong in body and the intellectuals. Most of their kind had been taken for the Army in the mobilisation of the previous autumn, but these 400 had been left, and were now thrown into prison instead of being conscribed.

At the beginning of May, the Vali of H. sent for the head of the German Protestant Mission Station in the town, and requested him to "tell the Armenians that they must surrender their arms. Otherwise, he said, the most stringent measures would be taken against them. The missionaries must persuade them to deliver up the arms quickly. The head of the Mission Station called a meeting of Armenian notables, and put to them what the Vali had said. The Armenians decided to consult with their Turkish fellow-townsmen, and so a mixed meeting was held of all the Turkish and Armenian notables of H. At this meeting the Turkish notables urged the Armenians to give up their arms and promised that, if they did so, they themselves would guarantee their security, and would see that they suffered nothing at the Government's hands.

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<sup>1</sup> This incident was communicated to Mr. DB. by DC. Effendi, a gentleman who had held high office under the Ottoman Government till the outbreak of the War.

This promise induced the Armenians to comply. They collected their arms and presented them to the Vali, but the Vali declared that all had not been brought. The newest and most dangerous weapons, he said, had been in the hands of the 400 prisoners. These must be surrendered also, or the penalties he had threatened would still be inflicted on the whole Armenian community at H. So the notables went to the men in prison, and besought them to reveal where their arms were hidden; all the Gregorian priests went, and the head of the German Mission Station went with them. The 400 were obstinate at first, but it was represented to them that, if they refused, they would be responsible for the destruction of the whole community, and at last they gave in. They revealed the hiding-places, and the arms were duly found and delivered up to the Vali.

The Vali immediately had photographs taken of all the arms collected, and sent them to Constantinople as evidence that an Armenian revolution was on the point of breaking out at H. He asked for a free hand to suppress it, and an order came back from Constantinople that he was to take whatever measures he considered necessary on the spot.

After that, the 400 young men were conveyed out of the town by night and never heard of again. Shots were said to have been heard in the distance.

Three days later, the rest of the Armenian community at H. was summoned by bugle to assemble before the Government Building, and then deported. The men were first sent off in one direction, and later the women and children, on ox-carts, in another. They were only given a few hours to make their preparations, and Sister DA. described their consternation as being terrible. They tried to dispose of their property, which the Turks bought up for practically nothing. Sewing-machines, for instance, sold for two or three piastres (*4d.* to *6d.*). The process of deportation was extended to the whole Vilayet.

The Armenian children in the German Orphanage at H. were sent away with the rest. "My orders," said the Vali, "are to deport *all* Armenians. I cannot make an exception of these." He announced, however, that a Government Orphanage was to be established for any children that remained, and shortly afterwards he called on Sister DA. and asked her to come and visit it. Sister DA. went with him, and found about 700 Armenian children in a good building. For every twelve or fifteen children there was one Armenian nurse, and they were well clothed and fed. "See what care the Government is taking of the Armenians," the Vali said, and she returned home surprised and pleased; but when she visited the Orphanage again several days later, there were only thirteen of the 700 children left - the rest had disappeared. They had been taken, she learnt, to a lake six hours' journey by road from the town and drowned. Three hundred fresh children were subsequently collected at the "Orphanage," and Sister DA. believed that they suffered the same fate as their predecessors. These victims were the residue of the Armenian children at H. The finest boys and prettiest girls had been picked out and carried off by the Turks and Kurds of the district, and it was the remainder, who had been left on the Government's hands, that were disposed of in this way.

As soon as the Armenians had been deported from H., convoys of other exiles began to pass through from the districts further north. Sister DA. did not see these convoys, because they made a detour round the town, and she never left the town precincts; but she talked with many people who did see them, and they gave a terrible

description of their plight. The roads near the town, they said, were littered with the corpses of those who had died of sickness or exhaustion, or from the violence of their guards. And these accounts were confirmed by her own experience last April (1916), on her journey to Aleppo. On the road to Aleppo from Ourfa she passed numbers of corpses lightly buried under a layer of soil. The extremities of the limbs were protruding, and had been gnawed by dogs. She was told by people she met that unheard-of atrocities had been committed, and that there were cases of women who had drowned themselves to escape their tormentors.

It was Sister DA.'s impression that the deportation and massacre of the Armenians had ruined Turkey economically. The Armenians had been the only skilled workers in the country, and industry came to a standstill when they were gone. You could not replace copper vessels for your household; you could not get your roof re-tiled. The Government had actually retained a few Armenian artisans - bakers, masons, &c. - to work for the Army, and whatever work was still done was done by these and by a few others who had gone over to Islam. But though the sources of production were cut off, the Turks had not begun to feel the pinch. Having laid hands on all the property of the Armenians, they were richer, for the moment, than before. During the past year bread had been plentiful and cheap, cattle and meat had been abundant, and there were still enough supplies, she thought, to last for some time yet. Under these circumstances, the Turkish peasantry were well content - except for the women, who resented the absence of their husbands at the war. The dearth of men, Sister DA. said, was everywhere noticeable. She had been told, however, that some Kurdish tribes had refused to furnish recruit, and that the Kizil Bashis of the Dersim had furnished none at all. The Government had been preparing an expedition against the Kizil Bashis to extort a toll of conscripts, but the plan had been thwarted by the Russian advance. In the Turkish villages agricultural work was being largely carried on by the Armenian women and children, who had been handed over to the Moslem peasants by the authorities. Sister DA. saw quantities of them everywhere, practically in the condition of slaves. They were never allowed to rest in peace, but were constantly chivied about from one village to another.

As she came down to Aleppo she found the country under good cultivation. Great stores of bread had been accumulated for the army in Mesopotamia. In Anatolia, on the other hand, the fields were neglected, and she thought that there famine was not far off. But it was not till she reached Constantinople that she found any present scarcity. In the provinces only sugar and petrol had been scarce; at Constantinople all commodities were both scarce and dear.

Sister DA. was told at Constantinople that Turks of all parties were united in their approval of what was being done to the Armenians, and that Enver Pasha openly boasted of it as his personal achievement. Talaat Bey, too, was reported to have remarked, on receiving the news of Vartkes<sup>2</sup> assassination: "There is no room in the Empire for both Armenians and Turks. Either they had to go or we."

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<sup>2</sup> Mr. Vartkes was an Armenian deputy in the Ottoman Parliament, who was murdered, together with another deputy. Mr. Zohrab, when he was being escorted by gendarmes from Aleppo to be court-martialled at Diyarbekir (see Docs. 7 and 9). - EDITOR.

**65. H.: REPORT, DATED 11th JULY, 1915, FROM A FOREIGN RESIDENT AT H.; COMMUNICATED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.**

If it were simply a matter of being obliged to leave here to go somewhere else, it would not be so bad, but everybody knows that it is a case of going to one's death. If there was any doubt about it, it has been removed by the arrival of a number of convoys, aggregating several thousand people, from Erzeroum and Erzindjan. I have visited their encampment a number of times, and talked with some of the people. A more pitiable sight cannot be imagined. They are, almost without exception, ragged, filthy, hungry and sick. That is not surprising, in view of the fact that they have been on the road for nearly two months, with no change of clothing, no chance to wash, no shelter and little to eat. The Government has been giving them some scanty rations here. I watched them one time when their food was brought. Wild animals could not be worse. They rushed upon the guards who carried the food, and the guards beat them back with clubs, hitting hard enough to kill them sometimes. To watch them, one could hardly believe that these people were human beings.

As one walks through the camp, mothers offer their children and beg one to take them. In fact, the Turks have been taking their choice of these children and girls for slaves, or worse. In fact, they have even had their doctors there to examine the more likely girls and thus secure the best ones.

There are very few men among them, as most of them have been killed on the road. All tell the same story of having been attacked and robbed by the Kurds. Most of them were attacked over and over again, and a great many of them, especially the men, were killed. Women and children were also killed. Many died, of course, from sickness and exhaustion on the way, and there have been deaths each day that they have been here. Several different parties have arrived, and, after remaining a day or two, have been pushed on with no apparent destination. Those who have reached here are only a small portion, however, of those who started. By continuing to drive these people on in this way, it will be possible to dispose of all of them in a comparatively short time. Among those with whom I have talked were three sisters. They had been educated at - and spoke excellent English. They said their family was the richest in Erzeroum and numbered twenty-five when they left; but there were now only fourteen survivors. The other eleven, including the husband of one of them and their old grandmother, had been butchered before their eyes by the Kurds. The oldest male survivor of the family was eight years of age. When they left Erzeroum, they had money, horses and personal effects, but they had been robbed of everything, including even their clothing. They said that some of them had been left absolutely naked, and others with only a single garment. When they reached a village, their gendarmes obtained clothes for them from some of the native women. Another girl with whom I talked is the daughter of the Protestant pastor of Erzeroum. She said that every member of her family with her had

been killed and that she was left entirely alone. These and some others are a few survivors of the better class of people who have been exiled. They are being detained in an abandoned school-house just outside the town, and no one is allowed to enter it. They said that they were practically in prison, although they were allowed to visit a spring just outside the building. It was there I happened to see them. All the others are camped in a large open field, with no protection at all from the sun.

The condition of these people indicates clearly the fate of those who have left and are about to leave from here. I believe nothing has been heard from any of them as yet, and probably very little will be heard. The system that is being followed seems to be to have bands of Kurds awaiting them on the road, to kill the men especially, and, incidentally, some of the others. The entire movement seems to be the most thoroughly organised and effective massacre this country has ever seen.

Not many men have been spared, however, to accompany those who are being sent into exile, for a more prompt and sure method has been used to dispose of them. Several thousand Armenian men have been arrested during the past few weeks. These have been put in prison, and each time that several hundred had been gathered up in that way they were sent away during the night. The first batch were sent away during the night of the 23rd June. Among them were some of the professors in the College and other prominent Armenians, including the Prelate of the Armenian Gregorian Church. There have been frequent rumours that all of these were killed, and there is little doubt that they were. All Armenian soldiers have likewise been sent away in the same manner. They have been arrested and confined in a building at one end of the town. No distinction has been made between those who had paid their military exemption-tax and those who had not. Their money was accepted, and then they were arrested and sent off with the others. It was said that they were to go somewhere to work on the roads, but no one had heard from them, and that is undoubtedly false.

The fate of all the others has been pretty well established by reliable reports of a similar occurrence on Wednesday, the 7th July. On the Monday many men were arrested, both at H. and G., and put in prison. At daybreak on the Tuesday morning they were taken out and made to march towards an almost uninhabited mountain. There were about eight hundred in all, and they were roped together in groups of fourteen each. That afternoon they arrived in a small Kurdish village, where they were kept overnight in the mosque and other buildings. During all this time they were without food or water. All their money and much of their clothing had been taken from them. On the Wednesday morning they were taken to a valley a few hours distant, where they were all made to sit down. Then the gendarmes began shooting them until they had killed nearly all of them. Some who had not been killed by bullets were then disposed of with knives and bayonets. A few succeeded in breaking the rope with which they were tied to their companions and running away, but most of these were pursued and killed. A few succeeded in getting away, probably not more than two or three. Among those who were killed was the treasurer of the College. Many other estimable men were among

the number. No charge of any kind had ever been made against any of these men. They were simply arrested and killed as part of the general plan to dispose of the Armenian race.

Last night several hundred more men, including both men arrested by the civil authorities and those enrolled as soldiers, were taken in a different direction and murdered in a similar manner. It is said that this happened at a place not two hours distant from here. I shall ride out that way some day when things become a little quieter, and try to verify it for myself.

The same thing has been done systematically in the villages. A few weeks ago about three hundred men were gathered together at AT. and BG., two villages four and five hours distant from here, and then taken up into the mountains and massacred. This seems to be fully established. Many women from those villages have been here since and told about it. There have been rumours of similar occurrences in other places.

There seems to be a definite plan to dispose of all the Armenian men; but, after the departure of the families during the first few days of the enforcement of the order, it was announced that women and children with no men in the family might remain here for the present, and many hoped the worst was over. The American missionaries began considering plans to aid the women and children, who would be left here with no means of support. It was thought that perhaps an orphanage could be opened to care for some of the children, and especially those who had been born in America and then brought here by their parents, and also those who belonged to parents who had been connected in some way with the American mission and schools. There would be plenty of opportunity, although there might not be sufficient means, to care for children who reached here with the exiles from other vilayets, and whose parents had died on the way. I went to see the Vali about this matter yesterday, and was met with a flat refusal. He said we could aid these people if we wished to do so, but the Government was establishing orphanages for the children, and we could not undertake any work of that nature. An hour after I left the Vali, the announcement was made that all the Armenians remaining here, including women and children, must leave on the 13th July.

**66. H.: MEMORANDUM<sup>3</sup> FORWARDED BY A FOREIGN RESIDENT AT H. (THE AUTHOR OF THE PRECEDING REPORT); COMMUNICATED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.**

On the 1st June<sup>4</sup>, 3,000 people (mostly women, girls and children) left H., accompanied by seventy policemen and a certain Turk of influence, K. Bey. The next day they arrived at AL., safely. Here K. Bey took 400 liras from the people, "in order to keep it safe till their arrival at Malatia," and promised to accompany them, for their protection, as far as Ourfa; but that same day he ran away with all the money.

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<sup>3</sup> Name of author withheld.

<sup>4</sup> July? - EDITOR.

The third day the convoy of exiles reached AM. There the Arabs and Kurds began to carry off the women and girls, and this went on till they reached the first railway station at Ras-ul-Ain, on the Bagdad line. The policemen given to them for their protection incited the half-savage tribes of the mountains to attack them in order to rob, kill and violate their women or else carry them away, and they themselves many times violated the women openly.

The fourth day they arrived at AN., where the policemen killed three of the prominent men. The ninth day they came to AO., where the horses, hired and paid for in full for the journey as far as Malatia, were taken and sent back. So they had again to hire ox-carts to carry them to Malatia. Here many were left without any beast of burden, only a few being able to buy donkeys and mules, which were also stolen in their turn.

At AO., a policeman carried off Mrs. L. and her two daughters and ran away.

The thirteenth day the caravan was at Malatia, but for one hour only, for they returned to the village of AP., two hours from Malatia. Here the policemen deserted them altogether, after taking from them about 200 liras in toll for the protection they had given them that far, and the people were left to the mercy of the beastly Bey (claw-chief) of the Kurds of Aghja-Daghi.

On the fifteenth day they were again toiling on their way through the steep mountains, when the Kurds rounded up 150 of the men of all ages from fifteen to ninety years. They took them some distance off and butchered them; then they came back and began to rob the people.

That day another convoy of exiles (only 300 of whom were men) from Sivas<sup>5</sup>, Egin and Tokat, joined the convoy from H., thus forming a bigger convoy of 18,000 people in all. They started again on the seventeenth day, under the so-called protection of another Kurdish Bey. This Bey called out his people, who attacked the convoy and plundered them. They carried off five of the prettiest girls and a few Sisters of Grace from Sivas. At night some more girls were stolen, but they were returned after being violated. So the journey began once more, and on the way the pretty girls were carried off one by one, while the stragglers from the convoy were invariably killed. On the twenty-fifth day they reached the village of Geulik; and all the villagers pursued the convoy for a long distance, tormenting and robbing the exiles. On the thirty-second day they found themselves at the village of Kiakhta. Here they remained two days, and again many girls and women were carried off.

On the fortieth day the convoy came in sight of the river Mourad, a branch of the Euphrates. Here they saw the bodies of more than 200 men floating in the river, with traces of blood and blood-stained fezes, clothes and stockings on the banks.

The chief of the neighbouring village took one lira in toll from each man, as a ransom for not being thrown into the river.

On the fifty-second day they arrived at another village, and here the Kurds took from them everything they had, even their shirts and drawers, so that for five days the

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<sup>5</sup> See Doc. 78.

whole convoy marched completely naked under the scorching sun. For another five days they did not have a morsel of bread, nor even a drop of water. They were scorched to death by thirst. Hundreds upon hundreds fell dead on the way, their tongues were turned to charcoal, and when, at the end of the five days, they reached a fountain, the whole convoy naturally rushed towards it. But here the policemen barred the way and forbade them to take a single drop of water. Their purpose was to sell it at from one to three liras the cup, and sometimes they actually withheld the water after getting the money. At another place, where there were wells, some women threw themselves into them, as there was no rope or pail to draw up the water. These women were drowned, and, in spite of that, the rest of the people drank from that well, the dead bodies still remaining there and stinking in the water. Sometimes, when the wells were shallow and the women could go down into them and come out again, the other people would rush to lick or suck their wet, dirty clothes, in the effort to quench their thirst.

When they passed an Arab village in their naked condition, the Arabs pitied them and gave them old pieces of clothes to cover themselves with. Some of the exiles who still had money bought some clothes; but some still remained who travelled thus naked all the way to the city of Aleppo. The poor women could hardly walk for shame; they walked all bent double.

Even in their nakedness they had found some means of preserving the little money they had. Some kept it in their hair, some in their mouths and some in their wombs; and when the robbers attacked them some were clever enough to search for money in those secret places, and that in a very beastly manner, of course.

On the sixtieth day, when they reached Viran Shehr, only 300 exiles remained out of all the 18,000. On the sixty-fourth day they gathered together all the men and the sick women and children and burned and killed them all. The remainder were ordered to continue on their way. In one day's journey they reached Ras-ul-Ain, where for two days, for the first time since they started, the Government gave them bread. The bread was uneatable, but for the three succeeding days they did not have even that.

Here a Circassian persuaded the wife of the Pastor of Sivas, as well as some other women, with their children, to go with him to the station, promising to send them to Aleppo by train. In spite of all the warnings of their friends, these women followed the man, as they and their children were no longer capable of finishing the journey on foot. The man took them in the opposite direction from the station, explaining that he would borrow money from his friend, nearby, for the tickets; but after a short time he came back to where the convoy was halted. The women and their children were no more.

The governor of the place demanded three liras for himself and one lira for the railway ticket from each of them, before he would let them go by train.

On the seventieth day, when they reached Aleppo, 35 women and children were left out of the 3,000 exiles from H., and 150 women and children altogether out of the whole convoy of 18,000.

**67. H.: NARRATIVE OF AN ARMENIAN REFUGEE FROM H.; COMMUNICATED TO LORD BRYCE BY THE CORRESPONDENT OF THE LONDON "TIMES" AT BUKAREST.**

Much has been written in the Press about the Armenian massacres, and especially about the horrors of the wholesale deportations, by which the Armenians were forcibly removed from their native homes. At the same time no precise or concrete description has yet been given of the monstrous excesses of which the Armenian nation has been the victim. But a young Armenian, an eye-witness who escaped by a miracle from the atrocious butchery at H., has related to us in all their appalling detail the events that took place at this town. His narrative gives a clear idea of the enormity and the ignoble cruelty of the crime committed, not only at H., but in all the other provinces of Armenia. We can easily discern from these facts the criminal tactics of the Young Turkish Government.

"At H.," says this witness, "the deportation of the Armenians lasted three months. In June the most prominent members of the Dashnaktzoutioun Committee were arrested, including Messrs. DE., DF., DG., DH., and DJ., as well as various others. They were subjected to unheard-of tortures, to extract from them supposed secrets concerning the alleged project of an Armenian revolution. No result was obtained from this inquisition.

"The Armenian population was simple enough to believe that this harsh persecution was only directed against the members of the Dashnaktzoutioun Committee, and it therefore displayed no uneasiness on its own account. But shortly afterwards the arrests were extended in scope and began to assume formidable proportions. All the Armenian young men in the town were arrested and terrorized by infernal torments. About 13,000 Armenian soldiers, too, who were serving among the Ottoman troops at H., were stripped of their arms and transferred to the "Red Palace" at G. They were kept there under stringent guard, and hunger and thirst were left to do their work upon them. The friends and relations of the prisoners were rigorously debarred from any communication with them. A week later all the prisoners were brought out again and despatched to an unknown destination, under a strong escort of gendarmerie with fixed bayonets. They were told that they were going to be transported to Ourfa, to work on the roads and lines of communication, but when they reached BP. Han, near BQ. village, they were all shot and their corpses shovelled into a great trench, which had been specially prepared for them. The majority of the young Armenians who were treated in this way were pupils of the American College, the French College, and the Central Armenian School. Other prisoners were subsequently led away in the same direction in gangs of five and shot. Twenty of these unfortunates succeeded by a miracle in escaping, and have related the details of this awful butchery.

"Next came the turn of the imprisoned members of the Dashnaktzoutioun Committee; but they had guessed the fate that was awaiting them and offered a

desperate resistance, which ended in their setting fire to the building in which they were confined, since they preferred being burnt alive to becoming the prey of Turkish barbarity. (There were from twenty-five to thirty of these Dashnakists, but the young refugee was ignorant of their names, with the exception of those which we have mentioned above.)

"In July all Armenian families of any standing in G. were compelled to emigrate. The arrests of the young men had been effected at night time, but the deportation of these wealthy families was carried out in full daylight.

"These exiles from G. were taken to the villages of AN. and AO. On their way they were overtaken by a gendarme riding post-haste with an order from the Vali, which directed the return of a score of individuals among the party. These individuals were taken a distance of twenty kilometres and then slaughtered without pity, like cattle, on the banks of a river and their corpses thrown into the water. As for the rest, the men were separated from the women and cruelly murdered by blows of the axe. The women and girls were carried off by the Kurds and Turks.

"This was followed by the general deportation. The people were deported in several convoys, and in different directions. These convoys were massacred openly and without discrimination, some below the hill of AU., others on the summit of BR. Hill and on Mount BS.

"A few men and women in the service of the Turkish and Kurdish beys were allowed to live until the end of the harvest. The compulsory emigration was even forced upon Armenians who had been converts to Islam since the massacres of 1895. These were deported in October.

"All the professors and schoolmasters were also imprisoned and subsequently assassinated, at the same time as the young men. Those, however, who were connected with German institutions were happily excepted.

"The American Consul did not see fit to intervene in favour of these unfortunates - not even when they were American citizens. We do not know the motive of this passive attitude of his.

"Out of a numerous convoy of exiles from Erzeroum and Erzindjan, nothing but a handful of women and children succeeded in reaching H., after abandoning on their way many of their number who could no longer bear up against the misery and starvation. Those who have reached H. are in an absolutely deplorable condition. They hardly look like human beings, and roam about the streets seeking for a morsel of dry bread, until they fall fainting from exhaustion and are picked up next day half dead by the municipal scavenger carts. These scenes are repeated daily.

"The massacre of the entire population of the Province of Sivas has been effected in the same fashion. Everywhere one passes corpses lying unburied in the open. On my journey I saw heart-rending incidents - women in their last agony lying on the ground with their sucklings, already dead beside them.

"The Turkish and Kurdish villages are full of Armenian women and girls. Some of the villagers have taken possession of dozens of them. Eimen, the head of the 'German Oriental Mission,' remarks, as if that completely justified everything, that now the

Armenians will realise for the future the serious consequences of conspiring against Germany and her Allies. A considerable number of Armenians from H. and the neighbourhood have taken refuge among the mountains of Dersim, where the native Kurdish mountaineers have offered them generous hospitality."

Another Armenian, who succeeded in escaping from Der-el-Zor, in Arabia, describes the miseries endured there by the Armenian women. They are not only suffering from the ravages of disease, but from the lawlessness of the Arabs, who come again and again to snatch victims for their bestial lust.

**68. MAMOURET-UL-AZIZ : NARRATIVE OF AN ARMENIAN LADY DEPORTED FROM C. (A PLACE HALF-AN-HOUR'S DISTANCE FROM H.), DESCRIBING HER JOURNEY FROM C. TO RAS-UL-AIN; WRITTEN AFTER HER ESCAPE FROM TURKEY, AND DATED ALEXANDRIA, 2nd NOVEMBER, 1915; PUBLISHED IN THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL " GOTCHNAG " OF NEW YORK, 8th JANUARY, 1916.**

Shortly after last Easter (1915), the Turkish officials searched the Armenian churches and schools of G., H., C., AQ., AR., AS. and the surrounding villages, but without finding anything incriminating. Afterwards they took the keys of these buildings, and filled them with soldiers. They also searched private houses on the pretence of looking for arms and ammunition, but they did not find anything. After that the Town Crier announced that all arms were to be handed over to the Government, and by this means a number of arms were collected.

After that, they arrested from the town of C. the following persons: Professor B., Mr. H. and his brother J., Mr. O. and his son P., Mr. Q., the brothers R., the brothers S., and T. Effendi, as well as many others, old and young. They took them to the house of V. Agha, stripped them one by one and gave them 300 lashes on their backs. When they fainted, they threw them into a stable and waited until they had revived, in order to beat them again. The men who performed these cruel acts consisted of the following Turks: Commissary (Gendarme) W. Effendi the son of Commissary X., V. Agha, V.'s cousin Y., Z. Agha, Hadji CA. Bey the son of CB. Effendi, CD., and CE. the son of V. Agha. Among the Kurds implicated were the son of CF., CG., etc. The above-mentioned CF.'s son and another Kurd beat Mr. CH. until he was half dead.

After beating T. Effendi in H., and tearing out his finger nails and the flesh of his hands and feet, they put a rope under his arms, dragged him to C., and threw him into prison. Then they entered his house, and, on the pretence of searching it, made his wife, who was in indifferent health, lie on the ground; a soldier sat on her, and they began to beat her on her feet, asking her where they had hidden their arms. After a few days her husband died in the prison.

In C. they beat many young men to get their arms, so that they were obliged to buy arms from the Turks and give them to the Government<sup>6</sup>.

When the Government was convinced that they had no more arms to surrender, they stopped tormenting them; but after a few days' interval they took the young men to G., imprisoned them there for a time, and then deported them in May. Meanwhile the women of C. went to the German missionary, Dr. U., at G. and begged him to defend them. Dr. U. came to C. and spoke in a church; he advised the Armenians to trust the Turks absolutely.

When I was in C. I heard that in H. they had beaten Cl. Agha, who subsequently disappeared.

They plucked out the hair and nails of some of the professors. They dug out their eyes and branded them with red hot irons, so that some of them died immediately, and others first lost their reason and died thereafter.

The Bishop of H., C.J., and other prominent Armenians were imprisoned and suffered many cruelties.

On Friday, the 2<sup>nd</sup> July, they deported part of the Armenians of G. Their destination appeared to be Ourfa *via* Diyarbekir.

On Saturday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> July, they deported all Armenians domiciled in the houses belonging to CL. in A. Street, in the town of G. Again their destination was supposed to be Ourfa, but *via* Malatia in this case.

We ourselves were deported on the 4<sup>th</sup> July in the direction of Ourfa *via* Diyarbekir.

The Town Crier proclaimed that on the following Tuesday those from B. and C. Streets in the Town of H. would be deported, on Wednesday the Armenians from AQ., on Thursday those from AR., and so on.

CJ. and two hundred other Armenians were deported ten days before we were, that is on Wednesday, the 23<sup>rd</sup> June; we do not know their destination. Their party started at midnight. Some of them dropped cards asking for money, and at AT. money was conveyed to them. But the following Monday, the 28<sup>th</sup> June, when the Armenian women of AT. went to the river, they saw some Turkish women washing blood-stained clothes. The Armenian women took the clothes from the Turkish women and brought them to the Governor at G. The Governor on hearing this went to AT. and found that the Bishop and the 200 Armenians had been killed.

Up to the day we started, the Syrians had not yet been deported, and the women who had no husbands were also allowed to remain, but later on CK. Aghassi said that not a single Armenian would be left. After the Armenians were deported, the Government locked their houses and sealed them up. The men of CL.'s factory were also deported with their families. In C. some of the tradesmen were not deported, as, for example, CM. Agha the son of ON. Agha, the baker CO. and his family, and the two

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<sup>6</sup> See Docs. 82, 94 and 122.

brothers, OP. and CQ. Aghas, the sons of Q. Agha. CQ. Agha became a Moslem, while the father was deported with the Bishop.

All the people of C. started the same day. I think we were about 600 families. We had with us all our cattle and all our property. The first night we reached AU. and slept that night in the fields. The next day we passed many corpses heaped together under bridges and on the road; their blood had collected in pools. Probably these were the Armenians that were killed with the Bishop, for the corpses were all those of men. We spent the night near AV. in a valley, and that night we had to drink water polluted with blood. We promised our guards money if they took us a better road and gave us clean water. The third day they again made us travel past corpses, and on Wednesday we reached A.

The same morning the gendarmes that were accompanying us, W. Effendi and the other Turkish effendis that were with him, put down their chairs in front of our han, and sat down. Then they turned to us and told us that they had received telegrams from H., and that instead of going to Ourfa some of us would go to Yermag and the rest to Severeg, so that our journey would thus be shortened. "Only it is necessary," they added, "that your men should come and register themselves at the han at A., and state which way they would like to go. Thank the Sultan, who has made your journey shorter." After these words they all clapped their hands and forced us to do the same. Our men, being simple-minded, were deceived, and they even left their hats and coats to go to the han in question. None of those that went returned. Then the rest of those above 16 years of age and all the old men were arrested and taken to the same place. After this the gendarmes beat the women and forced them to continue their journey. The women said: "We will not go unless our men go with us. You may kill us if you want to." But the Turkish officials told us that our men would follow us in a little while, and forced the women and children to march on, so they marched on crying and wailing. After half-an-hour's journey they made us sit in the fields, and all the Turkish officers returned to A. except one. The same day some Arab women (that is, Armenian gipsies) brought us bread, in spite of the officers' efforts to prevent them, and when they heard that we were crying because our men had been killed, they told us that they had seen them all passing by roped together. Again we went on under the hot burning sun, still crying. The sixth day they made us stop in a Kurdish village, where we spent the night. Next morning we saw that all the gendarmes that had returned to A. had now rejoined the convoy.

Then Gendarme W. Effendi and the other Turks with him beat us and forced us under threat of death to give them all our money and ornaments. They said that, if we did not give them up, they would violate us and exile us to different places. We were afraid, and gave them everything we had. Then they gave us back from five piastres (10d.) to one medjidia (3s. 2d.) each, at the same time stating that our money and everything else would be returned to us at Diyarbekir, and that they had only taken our jewellery and money for safety.

The ninth day, they took us to the top of a mountain, and the same Effendi and the other gendarmes searched us all over in a shameful manner; they took all the silk-stuffs and everything else of value in our clothes and bedding. Half-an-hour later we reached a Kurdish village. There I met a Turkish soldier from Malatia, called CR., whom I knew. He pitied me, and told me that it was all over with us. "I would advise you," he said, "to leave your company and look after yourself."

We were already within a short distance of Diyarbekir when two soldiers came from the Governor, to find out where we had been during the last nine days. Here the gendarmes that were with us took away all our cows and cattle; they also kidnapped one woman and two girls. Outside the walls of Diyarbekir, we had to sit in the burning sun for 24 hours. That same day a number of Turks came from the city and kidnapped our little girls. Towards evening again we went on still crying; more Turks came to carry off our girls and young brides, and would not let us even open our mouths to protest. Then we left all our cattle and everything we had, to save our honour and our lives. It was already night when the Turks from Diyarbekir attacked us three times and carried off the girls and young brides who had fallen behind. After this we lost all sense of time. The next morning again the gendarmes searched us all over, and then made us march six hours. During these six hours we found no drinking water, and many women sank on the way from thirst and hunger. The third day after that they robbed us, and violated us near a place where there was water. Some days after, two Turks dressed in white coats followed us, and, every time they had a chance, carried off still more of our girls. The wife of CS. Effendi from C. had three daughters, one of whom was married. A coloured gendarme who was with us wanted to take these girls. The mother resisted, and was thrown over a bridge by one of the Turks. The poor woman broke her arm, but her mule-driver dragged her up again. Again the same Turks threw her down, with one of her daughters, from the top of the mountain. The moment the married daughter saw her mother and sister thrown down, she thrust the baby in her arms upon another woman, ran after them crying "Mother, mother!" and threw herself down the same precipice. Some said that one of the Turkish officers went down after them and finished them off. After that Mrs. CS.'s remaining daughter and I disguised ourselves, and, each taking a child in our arms; abandoned everything and walked to Mardin. There our party joined us again. We stayed there eight days. There was an artificial lake there, and every night they opened the sluices and flooded the ground, so that in the panic they might kidnap some of the girls. They also attacked us every night and kidnapped little children. At last, one evening, they drove us on again and left us among the mountains. They wounded a woman because she did not wish to give up her daughter. When they were going to carry off another girl, I asked CT. Tchaoush, a Mardin man, to help us. He stopped them at once, and did not let them take her away. He told us to stay there and not to start until further notice. The Kurds from the surrounding villages attacked us that night. CT. Tchaoush, who was in charge of us, immediately went up on to the heights and harangued them in Kurdish, telling them not to attack us. We were hungry and

thirsty, and hail no water to drink. CT. took some of our vessels and brought us water from a long way off. The wife of my brother-in-law, the tailor CU., had a baby born that night. The next morning we started again. CT. left some women with her and kept an eye on her from a distance. Then he put the mother and the new-born child on a beast, and brought her to us in safety. Again we marched six hours without water. Here a Turk kidnapped the son of the woman who had been thrown down the mountain side. Finally, in the last stages of hunger and exhaustion, we reached Viran Shehr. Many had already been left on the road.

We had nothing more to eat until we reached Ras-ul-Ain. A fourth part of our convoy had already perished of starvation. Just before reaching Ras-ul-Ain we marched through the whole of one night. We passed three wells choked with corpses up to the brim. The women that went before us encountered three wounded women who crawled out of these wells and asked for bread. These three women went on in our company towards Ras-ul-Ain. Two of them died on the way, and the third was sent to Der-el-Zor with the convoy. It was here that CV., the sister of CW., a girl about 18 or 19 years old, fell down because she could not walk any further. Her mother and sister-in-law kissed her, crying, and left her. We were forced to leave her by herself, because the soldiers would not let anyone stay behind with her.

We did not see a single Armenian until we reached Ras-ul-Ain. There we found many deported Armenians who had come from Erzeroum, Egin, Keghi, and other places. They were all on their way to Der-el-Zor. At Ras-ul-Ain we suddenly met CX. Agha of H. He had come from Aleppo to help us. He wanted to save at least a few of the party and take them to Aleppo. He advised us to go to the house of CY. Bey, a Circassian, or to the house of his son-in-law, so that he might convey us into safety from there. At Ras-ul-Ain a great many of the Armenians found refuge in the houses of some Tchetchens (a tribe akin to the Circassians), but afterwards the Government removed them all from the Tchetchens' houses to deport them to Der-el-Zor. Only my batch, consisting of forty-one people, were left in the house of this CY. Bey, and we were safe here because the Bey and his friends were Government people. The first moment that we saw CX. Agha we thought we had seen an angel from Heaven, and cried to him: "CX. Agha, save us." When the Tchetchens heard his name, they discovered that he was an Armenian, and immediately attacked him. He was almost killed, but withstood them by his bravery and address; he told them that he had been sent there specially by the Government, and turning immediately to us, he gave us to understand that those who went to CY. Bey's house would be saved.

CX. Agha took the next train and returned to Aleppo. He tried every means to save us, and after fifteen days he came back. The Circassians (or Tchetchens) endeavoured to force us to become Moslems, but we answered them: "We will throw ourselves into the water and die, but we will not become Moslems." The Tchetchens were surprised at these words, and said they had never seen people like this, so zealous for their honour and their religion and so devoted to each other. CX. Agha found this out and went to the

chief of the Tchetchens; he bribed him, and then, with superb courage, conducted us to the railway one by one, the station being about two miles from where we were. It was Saturday evening when we reached Aleppo. Here for the first time we met some Armenian soldiers, who were almost crazy with joy when they saw us. We could hardly believe they were Armenians, until OX. Agha's father came after dark with some of these soldiers, carrying no lights, and took us to the Armenian Church. There they told us that if the Government should discover us and inquire how we came, we were to tell them that we had travelled at our own expense. They immediately brought us bread; we had not eaten anything for twenty-four hours. There were a number of deported Armenians in the Church; they came from different places and had been travelling for four months. They were so exhausted that about forty of them were dying every day. The priest who performed the ceremony could not drag himself home. From the deported Armenians in Aleppo we learned that the husbands of many of the women had been roped together and taken to Sheitan Deressi (Devil's Valley)<sup>7</sup>, where they were slaughtered with axes and knives. Here we gave up all hope of seeing our husbands again, being convinced that they were all killed. We heard that in some places they made the Armenians dig their own graves before they killed them. An Armenian soldier from Tchemesh-Getzak told me that the Turks were killing the Armenians and throwing them into the Euphrates, when six of them managed to cross the river and get away, after three days' journey through country littered with corpses.

On Sunday morning I went to see the American Consul at Aleppo, and asked him to save me, as I was an American citizen. He asked me where my papers were. I told him they were taken from me on the way; I told him all the circumstances, and he promised to help me. I went to him again the next day and told him how my parents were American citizens, and my husband also, and how my husband had lived in America for 18 years; I told him he could prove it by asking the American Consul at H. or even the Washington Government. After five days had passed, he sent for me and made me tell my story in the Turkish language. He put my name in his book, and placed me in his kavass's house. Then he gave me a passport and sent me to Alexandretta in the company of some Russian subjects stayed fifteen days in Alexandretta. From there we reached Alexandria on board the American cruiser "Chester," on the 22nd September, 1915.

While I was in Ras-ul-Ain, we saw some Armenian girls in the houses of some Tchetchens. One of them was married to one of the Tchetchens. They begged us not to forget them if we were ever saved. J. Agha's wife and children reached Ras-ul-Ain. A Kurd came and said to them: "I am from the village of Karer; you come with me, and I will take you to Karer until the end of the war." They believed him, and went to his house. Afterwards CX. Agha tried to save them, but they had already gone. H. Agha's wife and three daughters went to Der-el-Zor.

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<sup>7</sup> See Doc. 9, page 21.

The Turkish Government did not provide any food for us on the way; one day only, at Diyarbekir, they gave us one loaf each, and again for about eight days at Mardin, but the bread was so hard that it cut our mouths. The son of Prof. B., his married daughter, and his future daughter-in-law, as well as the wife and two daughters of Mr. OZ., reached Aleppo in safety. CO. Agha's daughter and his little boy were kidnapped by the Turks. Only two of the boys were left with the mother, who reached Aleppo safely. Besides the gendarmes, Kurdish irregulars also followed us on the way, to kill those that were left behind. The clothes of those who underwent this deportation were all rotted by the end of the journey, and the exiles themselves had almost lost their reason. When they were given new clothes they did not know how to put them on, and when their hair was washed it came off bodily from their scalps.

**69. H.: STATEMENT BY THE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE, DATED 19th JULY, 1915; COMMUNICATED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.**

I shall try to banish from my mind for the time the sense of great personal sorrow at losing hundreds of my friends here, and also my sense of utter defeat in being so unable to stop the awful tragedy or even mitigate to any degree its severity, and compel myself to give you concisely some of the cold facts of the past months, as they relate themselves to the College. I do so with the hope that the possession of these concrete facts may help you to do something there for the handful of dependants still left to us here.

*Buildings.* - Seven of our big buildings are in the hands of the Government, only one remaining in our hands. The seven buildings in question are empty, except for twenty guards who are stationed there. I cannot tell you exactly the amount of loss we have sustained in money by robberies, breakages and other means, and there is no sign that the Turks will ever return these buildings to us.

*Constituency.* - Approximately two-thirds of the girl pupils and six-sevenths of the boys have been taken away to death, exile or Moslem homes.

*Professors.* - Four gone, three left, as follows:-

Professor A. - Served College 35 years; representative of the Americans with the Government, Protestant "Askabed," Professor of Turkish and History. Besides previous trouble, arrested May 1st without charge; hair of head, moustache and beard pulled out, in vain effort to secure damaging confessions; starved and hung by arms for a day and a night, and severely beaten several times; taken out towards Diyarbekir about June 20th, and murdered in general massacre on the road.

Professor B. - Served College 33 years, studied at Ann Arbor, Professor of Mathematics. Arrested about June 5th, and shared Prof. A's fate on the road.

Professor C. - Taken to witness a man beaten almost to death; became mentally deranged; started with his family about July 5th into exile under guard, and murdered

beyond Malatia. Principal of Preparatory Department; studied at Princeton; served College 20 years.

Professor D. - Served College 16 years, studied at Edinburgh; Professor of Mental and Moral Science. Arrested with Prof. A. and suffered same tortures; also had three finger nails pulled out by the roots; killed in same massacre.

Professor E. - Served College 25 years. Arrested May 1st; not tortured, but sick in prison; sent to Red Crescent Hospital, and after paying large bribes is now free.

Professor F. - Served College for over 15 years, studied in Stuttgart and Berlin, Professor of Music. Escaped arrest and torture, and thus far escaped exile and death, because of favour with the Kaimakam secured by personal services rendered.

Professor G. - Served College about 15 years, studied at Cornell and Yale (M.S.), Professor of Biology. Arrested about June 5th, beaten about the hands, body and head with a stick by the Kaimakam himself, who, when tired, called on all who loved religion and the nation to continue the beating; after a period of insensibility in a dark closet, taken to the Red Crescent Hospital with a broken finger and serious bruises. Now free.

*Instructors, Male.* - Four reported killed on the road in various massacres, whose average term of service is eight years.

Three not heard from, probably killed on the road; average term of service in the College, four years. Two sick in the American Hospital.

One elsewhere.

One, engaged in cabinet work for the Kaimakam, free.

One, owner of house occupied by the Kaimakam, free.

*Instructors, Female.* - One reported killed in F.; served the College over 20 years.

One reported taken to a Turkish harem.

Three not heard from.

Four started out as exiles.

Ten free.

*Total Loss.*- About seven-eighths of the buildings, three-quarters of the students, and half the teaching staff.

Of the Armenian people as a whole we may estimate that three-fourths are gone, and this three-fourths includes the leaders in every walk of life-merchants, professional men, preachers, bishops and government officials. And there is no certainty for those who are just now free. The Vali has said that *all* must go. It is only temporary measures, such as bribes or special favours, that have secured postponement. Since we know the fate to which they go, since we have seen the pitiable plight of the stragglers who have survived the journey from Erzindjan and Erzeroum, since we find ourselves forbidden to aid them except in insignificant ways, and since we are forbidden to accompany them to aid them on the way, we are the more eager, if possible, to save those who are left with us.

It seems to us possible that something can be done to save these few. Permission has recently been obtained through the German Embassy for those connected with the German Mission, teachers and their families, orphans and servants, a circle of several

hundred, to remain in G. I therefore beg of you to take what steps are possible to secure the permission through our Ambassador for the handful of dependants still with us to remain in H.

If such permission is not secured, we shall probably be called upon to see the very members of our households dragged off to decorate the harems of those who have not as yet secured as many girl slaves as they wish. Nothing can be done locally. The Kaimakam and his coterie in H. are more powerful here than the Vali, and take pleasure in flaunting our impotence in our faces.

I have said enough. Our hearts are sick with these sights and stories of abject terror and suffering. The extermination of the race seems to be the objective, and the means employed are more fiendish than could be concocted locally. The orders are from headquarters, and any reprieve must be from the same source.

**70. H.: STATEMENT BY THE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE, DATED 19th JULY, 1915, RELATING TO THE DEPORTATION OF ARMENIANS FROM VILLAGES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF H.; COMMUNICATED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.**

From the village of E., 212 individuals set out, of whom 128 (60 per cent.) reached Aleppo alive; 56 men and 11 women were killed on the road, 3 girls and 9 boys were sold or kidnapped, and 5 people were missing.

From the same place another party of 696 people were deported; 321 (46 per cent.) reached Aleppo; 206 men and 57 women were killed en route; 70 girls and young women and 19 boys were sold; 23 were missing.

From the village of D. a party of 128 were deported, of whom 32 (25 per cent.) reached Aleppo alive; 24 men and 12 women were killed en route; 29 girls and young women and 13 boys were sold; and 18 were missing.

**71. H.: LETTER DATED 10th NOVEMBER, 1915, FROM THE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE AT H. TO MR. N. AT CONSTANTINOPLE; COMMUNICATED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.**

The difficulty of securing local permission to start out for America, as well as the scarcity of wagons, has delayed our party for some days. We have been grateful, in the meantime, that we have heard from you approving our plans. We hope to start in a day or two. We do not anticipate the journey with relish, but we feel that it will be better to go now than to wait. I am apprehensive for those who stay, though nothing definite threatens citizens of our country at present.

Following your circulars of information as to the attitude of the authorities at the capital, we opened our girls' department two weeks ago, and planned soon to open the boys' department also. The registration of the girls reached about 150, of which number

about one-third are in the kindergarten. More than another third are boarders, mostly those who have been with us from the time school closed. There are very few day-pupils above primary age.

Last Thursday afternoon, the 4th November, a raid was suddenly made on the Armenian population. Men, women and children were arrested that afternoon in G. and taken to the police station. The next morning the same thing occurred here in H. Most of those arrested in H. were women and children, and they were nearly all of them released the same day, when they showed their papers. In G., however, many were kept over a day or two and then sent off on the road, probably to be butchered as other parties had been. The season is now so late that it is preposterous to suppose a safe journey to be possible when the exiles are allowed no preparation whatever. By far the largest number sent off seem to have been from the villages, where the people were pretty well cleared out. Estimates run as high as a thousand for those who were sent off in one night.

The panic resulting from this wholly unexpected raid can hardly be pictured. Those pupils who were coming to us from outside have stopped coming pretty largely, and many advise us to close the school. Those exiles who had managed in various ways to escape from the convoys and had settled down to normal life, are now plunged in terror. We have had to guard our gates and walls to prevent the public from pouring in on us.

During this recent event the Government has turned its attention to us once more. On Friday the police came, with a sufficient force, to arrest all the men on our premises. They were polite, but expressed the belief that we were hiding many. I went with the handful of men and boys available, and the next day my brother presented those who were not in evidence that day, and they were all sent back to our premises safely.

The Commandant personally asked the Consul to write to us and warn us against harbouring any fugitives in our grounds. We assured him that it had been our settled policy all along to refuse such requests, and that we had no such persons with us. The Kaimakam refused to believe that we had no fugitives with us, but I think he has been persuaded more or less of the truth of this. Two of our teachers, who live in their own houses off from our compound, did not appear on Friday before the police. Afterwards, when they found that the others had been released, they also appeared. They were then put in prison where they still remain. One of them, I hope, will soon be released, but I have fears for the other, because he was so intimately connected with the former Kaimakam, and there seems to be evidence against him that he was a tool in securing bribes for the said Kaimakam - of course under fear of death.

We have had frequent interviews with the Kaimakam and the Commandant, who is *locum tenens* for the Vali at present. Both of them have been courteous, and assure us that there are no further measures in store for those who have been allowed to stay by order of the Government. But our faith in such promises has been sadly shaken this summer. At two different times the Kaimakam has said that Armenian was no more to

be taught in our schools. We have expressed our desire to make the language of the school English, and have assured him that we are working to that end.

As I wrote to you, our curriculum has been submitted to the Mearif, and has been largely approved verbally. We are still in correspondence over some minor details regarding texts. We shall not be able to open work for the few boys who are available at the present, and I confess my deep apprehension lest they and their male teachers should all be rounded up, to go the same road that their comrades followed in July.

It is hard for us to leave just at this juncture. Yet there seems no advantage in our staying compared with the difficulties of leaving later. We shall try to keep you informed of our curriculum.

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# ARMENOLOGICAL HERITAGE

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## HARUTYUN MARTIROSYAN

Harutyun Martirosyan (1921-1977) was one of the outstanding Armenian archaeologists whose impact on the study of the material culture of ancient Armenia is great. He is the author of a number of monographs and articles published in 1950s-1970s (“Excavations in Golovino”, Yerevan, 1954 [in Russian]; “The city of Teishebaini”, Yerevan, 1961 [in Russian]; “Armenia during the Late Bronze and Iron ages”, Yerevan, 1964 [in Russian]; “Petroglyphs of the Geghama mountains”, Yerevan, 1971, 1981 [in Arm.]; “Prehistoric hieroglyphs of Armenia and their Urartian-Armenian duplicates”, Yerevan, 1973 [in Arm.]; “Argishtihinili”, Yerevan, 1974 [in Russian] etc.), which had laid solid fundament for further studies devoted to the archaeology of ancient Armenia (III-I mill. BC).

In the current issue of our journal the editorial board presents two chapters from the monograph “The city of Teishebaini”, where are discussed archaeological discoveries from this large political-military and economic center located in the southern part of modern Yerevan during 1947-1958 seasons (pages 91-127).

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### HARUTYUN MARTIROSYAN THE CITADEL OF THE CITY OF TEISHEBAINI AND CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH LOCAL TRIBES

According to the fragment of an Urartian inscription discovered on the southeastern slope of Karmir blur, not far from the place where the Karmir blur idol was found (1947), the building activities of Urartians in this region had begun during the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti who had reigned in the second quarter and mid-VII century BC.<sup>1</sup> Beginning from 1939, has been excavated a colossal building on the rocky, slightly elevated promontory of the River Hrazdan. It has П-shaped form and stepped distribution of different buildings which is caused by the rugged relief of the mound.<sup>2</sup> According to B.B.Piotrovskij, this building was erected through two constructional periods,<sup>3</sup> and later to its outline were added some other edifices and a yard which was adjoined from the west and fenced from the town by a strong fortress wall furnished with small buttresses, towers and projections,<sup>4</sup> two gates located on the southern and north-western parts. All constructions of this extensive building had high and wide walls laid of raw bricks and standing on a massive fundament which was laid with rudely placed huge basalt blocks. This complex of buildings occupies 4 hectares.

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<sup>1</sup> B.B.Piotrovskij, Karmir blur. I, 1950, p.15.

<sup>2</sup> K.L.Oganesyan, Karmir blur. IV. Architecture of Teishebaini, 1955, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> B.B.Piotrovskij, Loc.cit., p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> K.L.Oganesyan, Loc.cit., p.37.

During the works the Karmir blur archaeological expedition opened great number of rectangular and square planned apartments (90) which had 7 meters in height and are located on the northern, western and central parts of the mound. Most of these apartments had elongated form and are very comfortable for the system of overlapping through short beams. Especially big apartments are supplied with massive pylons for supporting the roofs. All these apartments were interconnected through 1 meter wide doorways and had upper side illuminators. The central part of the building was two-storied, and the rest – one-storied. Some of these constructions had scalloped cornices made of basalt blocks and also small basalt towers, which, possibly, decorated the most important part of the building. Since long B.B.Piotrovskij had observed that “By its architectural forms the building excavated in Karmir blur appear to be very close to the ancient eastern monuments, particularly to Assyrian architecture, and differs from the latter by the absence of inner yards”.<sup>5</sup>

In the course of excavations it became completely clear the purpose of this big building. On the ring of a bronze latch discovered during excavations of 1946 was found a short cuneiform inscription of the next content: “Of Rusa, son of Argishti, the fortress (literally “house of weapon”) of the city of Teishebaini”.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, was proved not only the time of the construction of this building but also became clear that it functioned as a fortress-palace of the city named after Teisheba, one of the chief gods of the Urartian pantheon.

The citadel of the city of Teishebaini undoubtedly was the residence of a high-ranked Urartian official and a major military-administrative and economic center in the Ararat plain. Here were undertaken extensive building and irrigational works, were performed different religious ceremonies, equipped armed forces and here was collected the tribute from northern subject regions.

In accordance with the main functions of Urartian administration the citadel of the city of Teishebaini had different parts. On the second floor of the building, apart from dwelling rooms intended for highly esteemed persons, were also magnificent halls of the temple with highly artistic items made by Urartian craftsmen who inscribe on them dedicatory inscriptions to Haldi on behalf of the Urartian kings.

Since all these constructions were on the second floor, unfortunately they are not preserved, but the items found in different parts of the citadel speak in favor of their existence and magnificence.

Exactly to the temple belong many of the decorative bronze helmets which bear relief pictures of the god Teisheba’s sign, war chariots, sacred trees and winged genies surrounded by the figures of dragons with lion heads, or bronze shields with minted pictures of lions and bulls. To the temple could be assigned great number of different items, bronze and silver vessels, and also a huge copper boiler which has capacity of

<sup>5</sup> B.B. Piotrovskij, *Loc. cit.*, p.45.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 20.

approximately 600 liters found during excavations of the north-western wing of the citadel, in the apartment having a big pylon.

Similar big boilers stand at the main entrance to the Musasir temple which is depicted on the relief from Sargon's palace.

It goes without saying that the city of Teishebaini with the population of several thousands of people, quite large for that period, could not exist without solid religious personnel and corresponding constructions.

In similar manner could be distinguished numerous complexes of major items originating from the palace area of the citadel but found in different storerooms and storage facilities, along with ordinary utensils. While many of bronze quivers, shields, armor plates bear dedicatory inscriptions of different Urartian kings addressed to the god Haldi, a number of other inscriptions point that items with inscriptions were the property of the fortress, palace or another Urartian king. To such items belong, for example, bronze conical combat shield bosses with short cuneiform inscription "fortress of Argishti (the king)", "fortress of Sarduri (the king)"<sup>7</sup> etc. In 1949, in one of the storerooms were found 97 bronze cups made of high quality bronze which maintained golden gloss and jingle. All these items bear cuneiform inscriptions with the names of kings of the next content: 1) "the fortress of Menua (the king)(lit. "armory")", i.e. "a cup belonging to the fortress of the king Menua", 2) "the fortress of Argishti (the king)"; similar inscriptions were minted on behalf of the kings Sarduri and Rusa.<sup>8</sup>

Doubtless, from the palace area of the fortress originated numerous other bronze items which bear corresponding cuneiform inscriptions, and also high quality golden and silver decorations, bronze cups, bronze and wooden parts of furniture, items of armament and armor. But the most valuable ones among all findings are various seals from the storehouse apartments and fragmented or entire clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions of economic-juridical or religious content.

In all probability, the keepers of the palace storehouses possess with as much seals as the citadel of Teishebaini has storerooms (about 120-150). In any case, the number of seals found before 1957 reaches 50. Seals made of soft steatite, clay, more solid stones and even wood has different forms, among which are distinguished weight-shaped, block-shaped, conical and columnar Urartian seals, cylindrical and columnar seals of Assyrian type, and also zoomorphic seals, on the lower part of which are depictions of animals with symbols, symbol of the god in the form of a winged disc, trees of life and winged gods, gods sitting on the throne, heroes fighting dragons etc. Let us mention, not touching upon the contents of these motives, that many of them are simply Assyrian and stress the relations of Urartu with Assyria, the mighty empire of the Ancient East. Some other seals bear, apparently, mixed Urartian-Assyrian depictions.

In this regard it is curious the bulla discovered in one of the storerooms intended for keeping grain (apartment N.5) which seals the door of the storeroom. On it were

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<sup>7</sup> B.B.Piotrovskij, *Karmir blur*. II, p. 63-64.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p.54f.

impressions of an Urartian columnar seal and an impression of a cylindrical seal of the Assyrian type.<sup>9</sup>

N.V.Harutyunyan had succeeded to find out that on the bulla mentioned above was preserved the name of Rusa, son of Rusa who, probably, was the last king of Urartu (610-585). According to him, it is quite possible that Rusa IV who is not mentioned in other cuneiform texts was residing in Teishebaini, in the last stronghold of the kingdom of Van and was the contemporary of the abolition of Urartian independence.<sup>10</sup>

From the centers like Teishebaini Urartian items spread through all Transcaucasia from where they reached the Caucasus, Black Sea region and South Russia.

In the non-Urartian burial grounds of Armenia of the first quarter of the I mill. BC are already found 9 Urartian seals.

In the Caucasus were widely distributed also items which reach Teishebaini through exchange from different regions of the Ancient East, North Caucasus, southern Russian steppes etc. In this regard are rather indicative permeation-scarabs which bear Egyptian hieroglyphic signs on the lower flat side. Such scarabs were produced not only in Egypt but also in Ashshur and many cities of Asia Minor and are spread over entire Caucasus through Urartian centers of Armenia. Scarabs of Egyptian type were found in Van, Ani, and Armavir, the ancient capital cities of Armenia and also in the village of Pemzashen of Artik region, village Gebi near the main Caucasian mountain range and the upper stream of the River Chegem, on the other side of the Caucasian range.<sup>11</sup>

In all probability, through Urartian centers to the Caucasus reached also items of Eastern Mediterranean origins. As to the Urartian-manufactured items, they are found over and over again in the burial grounds of Transcaucasia. Let me remind that in the studied Khrtanots burial ground were found curved iron blades, a cup-*piala* and fragments of an Urartian belt with the depiction of a griffin,<sup>12</sup> and in the another, Makarashen burial ground was found horse headdress of the type known from Karmir blur which bears the inscription of Menua.<sup>13</sup> In numerous burial grounds of Urartian period we meet items of Assyrian provenance or type which had reached the local population through Urartu (laminar bit shanks from Echmiatsin and Astkhadzor, daggers with bronze hilts from Lalvar and Astkhadzor, handle of a dagger and a mace from the collection of Leninakan etc.). Of apparent Urartian origins we have also bronze belts found in the burials of the village Ani-Pemza, Shirak and in the village Zakim of the Kars region, which have very close ties with the finds of Karmir blur and materials of the

<sup>9</sup> B.B.Piotrovskij, Karmir blur. III, p.58-59. Detailed list and description of the seals see in Karmir blur. I, p.72-75, Karmir blur. III, p.57-59.

<sup>10</sup> N.V. Harutyunyan, Towards the interpretation of the inscription on the clay bulla from Karmir blur, Journal of History and Philology, 1960, N.1, p.65.

<sup>11</sup> B.B.Piotrovskij, Karmir blur. I, p.84.

<sup>12</sup> H.A.Martirosyan, Excavations in Golovino, 1954, p.54.

<sup>13</sup> H.A.Martirosyan, Excavations in Kirovakan and some monuments of the early Urartian period, Izvestiya AN ArmSSR, N.3, 1956.

Scythian complexes from Kelermes and Melgunov kurgan.<sup>14</sup> Not to mention the fact that in the same burials of Khrtanots, Lalvar, Ani-Pemza, Shirak and also in the burials studied in Ani, the capital city of medieval Armenia, villages Akner, Ghachaghan of Armenia and the burials of the Lake Sevan basin had been found large number of items of Scythian origins. The tribes of Transcaucasia exercise relations with the Scythians directly or indirectly through Urartian centers. Archaeological complexes of the Scythian type found in Karmir blur and those originating from the Pridneprovie region and North Caucasus vividly speak in favor of intense connections between Scythians and Urartian kings.

In the cuneiform documents of Assyrian palaces was preserved information about Urartian-Scythian political contacts during the second period of Urartian kingdom. Probably, among the clay cuneiform tablets found in Karmir blur, remains of the cuneiform archive of the palace could be documents which might elucidate economic relations with the Scythians and other neighboring tribes and peoples. But the tablets or their fragments found in 1957, 10 pieces in total, are mainly economic documents of the Teishebaini palace archive.

Some fragments of tablets had preserved lists of people who, according to B.B. Piotrovskij, represented eyewitnesses of the act of purchasing and mortgage: "Among the names encounter one Ishtagi, apparently a resident of Teishebaini". Another fragment which has preserved numerals and the logogram "man", according to B.B.Piotrovskij's figure of speech, was an "order to the work".<sup>15</sup> Is of great interest a large fragment of the tablet found in 1949 with 12 lines of text which contains an order given by some official,<sup>16</sup> an accounting document found in 1953,<sup>17</sup> a tablet containing the order of the king Sarduri III (1956), and discovered in 1957 in one of the storerooms a complete tablet with text inscribed on both sides, 39 lines in total. It contains an order of the governor addressed to his subordinates.<sup>18</sup>

All these are economic documents of the palace archive and point on the existence of an extensive and well-established economy based on agriculture, stock-breeding and crafts. On the existence of that large economy vividly indicate excavations of storehouse apartments and storerooms of the lower floor of the citadel. It is enough to remember that along the axis of the western façade of the citadel, from both sides of a narrow long corridor were located granaries - quadrangular (4x4) high rooms without doors and windows, with low windows on the floor for shoveling the grain. Here and in other storehouses of the citadel was kept enormous quantity of grain (*Triticum vulgare vill*), barley (*Hordeum vulgare L.*), rye (*Secale L.*), millet (*Setari italica*), sesame

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<sup>14</sup> B.B.Piotrovskij, Karmir blur. I, p.86-97.

<sup>15</sup> About these tablets see I.M.Diakonoff, Fragments of cuneiform tablets from the excavations of Karmir blur in 1946, Epigrafika Vostoka II, 1948, p.86 and B.B.Piotrovskij, Karmir blur. I, p.75-77.

<sup>16</sup> B.B.Piotrovskij, Karmir blur. I, p.76.

<sup>17</sup> N.V.Harutyunyan, Newly found cuneiform tablet from the excavations of Karmir blur, Vestnik drevnej istorii, N.3, 1957, New cuneiform tablet, Journal of History and Philology, 1958, N.3.

<sup>18</sup> On the contents of this document I was kindly informed by N.V.Harutyunyan.

(*Sesamum orientale*) and other cereals. Also were found remains of lentil vine crops (*Evrum Lens*), chickpea (*Cicer arietunuva*), watermelon etc. The study of these apartments documents pretty well also horticultures: were found apple, pits of cherry plum, grenade, peach, and vines related to the varieties of *kharji*, *voskehat* or of *garan-dmak*. Ancient vineyards were located in close proximity to Karmir blur, on the right bank of the River Hrazdan where now are located wonderful gardens of Dalma. The cuneiform inscription of Rusa son of Argishti, founder of Teishebaini tells about the improvement of the Quarlini valley, on the right bank of the River Hrazdan, cultivation of vineyards and fruit trees.

A vivid testimony of the well-developed viticulture are 9 huge wine cellars with big *karases* buried into the earthen floor in which could be kept about half million liters of wine in total.

It is especially noteworthy that the researchers of all these cultures unanimously state that the remains of cultures found in Karmir blur are related to local varieties. Does not it indicate that the mentioned gardens and fields were cultivated by the local population of the region before the arrival of Urartians and that many of these fields were located immediately in the neighborhood of Teishebaini?

The agricultural population of the city which continued its creative life on the inhabited long ago native land performed different agricultural works after the construction of the Urartian city as well.

In the storehouses of the citadel along with the supplies of cereals was found a great amount of agricultural iron tools: pitch forks, shovels, sickles, hoe tips which until the siege of Teishebaini certainly were in the ordinary houses of the city and were removed to storehouses of the fortress only not long before the siege, in order to save the most necessary items. That these tools belong to the agricultural population and were kept in private houses of the city speak the fact that in the excavated houses of the city in 1949 were found identical tools (sickles and hoes). Moreover, despite the existence of a great number of iron tools, items of armory and tools, in the citadel of Teishebaini were not found any traces of metalworking or forge shops. I suppose that such facilities were located on the territory of Teishebaini and could be found by time. In any case, undoubtedly, items of bronze delivered to Teishebaini and acquired as tribute or through looting, were melted and re-melted into ingots which were found in the apartments of the citadel, sometimes near huge pieces of iron.

But if the existence of metalworking crafts in the pre-Urartian settlement of Karmir blur was proved by the finding of a mentioned mould for the rather big axe-poleax and small disc-shaped mould for slotted jewelry, there is no doubt that in Teishebaini should be opened significant remains of metalworking production corresponding to the highly developed level of ironworking in Urartu. The production of such workshops arrived not only to Urartian cities and fortresses but was widespread in the Caucasus and in south Russian steppes. Urartian items made of iron were found almost in all burial grounds of Armenia which are dated with the VII-VI centuries BC and belong to the culture of local

tribes (Lalvar, Khrtanots, Golovino, Akner, Astkhadzor and many others). Apparent Urartian origin has curved blades and some other items from the burials of Mingeaur and the village Dolanlar (Mountainous Karabagh), from Central and North-Eastern Caucasus. In the rich kurgans of Northern Caucasus (Kelermes) and Pridneprovie (kurgans in the region of Kiev and others) were found items of Urartian-Assyrian origins or mixed Urartian-Assyrian and Scythian type. Wide intertribal exchange provided the influence of Urartian metallurgy in the Caucasus and promoted the intensification of the development of iron industry among local tribes. In this regard it is difficult to overestimate the significance of such cities as Teishebaini.

Along with metalworking crafts in the city of Teishebaini were highly developed woodworking, weaving, tanning and other crafts, and ceramic production as well which produced “mass” good-quality and fine items. Pottery kilns were located, in all probability, in the south-eastern part of the city where stand out several small artificial mounds. If among the metallic items of the citadel all the time we meet imported items produced in other Urartian cities, all Urartian ceramics almost exceptionally was made in Teishebaini. Great number of superb vessels of Karmir blur speaks in favor of large-scaled ceramic production of the city of Teishebaini. Suffice to say that in the apartments of the citadel and in the houses of the city was found over 500 large *karases* with the capacity from 250 to 1250 liters which have flat-edged high crowns and flagellate rollers on their shoulders. In one small room of the citadel (N.29) placed next to the storeroom N.25 were found 1036 light-engobed jugs, the handles of which, according to V.S.Sorokin, in the section have the form of a bean. Alongside similar vessels in the room N.39 were found cigar-shaped ones of different colors, cups without handles, shallow light-engobed bowls and beakers, and different small pots with spherical bodies and lamps. The listed samples of various Urartian vessels are extant in all houses of Teishebaini. In contrast to metallic items, Urartian ceramics was not popular in the local population of the Caucasus. In the contrary, during excavations of the houses of the city, temporary dwellings in the yard of the citadel, and apartments of the citadel was found a large group of ceramics consisting of samples of local items made by the natives of the city and has numerous analogues in the VII-VI centuries BC burials of Armenia. This group could be divided into two types. Rude vessels often covered with smoke, black pots having wide neck, decorated with wave lines and seed ornament and fur-tree grooved design, and black-flattened (also of other colors) jugs, pots, ladles and other vessels, among which the most characteristic are the next ones:

- 1) One-handled ladles with one or two horizontal grooves on the rim.

- 2) Pots with elongated proportions with rather high cylindrical neck and two handles on the widest part of the body. These handles have a stepped deepening decorated by minted triangles put on each other. Similar vessels are found in the burials of Tazakend, Khndzorut, Gegharot dated to the Late Bronze age and some burials of Leninakan, Golovino, Gegharot (excavations of H.A. Martirosyan), Nor-Bayazet (excavations of Ye.A. Lalayan), dated to the VIII-VI centuries BC.

3) One-handed jugs of black, dark grey or red colors decorated with relief ornamentation and pattern made through polishing. Ornamentation covers only the upper part of the vessel, it consists of semicircular arcs in relief, which in the center has small cones, and the rest space is filled with grid or oblique polished lines. The handles of these jugs have triangular decoration characteristic for the mentioned above group of two-handed light-earthenware, ochre-red and black pots. But besides the minted triangles on these handles we encounter also rectangular or circular grooves and cones, big triangular or trapezoidal grooves placed on some distance from each other. Some handles differ by zoomorphic arrangement and quite appropriately correspond to the handles of metallic vessels of the VIII-VI centuries BC explored on the enormous space from Dnieper to the foot of Mount Ararat and belong to the category of purely Caucasian products.<sup>19</sup> Such vessels originate from the excavations of Morgan in Lalvar, Sevan district (Ye.A. Lalayan), burials of Khrtanots, Golovino (excavations of A. Khacatryan, H. Martirosyan, A. Mnatsakanyan), and other places. **Vessels described above, which were produced by Uartian potters rarely occur in Karmir blur and in all cases they point on the unskillful imitation of Uartian potter of the local sample.**

Thus, excavations of the citadel of Karmir blur gives abundant materials which documents not only various aspects of economy, but also reflects close cultural-economic contacts between Uartians and agricultural-cattle breeding population of the regions conquered in the VIII century BC. We are well informed about the facts of destruction, capture of prisoners, looting and cruel exploitation of the population of conquered regions by Uartians, but from other side, we are well aware that in order to develop these fertile lands Uartians established here their administrative-political centers, improved and extended irrigation for the sake of fertility, promoted the extensive mastering of iron industry and development of broad intertribal exchange and trade, thus securing intense relations between the Caucasus and countries of ancient civilization.

Written documents found in Assyrian palaces and items excavated in Uartian fortresses give us various materials for characterization of the exchange and trade which sometimes takes the form of organized looting, but already is based on the development of main spheres of economy which had reached unprecedented flourishing due to the construction of massive irrigational system along the water arteries by means of the organization of large-scaled “public works” which demanded imperative interference of the central Uartian authorities.

After the looting of the Musasir temple, the richest religious center of Urartu, Sargon II's army took to Assyria precious items made of ivory which once was brought to the temple from distant countries, golden, silver, bronze goods produced in Urartu,

<sup>19</sup> Ye.I.Krupnov, Zhemtalinskij treasure, Moscow, 1954.

Assyria, Khabkhi, Tabal.<sup>20</sup> Apparently, the scribes of Sargon were not aware of the origins of many items which they thoroughly mention during the looting of the temple.

During excavations of economic apartments of the Teishebaini fortress were found products brought from Egypt (scarabs of the Naucratis type), Assyria (beads, seals, some golden items etc.), Asia Minor and Manna (carved box from stone), from the regions of Eastern Mediterranean basin (golden earrings) and other places. The study of these materials obviously show relationship with the Hittite culture and the cities of Syria (items from ivory of Arslantash in Northern Syria which does not differ from griffins on Urartian belts of the Nor Aresh burial ground)<sup>21</sup> and Phoenicia. Among the materials of Karmir blur now is distinguished a group of carnelian beads of Indian origins.

Versatile cultural interrelations of Urartian state had colossal significance for the whole Caucasus and regions separated from the Caucasus by hundreds and thousands kilometers. We think that, for example, the Assyrian type phials<sup>22</sup> in Priuraliye should have been exported from Urartu, taking into account that they were widely produced in Urartu. Apparently, through Armenia hereinafter were imported into the mentioned regions also Achemenid phials which were influenced by ancient Near-Eastern and particularly Urartian toreutics.

It must be assumed that the conquest and mastering of the fertile Araxes plain and other regions of Eastern Armenia to a large extent promoted the development of Urartian state trade. Not without reason the tribute collected in Teishebaini was delivered to the center of the kingdom of Van in the form of half-finished materials.

The Ararat plain which is surrounded from all sides by high mountains and is watered by the River Araxes is almost permanent green oasis where used to live numerous tribes which practice agriculture and cattle-breeding. Already in the III millennium BC these tribes practice integrated economic-social lifestyle, being on the same level of cultural development.

Many of other regions of the Armenian Highland conquered by Urartians beginning from the late IX century BC were related to the metallurgical centers (confederacies of Uduri-Etiuni, Diauhi etc.) and possess with essential economic and military power.

From the other side, the integration of the mentioned and some other confederacies into the economic sphere of the ancient Near-Eastern life promoted the unprecedented rise of productive forces and cultural flourishing of the state which faces great economic and military shifts.

That great cultural-economic development prepared ground for early Armenian culture with corresponding influence on neighboring regions of Transcaucasia and whole Caucasus. In the culture of the early period of the ethnogenesis of Armenians everywhere is visible the spirit of Urartu, preservation of Urartian traditions in the spheres of building techniques (cf. Argishtikhinili-Armavir-Garni), architecture (cf.

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<sup>20</sup> Assyrian-Babylonian sources about the history of Urartu, Vestnik drevnej istorii, N.2, 1951, Appendix. 4 (346ff.), p. 331f.

<sup>21</sup> A.A. Iessen, Early contacts of Priuraliye with Iran, Soviet Archaeology XVI, 1952.

<sup>22</sup> H.A. Martirosyan, A.O.Mnatsakanyan, Urartian columbarium of Nor Aresh.

Musasir-Garni-Sagalas), arts (cf. stelae with *khachkars*, items of Urartian toreutics etc.), metallurgy and crafts.

But the process of cultural transformation of primitive tribes inside the Urartian state took place slowly, like the conquest of Eastern Armenia.

To the conquest and mastering of these lands, their transition into organic part of the Urartian kingdom contributes the passive foreign policy of Urartians in the south against Assyria, comparatively low level of tribes who fought against Urartians in the north, and considerable technical capability of Urartian army. Urartian expansionist policy in the north took place in the condition of final decline of primitive community relations, under the pressure of property differentiation and the rise of private property. Despite that, extensive tribal unions which emerged in the process of the decline of primitive community system on the regions of later Armenian provinces of Tayk, Ararat, Gegharkuni and others fiercely resisted Urartians.

Violent resistance to Urartians by the tribes of Erikuahi, Etiuni, Uduri-Etiuni and others was the main cause which prevented Urartians from establishing their authority to the north of the line Erzerum-Kars-Leninakan-Lake Sevan.

Despite the violent resistance of the aborigines in Urartian cuneiform inscriptions which glorify and commemorate the conquests of Urartian kings and their deeds, sometimes we meet phrases written by Urartian scribes and carvers, according to which the places where building of fortresses, cities etc. were undertaken appear to be barren, “(in the past) nothing was built there”.

The information regarding the building of the city of Erebuni located at the distance of some kilometers from Teishebaini which is preserved in the Khorkhor annals, contains exactly the next statement: “The land was barren (in the past), nothing was built there” (UKN, 127, II). Really, the area of the fortress of Erebuni was one of the most heavily fortified places in the Ararat plain which defends the approaches from the Geghama mountains. Let us mention that not far from the city of Erebuni, on two mounds are preserved remains of the pre-Urartian fortified settlements. From Erebuni to the village of Garni is located a chain of high mounds under which are hidden the remains of big and small fortresses constructed long before the appearance of Urartians.

Similar proof we have also in the Zvartnots cuneiform inscription of Rusa II (UKN, 281) where is told about activities conducted for the accomplishment of the valley of the “country” of Quarlini.

B.B.Piotrovskij quite reasonably thinks that the valley of Quarlini was precisely the place where Urartians had built the city of Teishebaini. The information of the inscription fully correspond to the picture opened by archaeological excavations of the citadel and habitable quarters of the settlement. In the mentioned valley or land of the Quarlini “country ... was not cultivated (?), nothing existed there”.

Above we had already characterized in general terms pre-Urartian settlement in the place of Teishebaini, and there can be no doubt that the lands of the Quarlini valley were densely populated and that they were cultivated from ancient times.

## HABITABLE QUARTERS OF THE CITY OF TEISHEBAINI

The ruins of the habitable quarters of the city of Teishebaini, one of the largest Urartian centers in the Ararat plain, are located on the left bank of the River Ildarunia, to the west and south of the colossal citadel. The area occupied by the ruins of the city is equal to 30-35 hectares and comprises a slightly expressed hilly section stretching from east to west. Excavation works which continued since 1948<sup>23</sup> are carried out in the middle section of the mentioned territory which differs by almost smooth relief. The territory of the city is limited by massive fortification walls, 3 meters in width, small buttresses, towers and ledges which surrounded the city almost from all directions, interrupting only in the sections where existed natural defensive barriers. The walls encircled not only the territory of the city but the whole citadel as well. The northern wall begins near the north-western gates of the citadel and stretches to the south-west. Another wall adjoins the south-eastern angle of the citadel, bends to the west and interrupts on the remains of the tower. According to V.S. Sorokin and K.L. Oganessian, fortifications were not finished since the western part of the city remained unprotected.

Inside the limits of city were found traces of the wall which had defensive function.

On the territory of the city were revealed three streets, six meters in width which proceed from the west to the east and from the north to the south. On the main straight street which proceeds from the west to the east are narrow alleys leading to the north and south. By the time should be opened also city squares, one of which, as it was suggested by the architect K.L. Oganessian, is expected on the empty territory in front of the citadel walls, the sizes of which as most massive architectural form apparently dominated on this main square.<sup>24</sup> The settlement consists of complete complexes of dwellings adjoining each other and located by separate quarters formed between the streets of opposite directions or from separated big and small houses, between which always are trails. In contrast to the citadel, these houses were built from rude basalt and *tufa* of local provenance.

The houses and buildings of non-habitable character built from pebble and clay mortar occur in the central quarters rarely, but more often in the outskirts. They are built on the soil, without base. The width of the walls equals to 0.7-1.00 meters, and the height - approximately 3.5 meters. All apartments of the city quarters had flat ceilings made of poles and reeds. In some cases they stand on one or several wooden poles and, judging by the preserved stone bases, were situated longitudinally. Apartments had upper and upper lateral illumination, their façades does not have towers, buttresses and profiled elements are very characteristic for the fortress. Even the doors did not lead to the street. For this reason quarters of the city constituted bare surfaces of walls and the streets took the form through the walls of entire quarters which came out on

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<sup>23</sup> V.S. Sorokin, Excavations of the ancient settlement. Karmir blur. II, p.79, and also K.L. Oganessian, Karmir blur. IV, Architecture of Teishebaini, p. 12, there also a thorough description of fortification walls and other details.

<sup>24</sup> Karmir blur. IV. K.L. Oganessian, Architecture of Teishebaini, Yerevan, 1955, p. 15.

them. They remind us narrow and long corridors very typical for many ancient eastern cities. Such character of the architectural design of streets in the city of Teishebaini was fixed during the excavations of 1954<sup>25</sup> and our work before 1957.

Thus, the colossal building rising on the rocky bank of the River Hrazdan, with its towers, buttresses, architectural design and huge scales stands in sharp contrast to the city quarters where along the edges of the narrow unpaved streets were situated uniform houses with blind façade of walls and flat roofs.

In the course of excavations were clearly revealed the traces of tracking of the streets and separate buildings which hinted at the idea that the main part of the city was constructed according to a plan composed beforehand.

In short, unquestionably, the settlement so great for the time being with a citadel, massive fortified walls and straight streets with numerous buildings was a city of ancient eastern type.

Precisely in the period of Urartian governors in Armenia had begun city building practice connected with the rise of strong state power, one of the main functions of which was the establishment of irrigational network in the most important regions of the country. About the city building sufficient clear information was preserved in Urartian cuneiform inscriptions which associated newly founded cities with the names of Urartian kings and gods (Menuahinili, Argishtihinili, the small city of Rusa, Teishebaini, the city of the god Haldi etc.). The application of certain city building techniques along with the existence of city building traditions in more later period of Armenian Orontids (III century BC)<sup>26</sup> indicates on the positive experience of Urartians in the establishment of big and small cities.

Habitable constructions of Teishebaini are the most ancient buildings of the city type on the territory of the USSR and hence are of great interest.

From 1948 to 1950 were opened two city quarters located on northern and southern sides of the main street consisting of dwellings adjoined to each other, as though covered by a single roof.<sup>27</sup> Over time to the more ancient buildings were attached new ones, other houses were rebuilt and had undergone different changes and in this way were built house after house, quarter after quarter. All this indicates that the city of Teishebaini was settled by Urartian population not simultaneously but during some time span, in the process of extension of the main functions of this large economic and military-administrative center on the northern periphery of the Urartian state.

The dwellings of these two quarters consist of three interconnected apartments, one of which was the main one. In the main apartments of all dwellings were located *tonirs* made of clay, rectangular stone hearth and different utensils. Part of these apartments almost always was separated by low partition wall made of stone.

<sup>25</sup> Idem, p.32.

<sup>26</sup> G.Kh. Sarkisyan, City building in Armenia during Tigran II ..., Izvestiya Akademii nauk ArmSSR, N.2, 1955.

<sup>27</sup> V.S. Sorokin, Excavations of the ancient settlement. Karmir blur. II, and also K.L.Oganesyan, Loc.cit., p.18-36.

One of the distinctive features of these dwellings was the absence of apartments for the cattle and agricultural products. This indicates that the part of population living in this quarters actually does not have own household and live by means of state allowance.

But in studies devoted to excavations of these quarters appear suggestions that in the city are absent any significant traces of private household.<sup>28</sup>

Detailed study of osteological materials and ceramic production (thick-walled vessels with small crown, ordinary dishes and pots, red-glazed one handled jugs with slotted small handles, which is abundantly represented in the apartments of the citadel, the occurrence of the items of weaponry and armor in the citadel's temporary dwellings), and some other observations forced V.S.Sorokin to suggest that the mentioned living complexes belong to Urartian soldiers who defend the citadel and enjoy "comparatively high status and liberty".<sup>29</sup>

Judging by the items of weapon and armor found in the storerooms of the citadel, the garrison of Teishebaini was well-equipped with military techniques and, probably, presented a formidable power intended to defend the city with its countless goods and was able to carry out any military operation of local significance. In the armory of the city were found not only items of heavy (spears, swords, armor and shields) and light (arrows) infantry merged together and which play major role during the defense and in attack but also different items of horse headdress belonging to cavalry and chariots of the garrison. After the discovery of various rich materials of Urartian armory and bronze belts of Nor Aresh with the depiction of the Urartian military detachment we have quite concrete idea not only about the division of the army and its organization but also that of the representatives of one or the other division. Riders, archers, equestrians and infantry carry different costumes. Riders wear long dresses, they were armed with spears and shields, archers carry, as a rule, wide belts, the dress of the riders freely falls down, and the infantry wear short tunics with fringes, and were armed with shield, spear or quiver and bow. All soldiers wear pointed helmets. Warhorses had light harnesses and horse blankets adorned with metallic parts. Their heads were adorned with metallic bell-shaped and fan decorations, and long tails were fastened by knots.<sup>30</sup>

It is not difficult to imagine a solemn procession of military detachment with glittering arms and ammunition, between the walls stretched along the narrow streets of Teishebaini. Such detachments look much more terrifying compared to the conquered and tormented communities who were deprived of their military resources and suppressed by heavy state taxes.

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<sup>28</sup> B.B. Piotrovskij, Karmir blur. I, p.18; G.A.Melikishvili, Some problems of the socio-economic history of Nairi-Urartu, Vestnik drevnej istorii, 1951/4, p.22, 40.

<sup>29</sup> V.S. Sorokin, Archaeological data for the characterization of the socio-economic system of Urartu, Vestnik drevnej istorii, 1952/2, p.128; Ancient settlements near Karmir blur (Dissertation abstract), Leningrad, 1955, p.11-12.

<sup>30</sup> H.A. Martirosyan, A.O.Mnatskanyan, Urartian columbarium of Nor Aresh, Izvestiya Akademii nauk ArmSSR, 1958 (in Arm.).

We must assume that the obligatory presence of garrisons in Urartian cities was determined not only by guard service but also different more complicated functions imposed on them. They were agents of Urartian military-administrative policy in the hostile environment and thus comprise very important layer of the population of Urartian city. But the mentioned circumstance could not give us reason to state that soldiers were the significant and main part of the city's population.<sup>31</sup>

According to the discovered by excavations part of the dwellings intended for soldiers was not too big. There was no need, especially during the reign of Rusa son of Argishti who had established quite close relations with Scythians who could threaten northern regions of the kingdom. Later, at the end of the VII - beginning of the VI century BC over the Urartian kingdom loomed a deadly danger coming from Media. And in that case there was need of reinforcement from southern garrisons.

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The results of excavations of habitable complexes opened in the southern part of the studied section along both sides of the main street, and across intersecting street in 1955-1957 make us believe that the population of Teishebaini consists of different ethnic and social groups which defines unique face of Urartian cities, the latter being not only military bases but also great economic centers who embraced into its orbit of cultural-economic influence vast regions of the Caucasus.

During three years on the mentioned section, besides pre-Urartian houses belonging to native population of the city were studied the remains of four buildings which stand apart, of which completely were excavated two houses located on the crossroads of the main street. Let me turn to the description of these buildings.

In 1956 were revealed remains of a big house located on the southern part of the main street. Like the dwellings opened in 1948-1953, this house was built of rudely worked stone of local andesite-basalt formation. For the construction of doorway, thrust bearing of the door axle, support posts and bases for the pillars was used thoroughly worked *tufa* and occasionally more solid stone formations. The walls were built without connecting materials, but from inside and outside they were covered with clay. The floor of the main apartment paved with pebble and the step stone-chair made of stone also were covered with thick layer of plaster.

During the cleaning of cultural layers were not found any details which could characterize the means of illumination of apartments or indicating on the existence of window opening, although, judging by the planning of the building, all apartments could possess with side or upper illumination.

Unlike the dwellings studied until now the house under consideration presents a complex of habitable and economic apartments which includes a section of 400 m<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>31</sup> V.S. Sorokin, Archaeological data for the characterization of the socio-economic system of Urartu, *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, 1952/2, p. 129.

was built according to the principles and peculiarities of Urartian palace architecture and building techniques.

The habitable part of the house consisting of the main and two secondary apartments, was situated in parallel to the axis of the main street. The main apartment (40m<sup>2</sup>) has rectangular form, a floor paved of basalt stone and stone pylon supporting the roof are very characteristic for the architecture of fortresses. From both sides of the column were situated low step stone-chair made of pebble and step stone-chair covered with clay plaster. The existence of these step-chairs is justified by the reconstruction of the apartment, when it was separated into two different parts along the line of the column. The first half of the apartment was empty, and in the second was situated a rectangular stone hearth with the fragments of big vessel made of light-colored clay, a basalt mortar with shallop-shaped grinding stone, and *tonir* of small diameter made of clay.

Near the entrance to the second apartment (about 20m<sup>2</sup>) was discovered a stone buried into the floor and having a special deepening for the vertical axis of wooden doors. During the cleaning of the layer the doorway appeared to be closed and on that place stood a crushed Urartian *karas* with characteristic flagellate ornamentation on the shoulders and triangular grooves on the body. The earthenware *tonir* with shallop-shaped grinding stone was buried into the corner of the doorway, exactly near the door support, against which on some distance lies very thin, flat rectangular basalt plate with the remains of a charcoal and ash on it. Near the eastern wall of the apartment stood a vessel which has light-brown polishing, and on the floor were scattered fragments of different vessels.

Apparently, the accommodation of this corner to economic needs was connected with the reconstruction of the dwelling which later was separated from the main apartment. The third apartment was empty.

Thus, the habitable part of the described building initially consists of one main and two secondary apartments. By its appearance and main details it corresponds to dwellings excavated earlier. As a result of following restructuring by means of fencing of the main apartment from secondary ones, the mentioned three-roomed habitable complex was separated into two dwellings which consist of two apartments - main and secondary.

Leaving aside the causes which triggered different disruptions of the city dwellings, let us mention that the details listed above allow us to speak about the common shape and originality of the discovered Urartian dwellings in the city of Teishebaini.

But the study of the other parts of the building reveals a number of important peculiarities which distinguishes this complex from that excavated earlier. This is not so much about the difference in the planning of different dwellings or the place of the main building in regard to the general planning of the house, but rather about the existence in this complex economic apartments and a yard built according to the type of the citadel

storehouses. These are long and narrow apartments of rectangular planning with placed *karases* and vessels for different purposes.

One of the storerooms (N.4 - 1956) located along the southern façade of the building (30m<sup>2</sup>), once was furnished by two *karases* of Urartian type and a great number of small vessels which were smashed under the weight of the collapsed walls and roof. Near the eastern wall stood a high step-chair and next to it was buried into the adobe floor a black polished *karas* of local type ornamented with pinch and two relief belts. The vessels with such ornamentation were discovered still in March 1936 by the locals of the village Charbach, in the ash layer on the bottom of Karmir blur. They repeat the samples known from the stone boxes of the Early Iron age, and are not related to Urartian ceramics.

In the doorway of the northern wall was found a big pot containing small vessels which belong to the samples of local ceramic production.

The second storeroom (N. 5 – 1956) adjoins the habitable part from the west.

By the construction and details it is almost identical with the storeroom apartments of the citadel-palace. A cigar-shaped light earthenware vessel (fragmented) discovered with two smashed vessels in the eastern part of the apartment, fairly correspond to the “bear” vessels found in the citadel which took their characteristic name after finding in some of them the remains of the filter and barley malt. A single-handled red polished jug has its numerous analogues in the inventory of the citadel. More interesting are preserved fragments of a big jug produced by Urartian potter by the standards of local black polished *karases*, and encircled with relief strips. On the floor of the apartment is spread great number of fragments of black polished and light earthenware bowls and basalt cups, probably, intended for the decorative furnishing of the palace apartments. Big grain pits (1, 3x1.8) situated in the central part of the apartment stresses its economic significance. Apparently, in them was kept millet the seeds of which were discovered not far from the pit. The pits themselves were empty. While taking seeds from the first pit somebody had lost a bronze bracelet.

Besides ceramic and other products in the mentioned apartments are found stone anchor, a sharp tool made of bone, an overlay made of worked bone, and also some other items.

The described storehouse apartments were interconnected through extensive apartment (N.6 - 1956) which had doors leading to both storerooms and which was absolutely empty. To this apartment adjoins a big rectangular construction intended for the cattle. This apartment is isolated from other parts of the building, is situated behind the house and has wide (1.8) doorway in the northern part, which does not appear in ordinary habitable houses. Here were absent any remains of household and material products, except two occasional pieces of thin basalt cup. The apartment occupies about 60m<sup>2</sup> of space where it was possible to keep 15-18 cows.

Thus, the extensive building excavated in 1956 consists of habitable and economic apartments. The existence of the latter is an important peculiarity of the studied object and points on the certain social stratum of Teishebaini's population. The

study of building techniques, architectural peculiarities and details of inner furnishing proves the Urartian affiliation of the described type of the dwellings.

In favor of their Urartian affiliation speak also complete similarity of materials with the materials from the citadel.

Taking into account all what was said above we are inclined to regard the discovered building as “house of a noble Urartian”. Along with materials which are completely similar to the Urartian items of the citadel, in the “house of a noble Urartian” were found also items of undoubtedly local production which is a result of contacts between the neighboring quarters of Teishebaini, settled partly by local population. In this regard, first of all it must be mentioned fragments of brown, dark earthenware and black polished butter churns which were items of the local ceramic production and sometimes appear in the Transcaucasian burials of Urartian period.<sup>32</sup> They had a horizontally placed handle and through hole in the upper part of the vessel.

Leaving aside numerous vessels of this type which are used until now in some regions of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, let us mention only that the fragments of brown butter churns made of rude dough and supplied with sharpened angles on the inner surface were discovered during the excavations of Teishebaini still in 1949. Another butter churn discovered in the “apartment of a doorman”, on the southern gate of the citadel, repeats the butter churns from the settlement by its general form and the presence of sharpened angles.<sup>33</sup>

Characteristic group of local ceramics represent also the fragments of two-handled light-earthenware, ochre-red, black colored jugs collected in great number from the apartments of the citadel as well. The remaining fragments discovered during the cleaning of the storerooms of the “house of a noble Urartian” belong to different cups, pots, jugs – black, simple and polished, brown, and gray. These ceramic remains fully correspond to ceramics from the Late Bronze age and Early Iron age burials, and also to the groups of earthenware vessels of local production from the citadel’s storerooms described above. Among them especially are distinguished the fragments of shallow black polished cups with profiled small crowns and frequently vertical fluting on the body, brown, grey, and black simple, often smoked pieces of big pots which are ornamented with wavy lines sometimes are combined with single-rowed or two-rowed sunflower ornamentation. Let me remind that in the dwellings attached to the “house of a noble Urartian” was found exceptionally such ceramics.

Now we shall turn to the description of a habitable complex which adjoined the “house of a noble Urartian” from the west and was in sharp contrast to Urartian buildings by its planning, building techniques, and some architectural peculiarities. The walls of this complex, ruined in some parts or preserved only as one row of the masonry, were on different points and were constructed from small pieces of pebble on a clay mortar. Due to their poor preservation the places of doorways could be possible

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<sup>32</sup> See H.A.Martirosyan, *Excavations in Golovino, Yerevan, 1954*, Table XIX, p.63-64, 89-90.

<sup>33</sup> V.S.Sorokin, *Excavations of the ancient settlement, Karmir blur. II*, p.81-82.

to establish only through detour, taking into account the existence of one or the other detail. While in the construction of Urartian buildings often was used thoroughly worked *tufa* for especially important cases, here we rarely see *tufa*.

An essential peculiarity of these houses was also a complete absence of economic units and the presence of dwellings consisting of one or two apartments. The main apartment of the dwelling (N.1 - 1955-1956) comprises a rectangular habitable unit with three spherical basalt bases which were situated almost in its center. A huge basalt mortar and earthenware *tonir* were in the corner, near the wall. Judging by this detail, the doorway was precisely in the western wall and connected the main apartment with a small, secondary room (N.2 - 1955-1956), on the floor of which were discovered different ceramic fragments of local production.

Another dwelling (N.3, 4 – 1955-1956) also consist of two apartments. The south-eastern corner of the big apartment was blocked with small pieces of pebble. In this rectangular unit were preserved remains of a *tonir*. The apartment itself had quadrangular form with a protrusion on the southern part. Here just opposite the wall lays a remarkable basalt plate worked in the form of a ladder. Obviously, exactly here was an entrance to the neighboring apartment.

The remaining one-type apartments (N.5, 6 – 1955-1956) were not connected with any secondary constructions. They both had blocked rectangular parts inside which were preserved remains of the *tonir*, and from outside - bottoms of big light-earthenware *karases*. The apartment N.5 - 1955-1956 had a ladder in the northern part, and in the center of the other apartment – remains of a stone hearth.

The ceramics of these dwellings consist of the same main groups of earthenware which was described above and characterizes the ceramic production of pre-Urartian settlement and burial ground, with only one difference – among numerous fragments of local ceramics appear seven pieces of Urartian red-engobed vessels. The study of ceramic inventory in the buildings of the mentioned type, and considering architectural and building peculiarities of the dwellings as well which have their prototypes in the earlier dwellings of the local population, we are inclined to suggest that the mentioned dwellings belong exactly to the local population of Teishebaini who after the conquest of their country found themselves in the Urartian state and *de facto* (or *de jure*) were enslaved. Could this population layer belong to the category of Urartian people many representatives of which had fled to Shupria in the inaccessible mountainous country of Sassoon,<sup>34</sup> to the north of the Upper Tigris, because of their plight? Here were gathered also Assyrian fugitives who had left their households. G.A.Melikishvili correctly notes that by the time the flight from Urartu and Assyria took more threatening character and for that reason the kings Assarhaddon and Rusa (II) were forced to carry out severe measures.<sup>35</sup> The stressed distinction of possessions which is revealed by the archaeological study of the habitable complexes of Urartian cities was exactly an

<sup>34</sup> N. Adontz, *Histoire d'Arménie*, Paris, 1946, p.292.

<sup>35</sup> G.A. Melikishvili, *Problems of social-economic structure of Urartu*, *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, 1951, N.4, p.31-32.

underlying cause for the class struggle which the exploited people initiated against the slaveholding elite.

Excavations of 1957 proved that the “house of a noble Urartian” was neither the first nor the least of its character. On the small space near that house were revealed traces of three more separately located houses. First of these stood in front of the “house of a noble Urartian” and was completely cleaned, and the second was located on that same northern street, to the east of the first on a distance of 5 meters, on the opposite side of the narrow alley. Between these houses, in the alley was detected a dwelling of pre-Urartian period.

The third building is located on the crossroads of the main and south-western streets where begins the city’s new (southern) quarter. By its technical and architectural peculiarities these houses repeat the “house of a noble Urartian” described above. There difference was only in the planning and number of apartments. As we have mentioned above, of these houses is cleaned only one. Habitable and economic apartments of this house compose a trapezoidal construction, the three façades of which face the main street and those crossing it from the south and north. It consists of two separated parts with individual entrances. First of them had five rooms, and the second – one extensive apartment with two doorways and corresponding details. Habitable rooms of the first complex were situated along the axis of the main street representing rectangular apartments, each one about 40m<sup>2</sup>. The construction had a roof from the eastern part which rests on the parallel appendages of transversal walls of the first apartment which ends with two big lumps having deepening in the center for columns. Under the roof was the main, fairly wide entrance to the building with threshold made of big and small stones. Here, near the threshold was a thrust bearing of the door axis made of flat, well worked plate of orange-colored *tufa*. In the first apartment were two solid basalt grain bruisers and rather big fragments of Urartian and local vessels. Against the main entrance was a doorway constructed from more or less hewn stones with flat basalt plate on the threshold and medium-sized thrust bearing made of a black *tufa* plate. This entrance leads to the main apartment of the building which presents a marked economic unit. On the distance of two meters from the eastern wall was situated a rectangular stone hearth (55x45cm.) with the pieces of a big light earthenware vessel on the bottom. Between the hearth and eastern wall was discovered the so-called movable hearth – a flat basalt plate (60x40cm.) with the remains of ash and cole. Near the stone hearth were very big thrust bearings made of rectangular pieces of basalt with concaved surface and shallop-shaped grater above them. In the northern part of the apartment was discovered the basic part of Urartian earthenware vessels and a big basalt mortar with a hole on its bottom. Among earthenware vessels and their fragments especially are distinguished two cigar-shaped red polished vessels, fragments of a big light earthenware *karas* with tourniquet-shaped ornamentation on their shoulders, usual types for the citadel’s storehouses, fragments of a medium-sized *karas* near the western wall, the upper part of black polished pot of

local type supplied with two handles having stepped triangular ornamentation, two spherical pots of Urartian type with red-engobed surface, one handled red polished jug, a complete ochre-red engobed cup, a fragment of the handle of a jug with the master's sign, etc.

Besides the ceramic remains in the habitable apartments of the building were discovered great number of animal bones - remains of meat food. Based on the materials obtained in previous years the zoologist S.K.Dal has determined bones of a domesticated dog (*Canis familiaris palustris*), small cattle and cattle, wild sheep and big goat (*Capra cylinbri cornis*), bull (*Bos Taurus*), buffalo (*Bos Bubalis*), and also pig (*Sus Scrofa*), horse (*Equus caballus*), gazelle (*Gazella Subqutturosa*) and a skull of stone marten. In the materials found after 1954 were additionally revealed bones of the domesticated donkey (*Equus asinus L.*), domesticated goat (*Capra domestica*), and zeboid cattle (*Bos indicus*). Interestingly, the existence of zeboid cows was mentioned also for the pre-Urartian settlement, some of their skeletons are discovered in the apartments of the citadel.

In the central part of the apartment were basalt bases of wooden columns, and in the northern wall - a doorway with cubic thrust bearing which leads to the storehouse apartment of the building. Connected with the discovery of thrust bearings near the doorways of this building it should be stated that similar ones were found in all buildings of Teishebaini and that very ancient system of the doors is characteristic for the Armenian regions and villages of Iranian plateau and, correspondingly, for Nakhijevan.

In the backside of the habitable part of the complex under study were situated three storehouse apartments which were interconnected with each other through the northern door. Some of them are of considerable interest. Worth to mention, for example, the bottom and a big fragment of the upper part of two Urartian *karases* with cruciform incised signs of masters minted on the soft clay, black or light earthenware small handmade vessels in the form of the models of big Urartian *karases*, a bomb-shaped pot with ochre-red engobe, wide neck and triangle protrusion on the side, upper part of the wide-necked engobed pot of elongated proportions, and polished single-handled ladle with external horizontal groove on the crown as well.

Thus, in the studied dwelling were revealed all samples of Urartian and non-Urartian ceramics which are characteristic for the ceramic production of Teishebaini and appearing in the storehouse apartments all the time.

From the western side to the described habitable complex adjoined an isolated rectangular apartment with doorways from the west and north. In the center stood a basalt mortar and a small *karas*, and near the eastern wall were preserved parts of rather big *tonir*. To the important finds of this apartment belong bone snaffles with three side holes of the so-called Scythian type, a big bead made of glass, Urartian red-engobed cup with profiled ladle and black polished small pot with sharply bended ladle and unique ornamentation of the shoulders which consist of circular concentric circles and incised hook-shaped figures located below it.

Among two other buildings are cleaned two apartments which do not differ from that described above.

The study of the photo of Karmir blur made from the airplane in 1947, before the excavation of the habitable quarters, show that to the east of the building, on the crossroads of the south-eastern street was situated a city quarter with isolated big houses. This quarter has not been studied yet since the significant part of its ancient buildings had suffered due to the removal of stones by villagers of Charbakh for their needs, and on the film figure exactly the outlines of non-existing now houses which represent narrow trenches as a result of the removal of stones. But on the photo are still clearly visible untouched spots which should be studied in the near future.

The ruins of several separately standing buildings are preserved also in the southern and eastern parts of the city. During excavations of the mentioned objects, certainly, would be discovered buildings like the "house of a noble Urartian" the study of which along with the materials of cuneiform sources will let us approach to the establishment of the proportion of wealthy part of the population to which maybe belong representatives of the royal family, military and serving aristocracy. Apparently, that layer of the population possessed with extensive domains<sup>36</sup> and, probably, herds of large horned and small horned livestock. Unfortunately, on the basis of the whole extant materials it is impossible to characterize these large private households.

Looking on the results of excavations of Teishebaini it is not difficult to observe that its habitable quarters are divided into two main categories. Single-roomed, two-roomed or three-roomed dwellings which did not have economic apartments, and houses which, besides habitable part, possess also with apartments for economic purposes. The mentioned peculiarity of the habitable complexes proves not only the suggestion regarding the existence of certain layers in the population of the settlement which were under the state allowance,<sup>37</sup> but gives a reason to state that some part of the population of Teishebaini was wealthy and had its private household. In so doing, part of the studied dwellings apparently belong to the buildings of Urartian type representing peculiarities of Urartian architecture and building techniques, while another part was built according to local techniques. Most probably, the existence of habitable complexes which reflects architecture and building techniques of different ethnic groups is one of the main peculiarities of Urartian cities founded in the VIII-VII centuries BC in the Ararat plain.

Let us remind that during the excavations of A.A. Ivanovskij in Tashburun (Urartian fortress of Menuahinili) along with the remarkable Urartian buildings exist also dwellings of the second type which were constructed of small pebble<sup>38</sup> and by their all peculiarities repeat habitable complexes of Teishebaini discovered in 1955-1956.

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<sup>36</sup> G.A. Melikishvili, *Loc.cit.*, p.34-36.

<sup>37</sup> B.B. Piotrovskij, *Karmir blur*. II, p.10.

<sup>38</sup> A.A. Ivanovskij, *Through Transcaucasia*, MAK VI, p.35-55.

The suggestion of A.A. Ivanovskij that in the buildings of the second type could be seen annex buildings to the habitable apartments of the complex should be rejected connected with the discovery of autonomous habitable units of that type. But his observation regarding two different types of buildings not only remains valid but is proved by excavations of the habitable quarters of Teishebaini. The existence of dwellings of different types in the mentioned Urartian cities is not enough to judge on the principles of territorial distribution of the main social layers of population, as it was demonstrated by the architect K.L. Oganessian (see Karmir blur. IV, Architecture of Teishebaini, p.16-17), who outlined some parts of the city (by the way, not excavated) which were allegedly intended for Urartian soldiers and administrative personnel, impoverished layer and other strata of the population. Excavations of the so-called "central quarter", where, according to K.L. Oganessian, were situated the houses of soldiers and administration, were opened dwellings maybe belonging to soldiers and "noble Urartians", and along with them also miserable huts which sometimes consist of single room. Similar picture has been observed also during the excavations of Ivanovskij where, according to Urartian inscriptions, continued to live also the local tribe. Such position of habitable complexes belonging to the representatives of different social and ethnic groups was quite natural for the newly founded Urartian cities which came into existence in a number of cases at the base of major settlements existing long before the arrival of Urartians.

The results of excavations of habitable quarters of Teishebaini and its magnificent citadel disprove the established opinion that Teishebaini was only a military-administrative stronghold on the northern borders of Urartian kingdom supplied with garrison. The more and more expanding excavations give us certain possibilities to reconstruct the picture of Urartian city, albeit not very large, with its multifunctional life, complex social-economic structure, crafts, trading and roaring military activities.

With the existence of such large economic centers in the Ararat plain and other regions of the modern Armenian SSR was conditioned the great influence of ancient Near Eastern culture on the cultures of the Caucasus, South Russian steppes and Northern Black Sea region. Exactly they were guides of the ancient Near Eastern culture in the Caucasus who embrace into the orbit of their cultural-economic influence vast regions which live in the stage of the fall of the primitive-communal system.

***Translated from the Russian by Aram Kosyan***

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# CLASSICS OF ARMENOLOGY

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## **Johann Heinrich Hübschmann** **(1848- 1908)**



In the history of linguistics, the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the foundation of historical-comparative linguistics. From the very beginning of the foundation of this method, the origin and kinship of the Armenian language has been the focus of linguists' attention. German scholars have made a great contribution to this field, especially at its beginning. Heinrich Hübschmann holds a special place among them.

Hübschmann was born on July 1, 1848 in Erfurt. He studied Oriental philology at Jena, Tübingen, Leipzig, and Munich, in 1876 he became professor of Iranian languages at Leipzig, and in 1877 professor of comparative philology at Strasbourg.

Hübschmann combined his teaching work with prolific scientific activity. In the first year of teaching at the University of Leipzig (1875) he published an article "The Position of the Armenian Language among Indo-European Languages". This small work opened a new chapter in the history of Armenian linguistics. Hübschmann briefly referred to the several previous attempts to determine the place of the Armenian language among kindred languages and showed the drawbacks of the views expressed, especially highlighting Müller's point of view. Examining some of the Armenian words referred to by Müller as proof of the hypothesis that the Armenian language had Aryan origin, Hübschmann with the help of phonetic laws, showed that they were foreign elements in the Armenian language, borrowed from Persian.

He found out that Armenian was a separate linguistic branch. He believed that the Armenian language could previously have occupied an intermediate position between Indo-Aryan and European dialects, and therefore had some peculiarities of both.

The work "The Position of the Armenian Language among Indo-European Languages" caused a lot of stir among linguists. Many disagreed with his opinion. In a relatively short period of time, however, Hübschmann's theory received a wide response and had its followers among both Armenian and foreign scholars.

In 1876 Hübschmann's article on pronunciation and transliteration of the Armenian language was published in the German-Eastern Journal. Criticizing Lepsius's Hübschmann did something new. Based mainly on information about the pronunciation of foreign (Greek, Persian) proper names in Armenian, Hübschmann defined the phonetic pronunciation of Grabar, the classical Armenian language, thus creating a scientific transliteration for Armenian.

Hübschmann's name was widely known in the scientific community. In 1877, the young scholar was invited to give lectures simultaneously from two universities - Graz

and Strasbourg. Hübschmann preferred the latter and since 1877 became a professor of comparative philology at the University of Strasbourg, a position which he held for the rest of his life. At the University he gave lectures in comparative grammar of ancient languages. The topics of his lectures were Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Gothic, Church-Slavic, Avestan Iranian, Armenian and Persian grammars, works of Persian and Armenian authors.

In 1882 in Leipzig, a 44-page study by Hübschmann “The spelling of Iranian and Armenian languages” (*Die Unischreibung der iranischen Sprachen und des Armenischen*) was published, where the author tried to give a definitive transliteration of Armenian letters.

The most valuable in Hübschmann’s scientific heritage - the result of his Armenian studies - is “Armenian Grammar”, which, unfortunately, has never been finished. This work is considered a cornerstone of the study of the historical grammar of the Armenian language.

In his work, Hübschmann explored words borrowed into Armenian from Persian, Arabic, Assyrian and Greek, as well as words whose origin he considered unknown. In connection with a particular etymology, Hübschmann raised questions about the kinship of the Armenian language. In his “Grammar” Hübschmann also specified proper names, because he discovered that their study helped fully interpret the influence of languages on each other.

In 1893 a small study “Armenian Proper Names” was published in Strasbourg and in 1904 the work “Ancient Armenian toponyms” was published. Armenian translations of these two works were published first in “*Handes Amsorya*” and then in a separate book.

The scientific value of these works is difficult to overestimate; “Ancient Armenian toponyms” is considered not only etymological research, but also “geographical theory of Armenia”. It includes the study of provinces and regions of Armenia, etymology of Armenian toponyms from ancient times.

Hübschmann also studied Armenian vowels. In 1898, the “Chronology of Armenian Vocal Laws” (*Zur Chronologie der armen. Vokalgesetze*) was published, in which the author, representing the phonetic laws of the Armenian language, tried to find out the time of the change of Armenian vowels’ orthography.

Hübschmann was also closely associated with Armenian cultural centers. In 1903 he visited the Mekhitarists Congregation on St. Lazar’s Island. Here, for his fruitful scientific activity in the field of Armenology, he was elected an honorary member of the Armenian Seminary.

Needless to say, Hübschmann was well acquainted with the history and geography of Armenia. And Hübschmann’s research was mostly related to linguistics, but he never missed an opportunity to reflect on the culture of the Armenian people and its history. He valued not only the Armenian language and culture, but also the Armenian people and their cheerful spirit.

Throughout his academic career, Hübschman not only made Armenian the main subject of his research, but also became one of the best teachers of the Armenian language in Europe.

The 11<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Orientalists was held in Paris on September 5-12, 1897. For the first time a separate section was devoted to the culture of Iran and Armenia. A.Meillet was one of the active organizers of the section. Hübschman was elected head of the section.

Hübschman cared very much about the Armenologists, generously sharing with them his knowledge and giving them time.

He became tutor of H. Acharyan, who throughout his activity remained close to the scientific beliefs of his teacher and in his scientific works devoted to the comparative study of the Armenian language, unconditionally believed in this indestructible theory.

The results of almost forty years of tireless and consistent work were more than thirty studies by Hübschmann in which the Armenian language was studied in accordance with the level of Indo-European studies of the time being.

Hübschmann's scientific heritage has made a great contribution to the historical-comparative-typological study of the Armenian language, and it will play a unique role in the future.

The great linguist had established a number of phonetic laws that served not only to separate and characterize the Iranian-Armenian linguistic branches from each other, but also to compare the Armenian and the nearest languages.

During his scientific work Hübschman was engaged not only in Armenology, but also in the work of Armenian linguists.

Hübschmann died on January 20, 1908 in Freiburg, near Breisgau.

Thus, Hübschmann was the first to show in 1875 that the Armenian language was not a branch of the Iranian languages (earlier assumed so because of the immense amount of Iranian influence on Armenian throughout its history) but an entirely separate Indo-European branch in its own right. He used the comparative method to separate the Iranian loanwords, which make up the majority of Armenian words, from an older layer of native Armenian words.

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**GAGIK SARGSYAN**  
**(1926-1998)**



Gagik Sargsyan was a prominent Armenologist and expert in ancient Near Eastern civilizations whose studies became benchmark for evaluation of ancient Armenian history, especially its early periods including Hellenistic period.

G. Sargsyan was born in 1926 in Yerevan. In 1943 he entered the Historical Faculty of Leningrad University. In 1951-1954 he as a postgraduate student studied in the branch of the Institute of History (Leningrad) of the Academy of Sciences of USSR, under the supervision of leading Soviet orientalists – I.Diakonoff, V.Struve, I.Meshshaninov and others. In 1954 he was awarded the degree of Candidate of Historical Sciences (“The city of ancient Armenia”). In 1954-1971 he worked in the Institute of History of Academy of Sciences of Armenia (in 1962-1966 as deputy director of that Institute). In 1967 he was awarded the degree of Doctor of History (“Armenia of the Hellenistic period and Movses Khorenatsi”).

In 1971-1994 G. Sargsyan was the Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Together with several outstanding orientalists (H. Inchikyan, N. Hovhannisyan, P. Muradyan, N. Harutyunyan) he founded a number of periodicals dealing with general problems of oriental studies as well as that of its specific fields; some of these periodicals still continue to be published (“The peoples and Countries of the Near and Middle East”, “Ancient Orient”, “Eastern Source Studies”).

G. Sargsyan paid special attention to the direct contacts of Armenian orientalists with their foreign partners. During that period the scholars of the Institute regularly participated in international conferences and were studies were published in European, Oriental and other international journals. In fact, Armenian Oriental studies successfully entered the international arena from the early 1970s and was truly one of the leading centers of Oriental studies of the USSR. One of the main goals of G.Sargsyan became the creation of scientific personnel and their training at the leading Soviet academic institutions.

Scientific interests of G.Sargsyan included several directions: 1) ancient oriental urban community, 2) Mesopotamian social-economic life of the Hellenistic period, 3) publication and study of cuneiform texts of the Late Babylonian and Hellenistic periods, 4) social-political history of ancient Armenia, 5) Hellenism in Armenia, 6) historicity and chronology and of Movses Khorenatsi’s “Armenian history”, 7) Pre-Mesropian Armenian historiography, 8) the problem of Urartu-Armenia and issues of the formation of the Armenian people etc.

In 1974 G.Sargsyan was elected Corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia. He was also Professor of Yerevan State University. In 1984 he was elected the chairman of the Armenian Branch of the Soviet Orientalists’

Association. In 1985 he was awarded State Prize of the Soviet Armenia and Honorary Member of Syrian Historical Society, in 1986 Full member (academician) of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia. In 1988-1990 he was Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia. In 1995-1998 he was Vice-President and Academician-Secretary of the Division of Armenology and Social Sciences of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia.

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# BOOK REVIEWS

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**Henrik Abrahamyan, Social and political prerequisites for the declaration of independence of the Republic of Armenia and the beginning of its formation (February 1956 – September 1991). – Yerevan, 2020. Copy Print publishing house. – 398 p. (in Armenian, Russian and English summaries).**

The monograph of H. Abrahamyan is devoted to the study of social-political life of the Republic of Armenia from 1950s until early 1990s, and the history of the process of independence. The study under review has theoretical, practical, and political significance not only from the point of view of the elucidation of problems discussed in the book but also for evaluation of Armenia's achievements in order to avoid possible mistakes, to be able to predict future tendencies, and productive guiding of the social governance.

Remaining faithful to the principle of historicity, the author presents a detailed review of events prior to the problem under study – social-political realities of 1960-1980s on the background of shifts and changes which took place in the USSR. Particularly has been stressed the relative liberalization of social life during the rule of N.Khrushchev, and N.Gorbachev's reconstruction and society's democratization processes which are rightly evaluated by the author as turning and crucial realities in the Soviet peoples' political life including that of Armenia.

The monograph has been written on wide spectrum of primary sources, were used numerous archived materials which were put into scientific usage for first time.

The monograph consists of Preface, five chapters, conclusions, and annex containing an interview-questionnaire with the members of Karabagh committee and Armenian All-nation committee, declaration of independence and other documents.

In the Preface is the author substantiates actuality and importance of the monograph for the study of modern social-political processes. Here is analyzed and evaluated historical, politological, economic literature dealing with his study, the current state of the problem and its goals. The study includes a long historical period – from February 1956 (Khrushchev "Thaw") until September 1991 (referendum of independence).

In Chapter I are represented the Khrushchev "Thaw" and its consequences which triggered the rise of dissident movement, informal organizations, and warm up of underground activities throughout the USSR and particularly in Armenia in 1960-1980s. The author had succeeded to show that, unlike in other Union states, in Soviet Armenia these new phenomena were manifested in the form of awakening of national idea and spirit which appeared especially during the commemoration of the 50-anniversary of the Armenian genocide in April 24, 1965. It gave rise to the struggle for the recognition of the Genocide for future generations. The latter appeared in new shade and content in the mid-1980s, during Gorbachev's "Reconstruction" policy.

In Chapter II H.Abrahamyan has shown the character and periods of the policy of "Reconstruction (*Perestroika*)". The Artsakh movement is represented as a result of the reconstruction policy, where is highlighted the role of the "Karabagh committee" and

“All-Armenian movement”. “Seizing the opportunity given by reconstruction, Armenian people, Armenians of Mountainous Karabagh launched struggle in order to rejoin with Motherland, a challenge to Soviet system, its petrified principles”, writes the author (p.357). By means of comments of diverse sources the author reveals controversies between the party and political system of the USSR and Soviet Armenia and hundreds of thousands of ordinary people to rise to their feet through demonstrations and meetings in order to withdraw Mountainous Karabagh from Azerbaijan, rejoin with Armenia and restore historical justice.

In Chapter III is shown the position of Armenian Communist party labor collectives towards “Karabagh committee” and “All-Armenian movement” and their struggle for the democratization of political life. Here is elucidated the decisions of the Central committee of the Armenian communist party and its bureau concerning the Artsakh movement which were based upon the decisions of the Central committee of CPSU and its general headquarters – Political bureau which stated the next: “to do partial social-economic changes but leave everything as it is” (p.358).

The struggle for Artsakh problem and independence of Armenian people had widely spread and echoed through all Soviet republics and the world, especially in the Armenian Diaspora, to which is devoted Chapter IV. The author shows how the Armenian Diaspora expressed its support to the people Armenia and Artsakh, defended their justified demand sending applications and letters to the authorities of the USSR and Armenia, especially to M.Gorbachev, demanding and optimistically with the hope that the problem of Mountainous Karabagh should find its solution.

The last chapter of the monograph deals with the May-June, 1990 elections of the Supreme council of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, formation of new parliament, change of power, and referendum of the independence of Armenia with following establishment of independence. H.Abrahamyan shows that the new authorities of Armenia inspired by dizzying successes, made different mistakes – contradiction between promises and actions, which led to the impoverishment of population, their dissatisfaction and disappointment (p.359).

Summarizing his analysis the author concludes that the rise and first steps of the modern, third Armenian republic, regardless some mistakes, were consistent and were aimed towards the defense and strengthening of independence, its development together with Artsakh and Diaspora, in order to build the stable future.

The monograph of H.Abrahamyan is a valuable study without doubt replenishes what was done before dealing with the discussed problems but also should facilitate their further studies.

*Edik Minasyan*  
*Edik Zohrabyan*

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

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# NEW BOOKS

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Khorenatsi). It leads to the conclusion that at this point the process of consolidation of proper Albanian meta-ethnic population still was not completed with the formation of a single ethnic group within the endonym “Albanians” and its exonym continued to remain collective one. The creation and outspreading of the Albanian alphabet by Mashtots and Albanian priest Beniamin could have facilitated the completion of Albanian ethnic consolidation. However, the development of the new alphabet apparently was less successful than in neighboring Armenia and Iberia (Kartli).

At the beginning of the 6th century the administrative and ecclesiastical center of the Albanian marzpanate had been moved from the left bank of the Kura to the ethnically Armenian right bank. This led to a further development of this “country” primarily on the basis of the Armenian ethno-political, cultural and linguistic traditions. Established at the beginning of the 7th century the “Albanian prince” self-government institute was entrusted to the right-bank Armenian princely family of Gardmanatsi, a branch of the descendants of the legendary Aran Haykid. In the 9th century the title moved to the Armenian Bagratids from Shaqi and “Aranshahiks” from central Artsakh (Khachēn), dating back to the early medieval Armenian princely family Tsavdēatsi, another branch of the descendants of the legendary Aran. The new family name “Aranshahiks” was created on literary grounds as a result of the erroneously associated matching of the half-forgotten official Iranian name of the position of the last Arsacid Albanian king Vachagan the Pious (“Aranshah”) with the name of the eponym for Aran per Movsēs Khorenatsi.

In the period of feudal fragmentation a kingdom status was given not only to the Duchies Shaqi/Herethi (in Proper Albania) and P'arisos (early medieval region Gardmanatsik', on the right bank of the Kura), but also to Gorozu (in southern Artsakh, later -Dizak) and Khachēn. The first kingdom led by a local Armenian royal family of Bagratids was founded (according to the restored original text of “The History” by Mashtots Eḡvardetsi) in 894, and the last three were founded in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Whereas the kingdom of Shaqi or “The Second Albanian kingdom” ceased to exist by the end of the 10th century, the three kingdoms on the right bank of the Kura lasted until the second half of the 11th century, and fell under the onslaught of Saljuks. Thus, we can conclude that the existed erroneous assumption of kinship between the royal family of Bagratids in Shaqi and Aranshahiks of the right bank of the Kura in the literature has already been overcome, as it is clarified that “Albanian prince” Yovhannēs mentioned in 838 and 853 was not the son of Sahl Smbatean Aranshahik, and he was the homonymous grandfather of Yovhannēs-Hamam Bagratid (Hamam Areveltsi), the founder of the Shaqi kingdom.

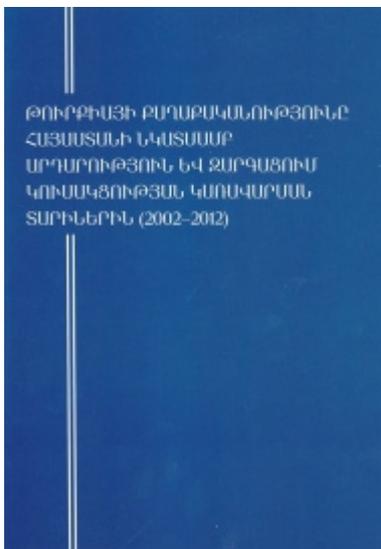
The separation of Duchies of Lower and Upper Khachēn at the end of the 12th century should be associated with the two elder homonymous sons of Hassan Great the Hermit (also known as – Hassan from Gerakar or from Khachēn, the last king of Baḡk' - Siunik'), who married twice and named both his firstborns after his father (Vakhtang from Khokhanaberd and Vakhtang from Hatherk'). Their mothers Kata and

Mamakhathun were daughters of, respectively, the penultimate king of Bałk' Grigor II and one of the last kings of Kiurikids from Tawush, Matsnaberd Kiurikē III.

The founder of the West Khachēn princely family of Dop'eans was another son of the same Hassanthe Hermit - Grigor I from Tsar, whose son Hassan I married Princess Dop' - the sister of famous amirspasalars Zak'arē and Ivanē and the mother of Grigor II from Tsar.

The title of princely family Sakreants/Sakareants appearing in the literature (but not in authentic sources) owed its origins not to the name of Hassan the Hermit's grandfather or uncle, but his grandson Zak'arē-Nasradola who was the younger brother of Hassan-Jalal Dola - the famous churchwarden of the Gandzasar temple. The father of the latter - Vakhtang from Khokhanaberd (Hassan the Hermit's eldest son), was married to Khorishah, the daughter of amirspasalar Sargis - the son of Zak'arē I, and the third name (nickname) of junior Zak'arē was apparently related to the non-standard form, unattested in the sources that reached us, of his name or his maternal great-grandfather.

Ivanē-Athabak, son of Hassan-Jalal Dola and Mamqan (who, apparently, was the daughter of Aslanbēk son of Martspan Mamikonean from Dseł), also had the third, "Mongolian sounding" name - Kherkhan, attested in lapidary inscriptions in Koshikanapat monastery, which was in the possession of his brothers-in-law Khachēn Mamikonids.



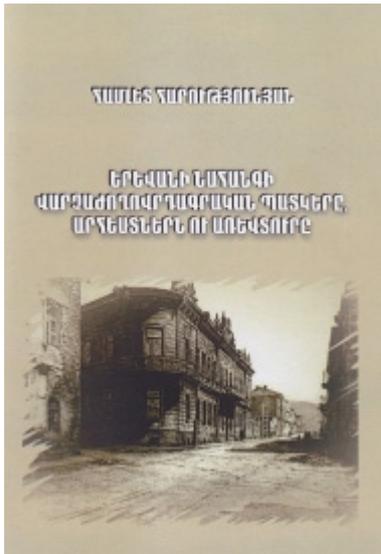
**THE POLICY OF TURKEY TOWARDS ARMENIA DURING THE GOVERNING PERIOD OF THE JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT PARTY (2002-2012), Yerevan, 2020 By R. Safrastyan, V. Ter-Matevosyan, T. Manukyan, A. Hovhannisyan**

*Yerevan, 2020, "Zangak" Publishing House, 184 p.*

*By R. Safrastyan, V. Ter-Matevosyan, T. Manukyan, A. Hovhannisyan.*

In the collective monograph are discussed new trends in the geopolitical thought of modern Turkish republic, peculiarities of the foreign policy of the "Justice and Development Party", the periods of the policy of Turkey towards the Republic of Armenia during 2002-2010.

In this context also are highlighted the manifestations of the «Armenian» policy of the "Justice and Development Party", the process of signing the Armenian-Turkish protocols in Zürich and their results.



**ADMINISTRATIVE-DEMOGRAPHIC PICTURE OF THE YEREVAN PROVINCE, CRAFTS AND TRADE, Yerevan, 2020, By Hamlet M. Harutyunyan**

*Yerevan, 2020. Institute of History Publishing House. – 241 p.*

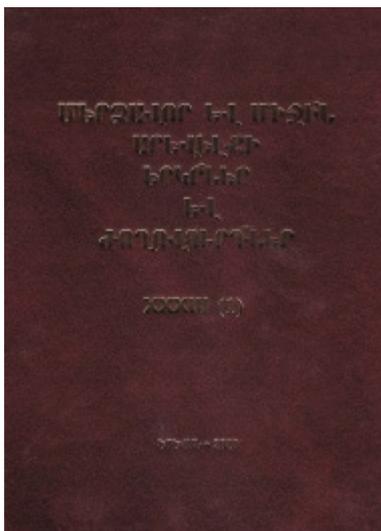
H. Harutyunyan's monograph is devoted to the demographic problems of the Yerevan province from its establishment after the conquest of Eastern Armenia by Russia in 1827 until 1917. Chapter I discusses the problem of administrative division of the province, Chapter II deals with the population, and Chapter III that of crafts, industry, and trade.



**“WHITE PAGES” OF SOVIET ARMENIA’S EVERYDAY LIFE (1940-60s). Collection of articles, Yerevan, 2020**

*Collection of articles, Yerevan, 2020. – 200 p.*

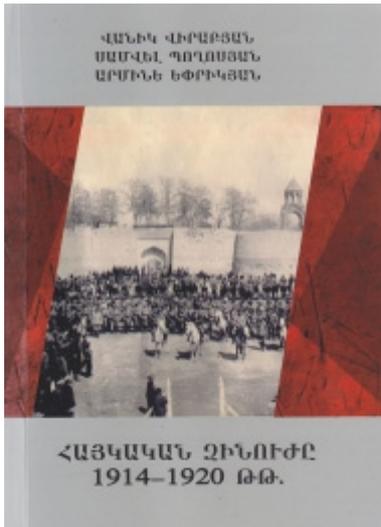
In the articles included in the collection are discussed different aspects of Armenia's 1940-60s everyday life which until present mostly remain unknown to public. The studies are based on archival materials, published and unpublished memoirs, documental films and other types of information.



**THE COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST, vol. XXXIII, part 1, Yerevan, 2020**

*Yerevan, 2020. Gitutyun publishing house. – 534 p.*

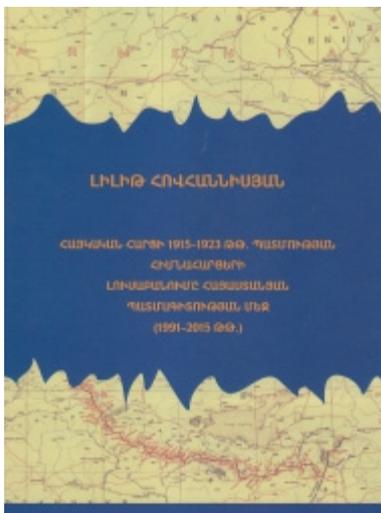
The current issue includes articles dealing with different aspects of the ancient, medieval, and modern history, philology, and source studies.



**THE ARMENIAN ARMED FORCES DURING 1914-1920, Yerevan. 2020, By Vanik Virabyan, Samvel Poghosyan, Armine Yeprikyan**

*Yerevan. 2020. Lusakn publishing house. – 716 p.*

The collective monograph deals with the Armenian military units operating during World War I and its immediate aftermath. Has been studied several key aspects of the Armenian military – volunteer detachments, Armenian legion, army-building processes during the First republic (1918-1920).



**THE ELUCIDATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION, 1915-1923, IN HISTORICAL SCIENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA (1991-2015), Yerevan, 2020, By Lilit Hovhannisyan**

*Yerevan, 2020. Institute of History publishing house. – 384 p.*

The monograph of L.Hovhannisyan is a critical study of modern Armenian historiography in regard to the history and results of international diplomatic negotiations on the Armenian question.