

FUNDAMENTAL ARMENOLOGY

ՀԻՄՆԱՐԱՐ ՀԱՅԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

electronic journal

ISSUE 2 (4) 2016

History

Documents: Armenian Genocide

Philosophy and Law

Books & Book Reviews

Demography & Governance

Philology

Historical
Cartography

Political Science & InfoSec

Arts

Archaeology



All Armenian
Foundation Financing
Armenological Studies

National Academy
of Sciences of the
Republic of Armenia



Editorial Board

Editor in Chief
DANIELYAN E.L.
Doctor of Sciences (History)

AGHASYAN A.V.
Corresponding Member of NAS RA

MELKONYAN A. A.
Academician of NAS RA

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

SAFRASTYAN R. A.
Academician of NAS RA

ISAHAKYAN A. V.
Doctor of Sciences (Philology)

SUVARYAN YU. M.
Academician of NAS RA

MASON J. W.
*Professor of History,
Emeritus (Hollins University, Virginia)*

APIKYAN T. Zh.
Web developer and technical coordinator

HISTORY

1. <i>Danielyan E. L.</i> , THE CONTRIBUTION OF D. M. LANG TO THE APPRECIATION OF ARMENIA'S CIVILIZATIONAL HERITAGE.....	7
2. <i>Ghazaryan R. P.</i> , THE SOUTH-WESTERN REGION OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND WITHIN THE HITTITE STATE	18
3. <i>Dumikyan A. V.</i> , TAIK IN THE ASSYRIAN AND BIAINIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS, ANCIENT GREEK AND EARLY MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN SOURCES (THE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE 19th CENTURY FRENCH ARMENOLOGISTS)	24
4. <i>Safrastyan R. A.</i> , THE ARMENIAN QUESTION AT THE PRESENT STAGE AND TURKISH FALSIFICATIONS.....	36
5. <i>Kharatyan A. A.</i> , THE HEADS OF SMYRNA'S <i>TERUNI</i> DIOCESE (from the 1610s to 1825).....	39
6. <i>Svazlyan V. G.</i> , THE HUMANITARIAN TREATMENT OF THE ARABS TOWARDS THE WESTERN ARMENIAN SURVIVORS OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE ACCORDING TO THE TESTIMONIES OF THE EYEWITNESS SURVIVORS.....	54
7. <i>Avakian K. R.</i> , THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY OF EGYPT (from its origins till 1922).....	65
8. <i>Gasparyan R. H.</i> , THE ARMENIAN LEGION (1916-1920)	77
9. <i>Sahakyan R. O.</i> , THE CONTRIBUTION OF RUBEN GASPARYAN TO THE FIELD OF RESEARCH OF THE CILICIAN ARMENIANS' HISTORY (the end of the 19 th and the beginning of the 20 th century)	89

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY

10. <i>Danielyan E. L.</i> , FOOTNOTE COMMENTARIES TO THE CHAPTER ON GREAT ARMENIA IN CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY	97
11. <i>Gevorgyan L. L.</i> , GENOCIDE OF HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE AND CULTURE OF WESTERN ARMENIA (Reflections on the tour to Western Armenia).....	111

ARCHAEOLOGY

12. <i>Hovhannisyan N.</i> , <i>Dallakyan M.</i> , <i>Yesayan A.</i> , <i>Bagoyan T.</i> , <i>Melyan G.</i> , <i>Gasparyan B.</i> , MULTI-DISCIPLINARY INVESTIGATION OF IDENTITY OF THE "ARENI" GRAPE VARIETY	117
13. <i>Vardumyan G. D.</i> , MANIFESTATIONS OF MYTHOLOGICAL IMAGES ON ANCIENT ARMENIAN COINS	123

PHILOSOPHY AND LAW

14. <i>Brutian G. A.</i> , THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF TRANSFORMATIONAL LOGIC.....	133
15. <i>Shabas W.A.</i> , GENOCIDE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.....	136

DEMOGRAPHY AND GOVERNANCE

16. *Melkonyan A. A.*, THE DEMOGRAPHIC MOVEMENTS OBSERVED IN AKHALKALAK DISTRICT IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE 19TH CENTURY AND IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY 160
17. *Suvaryan Y. M.*, MIKAYEL NALBANDYAN ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION 165

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INFORMATIONAL SECURITY

18. *Balayan Z. H.*, NAKHIJEVAN - A VICTIM OF GENOCIDE (NOT AREA BUT HOMELAND)..... 173
19. *Hovhannisyanyan A. R.*, THE METHODS AND MECHANISMS OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE DENIAL IN MODERN TURKEY 184
20. *Danielyan E. L.*, *Dumikyan A. V.*, IRANIAN STUDIES PUBLISHED IN BRITAIN AND THE USA, FRENCH TRANSLATION OF “ASHKHARHATSUYTS” AND THE ARMENIAN LAPIDARY HERITAGE OF ARTSAKH VERSUS AZERBAIJANI FALSIFICATIONS 196

ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

21. *Devrikyan V. G.*, TRANSFIGURATION AND THE FEAST OF VARDAVAR 224
22. *Pilikian Kh. I.*, TURNER – AIVAZOVSKY. AN AUSPICIOUS ENCOUNTER..... 282
23. *Hasratian M. M.*, EARLY CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE OF ARMENIA..... 291
24. *Sargsyan T. L.*, “THE CONCERT PRELUDE” OF THE COMPOSER ALEXANDER SPENDIARYAN AS A GENUINE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CREATIVE ACTIVITIES (The article is dedicated to the 145th anniversary of the birth of the composer) 298
25. *Bakhchinyan A. H.*, HAMO BEKNAZARYAN'S PEPO IN THE UNITED STATES 302
26. *Bakhchinyan A. H.*, THE ARMENIANS IN WORLD CHOREOGRAPHY 307

PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE

27. *Ayvazyan S. R.*, THE POSSIBILITY OF CLARIFICATION OF THE PERIOD OF SOME PHONETICAL CHANGES IN THE ARMENIAN LANGUAGE BY MEANS OF THE VAN (ARARAT-URARTU) CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS 313
28. *Kouymjian Dickran*, THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPT: CODICOLOGY, PALEOGRAPHY, AND BEYOND..... 318
29. *Melkonyan A.*, THE “ENCYCLICAL LETTER” BY NERSES THE GRACEFUL AS A SOURCE FOR STUDYING THE HISTORY OF EVERYDAY LIFE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE 12TH CENTURY 337

DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

30. *Makhmourian G. G.*, COLLECTION OF PAPERS RELATING TO THE ARMENIAN DISTRICT OF NAKHIJEVAN (1918-1920) FROM THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ARMENIA 346
31. STORY OF THE MASSACRE TOLD BY AN EYE-WITNESS (EDGEFIELD ADVERTISER) 382

32.	REPORT CHRISTIANS IN PERIL IN TURKEY (NEW YORK TIMES)	384
33.	CHRISTIANS IN GREAT PERIL (NEW YORK TIMES)	385
34.	APPEAL TO TURKEY TO STOP MASSACRES (NEW YORK TIMES)	386
35.	TURKEY BARS RED CROSS (NEW YORK TIMES)	388
36.	SEEKS AID FOR ARMENIANS (SAINT PAUL PIONEER PRESS AND SAINT PAUL DISPATCH)	390
37.	ARMENIANS MASSACRED (RICHMOND TIMES DISPATCH)	391
38.	ALLIES TO PUNISH TURKS WHO MURDER (NEW YORK TIMES)	392
39.	BRYCE ASKS TO AID ARMENIA (NEW YORK TIMES)	393
40.	AMERICANS WILLING TO ASSIST ARMENIANS (DULUTH HERALD)	394
41.	SLAY ALL ARMENIANS IN CITY OF KERASUNT (NEW YORK TIMES)	395
42.	DEBT OF CIVILIZATION TO ARMENIA (EVENING PUBLIC LEDGER PHILADELPHIA)	396

BOOKS AND BOOK REVIEWS

43.	<i>Musheghyan A. V.</i> , THE EPOCH OF MOVSES KHORENATSI	398
44.	<i>Danielyan N. E.</i> , HISTORICAL–SPIRITUAL SYSTEM OF MOVSES KHORENATSI’S «THE HISTORY OF ARMENIA» AND THE BIBLE	399
45.	<i>Sargsyan S. T.</i> , THE UNIVERSITY OF SANAHIN – 1050. A BRIEF HISTORY	400
46.	<i>Sh. Khachatryan</i> , MINAS AVETISYAN (1928-1975)	401
47.	<i>Isahakyan A. V.</i> , YEREVAN IN A DREAM AND AWAKE BETWEEN TWO CENTURIES. Book I	402
48.	<i>Melkonyan A. A.</i> , GENOCIDE AND PATRICIDE: FROM RECOGNITION TO REPARATION	403
49.	<i>Marukyan A. Ts.</i> , THE PROBLEM OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INFLUENTIAL ACTORS OF WORLD POLITICS AND TURKEY	404
50.	<i>Galichian R.</i> , AZERBAIJAN’S HISTORICO-GEOGRAPHICAL FALSIFICATIONS	405
51.	<i>Stepanyan G. S.</i> , HAMAZASP SRVANDZTYANTS	406
52.	<i>Book review by: Dolukhanyan A. G.</i> , A WINDOW TO ETERNITY	407

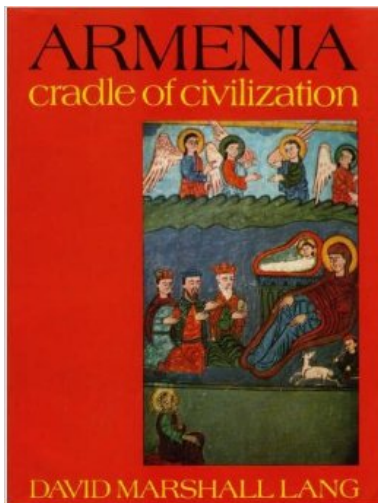
HISTORY

THE CONTRIBUTION OF D. M. LANG TO THE APPRECIATION OF ARMENIA'S CIVILIZATIONAL HERITAGE

Danielyan E. L.

Doctor of Sciences (History)

The British Professor David Marshall Lang (1924-1991) occupies a distinct place among the Armenologists, Orientalists and Caucasiologists, dealing with the appreciation of Armenia's civilizational heritage, having authored a number of books – “The Armenians” (1976), “Armenia: Cradle of Civilization” (1970, 1978), “The Peoples of the Hills: Ancient Ararat and Caucasus” (1988). Among them the most significant is “Armenia: Cradle of Civilization”.



Having highly appreciated the civilizational significance of Armenia, D. Lang wrote: “The ancient land of Armenia is situated in the high mountains... Although Mesopotamia with its ancient civilizations of Sumeria and Babylon, is usually considered together with Egypt as the main source of civilized life in the modern sense, Armenia too has a claim to rank as one of the cradles of human culture. To begin with, Noah's Ark is stated in the Book of Genesis to have landed on the summit of Mount Ararat, in the very centre of Armenia.... Whether or not we attribute any importance to the Book of Genesis as a historical source, none can deny the symbolic importance of its account of Noah's Ark, which is cherished by both believers and unbelievers all over the world. Again, Armenia has a claim on our attention as one of the principal homes of ancient metallurgy, beginning at least five thousand years ago. Later on, Armenia became the first extensive kingdom to adopt Christianity as a state religion pioneering a style of Church architecture which anticipates our own Western Gothic”¹.

Lang paid attention to the geographic, natural-climatic conditions, mineral resources and cultural factors favorable for civilizational developments in the Armenian Highland from ancient times.

Lang wrote his book in a time when the theory of Armenians' migration was predominant in archaeology and historiography. Nevertheless, the usage of the term *Armenian* in relation to various epochs is typical of his concept, based on the analysis of the archaeological data exercising a continuity. Thus he broke through the torpor of migration and with some of his methodological questions approached the concept of the Armenians' indigenusness, which has been in the sphere of Armenological

¹ David M. Lang, *Armenia: Cradle of Civilization*, First published in 1970, Second edition, London, 1978, p. 9.

researches² and now is reinforced by new archaeological discoveries in parallel with the linguistic developments in Indo-European studies³.



Mt. Ararat-Masis

David Lang widely applied the name *Armenia* in its holistic meaning. So, mentioning the chronology of the Armenian Highland's archaeological culture, from Mesolithic to Late Chalcolithic, he noted, "The southern parts of Armenia round about Lake Van benefited from contact with the sophisticated and advanced 'Halaf culture', which flourished from about 5500 to 4400 BC... In Mellart's view, the Halaf culture was produced by newcomers from the north, and its homeland probably lies in the upper valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, the region which later formed part of Great Armenia... The Halaf people were great corn growers, and built houses of an original shape, set along paved roads... Similar houses are also found in parts of Armenia. Though centered on northern Syria and Iraq, the Halaf culture had important and fruitful

² Ալիշան Դ., Յուշիկը հայրենեաց Հայոց, հ. Ա, Վենետիկ, 1869, էջ 79-81, 94-96: Մարտիրոսեան Ն., Հայերէնի յարաբերութիւնը հեթոդերէնի հետ, Հանդէս ամսօրեայ, 1924, 9-10, էջ 453): Մարտիրոսեան Ն., Նպաստ մը հեթ և հայ բառաքնության, ՊԲՀ, 1972, 2, էջ 163-186: Капанцян Гр. Хайаса - колыбель армян. Этногенез армян и их начальная история, Ереван, 1956. Иванов Вяч. Вс., Выделение разных хронологических слоев в древнеармянском и проблема первоначальной структуры гимна Вахагн, ՊԲՀ, 1983, 4, стр. 32-33. Гамкрелидзе Т., Иванов Вяч., Индоевропейский язык и индоевропейцы, II, Тбилиси, 1984, стр. 865, 895. Kavoukjian M., Armenia, Subartu and Sumer. The Indo-European Homeland and Ancient Mesopotamia, Montreal, 1987. Պետրոսյան Լ. Ն., Հայ ժողովրդի փոխադրամիջոցներ, Հայ ազգաբնակչություն և բանահյուսություն, 1974, 6, էջ 123: Մովսիսյան Ա., Հնագույն պետությունը Հայաստանում, Արատտա, Երևան, 1992: Խաչատրյան Վ., Հայաստանը մ.թ.ա. XV-VII դարերում, Երևան, 1998: Ղազարյան Ռ., Հայաստանի քաղաքական և մշակութային պատմությունը, Երևան, 2009: Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Հայոց պատմական և քաղաքակրթական արժեքահամակարգի պաշտպանության անհրաժեշտությունը, ԼՀԳ, 2010, 3, էջ 53-74, etc.

³ Խանգաղյան Է., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի մշակույթը մ.թ.ա. III հազարամյակում, Երևան, 1967: Խանգաղյան Է., Մկրտչյան Կ. Հ., Պարսամյան Է. Ս., Մեծամոր, Երևան, 1973: Ավետիսյան Պ., Գասպարյան Բ., Ագարակի հուշարձանախմբի 2001 թ. պեղումները, Հին Հայաստանի մշակույթը, 2002, XII, էջ 9-12: Gray R. D., Atkinson Q. D., Language-tree divergence times support the Anatolian theory of Indo-European origin, Nature, vol. 426, 2003, pp. 435-438; Bouckaert R., Lemey Ph., Dunn M., Greenhill S. J., Alekseyenko A. V., Drummond A. J., Gray R. D., Suchard M. A., Atkinson Q. D., Mapping the origins and expansion of the Indo-European language Family. - www.sciencemag.org SCIENCE, VOL 337, 2012, pp. 957-960. Бадалян Р., Аветисян П., Ломбард П., Шатеньев К., Поселение Араташен (неолитический памятник в Арагатской равнине), Культура древней Армении, XIII, Материалы республиканской научной сессии, Ереван, 2005, стр. 34-41. Սիմոնյան Հ., Վերին Նավեր, գիրք Ա, Երևան, 2006: Սիմոնյան Հ., Ներքին Նավերի N 4 դամբարանը, Հուշարձան, տարեգիրք, 5, Երևան, 2010, էջ 7-20: Areshian G. E., Gasparyan B., Avetisyan P. S., Pinhasi R., Wilkinson K., Smith A., Hovsepyan R., Zardaryan D., The Chalcolithic of the Near East and south-eastern Europe: discoveries and new perspectives from the cave complex Areni-1, Armenia, - Antiquity, vol. 86, N 331, March, 2012. etc.

links with the Vannic region of Armenia"⁴. Taking into account the data of the Neolithic archaeological culture, Lang considered Armenia to be an international trade network node, at the same time noting: "Armenian obsidian occurs at the sites not only in western Asia Minor, but even along the Lower Volga basin..."⁵.

He has observed that in Armenia many villages established in the Neolithic period continued to flourish through the Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age and later. Mokhrablur is one of the similar richest archaeological sites, which is situated 8 km north-east of the ancient Armenian town Nakhitjevan and it provides "a few valuable clues to the origins of copper and bronze metallurgy"⁶.

Lang considered Armenia and Asia Minor the centers whence the secrets of metallurgy percolated down to the plains of Syria and Mesopotamia. He highly appreciated the origin and development of metallurgy in Armenia and with civilizational methodology of the approach to history he evaluated it as "great phase in Armenian cultural history - the so-called 'Kuro-Araxes' Early Bronze Age culture"⁷. It follows that Lang considered "Kuro-Araxes' Early Bronze Age culture" as a phase in "Armenian cultural history". Concerning spiritual history of that period Lang remarked: "Armenia bulked large in the consciousness of the Sumerians..."⁸.

A specific feature of civilizational history is the category of continuity, as follows from Lang's concept: "Comparable cultural unification was attained subsequently in Armenian history - and then for very short periods - only during the heyday of the Urartian kingdom about 750 BC, and then during the reign of King Tigranes the Great (95-55 BC)"⁹.

Lang has highly appreciated the constructional art of Armenia, pointing that "Shengavit, situated on the left bank of the Hrazdan River, is a good example of the so called Kur-Araxian's Armenian town planning"¹⁰. As one may see the so-called "Kur-Araxian culture" Lang has termed "Armenian Kur-Araxian culture"¹¹. Lang has remarked that the influence of the *Armenian Kur-Araxian culture* reached the Trypollian one of the Dniester Basin; and some of the researchers distinguish features, peculiar to the Armenoid anthropological type, in the figures of feminine statuettes (associated with the soil cult) excavated in the archaeological sites of the mentioned area¹².

Putting into practice his elaborated terminological criteria, Lang uses such terms as "the Armenian"¹³ Early Bronze Age," "the Armenian Middle Bronze Age," "the

⁴ Lang D. M., *Armenia: Cradle of Civilization*, p. 63.

⁵ Ibid, p. 64.

⁶ Ibid., p. 64, 66.

⁷ Ibid., p. 70.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 74.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p.76.

¹³ Cf. "The decoration of this remarkable Delijan (Dilijan) pot brings us to another important feature of the Armenian Bronze Age - namely the country's very advanced position in the development of wheeled transport and military vehicles" (Ibid., p. 82). "Professor Stuart Piggott of Edinburgh University and Dr. Richard Barnett of the British Museum are among the Western archaeologists who have examined these Armenian Bronze Age vehicles on the spot" (Ibid, p. 83).

Armenian Middle and Late Bronze Age”, “the Armenian Iron Age”¹⁴. Thus he observes the civilizational factors in the backbone of Armenia’s ancient history. Pointing out the “Kurgan theory” of Marija Gimbutas¹⁵ in relation to the theory of the Indo-Europeans’ migration to the region from the north in the 3rd millennia B.C., simultaneously, in ethnic terms he mentions *the ancestors of Armenians* as inventors of vehicles of Early Bronze Age¹⁶, thus using the name *Armenia* in relation to the history from the ancient times. The historical concept of Lang gives an opportunity to observe the cultural history of Armenia from the ancient times, verified with the archaeological data.

Lang paid special attention to the period of Hayasa in the Armenian history: “The Armenians term themselves *Haik’*, and their land *Hayastan*”. He noted that there are good reasons to connect this ethnic name with Hayasa (in mountainous western Armenia, along the upper reaches of the River Euphrates) mentioned in the Hittite sources¹⁷. “The Hayasa people’s language was eventually related to the ancient Indo-European languages of Asia Minor, namely Hittite, Luvian, Lydian, Lycian and Phrygian, and this is important in view of the affinities of Armenian with the other Indo-European languages...”¹⁸.



The citadel of Van of the capital of the Armenian Van (Ararat-Urartu) kingdom

Taking into consideration the viewpoint of W.F. Albright, Lang noted that the Babylonian god Ninurta could be interpreted alternatively as ‘Lord of Armenia’ (i.e. Ararat, Urartu), or as “Lord of Iron”¹⁹.

It is notable that Lang considered “Urartu” as a parallel name to that of Armenia and, as a kingdom, - “Armenia’s first nation state”²⁰. In this regard he

touched the problem of “the forging of the Armenian nation” and expressing doubts in

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 76, 78, 83.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 82.

¹⁷ The latest studies of the history of Armenia of the period of Hayasa, based on cuneiform sources, archaeological data and special literature brought R. Ghazaryan R. to the following conclusion: “During the Bronze Age the western part of Armenia entered into active economic, political and cultural relations with the countries of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. This contributed much to the formation of the state units: Hayasa (Azzi), Isuwa (Tsopk) and Alzi (Aghdznik). In the Late Bronze Age Hayasa was a powerful state of the Armenian Highland. It could fight against Hatti, one of the “great powers” of Western Asia. In the political, cultural and economic spheres there were significant interrelations between the Hittite Empire and the kingdom of Hayasa (Azzi). The kingdom of Hayasa (Azzi) due to its independent political power, economic resources and cultural values, was an integral part of the Armenian statehood contributing greatly to the history of Armenia” (Ghazaryan R. P., The development of the Armenian statehood: Kingdom of Hayasa (the 14th-13th cc. BC), Fundamental Armenology, Issue 1, 2015, pp. 16-20).

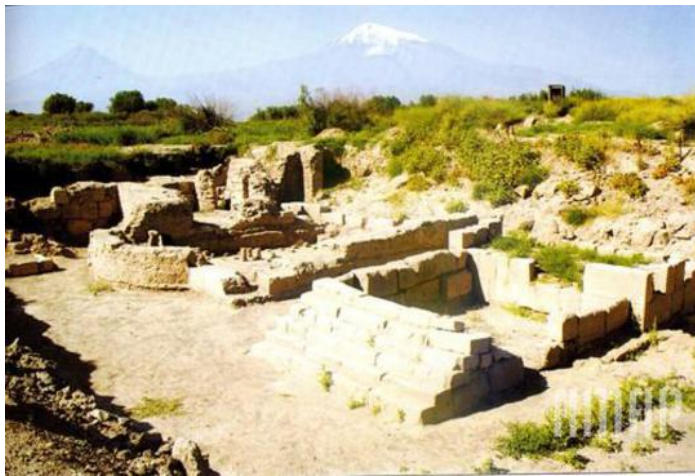
¹⁸ Lang D. M., Armenia: Cradle of Civilization, p. 114.

¹⁹ Albright W.F., Ninib-Ninurta, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1918, pp. 197-201. Lang D. M., Armenia: Cradle of Civilization, p. 84.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 85.

the migratory theory, noted: “The findings of modern archaeology and linguistics show that a simple migratory theory cannot fit the facts. Many features of Urartian civilization in particular are perpetuated in ancient Armenian culture. The very name ‘Urartu’ lived on in various forms long after the ruin of the Vannic kingdom”. And what is important, Lang considering the name of Ararat as a primary form of “Urartu”, noted **“Indeed, ‘Urartu’ is only a different form of the name of Mount Ararat, a focal point of Armenian national consciousness to this day”**²¹.

A traditional approach based upon the work of Movses Khorenatsi is observed in the work of Lang in relation to the period of “foundation of Van and the Urartian kingdom”. He wrote: “Prince Ara the Fair can be identified with the historical King Arame or Aramu (c. 880-844 BC)”²².



The archaeological site of ancient Artashat

Thus, two approaches are observed in Lang's research in terms of Armenia's ancient history. First, on the basis of the civilizational methodology he researches the historical and cultural history of Armenia founded on the results of archaeological excavations, so characterizing its entity with the term **Armenian**, beginning from the Early Bronze Age. Second,

as far as it concerns the ethnic history Lang being under the pressure of the Indo-European migration theory prevailing in his times, tries to solve the problem of Armenians' ethnic background through his inquiries - not applying to, as he says “a simple migratory theory”, but, as far as it is possible, relying on the principle of ethno-cultural heredity, having distinguished, at least, the times of Hayasa in the roots.

Lang, basing on the reports of Herodotus, wrote about Armenia's relations with the Achaemenid Empire. Then he pointed especially the importance of the rise of the Yervandunis' (Orontids) capital city Armavir and the key role of Armenia in the international trade, through which were passing the major routes to the North and South. The scholar makes accents particularly on the dominance of the Armenians' hospitality.

With the change of geopolitical situation in Anterior Asia from the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., Lang remarked that Armenia was outside the conquests of Alexander the Great, but soon it couldn't escape from the influence of the Hellenism, a new, Greek-Eastern world's civilization, and lived a new economic and social phase, getting in touch with a number of neighboring Hellenistic countries. Lang considered as

²¹ Ibid, p. 112.

²² Ibid., pp. 85-86.

an important feature of the history of Armenia of the period of the Yervandunis' kingdoms (Great Armenia, its natural part - Tsopk) the foundation of new cities and restoration of old ones. The town planning continued during the reign of the Artaxiad (Artashesian) line, too. Lang distinguished the fact of assistance referred by Carthaginian Hannibal to Artaxias I (Artashes) during the foundation of Artashat capital city.

The following thought of Lang deserves a particular attention from the viewpoint of incessant development of Armenian statehood, **“Artaxias was the founder of the third and greatest Armenian monarchy, continuing the Urartian kingdom founded by Arame as the first (as does Moses of Khorene²³), and the Orontids as the second”²⁴.**

The period of Tigran the Great's reign is described by Lang in the following way, “Armenia briefly attained a lofty pinnacle of imperial might and achievement during the reign of Tigranes (Tigran) the Great (95-55 BC)... Armenian domination was in many ways preferable to that of Rome, which brought - along with good roads and general efficiency - economic exploitation, slavery and political subjugation. **The domains of Tigranes the Great stretched from the shores of the Caspian Sea to the**



Tigran the Great

Mediterranean, from Mesopotamia to the Pontic Alps... The neighbouring countries which acknowledged the suzerainty of Tigranes as “King of Kings” were compelled to pay him a fixed tribute and send auxiliary troops in time of war...”²⁵. In the center of the Empire of Tigran the Great was the capital city Tigranakert, built by himself²⁶.



The Temple of Garni

In terms of studying the history of Great Armenia of the Arsacid (Arshakuni) period Lang has given an importance to the excavations of Garni, particularly, appreciating highly its classical temple²⁷. He considered the nature of the Armenian paganism as “one of the most fascinating problems of Armenian civilization in the pre-Christian period”²⁸. Describing the images of Ara, Astghik, Anahit, Tir, Aramazd, the scholar particularly touched the view, characterizing Vahagn as a solar deity, based on the song of Vahagn²⁹.

²³ Movses of Khorene (Movses Khorenatsi).

²⁴ Lang D. M., Armenia: Cradle of Civilization, p. 125.

²⁵ Ibid, pp. 130-131.

²⁶ Ibid, pp. 123.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 144.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 148.

²⁹ Ibid.

Observing that the story of Christian conversion is one of the most cherished traditions of the Armenian nation, Lang noted: “Knowledge of these hallowed traditions is necessary for understanding the iconography of Armenian fresco and miniature paintings”³⁰.



St. Ejmiatsin Cathedral

Among royal and spiritual foundations Lang recalled “the most holy city of Armenia, Echmiadzin (Ejmiatsin), residence of the supreme catholicos³¹ and within sight of Ararat, was originally called Vagharshapat, after Valarsh I (AD 117-140), himself a permanent member of the Arsacid dynasty which succeeded the house of Artaxias”³².



Amberd castle

³⁰ Ibid., p. 155.

³¹ All Armenian Catholicos.

³² Lang D. M., Armenia: Cradle of Civilization, p. 123.

In the section dedicated to the Armenian arts and architecture Lang pointed out that the Armenians were great masters in construction of fortresses and military buildings. Amberd and the fortifications of Cilicia affirm this fact.



The Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, castles and fortress

The Cathedral of Ani, constructed by architect Tiridates (Trdat), is considered as a masterpiece of Armenian architecture by him³³.



The Cathedral of Ani, 1001 AD

³³ Ibid., p. 223.

Lang assessed carved cross-stones (khachkar) or memorial stones as “one of the glories of medieval Armenian sculpture”³⁴.



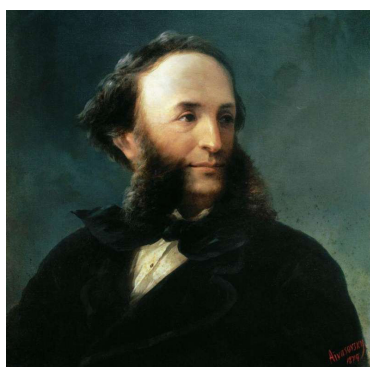
Armenian khachkars - cross stones

Lang admired the jewelry, made by the Armenian jewelers, still enjoying great reputation, as well as expressed a high opinion of the Armenian medieval miniature and wall painting³⁵.



Armenian bracelet (from the 3rd-1st century BC), medallion (2nd c. BC), antique necklace and woman's belt (from Van, the end of the 19th c.)

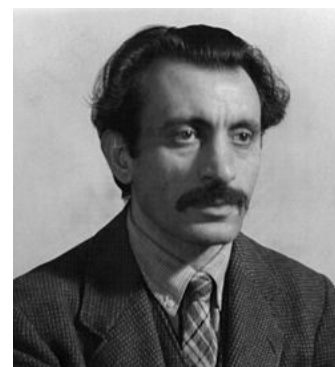
Lang gave great importance to Hovhannes Aivazovsky, Martiros Saryan and Arshile Gorky from amongst the Armenian painters of the 19th-20th centuries, and to Komitas, Alexander Spendiaryan and Aram Khachaturyan among composers.



Hovhannes Aivazovsky (1817-1900)



Martiros Saryan (1880-1972)



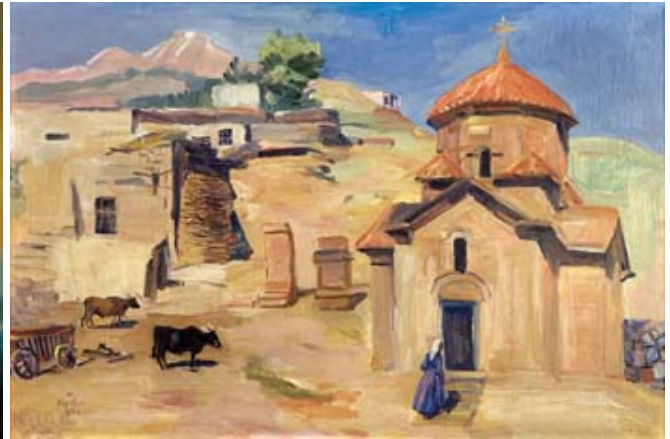
Arshile Gorky (1904-1948)

³⁴ Ibid., p. 227.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 228.



H. Aivazovsky. The Ninth Wave



M. Saryan, Karmravor Church (VII c. AD) of Ashtarak



A. Gorky, "The Artist and His Mother"

Lang wrote about Komitas, "The vocal works of Komitas never cease to amaze and impress by their nobility of style, rich harmony, and sublime musical inspiration"³⁶.



Komitas (1869-1935)



Komitas' "Gusan" choir in 1910

Lang paid special attention to the history of Armenian carpet weaving art and the fact that Armenian carpets having been overspread in the world.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 261.



Aram Khachaturyanyan (1903-1978)



Alexander Spendaryan (1871-1928)



Armenian carpet

Thus, approaching to the archaeological, historiographic and culturological data with the civilizational criteria, the culture-shaping activities of Armenian people in the ancient and medieval Armenia (Great Armenia, Armenia Minor and Cilician Armenia) and the outcomes, invested in the treasury of the world culture, that is, the achievements in the fields of metallurgy, architecture (the construction of towns and cities, strongholds, temples and churches), cross-stone art, miniature, carpet weaving art, numismatics, education, as well as in different areas of science (historiography, philosophy, cosmography, geography, astronomy and mathematics) are of principal importance in the book of Lang.

Along with the ancient and medieval history of the Armenian people he dealt with the modern and contemporary periods, emphasizing especially the tragic consequences of foreign invasions and rule, particularly those of 1915 Armenian Genocide³⁷, which was catastrophic for the Armenian people and civilization.

In 1968 the Armenian people celebrated the 2,750th anniversary of the foundation of Erevan. D.M.Lang wrote about this great event "This jubilee was attended by many thousands of Armenians from all over the world, and turned into a spontaneous demonstration of national pride and solidarity. All this augurs for the future destiny of this remarkable people and their much ravaged but ever hallowed land - a veritable cradle of human civilization"³⁸.

³⁷ D. M. Lang noted that about one and half million Western Armenians were physically eliminated of the pre-war total of nearly three million (Ibid., p. 289).

³⁸ Ibid., p. 296.

THE SOUTH-WESTERN REGION OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND WITHIN THE HITTITE STATE

Ghazaryan R. P.

PhD in History

Tegarama was one of the important eastern regions of the Hittite Empire. The first information about Tegarama is found in the “Cappadocian (Old Assyrian) tablets” of Kanesh (Nesa) (20th-18th centuries BC). The city had trade relations with a lot of settlements of the region. Some of them (e.g. *Abu(x)uhta*, *Kurušša*, *Tiburziya*) can be located near Tegarama¹. The city was one of the transition trade centers in the region. The trade route that started in Assur passed through Tegarama and reached Kanesh. Perhaps there was an Assyrian trade colony (*karum*) and of the colony’s administration (*bēt kārīm*)².

In the sources of Kanesh Tegarama is mentioned as a settlement, but in the Hittite sources it is mentioned both as a land and as a city. For example, in the “Proclamation” of the king of Hatti Telipinu it is mentioned that the king of Hatti, Hantili I (ca 1590-1560 BC) stopped on his way in the city of Tegarama³. In another part of the text it is mentioned that during the reign of Hantili the queen of Sukziya with her family was killed near Tegarama⁴. There is information about Tegarama also in the text of instructions given to the Hittite border commanders⁵ (probably the period of reign of Arnuwanda I (the 1st half of the 15th century BC) where soldiers from Kassiya, Himuwa, Tegarama and Isuwa are mentioned⁶.

In the historical preface of the treaty signed between Suppiluliuma I and Shattiwaza it is mentioned that during the reign of Suppiluliuma’s father Tudhaliya III,

¹ Here is the complete list of the settlements: Abu[x]hta, Apaludana, Apum, Banišra, Buruddum, Durhumit, Haqa, Harranu, Hattum, Hurama, Hurumhaššum, āl-īšurrātim, Kakaruwa, Kaneš, Kuburnat, Kurušša, Kuššara, Luhuzattiya, Mamma, Nihriya, Pahatima, Purušhaddum, Sukukli, Supana, Šalahšuwa, Šalatuwar, Šamišuna, Talpa, Tiburziya, Timelkiya, Wašhaniya, Wahšušana, Wilušna, Zalpa, Ziluna, Zukua (Bayram S., New and Some Rare Geographical Names in the Kültepe Texts, Archivum Anatolicum, 3, Ankara, 1997, pp. 41-66).

² See Barjamovic G., A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period, Copenhagen, 2011, pp. 122-133, n. 376). See also Bilgiç E., Die Ortsnamen der “kappadokischen” Urkunden im Rahmen der alten Sprachen Anatoliens, Archiv für Orientforschung, 15, S. 36.

³ Van den Hout Th. P. J., The Proclamation of Telipinu (1.76). The Context of Scripture, vol. I. Canonical Composition from the Biblical World, ed. Hallo W., Leiden-New York-Köln, 1997, pp. 195. Hoffmann I., Der Erlaß Telipinus, Heidelberg, 1984, pp. 20-21.

⁴ See about the location of Sukziya in RGTC, VI, S. 363-364. See also Hoffmann I., Der Erlaß Telipinus, S. 22-23; Helck W., Die Šukziya-Episode im Dekret des Telipinu, Die Welt des Orients, 15, 1984, S. 103-108; Soysal O., Noch einmal zur Šukziya-Episode im Erlaß Telipinus, Orientalia, 1990, 59, S. 271-279.

⁵ KUB XIII 2 III.

⁶ Goetze A., An Old Babylonian Itinerary, JCS, 1953, Vol. 7, № 2, pp. 69; Houwink Ten Cate Ph. H. J., The Records of the Early Hittite Empire (c. 1450-1380 B. C.), Istanbul, 1970, pp. 67, 70.

along with several other lands half of the Land of Tegarama had become enemy with Hatti. The Hittites succeeded in restoring their power in Tegarama and neighbouring lands, but part of the population of the rebel lands left for Isuwa⁷. In the Annals of Suppiluliuma I there is a mention that on his way to the country of Hurri the king of Hatti stopped in the Land of Tegarama where in the city of Talpa he reviewed his troops. In the battle that followed, the Hittites defeated the enemy and the latter escaped to the mountains of the Land of Tegarama⁸. Thus, it is evident that Tegarama was a mountainous country. In the 9th year of the Extended Annals of Mursili II there is a mention that the king of Hatti, being in the Land of Tegarama⁹, had invited a military council there.

Tegarama was also one of the important religious centers of Hatti. There is information about the Storm God, masculine and feminine deities of Tegarama¹⁰.

Thus, as a result of the comparison of the “Cappadocian”, Hittite and Assyrian sources Tegarama can be located in the Upper Euphrates valley, on the right bank of the river, to the north of Kargamis (in the territory of the present archaeological site Jerablus), to the west of Isuwa (Armenian Tsopk), to the south of the Upper Land (north-western part of the Armenian Highland) and to the east of Kanesh. The majority of researchers located Tegarama in the territory of the present-day settlement Gürün¹¹.

According to the testimony of prophet Ezekiel, Home of Torgom, which is the Biblical version of the name Tegarama, was located near the country of Gamir (Gamirk-Cappadocia)¹², which also confirms the truthfulness of the above-mentioned location. Probably the cities of Lahuwazantiya and Talpa were part of the Land of Tegarama as well.

It is likely that already during the reign of Hattusili I (the 2nd half of the 17th century BC) the territory of Tegarama formed part of the Hittite Kingdom in order to ensure the rear of the king of Hatti when he made a campaign to Northern Syria. It is most likely that since that period Tegarama formed part of the Hittite Kingdom before its fall. Tegarama also occupied a strategically important position. From there the routes led to the western districts of the Armenian Highland, Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia.

Later the kingdom of Melid emerged (one of the so-called Neo-Hittite states)¹³ in most part of the territory of the Land of Tegarama. The city-state of Melid¹⁴ formed part

⁷ Beckman G., *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta, 1996, pp. 38-39.

⁸ Güterbock H.G., *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by his Son, Mursili II*, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1956, 10, p. 93.

⁹ KBo IV 4 III 19-22 (Götze A., *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, 1933, S. 38 (AM), S. 124-125).

¹⁰ KUB VI 45 II 66f. = 46 III 32f.; KBo XII 140 Rs. 8.

¹¹ It is in the Province of Sebastia. There are other views, for example J. Miller believes that Tegarama can be located to the west of Malatya as well (see Miller J., *Anum-Hirbi and His Kingdom*, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2001, 28, p. 69, n. 9).

¹² Bible. *The Prophecy of Ezekiel* 38.

¹³ Bryce T., *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms*. Oxford, 2012, pp. 98-110; Косян А., *Лувийские царства Малой Азии и прилегающих областей в XII-VIII вв. до н.э. (по иероглифическим лувийским источникам)*, Ереван, 1994.

of the Land of Tegarama in the 2nd millennium BC and was one of the most important eastern keypoints of the Hittite Kingdom. This city acquired larger importance after the fall of the Hittite Kingdom. It was near the Melas River, a tributary of the Upper Euphrates. It has been identified with the modern archaeological site Lion-hill (Arslantepe¹⁵, 7km north-east of modern Malatya city¹⁶).

The long distance trade route of the Old Assyrian Colony period (20th-18th centuries BC) involved also the region of Malitiya. In fact, if we look at the geographical names mentioned in the historiographical texts that describe the military expeditions led by the Hittite kings of the Old Kingdom against the Hurrians, we find mention of some cities that we can locate close to Malitiya. The Annals of Hattusili I speak of the conquest and destruction of the city Alha¹⁷ that might have been located close to Malitiya. His texts indicate that the land Henzuta was in some way involved in the military operations of the Hittites on the occasion of their campaigns against Syria and we know that Henzuta was close to Isuwa¹⁸. Armatana was also located close to Malitiya¹⁹. Therefore, it is not surprising that the region east of Tegarama, that is the area of Malitiya and Isuwa, was involved in some of the military expeditions of Hattusili I (ca 1650-1620 BC) and Mursili I (ca 1620-1590 BC) as well. Besides, we can mention that the Hittite cultural influence appeared in Malitiya already during the period of the Old Hittite Kingdom. However, the Hittite kings were not able to maintain such a region under Hittite sovereignty after the death of Mursili I. In fact in the decree of king Telipinu, in the list of storage depots that were inside Hatti at the time of this king, we do not find any city that we can locate in the region of Malitiya. This might be taken as a proof that Telipinu had no more control over that region, but it should also be mentioned that this list is very fragmentary²⁰.

In the “Cappadocian” texts, as well as in the sources of the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom (17th-16th centuries BC) the toponym Malitiya was not mentioned. The city was

¹⁴ See about Mal(i)tiya in RGTC VI, S. 257-258. See also Garstang J., Gurney O.R., *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, p. 34; Burney Ch., *Arslantepe as a Gateway to the Highlands: a Note on Periods VI A - VI D.* in M. Frangipane - H. Hauptmann - M. Liverani-P. Matthiae - M. Mellink (eds.), *Between the Rivers and over the Mountains. Archaeologica Anatolica et Mesopotamica Alba Palmieri Dedicata*, Roma, 1993, pp. 311-317.

¹⁵ Arslantepe (arslan=lion and tepe=hill) gets its name from the lion statues excavated at the archaeological site.

¹⁶ The origin of the name of the modern town of Malatya is obviously connected with the ancient Hittite toponym preserved through the centuries: Assyrian Melid, Urartian Meliteia, Aramaic mlz, Luwian Malizi, Greek Melitene and Latin Melita. The etymology of the Hittite name is debatable, since the correspondence with the word melit, Luwian mallit, which means “honey” is only hypothetical. See Archi A., *Malitiya-Meliddu: Arslantepe nelle fonti scritte.* In Frangipane M. (ed.), *Alle origini del potere. Arslantepe, la collina dei leoni*, Electa, Milan, 2004, p. 173.

¹⁷ Modern Akçadağ, in the territory of the former settlement Argas or Arka.

¹⁸ About the location of Henzuta see Քոսյան Ա., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի տեղանունները (ըստ խեթական սեպագիր աղբյուրների), Երևան, 2004, էջ 57:

¹⁹ About the location of Armatana see RGTC, VI, S. 38-39.

²⁰ Hoffmann I., *Der Erlass Telipinus. Texte der Hethiter* 11, Heidelberg, 1984.

mentioned in the Hittite sources as either Malitiya or Maldiya²¹. The Hittite name of Malitiya is documented only in seven Hittite cuneiform texts²². The texts can be attributed to the period of the New Hittite Kingdom (15th-13th centuries BC). In the Hittite sources the city (^{URU}Maldiya) was first mentioned in the so-called text “Misdeed of Mita of Pahhuwa” (KUB XXIII 72 Rs.37’), dated to the period of the reign of the Hittite king Arnuwanda I (1st half of the 15th century BC). The treaty KUB XXXI 103 is contemporary with Mita’s text and connected to it; the people of Malitiya swear their loyalty to the King of Hatti together with the people of Pahhuwa. In this treaty any contact with the Hurrians is prohibited and this is understandable since we know that in this period Mittani and Hatti were contending for the south-western regions of the Armenian Highland and mostly for Isuwa²³. The tablet KBo XVI 42²⁴ can also be attributed to the period of the New Hittite Kingdom. The author of this text inspected the region of the Upper Euphrates: the following geographical names were mentioned: Isuwa; Malitiya; Manzana; [He]nzuta. He also interrogated the people of some cities concerning the political situation of the area. Three other Hittite tablets that mention the city Malitiya belong to the 13th century BC. KBo XVIII 24 is a letter written by a Hittite king (whose name has not been preserved (most likely Hattusili III (1267-1237 BC)²⁵) to the Assyrian king [Salmanassar I (1263-1234 BC)]. This text quotes the previous letter sent by the Assyrian court, where the Assyrian king had suggested the king of Hatti to send a Hittite official to inspect Malitiya. All this indicates that the position of the city had a strategic significance for the interests of the two states²⁶. KBo XXII 264 is an oracle text²⁷, where the possibility that the Assyrian king might reach Malitiya is questioned; it could be contemporary with the letter KBo XVIII 24. Both documents refer to the political friction between Assyria and Hatti after the Assyrian conquest of Mittani. KUB XL 80 tablet preserves some of the depositions collected by the court in a case that involved several Hittite high dignitaries of the time of Hattusili III and also the king of Isuwa Ali-Sarruma; the city is mentioned here in a fragmentary passage (^{URU}Ma-al[-di-ya])²⁸. Lastly KUB XXIII 69 is a small fragment of only seven lines and none of them is complete; the name

²¹ See RGTC, VI, S. 257-258. The similarity of Maldiya to the toponym Malazziya is not well-grounded since the latter was most likely in the north-east of Hatti, close to the territories populated by the Kaskian tribes (the East Pontic mountains) (See Alp S., *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*, Ankara, 1991, S. 23).

²² De Martino S., *Malatya and Işuwa in Hittite texts: New elements of discussion*, Origini, XXXIV, 2012, p. 375.

²³ About the history of Isuwa see Hawkins J. D., *The Land of Işuwa: The Hieroglyphic Evidence*. In: Alp, S. and Süel, A., eds. *Acts of the III International Congress of Hittitology*, Çorum, September 16-22, 1996. Ankara, pp. 283-295. Քոսյան Ա., Իսուվան (Ծոփքը) մ.թ.ա. XIII-XII դարերում, Պատմա-քանասիրական հանդես, 1997, 1, էջ 177-192:

²⁴ See Klengel H., *Nochmals zu Işuwa*. *Oriens Antiquus*, 15, 1976. – S. 85-86. De Martino S., *Malatya and Işuwa in Hittite texts: New elements of discussion*. Origini, XXXIV, 2012, pp. 375-376.

²⁵ See Mora C., Giorgieri M., *Le lettere tra re ittiti e i re assiri ritrovate a Hattuša*. S.A.R.G.O.N., 2004, pp. 88-89.

²⁶ Manuelli F., *Arslantepe. Late Bronze Age. Hittite influence and local traditions in an Eastern Anatolian Community*. Arslantepe, vol. IX, Roma, 2013, p. 416.

²⁷ Sakuma Y., *Neue Kenntnisse hethitischer Orakeltexte 2*, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 36, 2009, S. 293-318.

²⁸ De Martino S., *Malatya and Işuwa in Hittite texts: New elements of discussion*, p. 376.

of the city is preserved, but unfortunately we cannot infer any other information concerning the content of this document.

In the last decades of the Hittite Empire Malitiya is not mentioned in the Hittite texts. After the fall of the Hittite Empire (ca 1180 BC), from the 12th to 7th centuries BC, the city became the center of the independent so-called Neo-Hittite state²⁹. After the fall of the Hittite state the first mention of the city of Melid (Hittite Malitiya) refers to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria (1114-1077 BC), when on his return from the campaign to the “lands of Nairi”, he received tribute from the king of Melid, Allumari in 1112 BC.

Here Melid is called a city of the “Great country of Hatti”³⁰. And subsequently, reporting on the campaigns in the area of the right bank of the Upper Euphrates, the Assyrian and Biainian (Urartian)³¹ kings mention the country of Hatti (Hate/Hatinili), which in most cases corresponds to the territory of the kingdom of Melid³². The city continued to prosper until the Assyrian king Sargon II (722-705 BC) sacked the city in 712 BC. In the Annals of Sargon II it was considered to be the royal residence of the land of Kammanu. There is a mention of the city in the Bible as well³³.

Archaeological records complement the cuneiform texts in which Malitiya or Maldiya is attested³⁴. The site (Malitiya/Melid/Melitene) is an artificial mound, approximately 30m high and covering a surface of 4ha, formed by the overlapping deposits of many occupations, built for millennia in the same place. The archaeological site was occupied without interruption at least from the 5th millennium BC until the 4th to 6th centuries AD. Shengavitian (3400-2000 BC) culture included the region of Malitiya as well³⁵. Lion-hill was in fact one of the main proto-state centres at the end of the 4th millennium BC, and one of the “poles” of “urbanisation”³⁶. The degree of influence

²⁹ See Bryce T., *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms*. Oxford, 2012, pp. 98-110.

³⁰ See Grayson A. K., *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*. II, Wiesbaden, 1976, I, 32.

³¹ See Арутюнян Н. В., Корпус урартских клинообразных надписей, Ереван, 2001, стр. 514-515. In these sources the city is given in the forms URU³¹Meliteani, URU³¹Melite(i)alhi/e KUR-ni.

³² Косян А., Лувийские царства Малой Азии и прилегающих областей в XII-VIII вв. до н.э., стр. 17-29. See also Քոսյան Ա., Ուշխեթական Մելիդ պետությունը, Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների, 1984, 6, էջ 62-70:

³³ “The wool from the Militei” (to the city of Tyre in Phoenicia). The Bible (*Ezekiel*: 27).

³⁴ About the archaeological excavations in the territory of Malitiya see Manuelli F., Foreign influences and local tradition in the Iron Age pottery production from Arslantepe. Evidence from the new excavations of the Neo-Hittite levels. *Mesopotamia*, XLV, 2010, Firenze, pp. 71-84; Manuelli F.; Malatya-Melid between the Late Bronze and the Iron Age. Continuity and change at Arslantepe during the 2nd and 1st Millennium BCE: Preliminary observations on the pottery assemblages. In K. Strobel, ed., “Empires after the Empire. Anatolia, Syria and Assyria after Šuppiluliuma II (ca 1200-800/700 B.C.)”, Firenze, 2011, pp. 61-85; Manuelli F., A view from the East. Arslantepe and the central Anatolian world during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages: Interactions and local development. *Origini*, XXXIV, 2012, pp. 361-374.

³⁵ Bobokhyan A., Kommunikation und Austausch im Hochland zwischen Kaukasus und Taurus, ca. 2500-1500 v. Chr., Band 1, BAR International Series 1853, 2008, S. 24.

³⁶ Alvaro C., Frangipane M., Liberotti G., Quaresima R., Volpe R., The Study of the Fourth Millenium Mud-Bricks at Arslantepe: Malatya: Preliminary Results. Proceedings of the 37th International Symposium on Archaeometry, 13th-16th May 2008, Siena, Italy, Berlin, 2011, pp. 651-656. See also Di Nocera G. M., Metals and Metallurgy. Their place in the

exerted by the Hittite world at Lion-hill during the Late Bronze Age was high being manifested in every aspect of the material culture.

Owing to its unique geographical position Malitiya was a connecting link between Asia Minor, the Armenian Highland, Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria.

The Upper Euphrates valley is perfect for the analysis and understanding of the nature of the contacts between Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland especially during the Late Bronze and Iron Age periods. The abovementioned lands (for example the Upper Land, Tegarama) formed a sort of a cultural and political border between the Hittite territories and the lands of the Armenian Highland: Hayasa, Isuwa (Tsopk), etc. during the Late Bronze Age.

TAIK IN THE ASSYRIAN AND BIAINIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS, ANCIENT GREEK AND EARLY MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN SOURCES (THE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE 19th CENTURY FRENCH ARMENOLOGISTS)

Dumikyan A.V.

PhD in History

Antoine-Jean Saint-Martin and Marie Brosset gave importance to the fact that Taik was one of Armenia's provinces from the ancient times when studying the historical and political geography of Armenia in their researches and translations of Armenian medieval sources. They paid special attention to the geographical characteristics of the Taik province of Great Armenia, based on the information of the primary sources (especially "Ashkharatsuyts" - "The Geographic Atlas" of the 5th-7th cc.) as well as the works of M. Chamchyan and Gh. Inchichyan¹.

Saint-Martin wrote: "La province de Daik'h *Suyng wzhawrh* (Taik province - A.D.) était située au nord-est de la haute Arménie, au nord de la province d'Ararat (i.e. Ayrarat - A. D.), à l'ouest de celle de Koukark'h (Gugark - A.D.), à l'est du pays de Khaghtik'h et de celui des Lazes, et enfin au sud de la partie de la Colchide (Koghkis - A.D.) et de l'Ibérie (Virk - A.D.)..."².

Touching up the form *Tayastan* in the comments to his French translation of the "History of the Artsrunik House" by Tovma Artsruni (and Anonymous)³, Marie Brosset noted that it included the whole province of Tayk⁴. He noted that Iberians arrived there later, but not earlier than the 10th century since the regions listed in Tayk had been

¹ Չամչեանց Մ., Պատմութիւն Հայոց, հ. Ա, Վենետիկ, 1784, էջ 208: Ինճիճեան Դ., Աշխարհագրութիւն չորից մասանց աշխարհի, մաս Ա, հ. Ա, Վենետիկ, 1806, էջ 58:

² Saint-Martin A.-J., Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie, Imprimerie Royale, t. I, Paris, 1818, p. 74. Concerning later times Saint-Martin noted: "La province de Daik'h, avant qu'elle eût été envahie par les Géorgiens, était partagée en huit petits cantons... La domination des Géorgiens a contribué puissamment à faire disparaître les anciennes dénominations qui y étaient en usage, et à y introduire les noms Géorgiens que nous trouvons sur nos cartes..." (Ibid., p. 76). Tayk consisted of the following districts according to "Ashkharatsuits": Kogh, Berdatspor, Partizatspor, Chakq, Boughkha, Vokaghe, Azordatspor, Arseatspor (Երեմյան Ս.Տ., Հայաստանը ըստ "Աշխարհացոյց"-ի, Երևան, 1963, էջ 110-111): *Boughkha* in the form of *Poukha* Saint Martin identified with Βόχας of Claudius Ptolemy (83-161) (Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia, vol. I, pars secunda, Parisiis, 1901, V.12.4, M. J. Saint-Martin, op. cit., t. I, p. 76).

³ Թովմա Արծրունի եւ Անանուն, Պատմութիւն տանն Արծրունեաց: Քննական բնագիրը, առաջաբանը և ծանոթագրությունները Մ. Հ. Դարբինյան-Մելիքյանի, Երևան, 2006, էջ 372:

⁴ Marie Brosset stated that the plural form of the name (indicated in the Armenian primary sources) of the region of *Suyg* (Tayk) situated in the upper basin of the Tchorokh River corresponds to Ταόχοι mentioned by Xenophon (Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, traduite du géorgien par M. Brosset, St.-Petersbourg, 1858, p. VIII, cf. Հայ անունը ըստ Պ.Կրեչմերի, Հանդէս ամսօրեայ, 1933, 7-8, էջ 429 [a fragmentary translation into Armenian from the P. Kretschmer's article, see P. Kretschmer, Der nationale Name der Armenier, Anzeiger, 69, Jahrgang, 1932, Wien, 1933, S. 28-36].

inhabited by Armenians who have left numerous monuments and a lot of localities still bear the Armenian names (“les contrées énumérées ici ont été habitées par les Arméniens, qui y ont laissé de nombreux monuments, et qu’une foule de localités y portent encore des noms arméniens”)⁵.

The Assyrian and Biainian cuneiform inscriptions as well as the ancient and medieval sources have preserved evidences about Tayk.

Daiaeni (or Daiani), along with other toponyms, is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings Tiglatpalasar I (1115-1077 BC) and Salmanasar III (858-824 BC) who invaded the Armenian Highland. The kings of Nairi *countries* (in Assyrian: *mâtâti* (pl) *Nairi*), being 23 in number on one occasion and 60 on another, including the *king* of the Daiaeni *country*, came out against Tiglatpalasar I⁶. While deciphering the

⁵ Collection d'historiens arméniens, traduits par M. Brosset, t. I, St.-Petersbourg, 1874, p. 236, com. 1. See also Даниелян Э. Л., Историко-географические комментарии М. Броссе к его переводам армянских источников, Գիտական աշխատություններ, Վ. Բրյուսովի անվան պետական լեզվաբանական համալսարան, Պրակ առաջին, Երևան, 2002, էջ 126-131: Referring to the history of the 8th century and the preceding period, V. P. Stepanenko wrote that Tayk, constituting a part of Armenia, was the domain of the Mamikonyan family. He noted that the toponyms and the remains of architectural monuments preserved the traces of the Armenian past of Tayk, such as, for example, the temple of the settlement of Bana [Banak] (Vana) and the church of Ishkhan built in the village of the Armenian Catholicos Nerses III the Builder (641-661) and, which "could not be related to the Georgian tradition, because the Georgians appeared here at a later time. "Stepanenko criticized the Georgian authors (G. Chubinashvili, V. Beridze) who attribute them to "the Georgian architecture". In particular, he considers Bana "among the Armenian monuments from Ishkhan to Zvartnots." (Степаненко В. П., Чортванели, Торники и Тарониты в Византии (к вопросу о существовании т.н. тайкской ветви Торникянов), Античная древность и средние века, Екатеринбург, 1999, вып. 30, стр. 133-134, сн. 17). It is well known that the Banak's temple is an ancient Armenian monument and the Armenian church in the village of Ishkhan belongs to the series of monuments that have been created owing to the activities of Nerses the Builder (Մարության Տ., Խորհրդայն Հայք, Երևան, 1978, էջ 11-12, 34). About the Ishkhan church built (653 և 659) by Nerses III A.L. Yakobson wrote the following, G.N. Chubinashvili quite arbitrarily considers the temple as a Georgian one; V.V. Beridze is of the same opinion. The basis of this view is that the region of Tayk was a Georgian one. But it is well known that in the 7th century it was part of Armenia and inhabited by Armenians (Якобсон А. Л., Закономерности в развитии раннесредневековой архитектуры, Ленинград, 1983, стр. 138).

⁶ Annals of the Kings of Assyria. The cuneiform texts with translations, transliterations, etc., from the original documents in the British Museum edited by E. A. Wallis Budge and L. W. King, vol. I, London, 1902 col. IV, 82-83, 96-97, pp. 67- 68; col V, 9, 22, 29, pp. 69-71, Luckenbill D. D., Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Chicago, v. I, 1926, pp. 81, 82. In regard to the concept of "country", used in relation to the ancient cuneiform sources' information under question, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that, for instance, the word *χώρα* in the ancient Greek has the meanings of a country, territory, region, etc. (Liddell H. G., Scott R., Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, 1996, p. 2015). Describing Great Armenia, Claudius Ptolemy noted, "Χῶραι δὲ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ...", which is translated into Latin as follows "Regiones sunt Armeniae..." (Ptol., V.12. 4, p. 937). H. Bartikyan paid attention to such a fact in the Greek sources, noting: "The Armenian land (province) is transferred or translated *χώρα* in the Byzantine sources; for example, "Περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ταρῶν" (Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De administrando imperio, Greek

inscriptions of the kings Minua (Menua) (810-786 BC) and Argishti I (786-764 BC) of the Van (Ararat-Urartu) kingdom and mentioning Dayaeni (Daiaeni) (indicated in the Assyrian inscriptions) the British orientalist Archibald Henry Sayce expressed an opinion that Dayaeni corresponded to “the kingdom of a king with the name of Diau and his generations”⁷. Such was the opinion of N. Adontz, too, who denoted that most of the countries (Daiaeni, Abaeni, etc.) subjugated by Tiglatpalasar II (it should be Tiglatpalasar I - A. D.) were bearing “the patronymic (“les patronymiques”) names”⁸.

𐎶 (m) as a determinative for a male person⁹ is used with a form of the toponym [e.g. Diau(e)ḫe] accompanied by the heterograms LUGÁL (a king)¹⁰, KUR (a country) and

Text edited by Moravcsik Gy., Washington, 1967, p. 188) (see Бартикян Р., О царском кураторе “MANZHKEPT KAI EZΩ IBHPIAS” Михаиле в связи с восточной политикой Василия II (976-1025 гг.), Պատմա-քաղաքագրական հանդես, 1, 2000, էջ 131, ծան. 8).

⁷ Sayce A. H., The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (JRAS), London, 1882, pp. 399, 544, cf. Sandalgian J., Les inscriptions cunéiformes urartiques, Venise, 1900, p. 59.

⁸ Adontz N., Histoire d'Arménie, Les origines du X^e siècle au VI^e (av. J. C.), Paris, 1946, p. 220.

⁹ According to A. H. Sayce, 𐎶 - “Determinative prefix of an individual” (Sayce A. H., op. cit., p. 422; cf. 𐎶 “Personen”, “vor Männern” (König F. W., Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften, Teil I, Graz, 1955, S. 212; Tafel 103). While illustrating the transliteration conventions in the case of the first line of the 10-year Annals of the Hittite king Mursili II (^MMur-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ha-at-ti UR.SAG), it is noticed: “M designates the logogram used as a determinative for a male person, ‘Mursili’ and ‘Hatti’ are written syllabically, whereas the words for ‘king’, ‘great’, and ‘hero’ are Sumerian logograms, sometimes called Sumerograms, and are capitalized in the transliteration to distinguish them from the syllabically represented words” (Bryce T., The World of The Neo-Hittite Kingdoms: A Political and Military History, New York, 2012, p. 298).

¹⁰ According to Gr. Ghapantsyan, the term “king” had not the same content in cuneiform inscriptions and “the Urartian word ‘king’ was sounded not only as *ereli...*, but also originally meant ‘people’s chief’ and probably ‘tribal chief’”. He considered the first part of the word, *er-*, as “tribe, people”. According to another supposition of Gr. Ghapantsyan, “there was a second word with both the meaning of ‘king’ and the determinative LUGAL and... sounded as *nu* with the meaning of ‘king’”. Citing a line from the Khorkhor cuneiform inscription of Argishti I as an example [(“-uštadi 𐎶Diaueḫiniedi LUGÁL 𐎶Diaueḫi LUGAL-nu duubi” (col. I, 6), which he deciphered as follows “I rode against Diauian tribe, the king of Diau tribe I made of a king”]. Gr. Ghapantsyan assumed that this *nu* is used in the vassal sense (Ղափանցյան Գր., Ուրարտական պատմությունը, Երևան, 1940, էջ 84-85). But N. Harutyunyan noted “LUGÁL-nu ‘king’ - the Urartian adequacy of a heterogram—with a phonetic complement *nu*: *irnu-ernu (cf. i/ernu-tuḫi “kingdom”). The synonym of the Urartian word *er(i)eli* in the same meaning” (see Арутюнян Н. В., Корпус урартских клинообразных надписей, Ереван, 2001, стр. 420, 448, further КУКН). Having identified the forms of the names of Dayaeni and Diau(e)ḫi with Taik, Gr. Ghapantsyan in relation to the mention of 23 or 60 “countries” of Nairi by Tiglatpalasar I noted *tribes* and *chiefs of tribes* [Ղափանցյան Գր., op. cit., p. 84: cf. an interpretation of the information of Tukulti Ninurta I (c. 1244- c.1208 BC) in История древнего Востока, ч. II, Москва, 1988, стр. 102. ՀԺՊ, հ. I, Երևան, 1971, էջ 282)], and also remarking “of course it is about the number of *tribes* or *families*”, “the federation was headed by the king of the Dayaeni region” (Капанцян Гр. А., Историко-лингвистические работы, т. II, Е., 1975, стр. 86-92). But the *mātātu* of the Assyrian

URU (a town, a settlement) in the Biainian inscriptions (the heterograms are indicated as determinatives, too)¹¹.

According to G. Melikishvili, the determinative for a person 𐎶 (m) of the Assyrian cuneiform writing indicates the meaning of the determinative for ethnonyms in the Urartian inscriptions¹². He came to such a conclusion contrary to the views of I. Meshchaninov¹³ and A. Sayce in accordance with which “there is the Urartian equivalent of Assyrian *Urartu* in the word *ururdani* mentioned in an inscription of Sarduri II.”¹⁴. G. Melikishvili considered the use of the determinative AMÊLU¹⁵ before the word of *ururdani* as a reason for that conclusion. As he noted, the determinative AMÊLU “is put before the names of professions and tribes in the Assyrian cuneiform writing”. At the same time, he considered inadmissible the inclusion of the determinative 𐎶𐎶 – amêlu in the lists of the Urartian cuneiform signs compiled by A. Sayce¹⁶ and I. Meshchaninov¹⁷ as a determinative for tribal names, because “he failed to find a single case when this determinative would be before the name either of a people or a tribe.”¹⁸ But, the determinative, mentioned by G. Melikishvili, and “rarely applied in the Urartian writing”, which he considered to be identical with another Assyrian cuneiform sign 𐎶𐎶, does not have a meaning of determinative for tribal names in the studies of A. Sayce. The latter

inscriptions means “countries” [The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (further CAD), 1977, vol. 10, part 1, pp. 414-415 (sing. *mātu* s. fem. (Ibid.); ... *mât Nairi* (CAD, 1980, vol. 11, part 1, p. 254, 2006, vol. 18, p. 154-155), «𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶» (ՀԺՊ, էջ 283)] and could not be interpreted as “tribes”.

¹¹ Sayce A. H., op. cit., pp. 421-422. Cf. КУКН, стр. 408-410, 418-419, 424.

¹² Меликишвили Г.А., К вопросу о древнейшем очаге урартских племен, 1947, ВДИ, 4, (22), стр. 26, прим. 2.

¹³ I. Meshchaninov supposed that the term referred to “the Urartians” (Мещанинов И.И., Шураа и Урурдан в клинописных памятниках Ванского бассейна, Доклады Академии наук, Серия В, 1924, стр. 19-22).

¹⁴ A. Sayce read the word *Ururdani* as Ararat (Sayce A., Some New Vannic Inscriptions, JRAS, London, 1929, pp. 333, 335).

¹⁵ According to R. Labat, the determinative 𐎶𐎶 for *homme* (man) is put before the collective names of people (ethnic, names of occupations, etc.) - “Sumerian *lú*, Akkadian *amîl*” (see Labat R., Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne, Paris, 1952, pp. 26, 151, *hûûn.*, Samuel A. B., Mercer, Introductory Assyrian Grammar, Dover, 2003, p. 12).

¹⁶ Sayce A., The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, pp. 419-422.

¹⁷ Мещанинов И. И., Халдоведение, Б., 1927, стр. 74-75.

¹⁸ Меликишвили Г.А., К вопросу о древнейшем очаге урартских племен, стр. 26, прим. 2. In relation to ^{LÚ}*ururdani* G. Melikishvili noted “that it is the name of a certain category of people. In front of this word stands the determinative of professions, groups and categories of people (^{LÚ})” (Меликишвили Г.А., Урартские клинообразные надписи, Москва, 1960 (further УКН), стр. 288-289). Mentioning I. Meshchaninov's opinion, N. Harutyunyan concerning the abovementioned inscription of Sarduri II, on the one hand, deciphering “^{LÚ}*ururdani*” it translates “ururdains” and, on the other hand, in the vocabulary, following the opinion of F. König, considered it possible that the ^{LÚ}*ururdani* is a name of a profession (F. W. König, Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften, II, Graz, 1957, see КУКН, стр. 247, 473).

has deciphered the determinative 𐎶𐎵 as “people”, and the determinative 𐎶𐎶𐎶 as “man”.¹⁹ A. Sayce indicated the cuneiform sign 𐎶𐎶²⁰ [language,²¹ tribe] to define the meaning *tribe*. Hence, the supposition of G. Melikishvili on making use of the determinative *m* for a male person in the Urartian inscriptions as a determinative for ethnonyms has not enough ground²².

According to N. Adontz, the proper nouns ending in *-hi*, which are used as objects, “get adjective form”²³ or are used as apposition, e.g. *Eriaḫini ebani* - *Eriakhian country*. Therefore, “the patronymic names Diaú(e)ḫi, Abiliani/eḫi, Eriaḫi ending in *-hi* are also used as geographical terms”²⁴. At the same time, N. Adontz has considered *-hi*²⁵ as “an ethnic suffix”, which “... occurs in many names in the south, the buffer zone between Urartu and Assyria, such as Kutmu-ḫi, Bab-ḫi... The most important tribes in the north of Urartu, which were hostile to the hegemony of Tushpa’s lords, were called Diaue-ḫi, Eria-ḫi, Abiliani-ḫi and so forth”²⁶.

According to G. Melikishvili, the *-ḫi/e(ni)* is a suffix of appurtenance, which “often occurs as an ending of ethnonyms that probably are comprehended as ‘a son of a such-and-such figure (an eponym-progenitor, a deity)’”²⁷. He suggested that in *ṁDiaú(e)ḫi*²⁸,

¹⁹ Sayce A., *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van*, pp. 421-422, also see Мещанинов И. И., *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75; Дзяконов И. М., *Урартские письма и документы*, 1963, Москва-Ленинград, стр. 99, 113; also see *amīlu* (CAD, 1968, vol. 1, part II, p. 48).

²⁰ Cf. Labat R., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²¹ Sayce A., *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van*, p. 421. Cf. «language, special language or dialect, nationality, person or people speaking a (foreign) language» (CAD, 1973, vol. 9, p. 213).

²² N. Harutyunyan also identifies *Dayaeni* with *Diaukhi* (Арутюнян Н. В., *Топонимика Урарту*, Ереван, 1985, стр. 70-71). He also noted: “*m* - a determinative for ethnonyms. The same geographic name quite often is provided with a determinative as for “a tribe” (*m*), as well as for “a country” (*KUR*). Cf. *ṁAbiliani* and *KURAbiliani* (KYKH, c. 410). Concerning the index of “Geographical and Ethnic Denominations” in the Corpus published by N. Harutyunyan, M. Salvini noted: “The ethnic names are those of regions with the masculine personal determinative (*ṁ*). This is a mechanical subdivision which does not, however, resolve a difficult problem” (Salvini M., *About a New Corpus of Urartian Inscriptions*, SMEA, 43/2, 2001, p. 242).

²³ Adontz N., *op. cit.*, p. 260. The phrase “la forme adjective” of the text of N. Adontz is incorrectly translated into Armenian as “the genitive form”; at the same time the word “les patronymiques” is not translated (Ադոնց Ն., Հայաստանի պատմություն, Երևան, 1972, էջ 260).

²⁴ Adontz N., *op. cit.*, p. 260.

²⁵ It is “-ni” in the Armenian translation of N. Adontz’s work (Ադոնց Ն., *op. cit.*, p. 270) instead of correct “-hi” of the French original text (Adontz N., *op. cit.*, p. 271).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

²⁷ YKH, c. 51.

^mAbeliani/e_{hi}, ^mEria_{hi}, ^mEriku_{hi}, ^mIgane_{hi}, the determinative ^l (*m*) for a male person is an ethnic determinative²⁹. Similarly, almost all the toponyms mentioned in inscriptions with *m* as a determinative for a male person, G. Melikishvili regarded as ethnonyms³⁰, thus considering lots of geographical names as the names of tribes and tribal unions.

²⁸ G. Melikishvili supposed that ^mDiau(e)_{hi} is a Hurrian ethnonym, remarking that the Hurrian name “Taiuki”, mentioned in the Nuzi inscriptions, is perhaps just the prototype of the name Daia(e)_{ni} || Diau(e)_{hi} in the form of “Tai(uki)”. He suggested that the local form was Daiu_{hi} (Daio_{hi}) and even Daiuki (Daioki) (Меликишвили Г.А., Дияухи, ВДИ, 1950, 4, стр. 30). But “Taiuki” is one of many Hurrian personal names (see Gelb I. J., Nuzi Personal Names, Chicago, 1943, pp. 144-145). The comparison of this personal name, preserved in the inscriptions of the Nuzi (located 15 miles south of Arapkha) archives, with Daia(e)_{ni} || Diau(e)_{hi} is of an occasional nature. According to G. Melikishvili’s reservation, *-hi/ha* and *(i/a,u)ni* suffixes were in the local forms of the names (just in part of them, according to his opinion) and “weren’t appended by the Urartians”, having continued their further existence in the names of the Armenian regions (Меликишвили Г.А., Дияухи, стр. 30). There were also expressed other opinions about *Dayaeni* with *Diaue_{hi}*. According to H. Karagzyozyan, there is a need, known in a traditional reading *Diauekhi* to decipher *Teyavekhe* (^mTe-i-a-ú-e-_{he}). As a result of the linguistic examination of the toponyms ^{KUR}Daiaeni and ^mTeiaue_{he} he concluded: “The supposed parallel ^{KUR}Daiaenu-Taik is not still possible to substantiate by any linguistic regularity; it is probably a consequence of a random likeness and vice versa - the transition ^mTeiaue_{he} > Taik is proved with great correctness corresponding to the Urartian-Armenian phonetic rules”. The researcher believed that it is necessary to differentiate the “countries” of *Dayaenu* and *Teyavekhe*, because *Dayaenu* mentioned in the Assyrian sources, is located in the basin of the Aratsani River and *Teyavekhe* in reality is Taik in the basin of the Tchorokh River (Կարապոյղյան Հ., Սեպագիր աղբյուրների Դայանենու երկիրը, ԼՀԳ, 1978, 6, էջ 71, 94: Կարապոյղյան Հ., Հայկական լեռնաշխարհը սեպագիր աղբյուրներում: Սեպագիր տեղանուններ, հ. 1, գիրք 1, Երևան, 1998, էջ 187-188). Assuming the identification of Daiaeni with Diau(e)_{hi}, A. Sagona set off other views as well (Sagona A. G., Archaeology at the North-East Anatolian Frontier, Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 14, Herent, 2004, p. 30, 34; the term of the “North-Eastern Anatolia” in the title of this article is applied incorrectly instead of the Armenian Highland). According to R. Barnett, “Some scholars, somewhat unconvincingly, identify Dayaenu with the kingdom later called Diaue(khi) by the Urartians, who may be the same as a people encountered by Xenophon in the late fourth century B.C. under the name of Ταόχοι” (Barnett R. D., The Cambridge Ancient History, Urartu, Vol. 3, 2008, p. 330, com. 123). The identification of Daiaeni with Diau(e)_{hi} (=Taik) is a dominant notion in the present historiography.

²⁹ УКН, стр. 51-52. Based on the viewpoint of G. Melikishvili that ^mDiau(e)_{hi} is an ethnonym by its origin (УКН, с. 424) and identifying Dayaeni with Diau(e)_{hi}, as well, M. Salvini pointed out that the kings of the Nairi “countries,” mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglatpalasar I, were “tribal chiefs” (Salvini M., Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer, Darmstadt, 1995, S. 22, 54).

³⁰ The names that make exceptions are ^m or ^{KUR}Iga(ni), ^{KUR} or ^mIšqigulu in G. Melikishvili’s book. He deciphers the ^ml-ga-ni-e-_{hi} as an “iganian” (УКН, 155C₅₂, с. 302, 430; cf. КУКН, стр. 509). N. Harutyunyan kept to the deciphering of F. König and P. Zimanski when regarding the question of the name of Išqigul_{he}; he read ^{KUR}Išqigul_{he} without the determinative *m* [(“the country of) Išqigul_{he}” in genitive case], see КУКН, стр. 331, 511). According to G. Melikishvili’s reading: LUGÁL ^mIšqigul_{he} “the king of Išqigul_{he}” (УКН, 286, стр. 348, 432).

I. Dyakonov pointed out that, for instance, “^{KUR}Eriaḫe³¹ is usually transferred as a noun, “Eriakhi”, meanwhile it is an adjective, “Erian”; cf. Analogic adjectives ^{KUR}Úeliku(-i)né and ^{KUR}Úeliku(-i)ḫé, etc.; cf. also ^{URU}melitēalḫé - ‘belonging to the Meliteans, the inhabitants of the city of Melitea’, but not ‘the city of ‘Melitealkhi’”³². Whereas he noted that “the name of the tribe, that lived” in the territory of Taik “has the Hurro-Urartian ending *-ini*, *-hi*, as in the Assyrian (“Dayaeni”), as well as in Urartian (“Diauekhi”) and Greek (Ταόχοι)³³ versions; and besides, the Greek transmission, which could hardly be traced back to the Urartian tradition, probably regenerates the self-name”³⁴.

G. Wilhelm noted: “In Hurrian grammar two types of derivational formations have been distinguished: one utilizes suffixes (*word-formation suffixes*) which directly follow the root (and root-complements), and the other utilizes suffixes (*derivational suffixes*) which follow the so-called thematic vowel.” Then he made the following note of the suffix *-ḫa*: “This suffix forms adjectives of appurtenance used with geographical or tribal names (*nisbe*): *Abiliane=ḫa ebanā* “the country of Abiliani” (tribal/personal name), *Diaue=ḫa* “the Diauean [king].” Without parallel in Hurrian is its usage in patronyms: *Argište=ḫa* “the son of Argišti,” *Išpuine=ḫa*, *Minua=ḫa*, *Rusa=ḫa*, *Sardure=ḫa*. It forms adjectives and nouns (i) after *u*: *egur=u= ḫa/ḫu* “clean, pure” (in a cultic sense), *tar-a-i-ú-ḫa* “?” (cf. *taraya* “strong”); (ii) after *i* (→ *e*): *qar-me-ḫa* “?”, *ter=i=ḫa* “plantation” (*ter-*

³¹ Shirak, a region of the Ayarat province.

³² Дьяконов И.М., Урартские письма и документы, Москва-Ленинград, 1963, стр. 30.

³³ Based on the view of H. Hubschmann about the identification of Ταόχοι with *Swjḫ* (Hubschmann H., Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen, Strasburg, 1904, S. 276-277), E. Herzfeld identified *Daiaeni-Diaue-Taóχοι-Swjḫ* (Herzfeld E., The Persian Empire, Studies in Geography and Ethnography of the Ancient Near East, Wiesbaden, 1968, pp. 116, 121). B. Piotrovski has pointed out, “The coherence of the Urartian name of the Diauekhi country (Dayani in Assyrian) with both Ταόχοι of the Greek historians and medieval region of Taik is beyond question” (Пiotровский Б. Б., Ванское царство (Урарту), Москва, 1959, стр. 31). G. Jahukyan noted in the table of “The general view of Urartian-Armenian phonetic parallels on the basis of coincidences of the most reliable proper and common names”, “the Urartian *d* is pronounced *ḫ* (t) in Armenian, *Diau(e)ḫi* – *Swjḫ* (Taik) (Ջահուկյան Գ. Բ., Հայոց լեզվի պատմություն, նախապրային շրջան, Երևան, 1987, էջ 430) and “the Urartian attributive suffix *ḫi/e* that often occurs in the toponyms, and is expressed by *χ* in Greek (cf. *Diauḫi-Taóχοι*) could be perceived by Armenians as an equivalent to the plural-forming *p* (q) and be expressed through it - *Abiliani/ehē*-Աբեղեանք (Abegheank), *Diau(e)ḫi-Swjḫ* (Taik), etc. (Ibid, p. 438). Some of the researchers bring the Georgian form “Tao” at first and then the name of Taik of the Armenian sources when comparing the mentions of the medieval primary sources with the name of Ταόχοι (УКН, стр. 424; Меликишвили Г.А., Диаухи, стр. 26-42; Sagona A. G., op. cit., p. 36). But it is well known that the mention of Taik in Armenian sources is more archaic and correct.

³⁴ I. Dyakonov arbitrarily concluded: “The alternation of *d*/*t* in the beginning of words is also typical for the Hurrian language. But the Hurrian ethnonyms could exist in this region also after losing of the Hurrian language by the local population, and it is not excluded that in the course of time the tribe of the Taokhs was Georgified (or more precisely, turned into Chans); and later, this area was a place of the Armenian-Chan intensive contacts” (Дьяконов И. М., Предыстория армянского народа, Ереван, 1968, стр. 16, сн. 15). The history of the Armenian province of Taik is falsified and misrepresented by such an interpretation.

“plant,” “establish”); and (iii) after *a*: *babanaḥə* (*babanə* “mountainous region”)³⁵. Thus, *-ḥe* (*-ḥi-*), being an adjective forming suffix of appurtenance in Biainian³⁶, the direct form of ^mDiau(e)=*ḥe* will be ^mDiau(e)³⁷.

Thus, in the Biainian/Araratian (Uartian) inscriptions we have (with the cuneiform determinative sign 𐎠 (m) for male personal names and the suffix *-ḥe*(*-ḥi-*) indicating appurtenance) on the one hand ^mIšpuine=*ḥe*, “Ishpuin-ian (the son of Ishpuini)”, ^mMinua=*ḥə*, “Minu-ian (the son of Minua/Menua)”, ^mArgište=*ḥe*, “Argisht-ian (the son of Argishte/Argishti), etc., and on the other hand ^m^{KUR}Abeliane=*ḥe*, “Abeliane-ian/ of Abeliane”, ^mDiaue=*ḥe*, “Diaou(e)-ian/ of Diaou (e)”, and others, which does not imply that the latter ones are tribal names.

A notion of *տայեցիք* (*Taieci/Taikians* - inhabitants of Taik, cf. *Ταόχοι*), mentioned with the toponym Taik in the Armenian historical sources, is a toponymic name-form of the Armenian population of this area of Armenia but not a tribal name. It is seen from the mention of the Armenian population with the names of the other provinces (Gugark - Gugaratsi-Gugarians, Mokq-Mokqatsi-Mokqians, etc.)³⁸ and regions [Sper, Mananaghi, Daranaghi, Ekeghyats, Karin (the district of Karno), Bassen, Shirak, etc.]. The most evident testimonies of this are found in the work by Sebeos (the 7th century) - «*Մայեքացիքն..., և Մանաղայքն, և Դարանաղայքն, և որք յԵկեղեաց գաւառէ... և Կարնացիք, և Տայեցիք, և Բասենացիք... Շիրակացիք...*»³⁹ (“Sperians..., and Mananaghians, and

³⁵ Wilhelm G., Uartian, - see *The Ancient Languages of Asia Minor*. Edited by R. D. Woodard, Cambridge, 2008, Chapter 10, p. 111.

³⁶ M. Khachikyan noted that it was productive in Uartian the formation of the geographical names from personal names by means of the suffix *-ḥə* combined with the plural word ending in the definite absolutive case: *Rusa-ḥi/e-ne-lə* (“Rusakhinele (city)”), *Argište-ḥi/e-ne-lə* (“Argishtikhinele (city)”). She considers it possible that in such a way, but without the article (sing. *-nə*, pl. *nə-lə*) was formed in the Uartian language the suffix denoting geographical or ethnic appurtenance (*ḥalə/-ḥə*), which is etymologically in line with the Hurrian *nomina actoris* morphological unit (e.g., (Melitè-al-ḥə) – “Melitenean”; (Komahā-lḥə) – “Komakhian”) (Хачикян М. Л., Хурритский и урартский языки, Ереван, 1985, стр. 67-68).

³⁷ S. Ayvazyan offered “...the king (family) Diaueian” considering ^mDiaue the direct form of the name (Այվազյան Ս., Ուրարտերեն-հայերեն, Երևան, 2008, էջ 135, 225-226), instead of the translation of the phrase LUGÁL^mDiaueḥi by G. Melikishvili: “the lord of Diauekhi” (УКН, 36¹²⁻¹³, с. 158). Meanwhile, according to M. Salvini’s translation of the, ^mDiaueḥi means “the tribe of Diaue” (“la tribu del Diau”) (Salvini M., *Corpus dei testi Urartei*, vol. I, Roma, 2008, p. 190).

³⁸ Մովսես Խորենացի, էջ 114, 331:

³⁹ Սեբեոս, Պատմութիւն: Աշխատ. Գ.Վ. Աբգարյանի, Երևան, 1979, էջ 165: Stepanos Syunetsi (died in 735) mentioned also Taik while enumerating the dialects [“ԳԿորճայն եւ զՏայեցին եւ զԽութայինն եւ զՉորրորդ Հայեցին եւ զՍպերացին եւ զՍինին եւ զԱրցախայինն” (“Korchain and Taikian and Khutain and Fourth-Armenian and Sperian and Syuni and Artsakhian”)] of the Armenian language [*vostanik* (by the name of the Armenian royal residence - Vostan Hayots-Artashat; and then the capital city of Dvin)] (“Մեկնութիւն քերականին”, see Ադոնց Ն., Արուեստ Դիոնիսեայ Թերականի եւ հայ մեկնութիւնք նորին: Երկեր, հ. Գ, Երևան, 2008, էջ 187: Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. II, Երևան, 1984, էջ 437):

Daranaghians, and those of the Ekegheyats district... and Karinians, and Taikians, and Basenians...and Shirakians...”).

Having remarked, that the inhabitants of Hayasa, “located in the upper flow of the Euphrates River”, were the Armenian tribes in the middle of the 2nd millennium BC, G. Melikishvili mentioned, at the same time, the “Georgian tribes” as their “neighbours from early times,” but without any primary sources as a basis⁴⁰. Then he wrote that in the 12th century BC “in the territory of the historic Georgia’s south-western part was formed a large union of tribes...,” which “was called *Daiaeni* in the Assyrian sources and *Diauehi* in the Urartian sources... later, here was the ancient Georgian province of *Tao*⁴¹ (*Taik* of the ancient Armenian sources), the name of which, certainly reaches the name of *Daiaeni* (or *Daiani*) - *Diau(e)hi*-Ταόχοι”⁴².

Distorting the history and geography of the north-western areas of Armenia - Taik and the district of Karin (Erzrum) region of Upper Armenia, in such a way, he continued, “one has to look for the country of *Diau(e)hi* in the south-western regions of historic Georgia... According to the Assyrian and Urartian primary sources, the region of the present-day Erzrum city and the upper flow of the Western Euphrates River seems that had already entered *Diaukhi*”⁴³.

⁴⁰ Меликишвили Г., К истории древней Грузии, Тбилиси, 1959, с. 170-171.

⁴¹ Contrary to such an opinion, e.g., P. Muradyan preserved the Armenian toponyms (Tayk, Kgharjk, Javakhk, Treghk, Artahan, Sper, Kars, Karin, Nakhijevan, Gegharkuneats and Ararat mountains, Ayrarat, Ani, Baberd, Bagavan, Basen, Bjni, Gag, Gandzak, Garni, Dvin) in the Armenian translation of “The Georgian Chronicle” (see «Վրաց ժամանակագրություն» (1207-1318 թթ.): Թարգմանությունը հին վրացերենից, առաջաբանը և ծանոթագրությունները Պ. Մուրադյանի, Երևան, 1971, էջ 66, 88, 109, 124, 129-130, 169):

⁴² Меликишвили Г., К истории древней Грузии, стр. 176. Cf. УКН, стр. 424. Меликишвили Г., Дияухи, с. 26-42. G. Melikishvili indicated the works of Xenophon and Sophanetus as the primary sources. There is a need to note that Xenophon did not use the word *ἔθνος* - “tribe” when mentioning Ταόχοι and others, as we can see from the following sentence: «Καὶ Καρδούχους καὶ Ταόχους καὶ Χαλδαίους καίπερ βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας καὶ μάλα φοβερούς ὅμως πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ παρέϊχον (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV.4.18; 7.1-2, V.5.17). Stephani Byzantii (the 6th c.) mentioned Ταόχοι, indicating «Σοφαίνετος ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει φησί» as a primary source (Stephani Byzantii *Εθνικων quae supersunt*, edidit Antonius Westermann, Lipsiae, 1839, p. 268). It is supposed that “Sophanetos of Stymphalos is claimed to have written an *Anabasis* of his own - four paltry fragments survive - with Xenophon apparently appearing in a far less favourable light” (for details, see V. Azoulay, “Exchange and Entrapment: Mercenary Xenophon?” in “The Long March. Xenophon and the Ten Thousand”, ed. Fox, R. Lane, New Haven, 2004, pp. 289-304, cf. Gwynn A., Xenophon and Sophanetus, *Classical Quarterly*, 23, 1929, pp. 38-39). Stephaus of Byzantium mentioned the word *ἔθνος*, which was in use in the Byzantine official documents together with the term *gentes* in the meaning of “principalities” (“princely families”) in the period of Justinian I; these were the princely families of the proper Armenian districts of Andzit, Hashtank, Angeghtun and Balahovit in Western Armenia (Адонц Н., *op. cit.*, p. 29).

⁴³ Меликишвили Г., К истории древней Грузии, стр. 176.

The distortion of the records on Taik as well as on Kgharjk, mentioned in the ancient and early medieval primary sources and the falsified⁴⁴ presentation of these territories as “the south-western regions of historic Georgia” now continues in the Georgian historiography and cartography⁴⁵.

Whereas, the reality is that Virk (Ιβηρία) was to the north of Armenia, according to the ancient Greek⁴⁶ and early medieval Armenian primary sources. As follows from “Ashkharhatsuits” by Movses Khorenatsi and the continuer of his work, Anania Shirakatsi⁴⁷, Taik was the fourteenth province (*ashkharh*) of Great Armenia and Kgharjk was a district situated in the western part of the thirteenth province of Great Armenia, Gugark. The springs of the Kur (Kura) River are in the village of *Kriakunk* of the Kogh district situated in the east of Taik, and then it flows through the districts of Gugark and makes the border with Virk in the northeast⁴⁸. According to “Ashkharhatsuits” «Աշխարհ Վիրք, յելից կալով Եգերայ, յերի Սարմատիոյ առ Կաւկասով, մինչև ցԱղուանից սահման, եւ մինչև ցՀայոց սահման՝ առ Կուր գետովն»⁴⁹ (“The Virk (Iberia) country extending to the east from Eger to Sarmatia at the Caucasus and to the border of Aluank⁵⁰ and to the border of Armenia along the River Kur”).

Describing the activities of the king Vagharshak, Movses Khorenatsi gives information on Taik. «Կարգէ զկողմանս Մաժարայ եւ զՊոնտացիս եւ զԵգերացիս. դառնայ զհիւսիսեալ առ ստորոտովն Պարխարայ ընդ մէջ Տայոց... գեղեցիկ իմն

⁴⁴ In the first volume of the book “History of Georgia”, edited by G. Melikishvili, the name Diau(e)ji is presented in the form of “Diaohi” and was again mentioned as an area, being situated as if in the “south-western part of ancient Georgia” and extending to the “present-day Erzurum city district”; at the same time, the Armenian toponyms Taik and Kgharjk have been used in a distorted form “Tao-Klarjeti” (История Грузии, т. I, Т., 1962, стр. 28-30, 129; К истории древней Грузии, с. 136, see also Матиане Картлиса (перевод, введение и примечания М. Д. Лордкипанидзе), Тбилиси, 1976, стр. 8; Рамишвили П., Социально-политическая история Грузии. Очерки истории стран Южного Кавказа, Мультиперспективный взгляд на историю, Ереван, 2009, стр. 75, 80.

⁴⁵ Атлас Грузинской ССР, Москва, 1964, стр. 245-250; Лордкипанидзе О., Наследие древней Грузии, Тбилиси, 1989, стр. 32; Бахтадзе М. А., Вачнадзе М., Гурули В., История Грузии (с древнейших времен до наших дней), 2000 (http://krotov.info/lib_sec/04_g/ruz/ia_kr2.htm),

⁴⁶ Strabo, XI 1.5-6, 2. 19-3.2, 14.2-4, Ptol., V.10.1; 11.3; 12.1.

⁴⁷ Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Հայաստանի քաղաքական պատմությունը և Հայ Առաքելական եկեղեցին, Երևան, 2000, էջ 37; Մուշեղյան Ա., Մովսես Խորենացու դարը, Երևան, 2007, էջ 111, 124:

⁴⁸ It is typical that relating to the activities of the Armenian General Mushegh Mamikonyan in the 60s of the 4th century, particularly, about the restoration of the boundaries of the kingdom of Great Armenia, Pavstos Byzand has noted: “Եւ զհին սահմանսն, որ յառաջուն էր լեալ յերկիրն Հայոց եւ ընդ երկիրն Վրաց, որ է ինքն մեծ գետն Կուր...” (Փաւստոսի Բիւզանդացոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Երևան, 1987, էջ 216) (“And the ancient border that was earlier between the country of Armenia and the country of Virk (Iberia), it was the great River Kura itself...”).

⁴⁹ Երեմյան Ս., Հայաստանը ըստ “Աշխարհացոյց”-ի, էջ 104:

⁵⁰ On the left bank of the Kur River “գբուն աշխարին Աղուանից” (see Երեմյան Ս., Հայաստանը ըստ “Աշխարհացոյց”-ի, էջ 105) (“the country of proper Aluank”).

*կարգելով զերկիրն...*⁵¹ (“Organizing the sides of Mazhak and Pontus and Eger, turns to the north along the foot of Parkhar and in Taik... organizing beautifully the country”). Likewise, the reports of Pavstos Byzand⁵², Eghishe⁵³, Ghazar Parpetsi⁵⁴, Sebeos⁵⁵, Hovhan Mamikonyan⁵⁶, Ghevond⁵⁷, Movses Kaghankatvatsi⁵⁸ and Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi⁵⁹ show evidence that Taik was one of the provinces of the Armenian kingdom from the ancient times, as well as being the dominion of Armenian princely houses (Mamikonyans, Bagratunis) and Armenian church authorities⁶⁰.

The following information about the position and regions of Taik province is presented in the “Ashkharhatsuits”: «*Չորեքտասներորդ [աշխարհ] Տայք առ երի կայ Գուգարաց, ամրոցք եւ բերդօք կառուցեալ, եւ ունի գաւառս ութ. զԿող յելից կուսէ, յորմէ բղիւնն աղբիւրք գետոյն Կուրայ... ըստ մտից Կողայ՝ Բերդաց-փոք, Պարտիզաց-փոք, զՃակս... եւ ըստ հարաւոյ՝ զԲուղիսա, զՈքաղէ, զԱզորդաց-փոք իւրեանց գետակօք, որք յիրար անկեալ իջանէն ի Յոհ (Ճորոխ). որոց ըստ մտից Արսեաց-փոք առ Պարխար լերամբն, ընդ որ իջանէ Յոհ, գալով ի Սպերայ, անցանէ առ Թուխարս բերդով ի Կլարջս, եւ անտի յԵգր, ընդ Նիգալ, ընդ Սրուղ և ընդ Սրիստ գաւառս՝ ի Պոնտոս ծով ...*»⁶¹ (“The fourteenth [province of Great Armenia] Taik is near Gugark, holding strongholds and fortresses built, and having eight regions, Kogh is on

⁵¹ Մովսէս Խորենացի, էջ 108, 313. As the father of the Armenian historiography (patmahayr) states, King Vagharshak was the brother of the Parthian “Arshak the Great” (according to Sargsyan G. Kh., Mithridates I, 170-139 BC), during whose reign took place the expansion of the Parthian kingdom (Мовсес Хоренаци, История Армении, перев. с древнеарм. яз., введение и прим. Г. Саркисяна, Ереван, 1990, стр. 222, прим. 56). A. Musheghyan, having pointed out the standpoint of J. Markwart, sees “The king of Armenia Trdat I, the brother of the Parthian king Vagharsh I” in the person of traditional Vagharshak (Մուշեղյան Ա., op. cit., p. 222).

⁵² Փավստոս Բուզանդ, էջ 58, 76, 137, 273:

⁵³ Եղիշէ, Վասն Վարդանայ եւ Հայոց պատերազմին, աշխատ. Ե. Տէր-Մինասեան, Երևան, 1957, էջ 28, 127:

⁵⁴ Ղազարայ Փարպեցոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց եւ Թուրք առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան, աշխատ. Գ. Տէր-Մկրտչեան եւ Ստ. Մալխասեան, Տփղիս, 1904, էջ 44, 73, 94, 110, 111, 121, 135:

⁵⁵ Սեբէոս, էջ 144, 146 165-169, 175:

⁵⁶ Յովհան Մամիկոնեան, Պատմութիւն Տարօնոյ: Աշխատ. և առաջաբանով Ա. Աբրահամյանի, Երևան, 1941, էջ 280:

⁵⁷ Պատմութիւն Ղետնդեայ, Ս. Պետերբուրգ, 1887, էջ 26, 123, 168:

⁵⁸ Մովսէս Կաղանկատուացի, Պատմութիւն Աղուանից աշխարհի, քննական բնագիրը և ներածությունը Վ. Առաքելյանի, Երևան, 1983, էջ 122:

⁵⁹ Յովհաննոս Կաթողիկոսի Դրասխանակերտցոյ, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Թիֆլիս, 1912, էջ 68, 178, 185, 186:

⁶⁰ See Адонц Н., op. cit., pp. 231, 309, 403. Յովհաննէսեան Մ., Հայաստանի բերդերը, Վենետիկ- Սբ. Ղազար, 1970, էջ 608: ՀԺՊ, հ. III, Երևան, 1976, էջ 35, 37, 48, 96, 107: Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Հայոց պատմական և քաղաքակրթական արժեհամակարգի պաշտպանության անհրաժեշտությունը, ԼՀԳ, 2010, 3, էջ 72, etc.

⁶¹ Երեմյան Ա., Հայաստանը ըստ “Աշխարհացոյց”-ի, էջ 110:

the eastern side, wherefrom the sources of the River Kur arise... from the west of Kogh are Berdatspor, Partizatspor, Chak... and to the south - Boughkha, Vokaghe, Azordatspor with their rivulets, which mingling with each other flow down to the Voh (Tchorokh) River, and to the west of them is Arseats-por [region] at the mountain of Parkhar, from where flows down the Voh and, coming from Sper, passes alongside the Tukhar castle to Kgharjk, and thence through the regions of Eger, Nigal, Mrugh and Mrit, debouches into the Black Sea”).

It is necessary to pay attention also to other records of Sebeos among the reports of the Armenian historians about Taik, as on the return of the prince Varaztirots Bagratuni from the Byzantine in 646⁶² (he returned and gained a foothold in Armenia, in Taik⁶³), as well as concerning an Arab invasion into Armenia (a troop of the caliphate plundering the province of Ayrarat reached Taik) and thence the marching to Iberia and proper Aluank⁶⁴.

Thus, the historical and geographic data of Armenian medieval sources give evidence to great importance of the province of Taik (in ancient times: *Daiaeni* of the Assyrian and Diau(e) of the Biainian cuneiform sources) in the Armenian political and cultural history because of its strategic position and deep-rooted statehood traditions in the Armenian Highland.

*Translated from Armenian
by V. M. Gharakhanyan*

⁶² In the fifth year of the reign of the Byzantine emperor Constantine II (Costas, Constans, 641-668) (Սեբեոս, էջ 144).

⁶³ Ibid. Sebeos indicated the village Ishkhan in Taik as the birthplace of the Catholicos Nerses III the Builder (641-661) (Սեբեոս, էջ 165, also see Մ. Օրմանեան, Ազգապատում, Կոստանդնուպոլիս, 1913, հ. Ա, էջ 730).

⁶⁴ Սեբեոս, էջ 146:

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION AT THE PRESENT STAGE AND TURKISH FALSIFICATIONS

Safrastyan R. A.
Academician of NAS RA

Various characterizations are being made on the Armenian Question. Thus, for example, it is noted that the Armenian Question has gone through alterations at the present stage and is regarded as a matter of recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide. According to another approach, the Armenian Question has two phases; the first one is the stage of recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide and the second, the elimination of the genocide consequences, that is to say, the stage of the territorial demands. The adherents of this standpoint urge that Armenians should make all their efforts to overcome successfully the first stage, namely to deal solely with recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide and only then, after the successful end of this struggle, to turn to the issue on elimination of the genocide consequences.

In our opinion, these two viewpoints cannot be the landmark of our struggle. We think that now, as in the past, the Armenian Question has not lost its traditional perception and stands out as the realization of the right of the Armenian people to living and having statehood in the Western and Eastern parts of its historical cradle, Armenia. Thus, the recognition of the Armenian Genocide is a part of the Armenian Question, but it doesn't substitute the very problem and should not be considered as the first stage of the stepwise solution of the Armenian Question. We believe that there is a need to struggle simultaneously for recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide and the elimination of its consequences as well as for the fair solution of the Armenian Question.

Now, we'll present the perception of the official standpoint's supporters in Turkey in general terms and briefly on the Armenian Question.

The official point of view toward the Armenian Question in Turkey took shape by the founder of the republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. At first, in 1920, when the war against Armenia was still going on, he believed Armenia should be exterminated "politically and essentially". As it was not possible to carry out that program, Mustafa Kemal declared that the Armenian Question no longer exists, since it had been solved by the treaties of Moscow, Kars and Lausanne. According to Atatürk and his successors, those few Armenians, residing in Turkey as a religious minority, are Turks, who merely profess Christianity, that is, they are "Christian Turks". The term *Western Armenia* was removed from official usage and was replaced by the meaningless phrase "Eastern Anatolia". "The Turkish Historical Society" that had been established under the guidance of Atatürk proposed the interpretation of history in his terms, thus reducing to

silence the theme of the Armenian Genocide. In fact, such an approach was the continuation of the Young Turks' anti-Armenian policy and had an intention of fixing the favorable "results", obtained as a result of the Armenian Genocide.

However, despite Turkey's efforts, at any price, to consign to oblivion the Armenian Question, it was reopened by the Soviet Union as a matter of international diplomacy at the end of WW II, the solution of which would mean a loss of a part of the Armenian territories by Turkey and their inclusion in the Soviet Union. Indeed, the Soviet interpretation of the Armenian Question did not correspond to the age-old claims of the Armenian people to reestablish the unified nation state in its cradle, the Armenian Highland, but it was perceived as a partial restoration of justice, at least, in the political situation of the time.

Seeing that the Armenian Question was reopening regardless of its will, Turkey changed the accents in its approach. In 1946 the memories of Talaat pasha (one of the Young Turk leaders and chief initiators of the Armenian Genocide) were published under the official sponsorship in the distorted and revised way, where a separate chapter was "dedicated" to the Armenian Question. It was presented as terrorist acts, organized by the Armenians against the Ottoman Turkey's authorities with the support of Russia, thus the government had to deport Armenians. This approach took its final shape in the voluminous book «Armenians and the Armenian Question in History», published in 1950 by Esat Uras, a former member of the Young Turks Party and an officer of the Turkish secret services, whose principal targets were Armenians, living in Turkey. The official position of Turkey toward the Armenian Question was formulated in that book.

Thus, after WW II, when it became clear to the Turkish official circles that it is no longer possible to conceal the existence of the Armenian Question, an attempt was made to present it not as a regional problem or the question of the Armenian people to have an independent statehood in its homeland, but, falsifying facts, as a question of quite "legal displacement" carried out by the Turkish authorities because of terrorist and anti-state activities of the Armenian people.

The Turkish authorities were fully conscious then and continue to be as such at present, that the Sevres Treaty, preceeding the treaties of Moscow, Kars and Lausanne, will be placed again on the table and become a subject of international discussions once more, which can lead to the reopening of the problem of annexation of a significant part of Armenia by Turkey.

Closing eyes to the truth it is "possible" to dispute the issue of the Armenian Genocide; falsifying the history, to describe the genocide as a "displacement"; to draw into a dispute as whether there was or was not; to require disclosure of new facts; to urge for the formation of joint committees of historians, who should examine this issue; and so on. In addition, at the present stage the international law doesn't still enable completely to require restoration of the Armenian statehood as an elimination of consequences of the crime of genocide in Western Armenia, where Armenians were

continuously living for thousands of years, and where took place the Armenian Genocide and deprivation of the Homeland.

The Turkish official circles keep using this line of the denial of the Armenian Genocide, drawn after WW II, without major changes up to the present time.

I have to emphasize that a special commission was established by the resolution of the Turkish government more than a decade ago, which goes into all the possible processes that can be applied both to avoid responsibilities for genocide and to deny the very fact of genocide. The said commission operates under the guidance of a deputy prime minister, heads of various ministries and government departments, university rectors, historians, legists and others. In due time we gave our attention to the activities of this commission, pointing out that it was discussing in secrecy in “the legal field” the possible ways to escape from all the responsibility for the Armenian Genocide. Evidently proposal packages on potential operations have been prepared.

A notorious article by İdris Bal was issued recently in Turkey. Besides being both a historian and a political expert, this person represents also the law enforcement authorities of Turkey as did Esat Uras in his time. The author of the paper states that the Armenian Question in its classic concept is even more dangerous for Turkey than the issue of responsibility for the Armenian Genocide. We think such an approach expresses the real fear of the “official Turkey” toward reopening the Armenian Question.

Finally, I would like to weigh up briefly another circumstance. The Middle East is entering a new phase of its history as evidenced by recent events, particularly the “Arab Spring”, and, we think, no one can assure that the question of either reshaping the borders of the Middle East countries or the birth of new nations won’t arise. The world’s great powers will be interested in the Treaty of Sevres in such a situation, since it has rather assisted in shaping the political map of the modern Middle East. This turn of events will provide a chance to modernize the international discussions on the Armenian Question. So, we should be ready.

THE HEADS OF SMYRNA'S *TERUNI* DIOCESE (from the 1610s to 1825)

Kharatyan A. A.

Corresponding Member of NAS RA

The restoration of the Official List of the heads of the diocese of Smyrna is closely related to the history of Ejmiatsin *teruni* (belonging to Ejmiatsin) diocese as a religious institution which had a historical significance of preserving Armenian national values.



St. Ejmiatsin Cathedral

The study of the Official List of the heads of the diocese of Smyrna takes its beginning in the researches of eminent scholars A. Alpoyachyan and Bishop T. Palyan¹. We launch the List of the heads of the diocese of Smyrna with a quite different from each other order and dating, discussing them separately. First, we have to note that the said List of Trdat Palyan begins with the name of Vardapet (Archimandrite) Hovsep,

starting from the year 1689; and A. Alpoyachyan does it with the head, mentioned long before that.

1. *Prkntosh Karapet*, 1614-15.

A. Alpoyachyan cites his primary source, the well-known work by G. Srvandztyants with a remarkable writing, which is unfamiliar to Trdat Palyan. Here, Grigor of Caesarea, who seated on the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople more than once (in the 1st half



The Bay of Smyrna

of the 17th century), rebukes the Catholicos of the time, Melkiset, for having violated the ecclesiastical order, “And Prnktoş Karapet who became a *Horom* (a Catholic) and took

¹ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, Կ. Պոլիս, 1904, 14/27 - 15/28 ապրիլի: Նոյնի՝ Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի (առաջնորդական ընտրութեան առթիւ), Բիւզանդիոն, 1908, 10/23, 10/25, 13/26, 14/27, 15/28, 16/29 ապրիլի: Also see Իզմիրի հայոց առաջնորդները, Դափնի, Զմյուռնիա, 1922, թիւ 9, էջ 280-282: Պալեան Տ. եպս., Գաւազանագիրք առաջնորդաց Զմիւռնիոյ, Դափնի, 1921, թիւ 1, էջ 25-28, թիւ 2, էջ 59-63, թիւ 3, էջ 91-93:

a Roman wife and more than seven years with that wife lived in Rome, now you have given an order of episcopacy and appointed him as the head of Tira, Izmir² and Manissa”³.

2. *Archbishop Trdat, 1635.*

Priest Sarkis mentions in the colophon of the book of cures copied by him in that same year, “By the grace of God our spiritual father and living martyr, his eminence Archbishop Trdat invited us and bestowed us with the power of priesthood...we went to Izmir and Kozelhissar, which is a Diocese of evangelist Ohan and we received the order and honor of the priesthood there, came to Izmir and began writing the book of cures again...And this event took place in the Armenian year ՌՁԴ (1635), on the 10th of June...This was written in the time of Catholicos Philipos, Supreme Patriarch, who is the second Illuminator of the Armenians for now”⁴.

The present valuable record permits us to conclude that in about 1635 the principal eparchial center of Smyrna and its suburbs was not there but in Aytn (Kuzelhissar), where Archbishop Trdat held the eparchial position. Second, Smyrna was the diocese of Ejmiatsin as it was in the 1610s, in the time of Prnktosh Karapet, which is certified by Priest Sargis through the citation of Catholicos Philipos. We have to add that this record was not at the disposal of T. Palyan, hence, Archbishop Trdat is off his list.

3. *Kirakos Talintsi, 1651.*

He is mentioned in one of the manuscripts of the said year as a “guardian” (the head) of the Smyrna diocese; and according to a colophon, “sinful Kirakos Talintsi of the Ararat land and of the diocese of St. Illuminator, educated and nurtured in the Mother See of Holy Ejmiatsin and nominated as a trustee in Smyrna of Lycians...”⁵.

One doesn't know when Kirakos Talintsi had been appointed eparch and left this position; only according to his testimonies, he was the eparch of Smyrna in 1651 (that is, during the war of Candia), and the population of this city suffered all of the disasters of the war.

This eparch is missing from the lists of the mentioned authors, too.

4. *Archmandrite Stephanos, 1655.*

A. Alpoyachyan mentions this Archimandrite as a disciple of Hakob Jughayetsi, citing “Divan of Armenian History”⁶. A. Alpoyachyan considers the years 1657-1663 as a period of his leadership. Davit Baghishetsi tells in his Chronology that Stephanos was

² Smyrna.

³ Սրուանձտեանց Գ., Թորոս աղբար կամ ճամբորդ Հայաստանի, մասն Բ, Կ. Պոլիս, 1884, էջ 281.

⁴ Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ժէ դարի, հ. Բ (1621-1640), կազմ. Հակոբյան Վ., Հովհաննիսյան Ա., Երևան, 1958, էջ 596:

⁵ Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ժէ դարի, հ. Գ (1641-1660), կազմ. Հակոբյան Վ., Երևան, 1984:

⁶ Մատենադարան, Ա. Ալպոյաճյանի դիվան, թղթ. 7, վավ. 17-1: Also see Դիան Հայոց պատմութեան, հ. Ժ, ԺԵ-ԺԹ դարեր, հրատ. Աղանեանց Գ., Թիֆլիս, 1912, էջ 52: Մանր ժամանակագրություններ, XIII-XVIII դդ., հ. 2: Կազմ. Հակոբյան Վ., Երևան, 1956, էջ 361:

the eparch of Smyrna, being one of the disciples of Catholicos Hakob Jughayetsi among others⁷. It is hard to say what a source A. Alpoyachyan used when pointing the years 1657-1663. T. Palyan doesn't mention this head.

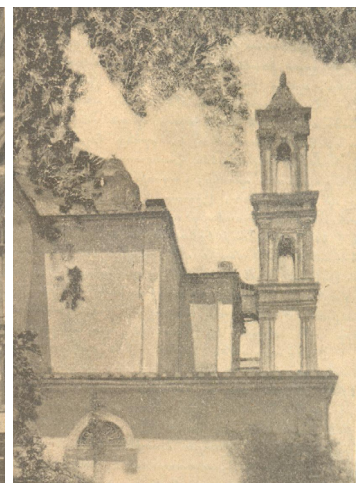
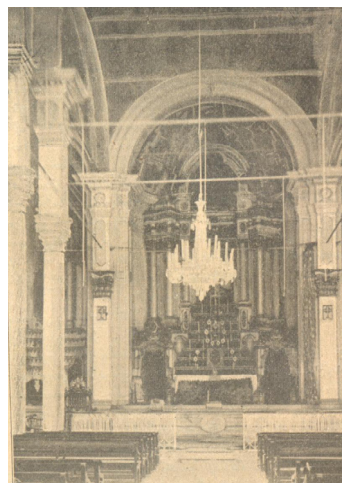
5. Bishop Maghakia Epesatsi (of Ephesus), died in 1661.

Referring to an epitaph on this bishop (buried in Aytn, 1661), published by H. Kosyan, A. Alpoyachyan supposes that he “was in this area (coastal regions of the Aegean Sea- A. Kh.) while holding the position of the diocese's head”⁸. The supposition is indeed possible, especially when we saw in the case of the Bishop Trdat that Aytn was the Eparchial See in the 17th century.

6. Archimandrite Barsegh, before 1665.

A. Alpoyachyan mentions this head when pointing to a *Voskeporik* (before 1665), “the head of Izmir city, Archimandrite Barsegh came to the town of Man... (certainly Manissa - A. Kh.), where two priests I ordained as a servants of the St. Illuminator Church...”⁹. Literally, almost the same is found in the Official List of the heads of the diocese by T. Palyan but without Voskeporik and reference of 1665¹⁰.

We do not know other remark on Archimandrite Barsegh.



The church of St. Stephanos.
Senior Altar. Bell tower.

7. Archmandrite Hovsep, 1683-1706.

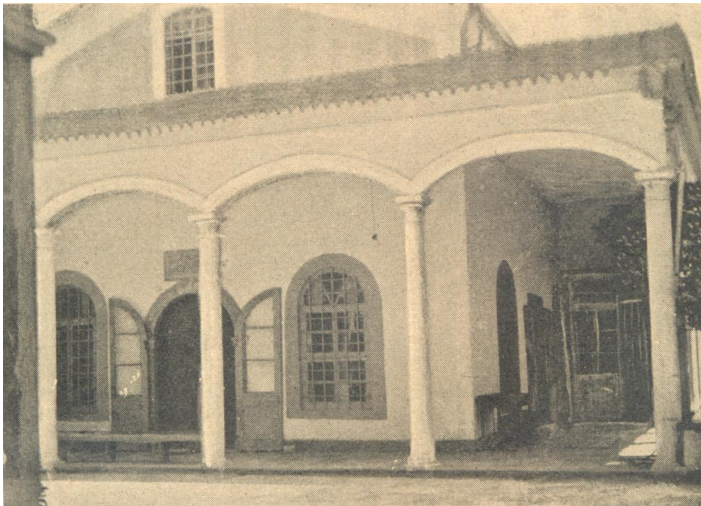
⁷ Մատենադարան, Ա. Ալպոյաճյանի դիվան, թղթ. 7, վավ. 17-1: Also see Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան, հ. Ժ, ԺԵ-ԺԹ դարեր, հրատ. Աղանեանց Գ., Թիֆլիս, 1912, էջ 52: Մանր ժամանակագրություններ, XIII-XVIII դդ., հ. 2: Կազմ. Հակոբյան Վ., Երևան, 1956, էջ 361:

⁸ Ալպոյաճյան Ա., Իզմիրի հայոց առաջնորդները, Դափնի, 1922, թիվ 9, էջ 280: See the article by H. Kossyan, «Ակնարկ մը հնութեան բեկորներու», Հանդէս ամսօրեայ, 1906, թիւ 9, էջ 279:

⁹ Մատենադարան, Ա. Ալպոյաճյանի դիվան, թղթ. 7, վավ. 17-1, էջ 72:

¹⁰ Մատենադարան, Ա. Ալպոյաճյանի դիվան, թղթ. 7, վավ. 17-1, էջ 72:

T. Palyan points out this head first in his Official List, based upon the inscription on the repairs of St. Stephanos and St. Bartholomew church, where is mentioned the head of Smyrna, Archimandrite Hovsep¹¹. T. Alpayachyan adds to the mentioned facts other details about Archimandrite Hovsep: Hovsep is mentioned in the inscription (dated 1661) on the chapel of the church of St. Illuminator in Manissa. As H. Kossyan calls attention to the fact that Hovsep stayed and participated in publication of an Armenian book in Venice in 1686-1687. In 1691 he kept the position of the diocese's head, in 1696 was in Constantinople, preaching Catholicism and was imprisoned by Avetik Patriarch's instruction. He was alive still in 1706 (his name is mentioned in the public petition of Constantinople Armenians, addressed to Catholicos Alexander). He is referred to both as the legate of Ejmiatsin and the Head of Smyrna's diocese. It matches the name of Archbishop Hovsep Kyoleyanyan, who was a Catholic and Catholicos had to send him to Rome unless the death occurred. "Now it is interesting to clarify whether the head of Smyrna's diocese, mentioned for the period of 1661-1706, is the same person or two personalities, different from each other. This issue was desirable to be resolved", A. Alpayachyan says¹².



The Church of St. Illuminator

An important detail may be added to the biography of Smyrna diocese's head, Archimandrite Hovsep, which, we think, confirms the date when he entered upon the post of diocese's head.

Archimandrite Hovsep himself lets know in a manuscript of Pirghalemyan's collection, kept in the Matenadaran (The Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts), that "I, the head of Izmir, Archimandrite Hovsep and the attendant (of mine) Azaria entered Izmir on August 26 of the Armenian year 1132 (1683 AD). And we left St. Ejmiatsin for Izmir on July 1st of the same year"¹³.

Consequently, the time when Hovsep was appointed to the office of diocese's head is 1683 and the personality of Hovsep, mentioned in the inscription of 1661 in

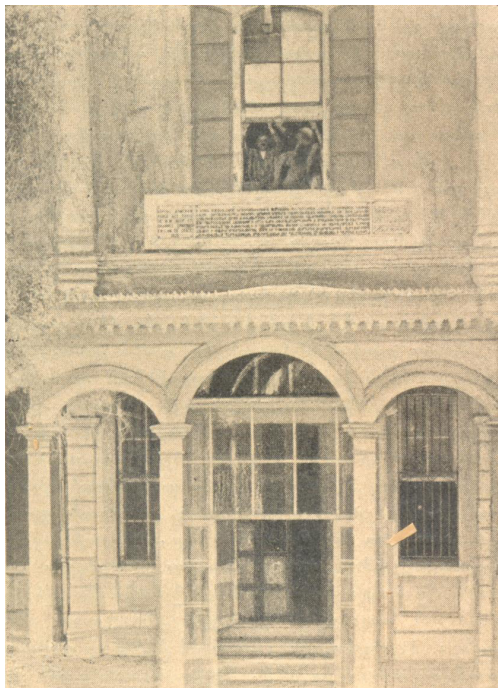
¹¹ Պալյան Տ., op. cit., N 1, pp. 25-26: This inscription is remarkable for another elucidation, too, "I, the head of Izmir, Archimandrite Hovsep, relied on God's mercy through St. Stephanos and St. Bartholomew, and founded the church", one reads there. The phrase provides evidence about a church with the names of two Saints in Smyrna in the 17th century. It had been mentioned with the name of one (St. Stephanos) or another (St. Bartholomew) in manuscripts more than once since 1625. The mention of the church's full name in the inscription under question puts an end to every uncertainty in this regard.

¹² Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Իզմիրի Հայոց առաջնորդները, Դափնի, 1922, թիւ 9, էջ 281: See ibid., p. 280-281, the remarks of A. Alpayachyan about Hovsep.

¹³ Մատենադարան, Փիրղալեմյանի հավաքածու, ձեռ. 6332, էջ 251ա:

Manissa church and referred to by H. Kosyan, seems to lose its significance in this case, for he is not mentioned as a head. A. Alpoyachyan stays on this fact, too, remarking “one does not say that he is an Eparch”¹⁴. Therefore, it remains to identify Hovsep between the years of 1689 (the inscription in St. Stephanos church) and 1706 (the latest evidence of Hovsep).

Let us come again to the mentioned inscription of 1661 in Manissa church. Having no concern specifically with the practice of Hovsep as an eparch, it helps anyhow to determine the period of the said practice. If the long and hard course of his rule as an eparch, the period of 1661-1706, could give rise either to doubt or to correction then the same can't be said about the time of 1683-1706, when nothing is strange regarding both the evidences of Hovsep and the logicity of the eparchial period, first of all. Hence, it is very likely that, as we have observed, Hovsep or Hovsep Kyoleyanyan is one and the same person mentioned in all records of 1683-1706, the legate of Ejmiatsin and the diocese's head in Smyrna in those times.



The facade of the St. Illuminator Hospital

8. Ignatius Miakani, before 1670.

This clergyman was not included in the lists of Alpoyachyan and T. Palyan. He is mentioned as a legate (which is synonymous with the eparch) of Ejmiatsin in negative colors in a writing of 1670 by E. Kyomurtchyan¹⁵. Therefore, Ignatius was a legate and eparch either in 1670 or earlier, most likely in the 1660s, when the dispute between Hakob Jughayetsi (of Jugha) and Yeghiazar Ayntaptsi for the rights of Ejmiatsin in the Ottoman Empire was escalated¹⁶. E. Kyomurtchyan, encouraging Yeghiazar, speaks thoroughly about the supporters of Catholicos Hakob and, in parallel, the death of Ignatius Miakani, as well.

A. Alpoyatchyan and T. Palyan, following him, have included Archimandrite Grigor Samuelyan in the Official List of eparchs for the period of the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century¹⁷. According to A. Alpoyatchyan, the records on Samuelyan “need to be reinvestigated since the period, determined for his eparchial

¹⁴ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., op. cit., p. 280.

¹⁵ See Գալէմքեարեան Գր., Կենսագրութիւններ երկու հայ պատրիարքներու և տասն եպիսկոպոսներու և ժամանակին հայ կաթողիկէայք, Վիեննա, 1915, էջ 73:

¹⁶ Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. IV, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1972, էջ 125:

¹⁷ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 12/25 ապրիլի: Պալյան Տ., op. cit., Դափնի, 1921, 1, p. 26:

rule, turns to bishop Hovsep”¹⁸. Indeed, it is Hovsep who was the eparch of Smyrna in 1683-1706 we have seen above.

9. *Archimandrite Hayrapet, 1715.*

He is one of the first eparchs of the 18th century who is mentioned in a colophon of Pirghalemyan's collection, “the writing of mine was made in the time of giving the staff of eparchial power to father Hayrapet, divine archimandrite, to have benefit of on May 21st of the Armenian year 1164 (1719 AD), who is the diocese head of the Lycians’ town Smyrna and its province”¹⁹.

We don’t know additional information about this eparch.

10. *Bishop Nerses of Ephesus, 1717.*

He is mentioned in the list of A. Alpoyatchyan with a reference of the colophon of “Interpretation” by Hovhannes Voskeberan, published in 1717, where is mentioned “honorable Bishop of Ephesus, Nerses”. A. Alpoyatchyan, naturally, doesn't consider Ephesus, near to Smyrna, as a separate diocese and thinks truly that Nerses was the head of the same Smyrna episcopate just with the title “of Ephesus”²⁰.

11. *Archimandrite Simeon, 1718.*

His name appears exactly after the name of Bishop Nerses and herein the historian points to an encyclical of Catholicos Astvatsatur in 1718, where the latter orders the Armenian merchants of Venice to dispatch some goods for Archimandrite Simeon²¹. Bishop Nerses and archimandrite Nerses were inserted in the chronological table of T. Palyan.

12. *Ghazar Jahketsi, 1735-1737.*

According to T. Palyan, Ghazar Jahketsi implemented the duty of legate in the mentioned period, and A. Alpoyatchyan had determined 1737 before A. Alpoyatchyan²². Immediately after finishing the office he was elected Catholicos of Ejmiatsin. M. Ormanyanyan points out more precisely that Jahketsi was elected catholicos in July 1737 and left for Ejmiatsin from his eparchic seat²³.

13. *Archbishop Minas Pervazyan, 1735.*

As A. Alpoyatchyan points out, he was the diocese head in 1736 (before Ghazar Jahketsi, we would add) for a short while, for the latter receiving his post in the same

¹⁸ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Իզմիրի հայոց առաջնորդները, էջ 281:

¹⁹ Մատենադարան, Փիրղալեմյանի հավաքածու, ձեռ. 6332, էջ 268-ա:

²⁰ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., *op. cit.*, p. 281.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Պալյան Տ., *op. cit.*, p. 26: Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բյուզանդիոն, 1904, 12/25 ապրիլի.

²³ Օրմանյան Մ., *op. cit.*, հ. Բ, pp. 3373-3374:

year, 1735, continued the duty until 1737. “The head and Archbishop of Smyrna” was already in Italy where he had adopted Catholicism and “stayed along with the Mekhitaristes as a bishop-consecrator”²⁴.

In 1736 he was not in his position, being already in Italy, but he is mentioned with that position, which had already been left behind.

14. Bishop Alexander Byuzandatsi (of Byzantium) (Garagash), 1743-1745.

A. Alpoyatchyan and T. Palyan trace the period of his pastorship of Garagash through the years 1743 and 1745; at the same time T. Palyan takes into account both the inscription in St. Stephanos church and the colophon of the book “Interpretation of Narek”, published by Patriarch H. Nalyan²⁵.

A. Alpoyatchyan puts under question the parsonage of Archimandrite Petros, chronologically (1746) following Garagash, pointing to a short recording in a notebook of the Aytn church with the following phrase, “during the time of Archimandrite Petros”²⁶. Apparently, T. Palyan reiterated either the record of Alpoyatchyan or the source Alpoyatchyan has applied to, he himself having been uncertain on the authenticity of evidences about Archimandrite Petros²⁷.

Alexander Byuzandatsi has been elected Catholicos of Ejmiatsin.

15. Sahak Ahagin (Huge), (Isahak), 1754-1755.

A. Alpoyatchyan ascertained him the date of 1755 both as an eparch and as a disciple of Patriarch Kolot Hovhannes (Iohannes), taking into account the encyclical of Catholicos Al. Garagash, addressed both “to our beloved brother, Isahak, at first, and to our eparch and divine archimandrite”²⁸. Sahak Ahagin was elected Catholicos after the death of Byuzandatsi (1755) but neither left for Ejmiatsin nor assumed the position, and Hakob Shamakhetsi was elected Catholicos just in 1759. Sahak died in St. Illuminator monastery of Karin (Erzrum) in 1763²⁹. Having pointed out the virtual resignation of Sahak, Gr. Galemkeryan, too, reports that he was the eparch of Smyrna up to then³⁰.

²⁴ Գալէմքեարեան Գր., Կենսագրութիւն Սարգիս արքեպ. Սարաֆեան եւ ժամանակին հայ կաթողիկէայք, Վիեննա, 1908, էջ 224: The fact that Archbishop Minas was in Italy in 1736 and had with him some of St. Hripsime's remains is informed by M. Tchamtchyan for the first time (see Չամչեան Մ., op. cit., p. 573): Also see Ալիշան Ղ., Հայ-Վենետ կամ յարընչութիւնք հայոց եւ Վենետաց, Վենետիկ, 1896, էջ 343.

²⁵ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 12/25 ապրիլի: Պալեան Տ., op. cit., pp. 26-27.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Գալէմքեարեան Գր., Յարութիւն Վ. Լեւոնեան, Հանդէսամսօրեայ, 1913, թիւ 9, էջ 386-387: See also Մանր ժամանակագրութիւններ, XIII-XVIII դդ. (կազմ. Հակոբյան Վ.), Երևան, 1951, էջ 342: About the ambiguous relations of Sahak Ahagin with the Brotherhood of Ejmiatsin after 1756 see Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 2, վավ. 12, where Sahak takes the position of catholicos as “Father Isahak, His Holiness Catholicos of All Armenians”.

M. Ormanyan indicates 1754 as a period of his pastorship³¹, and T. Palyan³², 1755; however, it remains unknown which one is the previous date of Sahak's pastorship.

16. Abraham Astapattsi, 1756-1764.

He was the successor of Sahak Ahagin³³. Abraham Astapattsi undertook educational-instructive activities in Smyrna. The printing house of Mahtes's Markos was built up during his ministry, in 1759, where three books were published, including the work of Yeznik (1762). Astapattsi assisted Catholicos Simeon in the cultural field and fostered his aspirations to oversee the patriarchate of Constantinople through the pontifical vicar³⁴ as a result of which he was expelled from Constantinople³⁵. In his turn, M. Mseryants observes that the item of establishing a vicegerency of Ejmiatsin in Constantinople was brought forth by Astapattsi³⁶.

17. Ghukas Karnetsi, 1764-1775.

Catholicos Simeon lets know the people of Smyrna's patriarchal diocese through the encyclical, dated March 10 1764, that he dispatches "Ghukas, a divine Archimandrite, to be your eparch who went there"³⁷. Having already been ordained as Catholicos, Ghukas points out the date of his pastorship in the encyclical sent for Smyrnians, "because I was still in the post of both Cathedral legate and Eparch of the capital city Smyrna and the whole of your diocese as well for twenty years", that is, 1764-1776. One might think that Ghukas prolongs the date of his duty for a year, which will be seen below. A. Alpoyatchyan and T. Palyan mention supposedly and, at the same time, rightly the date of assuming the pastorship by Ghukas (1764), but both of them misjudge when considering the year 1780 (when Ghukas was elected Catholicos) as a termination of his ministry³⁸.

However, Ghukas had been called back to Ejmiatsin in 1775 (and not in 1780), and a new eparch, that same Archimandrite Yesaya, was referred for Smyrna instead of him³⁹.

³¹ Օրմանեան Մ., Ազգապատում, հ. Բ, էջ 3454:

³² Պալեան Տ., op. cit., p. 27.

³³ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., op. cit., Պալեան Տ., op. cit., p. 27.

³⁴ Չամչյան Մ., op. cit., հ. III, p. 872.

³⁵ Ibid, հ. III, p. 872.

³⁶ Մսերեանց Մ., Պատմութիւն կաթողիկոսաց Էջմիածնի, 1763-1831: Մոսկվա, 1876, էջ 1:

³⁷ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 243, վավ. 22:

³⁸ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 13/26 ապրիլի: Պալլաս Տ., op. cit., Դավինի, 1921, թիւ 1, p. 28:

³⁹ Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան, Գիրք Ը, Սիմէոն կաթողիկոսի յիշատակարանը (1767-1776), հրատ. Գ. քահ. Աղանեանց, Թիֆլիս, 1908, էջ 452-453: Ինքը՝ Ղուկասը, Էջմիածին է վերադարձել 1776 թ., ինչպես գրում է ինքը (Դիվան Հայոց պատմութեան, Գիրք առաջին, Ղուկաս Կարնեցի, հ. Ա, 1780-1785: Աշխատասիրութ. Վ. Գրիգորյանի, Երևան, 1984, էջ 103.

18. Archimandrite Yesaya, 1775-1779, 1782-1784.

Yesaya was appointed eparch twice; first, as we saw, by Simeon's order in 1775, when Yesaya took the place of Ghukas and whom M. Ormanyan writes about very precisely, "Archimandrite Yesaya was appointed successor and departed on June 23 1775"⁴⁰. Then, Yesaya gave the position of diocese's head to Philipos (Philip) as Catholicos Simeon was announcing about that to the compatriots living in Amsterdam⁴¹; Yesaya was again appointed the head of diocese on May 1782, superseding Philipos⁴². Both Yeasaya and Philipos are not mentioned in the work of T. Palyan at all; remarks are made for the pastorship of Bishop Isahak (also called Sahak Ahagin/Huge/) after Ghukas in 1784 and the "following few years"⁴³ in the table of Palyan, which is not correct. Yesaya died in the position of both Smyrna's head and legate; Smyrnians informed Catholicos Ghukas about his death who recollects this event in the paper, addressed to them in 1784⁴⁴.

19. Bishop Philipos, 1779-1782.

He was the diocese's head between the two periods of Yesaya's pastorship.

A. Alpoyatchyan writes that "Izmirians rejected him in 1782"⁴⁵. Accomplishing the first triennial period, Philipos came into collision with the Armenians of Smyrna; hence, he was called back to Ejmiatsin, conceding his position to Yesaya. Nevertheless, Yeasaya did not accomplished the second triennial of his officiating and returned to Ejmiatsin in 1779. The appointment of Philipos was not a smooth process from the beginning; once his position was affirmed by Simeon Ghukas reaffirmed him in 1780, recommending Smyrnians "to love (him) again apparently...both as a Supreme Nuncio and as an Eparch"⁴⁶.

Probably, this date of reappointment gave reason to A. Alpoyatchyan for tracing the period of Philipos's pastorship with the year 1780.

20. Archimandrite Michael, May 1784 - December 1784.

This eparch is not mentioned in any of the eparchial tables. He was the nephew of the late Archimandrite Yeasaya and whose appointment is recorded by Ghukas in his encyclical, dated May 16 1784⁴⁷. Catholicos apprises of the same matter to the eminent Armenians of Smyrna, Astvatsatur Aprozian and K. Tchelikyan of Mahtes⁴⁸. However,

⁴⁰ Օրմանեան Մ., op. cit., p. 3627.

⁴¹ Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան, Գիրք ԺԱ, էջ 321:

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Պալեան Տ., op. cit., Դափնի, 1921, N 1, p. 28.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 243, վավ. 51:

⁴⁷ Դիվան Հայոց պատմության, Գիրք առաջին, Ղուկաս Կարնեցի, էջ 421: Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 5, վավ. 32, էջ 8:

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 7.

Ghukas offers him decisively to return to Ejmiatsin as a response to the request of “Superior Michael” to prolong his stay in Smyrna, “your stay doesn’t bring a profit for you, and be in a hurry to reach Holy See a day before”⁴⁹.

21. *Archimandrite Galust, 1785-1790.*

T. Palyan misses four years after 1784, having seen the eparchy seat occupied only in 1788 in the person of Archimandrite Galust⁵⁰ and, meanwhile, not mentioning the termination of his eparchy function. The reference of Catholicos Ghukas’s encyclical, addressed to K. Tchelikyan and dated July 25 1790, made by him is noteworthy, by which Catholicos reassures his addressee “to assist our sacred son and genius Archimandrite, Galust, as expected...and we have an intention by the leave of God to prepare and send him as a legate and Eparch in the autumn.”⁵¹

It is beyond doubt that Catholicos accomplished his intention after that, sending Isahak as a new eparch and legate afterwards, in 1791, which we’ll consider shortly after. The abovementioned encyclical of Catholicos makes clear that Galust had terminated his period of legate’s duty still in 1790, which could last three and more years, according to the tradition. Therefore, one can consider the period of at least three years after 1788, pointed out by T. Palyan, as an outset of Galust’s nunciature, more precisely, the year of 1785, especially since Archimandrite Michael occupied his post in 1784, as we saw, and the new head (Galust) could move out to Smyrna in 1785.

22. *Isahak (Sahak Ahagin/Huge II), 1791-1793.*

A. Alpoyatchyan regards 1790-1793 the period of his pastorship⁵² while Isahak had been sent to Smyrna in 1791 as Catholicos Ghukas informs Hovsep Arghutian⁵³. T. Palyan considers wrongly 1784 as the onset of Sahak’s (or Isahak) leadership, which is improper, “He came to Constantinople as a legate of Ejmiatsin in 1884 and was sent to Izmir with the position of eparch in the same year”, he writes⁵⁴. It could be considered that T. Palyreiterated the imprecision, effectuated by H. Asatur; the latter writes that Bishop Toros Ssetsi (of Sis) was ordained Catholicos of Cilicia in Constantinople on September 1784 and “during that period Archimandrite Sahak was a legate of Ejmiatsin...Sahak had feelings of hate toward Patriarch Zakaria and slapped him in the face in anger one day during a quarrel. Having heard the true story, Catholicos sent immediately the former legate Bishop Minas to Constantinople as a legate instead of Sahak and Sahak Ahagin went to Izmir as a diocese’s head (*1792) (i.e. died in 1792)⁵⁵. But H. Asatur points the year of Sahak’s death wrongly and that of the pastorship’s

⁴⁹ Դիվան Հայոց պատմության, Գիրք առաջին, Ղուկաս Կարնեցի, էջ 493:

⁵⁰ Պալյան Ս., *op. cit.*, Դափնի, 1921, N 1, p. 28.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Իզմիրի հայոց առաջնորդները, Դափնի, 1922, թիւ 9, էջ 282:

⁵³ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Իզմիրի հայոց առաջնորդները, Դափնի, 1922, թիւ 9, էջ 282:

⁵⁴ Պալեան Ս., *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁵⁵ Հրանտ Ասատուր, Կոստանդնուպոլսոյ հայերը եւ իրենց պատրիարքները, Ստանպուլ, 2011, էջ 128:

termination, accordingly; while the latter died in Smyrna as an eparch and legate, two or three months before November 1793⁵⁶ as Catholicos Ghukas indicates in his encyclical of November 1793.

23. *Bishop Danyel, 1793-1797.*

In that same encyclical, where Ghukas was informing of Archimandrite Isahak's death, it is noted as well that he ordains Danyel both as a legate and as a head of Smyrna, "requiring him to change the name of the great encyclical given to the late Archimandrite Isahak by that of his"⁵⁷. The 1793 is remarked also in the publication of Al. Yeritsyan as a starting time of Danyel's ministry⁵⁸, whereas A. Alpayatchyan considers 1797-1798 the period of commencement and termination of Danyel's pastorate. T. Palyan repeats the same inaccuracy and M. Ormalyan points out 1796-1797, in his turn⁵⁹.

Danyel reaches Smyrna from Constantinople on August 1794, which is evidenced by the paper written by Ghukas for Smyrnan pastor Galust in the same month⁶⁰.

One knows the discords between Danyel and some people of Smyrnan Armenians' elite since the coming of the new head to his service place. Things reached the point where the opponents addressed Catholicos through a formal request to replace Danyel by another head⁶¹.

Danyel had the support of influential Margar from the Aproyan house. The efforts of both Catholicos and Patriarch Zakaria Kaghzvantsi that they exerted in 1795-1797 to reconcile the two sides were all for nothing⁶². Catholicos was supposing among other things that the matter would not be solved through reconciliation and was writing, consequently, to patriarch Zakaria that he had an intention of replacing Danyel by Bishop Martiros in case of failure to reach a peace, and to send Danyel with the same authority to Rumelia⁶³. In reality, Danyel departed to Rumelia in 1797 and was elected Catholicos in 1801.

24. *Bishop Martiros, 1797-1816.*

T. Palyan considers the year 1798 the starting time of his pastorate, and A. Alpayatchyan deems incorrect both the name and the period of Smyrna's head in 1800-

⁵⁶ See Ղուկաս կաթողիկոսի 1793 թ. նոյեմբերի կոնդակը Զմյուռնիայի հայերին (Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 243, վավ. 59, նաև՝ թղթ. 5, վավ. 46).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Նիսիյեր Ներսէս Ե-ի կենսագրութեան համար: Ժողովեաց Աղ. Երիցեանց, Թիֆլիս, 1877, էջ 27:

⁵⁹ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 13/26 ապրիլի: Պալեան Տ., *op. cit.*, Դավինի, 1921, թիւ 2, էջ 59: Օրմանեան Մ., Ազգապատում, հ. Բ, Էջմիածին, 2001, էջ 3692:

⁶⁰ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսականդիվան, թղթ. 6, վավ. 40, էջ 36:

⁶¹ Դիւան հայոց պատմութեան, ԳիրքԴ, Ղուկաս կաթողիկոս, Թիֆլիս, 1899, էջ 744:

⁶² Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսականդիվան, թղթ. 6, վավ. 40, էջ 55-56:

⁶³ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 6, վավ. 40, էջ 55-56:

1801, that is, Bishop Martiros Syunyats, noted by H. Kossyan. He observes that in reality it comes to eparch Martiros Kesaratsi (of Caesarea) in the period of 1797-1816, and this fault of H. Kossyan derives from a colophon being read inaccurately⁶⁴. At the same time, he considers the period of 1798-1810 as a stage of Martiros's pastorate, noticing in addition that he doesn't know whether Martiros continued to officiate after 1810 or not⁶⁵. The commencement of pastorship is recorded more precisely by the evidences of Al. Yeritsyan, 1797, for Danyel leaves for Rumelia in 1797 after the unsuccessful attempts of both Catholicos and Patriarch Zakaria to reconcile Smyrnian elite and Danyel; and he could appear in Smyrna after that and during the same year⁶⁶. In addition, Martiros was writing to Catholicos Davit on July 1801, "Now...since the second year is passed that the sacramental affair was over and only the Diocese's Head exists and we are engaged in the work"⁶⁷. Hence, Martiros terminated the position of a legate, lasting three years as a rule, still in 1800, which had been commenced along with pastorship in 1797.

Now let's return to the termination of Martiros's ministry, which is traced with 1810 by A. Alpoyatchyan. Nevertheless, Martiros was officiating in 1812; he had written a letter to Nerses Ashtaraketsi on December 18 of the said year, informing about the plague broken out in Smyrna⁶⁸. Furthermore, there is a book on economic accounts of Ejmiatsin, where is found the following mention, "the tribute of Izmirians was seventy five toumans and was received through Bishop Martiros"⁶⁹. It is interesting that the testament of Martiros, dated September 1st 1811 and endorsed by the Smyrna Armenian "princes" in 1825, has been preserved⁷⁰.

Martiros was a reliable supporter of Davit during Davit-Danyel conflict, who was using his authority not only in the circle of Ejmiatsin's congregation but in that of Constantinople's high clergy for the benefit of his client and confederate⁷¹. Needless to say that the supporters of Danyel were united against him that gave rise to long lasting divisions⁷².

⁶⁴ Պալեան Տ., *op. cit.*, Դափնի, 1921, N 2, p. 60: Ալաօյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 14/27 ապրիլի: Տես նաև Քոստեան Հ., Հայք Ի Զմիւռնիա, հ. 1, էջ 113-114:

⁶⁵ Ալաօյաճեան Ա., *op. cit.*, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 13/26 ապրիլի: The problem of the period of Martiros's ministry is more complicated with a record (an unreliable one in our opinion) of N. Akinyan, according to which "the head of Smyrna, Archbishop Mesrop is also busy" with Aprozans' lineage in 1804. (Ալինեան Ն., Երեմիա Չէլէպի Քէօմիւրճեան, Վիեննա, 1933, էջ 239): We haven't further information of Archbishop Mesrop. Other way round, a document is preserved in Mekhitarists' storage of manuscripts in Venice, according to which the lineage of the Aprozans had been made by the head of Smyrna, Martiros, based on the documents; and the certificate was signed and endorsed by a group of priests and laymen on April 20 1804 (see Յուզակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մխիթարեան Մատենադարանին ի Վիեննա, հ. Բ, կազմ. Յ. Ոսկեան, Վիեննա, 1963, էջ 333).

⁶⁶ Նիլթեր Ներսէս Ե-ի կենսագրութեան համար, էջ 27:

⁶⁷ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսականիվան, թղթ. 11, վավ. 92.

⁶⁸ Ibid, թղթ. 29, վավ. 133:

⁶⁹ Ibid, թղթ. 29, վավ. 151:

⁷⁰ Ibid, թղթ. 22-ը, վավ. 52-ա:

⁷¹ Դիւան հայոց պատմութեան, գիրք Դ, էջ 746:

⁷² Davit and, consequently, Martiros were under the support of famous people in Smyrna, Moskov Hovhannes, St. Azaryan, G. Harutyunyan, and others; Danyel was apparently backed by the most influential persons, Margar Aprozan

Danyel was considering Martiros a dangerous opponent, having complained of him in a letter addressed to Alexander I⁷³. For his lasting parsonage Martiros was obliged to the confusion of Davit-Danyel struggle.

25. Bishop Philipos (Philip), 1816-1821.

A. Alpayatchyan refers to the donative of a book, dated October 26 1820, Izmir, “from your humble servant Philipos, Bishop of Smyrna”, adding that “hereby one can’t say, of course, either when he had come to Izmir or when he had left it”⁷⁴. However, some sources provide sufficient records both for one and the other. Philipos succeeded Martiros in the same year, 1816, which is evidenced by the encyclical of Catholicos Yeprem, dated April 15 1816, about the appointment of Philipos as a legate and head of Smyrna as well as about calling Martiros back to Ejmiatsin⁷⁵.

Philipos himself reached Smyrna on May 1816⁷⁶. It was the time of Philipos’s pastorship when Smyrnian priest H. M. Vanandetsi copied the composition “Book of souls and angels” by Thomas Aquinas and translated by Stephanos Lehatsi (of Poland), in 1817-1820⁷⁷. In the autumn of 1816 and thereafter Philipos implemented his mission as a legate in the neighboring dioceses of Smyrna, Manissa, Kassaba, Payantir, Eydemish and elsewhere⁷⁸. This head has the same name in the person of Philipos, the eparch of Smyrna in 1779-1782. Perhaps, they are the same person from the standpoint of time and in theory, but they are different persons; one has provided the biography of the last Philipos in a manuscript composed in 1820 during his pastorate, which says that he was a legate in Karin, Tigranakert and Amid prior to coming to Smyrna, and not a single word is found about him being an eparch there previously⁷⁹.

Philipos came into collision with the elite of Smyrnian Armenians like the eparch of the same name in former times. Nerses Ashtaraketsi wrote to Margar Aprozian not in vain on December 1819 that “the division is not discontinued there on account of discord’s planters”⁸⁰. These collisions lasted in 1820 as well and up to the departure of Philipos to Ejmiatsin on March 1821⁸¹.

26. Bishop Stephanos (Stephan) Yenovkian, 1821-1825.

Both A. Alpayatchyan and T. Palyan are overstepping the order of priority of the diocese heads, considering Bishop Stephanos (Stephan) Aghavni (Pigeon) as a

with his supporters (see Դիան հայոց պատմութեան, Գիրք Է, մասներկրորդ, Դատիթկաթողիկոս: Հրատ. Գ. Աղանեան, Թիֆլիս, 1909, էջ 164-165).

⁷³ Դիան հայոց պատմութեան, Գիրք Ե, հրատ. Գ. Աղանեան, Թիֆլիս, 1902, էջ 290:

⁷⁴ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իգմիրի, «Բիզանդիոն», 1904, 14/27 ապրիլի:

⁷⁵ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 243, վավ. 148:

⁷⁶ Մատենադարան, ձեռ. 2718, էջ 77:

⁷⁷ Մատենադարան, ձեռ. 2718, էջ 77:

⁷⁸ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 29, վավ. 160, էջ 12, 33, 39-41, 46-47:

⁷⁹ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 29, վավ. 160, էջ 12, 33, 39-41, 46-47:

⁸⁰ Մատենադարան, Ներսէս Աշտարակեցու արխիվ, թղթ. 165, վավ. 165

⁸¹ See Տես Դիան հայոց պատմութեան, Գիրք Դ, էջ 746.

successor to Philipos⁸², whereas Philipos was succeeded not by Aghavni, but by the namesake of the latter, Bishop Stephanos Yenovkian, who reached Smyrna on January 21, 1821 and undertook the duty of pastorate; and Philipos moved to Ejmiatsin from Manissa on March 20 of the same year⁸³. As concerns Bishop Stephanos Aghavni, he appeared in Smyrna not as a traditional head from Ejmiatsin and a legate, but as a patriarchal vicar from Constantinople after resignation of Stephanos Yenovkian on February 1825⁸⁴.

The fact that the Sublime Porte was preparing to take out the diocese of Smyrna and those of other districts of the Ottoman Empire from the jurisdiction of Ejmiatsin, conducting a Turkish insidious policy, was known to the latter still in 1824. The legate of Ejmiatsin to Constantinople, Archbishop Astvatsatur was seeking “to drop his duties” because of “public suspicion”, as Nerses was cautiously writing to Stephanos⁸⁵. To confront the threats, excited against Astvatsatur, Stephanos should leave for Constantinople. This fact becomes obvious from the letter of Nerses Ashtaraketsi, dated December 24 1824 and addressed to Stephanos; apparently, he requires the head of Smyrna more than once to be cautious for information oversupply⁸⁶.



The facade of St. Mesropian Male College,
Smyrna

It's clear that Ejmiatsin tried to sustain the presence of Astvatsatur in the Ottoman Empire for the price of providing him with the head's position of Stephanos in Smyrna, in particular. That is exactly what the Smyrnians asked for in their plea addressed to patriarch, that is to say, they wanted Astvatsatur to undertake the duties of their resigned head, Stephanos. As Stephanos writes in his letter of May 5 1825, Patriarch intended to send the head of Pantrma, Stephanos Arhi (that same Aghavni/Pigeon), to Smyrna as a patriarchal vicar by the advice of Amiras, rejecting the mentioned plea⁸⁷. It meant that Ejmiatsin was henceforth deprived of its diocese in Smyrna, which was going under the disposal of Constantinople's Patriarchate. By the way, A. Alpoyatchyan thinks, and it's hard to accept his

⁸² Ալպոյաճեան Ա., Առաջնորդութիւն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 14/27 ապրիլի: Պալեան Տ., op. cit., Դափնի, 1921, թիւ 2, էջ 61.

⁸³ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ, 38, վավ. 108-ա:

⁸⁴ Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ, 38, վավ. 108-ա:

⁸⁵ Մատենադարան, Ներսէս Աշտարակեցու արխիվ, թղթ. 166, վավ. 16:.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Մատենադարան, Դիվան Կարապետ արքեպիսկոպոսի, թղթ. 163-բ, վավ. 786:

opinion, that “the Patriarchate makes an effort to join Smyrna to its diocese at the beginning of 1825 for the first time, sending Bishop Stephanos Aghavni there with the title of Patriarchal Vicar”, after which “made a second try and succeeded this time”⁸⁸.

The mentioned letter of Stephanos disproves completely the Patriarchate’s initiative or an attempt in this matter. It comes to the general decision both to liquidate *teruni* dioceses not only of Smyrna but also those of the patriarchal ones in the whole of the Ottoman Empire and to take them out of the jurisdiction of Ejmiatsin, which could do only the Ottoman state.

Stephanos Yenovkian, the last legate and the head of patriarchal diocese of Smyrna, terminated his ministry with the liquidation of that diocese at the beginning of 1825⁸⁹.

Roughly speaking, such is the overall portrait of the Official List of both the legates from Ejmiatsin and the heads of Smyrna’s patriarchal diocese, which needs further additions and adjustments.



The building of Hripsimyats Female College, Smyrna



Ghukas Karnetsi

Due to the nationwide authority of Smyrna’s Patriarchal Diocese, five of its heads were elected Catholicoses of All Armenians in the period of 1737-1801, Ghazar Jahketsi (1737-1751), Alexander Byuzandatsi (of Byzantium) *Garagash* (1753-1755), Sahak Ahagin (1756), Ghukas Karnetsi (of Karin) (1780-1799) and Danyel Surmaretsi (of Surmary) (1807-1808).

It is interesting to note, that later the All Armenian Catholicos Matteos I of Gonstantinople also was the head of the Smyrna (the first half of 1840s).

***Translated from Armenian
by V. M. Gharakhanyan***

⁸⁸ Ալաթյան Ա., Առաջնորդություն հայոց Իզմիրի, Բիւզանդիոն, 1904, 14/27 ապրիլի:

⁸⁹ Ibid, թղթ. 163-ը, վավ. 760:

THE HUMANITARIAN TREATMENT OF THE ARABS TOWARDS THE WESTERN ARMENIAN SURVIVORS OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE ACCORDING TO THE TESTIMONIES OF THE EYEWITNESS SURVIVORS

Svazlyan V. G.

Doctor of Sciences (Philology)

After the overthrow of Sultan Abdul Hamid's reign and the declaration of the 1908 Constitution, the party of the Young Turks, which formed the government, endeavored not only to preserve the Ottoman Empire, but also to brutally annihilate or to amalgamate and forcefully Turkify the Armenians and the other subject Christian peoples and to create a universal Pan-Islamic state extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Altai territory.

The eyewitness survivors of the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923), who, for the most part are no longer alive presently, narrated in every detail, during my recordings, the historico-political circumstances of the first genocide perpetrated in the 20th century.

The executive committee of Ittihat 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, as well as to the Kurds, the Circassians and the Chechens.

In these historico-political circumstances, the general mobilization, arms collection and the extermination of the Armenian intellectuals in the deserts had become the greatest evil for the Christian nations living in the Ottoman Empire, particularly, for the Armenians of Western Armenia, Cilicia and the Armenian inhabited localities of Asia Minor.

The mobilization in Turkey was followed by the arms collection. That 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.

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, Surudj and Deir-el-Zor and elsewhere.

The Genocide survivor, **Yeghissabet Kalashian** (b. 1888), from Moussa Ler (Dagh), has narrated her mournful past: *"At the time we were in the Arabian desert; we were living like animals - no clothes, no manner of life, no washing, no drinking. Even during the fulfillment of our natural needs the gendarmes stood by, showing an indecent behavior to women and girls. Food? What food? We gathered grass, we grazed on grass like animals. If we found salt, we ate grass with salt. Sometimes Arabs were seen in the distance. The Arab Bedevis (Bedouins) had a lot of sheep but they had no houses and lived in tents. These Arabs took pity on us and occasionally gave us some pilaf,*

*which we ate voraciously, since life is sweet.... My three little children died on the roads of exile. That is why I am all alone at this age...*¹

That is why the Armenian mothers, who were deprived of the elementary conditions of survival, after giving away their properties to the Turkish government and the armed brigands and feeling their imminent death, preferred to leave their beloved children to the kind Arabs, in order to preserve the children's life in case they themselves would be martyred.

Barouhi Chorekian (b. 1900), from Nicomedia, told us: *"...When they exiled us, we remained in the desert for twelve months. I and my three sisters fled to the forests. Swimming across the Khabur River (river flowing near Deir-el-Zor), we arrived near the Arab Bedouins. They sheared our lice-infested hair; they tattooed our face with ink in order to hide our Armenian origin. They gave us their sheep to graze"*².



Grigor Gyouzelian
(1903, Moussa Dagh)

A 90-year-old survivor, **Grigor Gyozealian** (b. 1903, Moussa Ler, Kabousié Village), remembered 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 secretly in the darkness³.

The same fact has also taken a poetical form in the following song, where the child-deprived mother hurried to cross the river and find her child sheltered *"in the Arab village"*:

*"Khabur,⁴ make way for me, let me cross the desert,
My child is in the Arab village, bare and naked,
Oh, mother! Oh, mother! Our condition was
lamentable,*

*At the time we were in the desert of Der-Zor"*⁵.

Mariam Baghdishian (b. 1909) has also narrated that she was five or six years old when, on the roads of exile, together with her sister, they played with the curls of their mother lying on the sands of the desert, unaware that she was already dead; then a certain Arab woman took her home, where the little Mariam carried water from the well with a jug over a four-year period. Once, when they wanted



Mariam Baghdishian
(1909, Moussa Dagh)

¹ Svazlyan V., *The Armenian Genocide: Testimonies of the Eyewitness Survivors*, Yerevan, 2011 (henceforth: *Testimony*) 282, p. 465.

² *Ibid.*, *Testimony*. 304, p. 499.

³ *Ibid.*, *Testimony*. 289, pp. 473-484.

⁴ Habur/Khabur - river flowing near Deir-el-Zor.

⁵ Svazlyan V., *op. cit.*, *Testimony*. 508, p. 574.

to tattoo her face with blue ink, she ran secretly away and took refuge in the Armenian orphanage with the help of a Greek priest⁶.



Sirena Alajajian
(1910, Adabazar)

A 90-year-old survivor, an inhabitant of the Armenian national St. Prkich (Savior - Arm.) old-age nursing home in Constantinople (Istanbul), **Sirena Alajajian** (b. 1910), from Adabazar, was four years old when the Turks murdered her father and her mother. The Arab desert inhabitants took care of the parentless child. After four years, following the Armistice in 1918, when the orphan-collectors were gathering the Armenian orphan children in the deserts, they saw an eight-year-old little girl with curly blond hair and blue eyes, her beautiful face tattooed with blue ink, and bearing an Arabic name. Undoubtedly, she was Armenian. Although she had forgotten her Armenian speech, but she had not forgotten to cross herself as a Christian, and that was the

proof that she was an Armenian-Christian. Thus, little Sirena was taken to the Armenian orphanage⁷.

Another eyewitness survivor from Nicomedia, **Barouhi Silian** (b. 1900), whose face was also tattooed, communicated to me: *"...We remained for twelve months in the desert. We had no bread, no water, no dwelling, nothing at all. From among our family of nine, only I remained alive; they killed my mother in front of my eyes, they took away my sister, my other younger sister, who was very young, fell ill and died, another sister got lost, we could not find each other. The gendarmes caught my sister-in-law, who was pregnant, and made a bet: 'What is inside this gâvur's belly?' said one of them. The other cut open her belly with a sword before our eyes and replied: 'Gâvurs do not bear boys, see!' I fled, with four other girls, to the forest and then swam across a river. An Arab took me to his home and told me: 'My daughter, I know you have no similar custom, but let me tattoo your face with blue ink, so that they will not take you for an Armenian.' I cried. I had neither bed, nor clothes. They tattooed my face, they sheared my thick braids. I did the housework there..."*⁸



Barouhi Silian
(1900, Nicomedia)

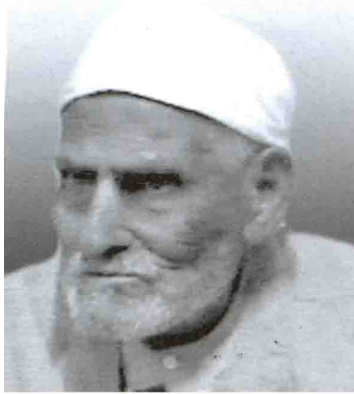
Except the Armenian eyewitness survivors (in 1999) the facts about the Armenian Genocide are testified also by the Arab desert inhabitants, 119 years old **al Gihim** (b. 1880, Rakka), **Bashir el Saadi** (b. 1901, Rakka), the Arab desert woman **Batra** (b.

⁶ Ibid., Testimony. 294, pp. 487-488.

⁷ Ibid., Testimony. 225, pp. 410-412.

⁸ Ibid., Testimony. 230, p. 414.

1906, Deir-el-Zor), **Hab Ali** (b. 1905, Ras-ul-Ayn), **Abdul Ghafour** (b. 1915, Ras-ul-Ayn) and others⁹.



al Gihim
(1880, Rakka)

The Arab desert inhabitant **al Gihim** (b. 1880, Rakka), an eyewitness of the Armenian Genocide, testified: *"I am already 119 years old. I was born in Rakka. I remember well the sufferings of the poor exiled Armenians. They had been violently driven out of their homeland and walked hungry and thirsty to the Syrian Deserts to the bank of the Euphrates River. The Turk butchers had deceived the Armenians, saying that they would soon return to their homes, but had taken them to the bank of the Rakka rampart and slaughtered. Only 7 families were rescued by our Arabs, who had helped them to escape and find shelter in their tents."*¹⁰

The Arab desert inhabitant **Bashir el Saadi** (b. 1901, Rakka) also testified: *"In 1915, I was 14 years old. I was a shepherd grazing the animals of our people on the bank of the Euphrates River, near Rakka. I saw groups of people – tired, exhausted, in rags, half-naked, who came to our areas. Later, I learned that the Turkish government had deported them from their homeland and had driven them to the Syrian deserts. Those Armenian exiles had walked under the guard of Turkish gendarmes for days, without knowing where they were going. They left their relatives by the roads. These were unable to walk and many of them had been killed by the Turks."*



Bashir el Saadi
(1901, Rakka)

*I and my cousins used to go to the desert on our camels and, seeing their miserable state, helped them by milking our camels and giving them the milk to drink instead of water. They were so emaciated and weak that all of a sudden they fell down on the ground and died"*¹¹.

While **Hab Ali** (b. 1905, Ras-ul-Ayn) recalled in his testimony how he had saved several Armenians and mentioned that a number of Arab tribes had also humanely succored the suffering Armenian deportees: *"I was ten years old in 1915 and I remember well the unfortunate Armenian deportees. They reached Ras-ul-Ayn tired, exhausted, half-naked and blood-stained. I, myself, took several of them and hid them in a large pit, and they were saved from the Turkish gendarmes pursuing them."*

⁹ Doctor of History, *Nora Arissian*, from Damascus, interviewed Arab-Bedouin habitants from the Syrian deserts in 1999 and passed the videocassette to the Archives of the Museum-Institute of the Armenian Genocide of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia. I have presented these five [Testimony. 302-306] testimonies, that I have deciphered and translated, in my mentioned book, pp. 498-306.

¹⁰ Svazlian V., op. cit., Testimony. 302, p. 498.

¹¹ Ibid., Testimony. 303, pp. 498-499.

A number of Syrian tribes also helped those Armenians. Among these kind Arabs were Shanmar, Bakkara, Oubada, Ajubeh, Harp, Al Muhamed, Al Hassan, Al Udwa, Jabra, Zubeyd and others who hid a great many Armenian women and children in their families and saved them from death.

The Turk gendarmes on horseback and the soldiers, escorting the Armenian deportees, forced them to walk without taking a rest. The Chechens, the Kurds and even the Turkish soldiers themselves attacked them with knives and struck them with axes, while the Arabs have never touched or hurt the Armenians¹².

Abdul Ghafour (b. 1915), living in the same Ras-ul-Ayn Desert, also testified: *"The Armenians, who had been driven out of their historical native land by the Turks, arrived in Ras-ul-Ayn completely exhausted and disorganized. In order to survive, they became servants in the houses of the Arabs. Their women had beautiful eyes and were very diligent. These women were obliged to marry our desert sheikhs or the heads of the villages. Some of them changed their religion, but some - did not. In time, negative consequences followed. Their state soon became sad and melancholic. Later they tried to search and find their relatives and kept links with them, but being honest women, they preserved their families.*

A young girl, whose father and mother had been killed by the Turks, had walked the road of exile with her two younger brothers. Due to exhaustion and hunger, her brothers had died on the way, and she, alone, had reached Ras-ul-Ayn. Out of despair, she married the sheikh of the Shamma tribe. She gave birth to me, thus becoming my sisters' and brothers' loving and caring mother¹³.



Batra
(1906, Deir-el-Zor)

Recalling the tragic state of the Armenian deportees, the Arab desert woman **Batra** (b. 1906, Deir-el-Zor) has described, at the same time, the suffering Armenian women: *"I am 93 years old woman. I am from the Syrian deserts. In 1915, I was 9 years old and I remember well how the exiled Armenian caravans arrived in Der-Zor one after the other. They had endured much torture. They were hungry, thirsty, in rags, and barefoot. They came and gathered near the Der-Zor bridge. We saw how the Turkish gendarmes and Chechens killed them. The women, who survived, married our Arab sheikhs and heads of the desert villages. They became good mothers of families. Most of them changed their religion, but some of them did not. We admired the beauty of Armenian women. They had marvelous eyes. Besides, they were balanced in nature, obedient and honest. They never begged.*

The Turks scattered the Armenians all over the Syrian deserts, but the Arabs pitied them and gathered them up¹⁴.

¹² Ibid., Testimony. 304, p. 499.

¹³ Ibid., Testimony. 305, p. 499.

¹⁴ Ibid., Testimony. 306, p. 499.

In the Syrian deserts, thanks to the kind Arab Bedouins, numerous generations of Armenians exist up to the present day, unfortunately having lost their mother tongue, changed their names and even apostatized; nevertheless, they still remember the national identity of their ancestors. These facts are testified also by the representatives of the subsequent generations of the eyewitness survivors, **Jirayr Reisian** (b. 1949, Aleppo), **Martiros Ashekian** (b. 1927, Aleppo), as well as **Hakob Moutafian** (b. 1980, Deir-el-Zor) and others.



Jirayr Reisian
(1949, Aleppo)

In 2005, in Aleppo, I have written down the accounts of **Jirayr Reisian** (b. 1949, Aleppo), the Head of the Armenian National Sahakian School of Aleppo, about the toponyms of the Sheddadié and Markadé locations, based on the testimonies of Arab Bedouins: *"In the spring of 2005, I visited Yerevan together with the Arab tribal heads of Syria. An interview was organized at the "Armenia" TV studio with these Arab tribal heads, and I was invited to translate from Arabic into Armenian. One of the tribal heads was Sheikh Nawaf Ragheb-el-Bashir, the chief of the Bakkara (Baggara) tribe from the region of Der-Zor. During the interview, the Sheikh gave the following interesting assertion concerning the Arabic names of the 2 localities "Sheddadié" and "Markadé."*

Sheddadié is the region, quite far from Der-Zor, where, in the days of the Armenian Genocide, in 1915, thousands of Armenian deportees were forcibly driven, packed into natural caves and burned alive. That locality took its name from those horrifying events, since "Sheddadié" in Arabic means "the place where grave and horrible events took place."

Markadé is a hill where there is a small memorial chapel in memory of the Armenian martyrs. It is a place where thousands of Armenians and people of other nationalities go on a pilgrimage. If you dig, up to the present day, any part of the hill even with your bare hands, you will find the skulls and bones of the Armenian martyrs. The name "Markadé" is derived from the Arabic word "Rakkadda" which means "the place where heaps of corpses lie"¹⁵.



Deir-el-Zor

¹⁵ Ibid., Testimony. 382, pp. 543-544.



Martiros Ashekian
(1927, Aleppo)

On 24th of April, 2008, precisely at the memorial complex of the Armenian Genocide in Montebello, Los Angeles, I have inscribed the testimony of **Martiros Ashekian** (b. 1927, Aleppo), where Arab Bedouin not only took him and showed the cave, Sheddadié, but also remembered the suffering of the Armenians: *“I, Martiros Ashekian, was born in 1927, in the Zeytounkhan Camp of Aleppo (Syria), where the survivors of the Armenian Genocide had arrived after going on foot, for weeks on end.*

In 1948, I was working for the Syrian Petroleum Company, near Palmyra, in the desert of Dallaa where we were digging oil-wells.

While we were working in that camp, an Arab watchman used to come often there to take water. I and Garnik Norashkharian, Yerjanik’s son from Zeytoun, saw everyday small girls wearing Arab dresses who had blue eyes and fair hair. They came to watch how we were working.

One day that Arab watchman called these little girls and told them in Arabic: “Don’t be ashamed, come nearer, these are your uncles.”

We asked them: “Where is your mother?”

On the next day, they came with their mother, a lean woman about 40 years old, with a beautiful face, fair hair and blue eyes.

We asked her in Arabic: “How do you remember being an Armenian?”

“I only remember,” she answered, “we used to say ‘hots’ (hwg-hats- Arm.) for ‘khebez’ (bread - Arab.) and ‘jeor’ (շոթ-joor - Arm.) for ‘maye’ (water - Arab.).”

From the dialect she spoke in we understood that she was from Zeytoun. We asked her: “Where did you live in Zeytoun?”

“We had a locality called Dsovk in Zeytoun. It was a valley, and a small river flowed in it.”

“Do you remember your parents’ family name?”

“Yes, it was Dovlatian.”

Then we definitely knew that she was an Armenian from Zeytoun.

We were transferred later to the right side of Dakka, on the road to Tetmor, where there was a field called Dallah. We dig pits. Then we were transferred to Jeziré.

In 1950, the British constructed a camp there, and we also moved to work there. That was on the east of the River Khabur, about 45-50 miles from the Iraqi border, before getting to Djebel (Mount) Sinjar. Part of this mountain is in Iraq and another part is in Syria. Our camp was called “Hunahuezia.” Everyday we went there to dig oil-wells. The British SBC company provided us with lunch every day. We ate and when we were satiated, we called the Arab Bedouin shepherds to partake of our lunch. They were members of an Arab nomadic tribe called Jbouri. We used to call them in their language: “Yawel henhen ho-ho! (Come here! - Arab.).”

One day an Arab shepherd came to our table. We asked him: "Where are your sheep?"

"Here," he replied. "They are not far away. My sheep are behind Nougret-el-Arman (the Armenians' Pit - Arab.)."

We pricked up our ears and asked: "Can you show us that place?"

He consented. I and my Armenian friend, Garnik, accompanied him there. It was about a mile away from our working-place, a locality called Jesser Sheddadié, on the River Khabur, near the bridge leading to Iraq, a place named Chibisi where, at one time, the Germans had started to dig oil-wells, but since they were defeated in the Second World War, they had left it unfinished and gone away, and we had taken up the job of drilling oil-wells in that region.

We went inside the dark cave. I had taken with me a torch and a sack. The Arab shepherd said: "We always enter this cave of Jesser Sheddadié, which is 7-8 miles long, to take out gold bracelets, tooth-crowns and other ornaments."

We went about 50-60 meters deeper in the cave and we came across a pit 10-15 meters in diameter. On one side, the cave continued deeper in the direction of the River Khabur.

The Arab continued: "After Der-Zor about 70 miles to the north-east there is a desert where there is no water and no sown fields. The Turks brought here about 40 thousand Armenian survivors miraculously saved from Der-Zor, tormenting them on the road, making them go on foot for 70 miles on the scorching sands of the desert without giving them a drop of water. They brought these poor Armenians, who were emaciated, and all skin and bones, and packed them all alive in this cave or threw them in this pit. Then they brought thorny bushes and tree-branches and covered the mouth of the pit and the entrance to the cave and set everything on fire. I am now 65 years old and I remember very well; I saw everything with my own eyes. The poor Armenians were about 'Arbayin alf nafar' (Forty thousand people - Arab.)."

We went deeper, about 200 feet, into the cave with our torch and the sack. Human bones and skulls were under our feet. We filled our sack with some bones and skulls. The light of our torch began to fade and finally went out. We were in total darkness and, holding each other's hand, we tried to find our way out of the cave. We groped our way, falling and getting up on the bumpy ground, down the grotto. At last we saw a glimmer of light. We were glad that God showed us that light and led us to the wide world. I recited the Lord's prayer and drew a large cross before the entrance of the cave. I took the sack of bones with me and kept it under my bed. I should have delivered the sack of bones to the church. But I was too young at that time and I did not know what to do. I buried it later in my deceased sister's grave"¹⁶.

¹⁶ Ibid., Testimony. 383, pp. 544-545.



Barounak Shishikian
(1902, Zeytoun)

Worthy of remembrance also is the impressive life-story of **Barounak Shishikian** (1902, Zeytoun - 1974, Edjmiadsin)¹⁷.

During the Armenian Genocide, when he was 13 years old, the Turks killed his father and his mother right in the front of his eyes. The Syrian Arab desert Bedouins found the solitary wandering teenager, they fed him and made him a member of their ashirat (tribe), where he started to graze the camels.

During that period, the clever and far-sighted youth, dressed in Bedouin garments, compiled the maps of the neighboring desert Arab villages, indicating the new Arabic and the previous Armenian names of all the Armenian orphan girls and boys living in those localities.

In 1918, after the Armistice, a great number of orphan-searching Armenians, responding to the call of the President of the Armenian General Benevolent Union, Poghos Noubar pasha: "One Armenian orphan - one gold coin," scattered in the Syrian desert to search for the Armenian orphans in the various Arab tribes. Thanks to the maps and the lists of Armenian orphans compiled by Barounak Shishikian, numerous Armenian orphans were discovered and rescued and were returned to the bosom of the Armenian nation.

Subsequently, Barounak Shishikian requested a piece of land from the Syrian government and established there the settlement of Telbrak, where he gathered and housed, even married off those Armenian orphan girls and boys.

In 1947, Barounak Shishikian, together with his many-membered family, as well as with all those Telbraktsis, embarked the steamship "Pobeda" and was repatriated to Armenia. Their children attended, in the Motherland, Armenian schools, many of them received also a higher education and became useful citizens of Armenia.



Hakob Moutafian
(1980, Deir-el-Zor)

Barounak Shishikian settled with his large family, in the village of Meymandar, Edjmiadsin Region and started to cure the sick with his bewitching prayers. He remained till the end of his days in his Arab Bedouin-like outfit, as a token of his deep gratitude toward the Arab people.

It is worthful to remember also the narrative of **Hakob Moutafian** (b. 1980, Deir-el-Zor) that I have inscribed in 2005, in Deir el-Zor: *"My father's father, Hakob, was forcibly deported with his parents in the days of the Armenian Genocide from the village of Karmounj, near Yedessia. Going on foot, hungry and thirsty, sun-scorched and exhausted, they had reached Der-Zor. There the Turks had started to cut*

off the heads of the Armenians with axes and to throw them in the Euphrates River. It is said that the water of the Euphrates River was colored red by the Armenians' blood. My

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 731.

grandfather Hakob had miraculously escaped the slaughter. An Arab desert man had taken him as a shepherd to graze his sheep. After many years Hakob had married a girl, an orphan like him, and they had had three sons and two daughters. The three sons had named their firstborn sons Hakob in honor of their father. So, my name is also Hakob after my grandfather.

Our large Moutafian family, numbering 25 souls, lives up till now in Der-Zor and is well-known here by its prosperous situation.

There are also 10-15 other Armenian or semi-Armenian families in Der-Zor. The Armenians are in good friendly relations with the local Arabs. The latter are very kind and hospitable people. The Arab desert tribal chiefs often visit us. They always remember and tell us the narratives about the Armenian deportees they have heard from their fathers and grandfathers, about how the Turkish gendarmes had brought the poor Armenian exiles in groups to Der-Zor; they had massacred them and had thrown their corpses in the Euphrates River.

That is why the Armenians erected, in 1991, right in the center of today's Der-Zor the Saint Martyrs' Church-Memorial complex dedicated to the memory of one and a half million innocent Armenian martyrs.

There is a hill called Markadé, just a two-hour drive from Der-Zor. According to the testimony of Arab desert tribal chiefs, that name was given precisely by the Arabs at the sight of the slaughter of the Armenians. The name "Markada" is derived from the Arabic word "Rakkadda," which means "countless piled up corpses." It is said that the said hill had been formed by the corpses of the Armenians. In fact, up till the present day, if you dig the earth a little bit with your hand, you will find the bones of the Armenian martyrs. On that same place the Chapel of St. Harutyun was built, in 1996, on the relics of our martyrs, which are displayed in show-cases in every corner of the chapel.

A little farther, there is a large cave called "Sheddadié." Again, according to the testimony of Arab desert men, that name derives from the Arabic word "Shedda," which means "a place of terribly great tragic event." The elderly Arab desert men relate that the Turk gendarmes had brought the Armenian deportees, had packed them into that large cave, had shut its entrance and had set fire to it. There remained only the bones of the Armenians reduced to ashes...

Those, who come to Der-Zor, do not go back without seeing these places. But during the past few years, petroleum was found near Sheddadié, consequently the Syrian government has forbidden the visits to those places. But the names of these two localities, Markadé and Sheddadié, were given by the desert Arabs, who had witnessed the massacre of the Armenians with their own eyes.

During the massacres many Armenian girls and boys were able to escape, in various ways, from the Turkish murderers and find refuge, naked and hungry, at the Arab desert Bedouins. The latter had tattooed with blue ink the faces of many Armenian girls according to their custom, had made them Moslems and had kept them for years. Most of those Armenians had grown up, had forgotten their mother tongue, had become Arabs, but there are those among them, who still remember that their ancestors were Armenians.

Here is one example. A few years ago, two Arab young men, aged 20-22, knocked at our door. I opened the door and saw two Arab peasant boys and I guessed from their garments that they were from the villages of Der-Zor. I asked them to come in. They sat down and started to speak with great emotion. It turned out that the grandfather of one of them was an Armenian, named Karapet, who was miraculously saved from the slaughter. The other's grandmother was also an Armenian, named Mariam. Although the names of these young men were Arabic, but they said that there was a nickname added after their family names, "Karapet" and "Mariam" respectively, by which they were known in the villages they lived.

These two young men started to ask questions, whether what they had heard was right, that the Armenians had a country named Armenia, that Gharabagh (Artsakh) had been liberated from the Turk-Azeris, that after the Gharabagh victory it was possible to go there and to have the right to live there, that they would be given a piece of land for cultivation and money to build a house for themselves. Therefore, whom should they apply to go to Gharabagh and to settle there? I showed them the way with my advices and I told them that I and my two brothers were already students at the various universities of the capital of Armenia, Yerevan. And I told them that they should apply to the Armenian consul in Aleppo, and he could settle the matter...

Thus, there are thousands of assimilated, estranged Armenians in the Syrian deserts, but there are also many who have still retained their national identity, perhaps not evidently, but the organization of their relocation in Armenia and Gharabagh is, in my opinion, the sacred duty of our government"¹⁸.

Following the Armenian Genocide, in the years 1915-1923, thousands of homeless and motherland-deprived miserable Armenians have found a warm, hospitable treatment by the governments and people of Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, etc.).

Taking advantage of that hospitable behavior, hundreds of thousands of Armenians have started a new life in those countries.

***Translated from Armenian
by T. H. Tsoulikian***

¹⁸ Ibid., Testimony. 384, pp. 545-546.

THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY OF EGYPT (from its origins till 1922)

Avakian K. R.
PhD in History

The Armenians were related to Egypt from ancient times, according to Egyptologists Grafton Elliot Smith (1871-1937), Auguste Mariette (1821-1881) and others as far back as the period of the Pharaohs. In the Ptolemaic period (323-30 B.C.) the well-known record about the Armenians in Egypt, according to the Roman sources, refers to the Armenian King Artavazd II (55-34 B.C.), whom insidiously arrested the Roman general Marcus Antonius who invaded Great Armenia in 34 B.C. The captive King was taken to Alexandria, where at the time of triumph he behaved proudly, with dignity and did not ask for mercy and was thrown into prison and in 31 B.C. executed by order of Antonius and the Egyptian Ptolemaic Queen Cleopatra VII¹. In 30 B.C. was established the Roman province of Egypt.



**The King of Great Armenia,
Artavazd II (55-34 B. C.)**

In the first half of the 5th century, when Alexandria was one of the important centers of education and science, the Armenian youths Movses Khorenatsi, Eghishé and others went there with a view to continuing their education. On the other hand, Armenian high-ranking servicemen, traders, as well as people having religious-theological discord with the Armenian Apostolic Church came from Armenia to Egypt².

Starting from the second half of the 7th century, in the initial period of Arab domination, the regiment composed of Armenians from “Greek Armenia” took part in the occupation of Egypt and the abolition of the Byzantine domination there; something, which was highly appraised by the Arab conquerors. A number of political figures of Armenian origin, like Vardan-al-Rumi³, Hassan-al-Armani and others held high state and military positions in Egypt⁴.

In the Fatimid period (909-1171) thanks to the tolerant policy of the Caliphs with regard to the Christians, as well as by virtue of the development of the towns, a stream of Armenians from Syria and Mesopotamia started to move to Egypt. According to Mattheos Ourhayetsi: “A great number, around thirty thousand, Armenians gathered in Egypt”⁵, and the Armenian community began to get organized and to flourish.

¹ Ալայոյան Ա., Արաբական Միացեալ Հանրապետութեան Եգիպտոսի Նահանգը եւ հայերը (Սկիզբէն մինչեւ մեր օրերը), Գահիրէ, 1960, էջ 1-5: Եգիպտոս, Հայ Սփյուռք Հանրագիտարան, Երևան, 2003, էջ 150:

² Ալայոյան Ա., *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³ According to the Arab legend, the market of the newly-built town of Fustat was called Al-Vardan after the name of the commander of the regiment composed of Armenians, Vardan-Al-Roumi. Թովուլյան Հ., Եգիպտոսի հայկական գաղութի պատմություն (1805-1952), Երևան, 1978, էջ 18:

⁴ Մսրլեան Գ., Ականաւոր հայեր Եգիպտոսի մէջ, Գահիրէ, 1947, էջ 12:

⁵ Մատթէոս Ուռհայեցի, Ժամանակագրութիւն, Վաղարշապատ, 1898, էջ 211:

In the 11th-12th centuries, the Armenians in Egypt, who already numbered around 30.000, played a significant role in the state, military, political, economic and cultural life of the country. Worthy of mention are the viziers of Armenian origin Badr-al-Gamali (1074-1094), who, with his regiments composed of “compatriot Armenians,” suppressed the rebellion of Seljuk-Turk, Nubian emirs and subsequently fought against the Crusaders, with his regiments composed of “Armenian soldiers”, and established “peace at the Mesir [Egyptian] House”⁶, his son Shahnshah Al-Afdal Ibn Badr-al-Gamali (1094-1121), as well as Al-Juyushi (1130-1131), Yanis (1132-1134), Behram-al-Armani or Vahram Pahlavouni⁷ (1135-1137), Talai-Bin-Ruzzik (Talaee-Ibn-Razeek) (1154-1161), Ibn-Ruzzik Adil (1161-1163) and others⁸. Vassak Pahlavouni was even the governor of Kous, and a town was named after him, Nasek, in Attfieh. In the days of the Fatimids, the Armenians held rather important leading positions in Egypt; that is why the Egyptologist-historian Gaston Viète has defined that period as the “Armenian period”⁹.

The period of the Ayyubid Dynasty founded in 1171 by Saladin was disastrous for the Armenians. The latter, as loyal allies of the Fatimids, were removed from their office, and the Armenian army was disbanded, instead an army composed of Turks and Kurds was formed. In 1192, in response to the insubordination to Saladin, organized by the Armenians, the latter were cruelly massacred, their monasteries and estates were confiscated and the community was considerably reduced.

Egypt, passing under the dominion of the Mamluks in 1250, waged also a war against the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198-1375). Following the fall of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, the Armenian King Levon V was taken in 1375 to Egypt as a prisoner¹⁰.

In the 15th century, the Tartars enslaved thousands of Armenians from Armenia and Georgia and transferred them to Egypt, enrolling them mainly in military service, as well as in agriculture and craftsmanship. They recruited the male children of the Armenian slaves in special military camps, Islamized them, they taught them the art of war and conscripted them into the Egyptian army. In the town of Asyut, the handiwork of Armenian weavers differed from the ordinary fabrics and was called “Armenian linen”¹¹, while in the town of Ashmouneyn, the Armenians dyed the fabrics in cochineal coloration¹².

⁶ Եսփիունեան Ա., op. cit., p. 14. Պատմութիւն Մատթէոսի Ուռհայեցոյ, յերուսաղէմ, 1869, էջ 253-254: Մատթէոս Ուռհայեցի, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

⁷ Vahram Pahlavouni was Grigor Magistros' grandson and Nerses the Graceful's brother. In his book entitled “Vipassank,” Nerses the Graceful has praised the services rendered to Egypt by Vassak and Vahram Pahlavounies. Թոփուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, p. 18.

⁸ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., op. cit., pp. 26-35.

⁹ Թոփուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, p. 18. Ալպոյաճեան Ա., op. cit., p. 19. Եսփիունեան Ա., op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁰ Թոփուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, p. 19.

¹¹ Արաբական աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հարևան երկրների մասին, թարգմ.՝ Հակոբ Նալբանդյան, Երևան, 1965, էջ 28:

¹² Makrizi. Description topographique et historique de l’Egypte. Traduit par U. Bouriant. Paris, 1895, p. 410.

In 1517 Egypt fell under the dominion of the Ottoman Empire, as a result of which the acts of violence and the massacres against the Christians, including the Armenians, grew in intensity; the latter either emigrated in thousands from the country or had recourse to apostasy in order to escape persecutions¹³.

In the beginning of the 17th century, a stream of Armenians to Egypt started anew. According to certain data, by 1615, there were in Cairo more than 200 Armenian families, who lived close to each other in the "Armenian quarter"¹⁴. Armenian jewelers, gunsmiths and other craftsmen, migrated from Constantinople, Tigranakert and Aleppo, worked in the well-known Khan-el-Khalil market of Cairo. The chief jeweler, the "ghouyumji-bashi" was an Armenian from Tigranakert named Khoja Ibrahimsha¹⁵. The Armenian traders were engaged in Khan-el-Khalil, Hinakhan and other markets in the wholesale and retail trade of various fabrics. A small number of merchants from Djughha had trade contacts with markets in India, Arabia and Ethiopia¹⁶.

In the 18th century, the Armenian-Egyptian community became animated thanks to the rise in the importance of Egyptian towns (Suez, Cairo, Rosette or Rashid, Damietta and later, Alexandria) in the international trade relations; these towns had become large centers of international transit trade and barter, where the European merchants made use of the services of Armenian middlemen as well¹⁷.

Numerous statesmen and military figures of the Armenian origin are mentioned in the Arabic primary sources, such as Yaghoub (Hakob), Osman Chelebi, Ali-al-Armani, Suleiman Barem Zeyloun, Mustafa Jeberdji, Nikola (Nikoghayos) and others, who have played a major role in Mamlukian Egypt¹⁸. Thus, Yaghoub (Hakob) of Armenian origin, who was sent as a mediator to Russia, in 1771, for the purpose of throwing off the Ottoman yoke succeeded in signing a useful treaty of friendship and alliance. Further, a great number of soldiers and commanders of Armenian origin were present in the Egyptian army fighting, in 1798, against the French conquerors, for example, Nikoghayos (Moallem Nikola Hay), the commander of the Egyptian fleet built by the financial means of the Armenian trader, Murad bey¹⁹.

The French invasion had an exceedingly adverse effect on the Armenian-Egyptian community; relying upon the Copts, the French nullified the privileges of the Armenian merchants. On the other hand, considering the Christians the allies of the invaders, the fanatical Muslims targeted also the Armenian-inhabited quarters for their attacks during the anti-French movements. Following the departure of the French (1801-1804), an unfavorable period for the Armenian-Egyptian community started²⁰.

¹³ Թովուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, pp. 21-22.

¹⁴ Սիմէոն դարի Լեհացոյ ուղեգրութիւն, տարեգրութիւն եւ յիշատականոց, Վիեննա, 1936, էջ 216:

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Թովուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, p. 22.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., op. cit., pp. 51-58.

¹⁹ Թովուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, p. 23. Եգիպտոս, op. cit., p. 151.

²⁰ Թովուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, pp. 23-24.

In 1805, Muhammad Ali was appointed Vice-Regent of Egypt, whose administrative and economic reforms considerably favored the social-economic and political development of the country. Under the conditions of religious tolerance, the Armenians held high positions in nearly all the spheres of the country. In 1817, around 200 skillful Armenian artisans (workers, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.) came to Egypt from the Ottoman Empire²¹.



Muhammad Ali, Vice-Regent of Egypt

Following the Russian-Turkish war, in 1828-1829, favorable conditions were created for the inflow of Armenian capital to Egypt. The Armenian money-changers (saraf) and traders had fused with the state monopolies. The traders and credit-lenders, established in Cairo and Alexandria, were mainly Damascus-based and Aleppo-based Armenians bearing Arabic names (Ayvaz, Poulos, Fatalla, Hindi, Youssouf, Ilias, Sappagh, Khayyat and others)²². The Armenian money-changers had also concentrated in their hand the post of the “chief money-changer” of the country and had taken up, by contract, the exclusive right of collecting the state taxes, of

financing the industrial enterprises (of metal-processing, textile, sugar, paper, chemical materials, etc.) and of governing the customs-houses. Until 1827, the first “chief money-changer” of Egypt was Yeghiazar Petrossian and from 1828-1847 - Alexander Missakian. In 1837, the Armenian money-changers founded in Cairo the first bank of the country, which functioned until 1841. The Armenians had also been appointed for the post of supervisor of the Mint²³.



Poghos bey Youssoufian

Armenian counselors, translators and secretaries served at the cabinet of the Egyptian Viceroy and in the various offices. The Armenian large capital-owners were entrusted with important positions, especially at the Enlightenment Council of State, as well as at the Council of European Affairs and Commerce, which was the highest organ of foreign affairs and commerce. The successive heads (nazir) of the Council of State were the Armenians - Poghos bey Youssoufian (from 1808-1844, he has directed the Egyptian Ministries of Foreign Affairs, of Commerce, of Finance, of Internal Affairs and of War)²⁴, Yacoub Artin

²¹ Եսփունճեան Ա., op. cit., p. 16.

²² Թովուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, p. 27.

²³ Թովուլյան Հ., Հայերը Եգիպտոսում, Հայկական Սովետական Հանրագիտարան, հ. 3, Երևան, 1977, էջ 482: Եգիպտոս, op. cit., pp. 151, 152.

²⁴ Poghos bey Youssoufian has been able to secure for Muhammad Ali Egypt's lifelong Vice-Regency by inheritable rights. When Poghos bey Youssoufian passed away, a forty-day mourning was announced as a token of deep respect

bey Chrakian (from 1844-1850, he directed the Egyptian Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Commerce)²⁵, Arakel bey Noubarian²⁶ (1850-1853, he directed the Egyptian Ministry of Commerce) and Stepan bey Demirjian (from 1850-1853 and from 1855-1857 he has directed the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)²⁷. A great many Armenians also held the positions of heads and overseas representatives in the various departments of these Councils of State; as, for example, an Armenian named Arakel had been appointed Governor of Sudan. Khosrov Chrakian (1800-1873), Aristakes Altoun Tyurin (1804-1858)²⁸ and others distinguished themselves in leading state positions. Consequently, foreign people have named Egypt's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commerce "Palais Arménien" (Armenian Palace) and, appraising the authority of Armenian statesmen, they have asserted: "The Armenians have penetrated everywhere. ...The Armenian community is most powerful in the palace of the Viceroy"²⁹.

Thanks to the favorable conditions created in Egypt, a large number of impoverished and necessitous Armenian families started to inflow from the Armenian-inhabited localities of the Ottoman Empire, hence, in the 40s of the 19th century, more than 10 thousand Armenians lived in Egypt³⁰.

Taking advantage of the Egyptian-Ottoman antagonism, the British diplomacy succeeded, in 1841, in inducing Muhammad Ali to resign, as a result of which Egypt's foreign and internal political, economic and military areas of jurisdiction were considerably reduced. Numerous statesmen of the Armenian origin (the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commerce, Artin bey Chrakian, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stepan bey Demirjjan and others) were also banished from the country, the exodus of Armenians from Egypt was intensified (after 1854, there remained in the country 3-4 thousand Armenians)³¹.

In the middle of the 19th century, Egypt partly passed under British colonial supervision. In 1867, Egypt's ruler, Ismail pasha, was conferred the inheritable title of Khedive (Ruler, Prince) thanks to the effective assistance and the flexible policy of mutual cooperation with the Europeans conducted by the country's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nubar pasha Nubarian.

toward that meritorious high-ranking state figure, who had loyally served Egypt for about 30 years. Եսփունճեան Ա., op. cit., p. 16. Աճեմեան Լեւոն, Եզիպտահայ տարեցոյց. 1925, Ա Տարի, Աղեքսանդրիա, Տպ. Ա. Գասապեան, 1924, էջ 61: Այսօլաճեան Ա., op. cit., pp. 65-70.

²⁵ Ալաթոյանեան Ա., *op. cit.*, pp. 79-82.

²⁶ Noubar pasha Noubarian's brother. Եպիփանես Ա., op. cit., p. 17.

²⁷ Ալաթոյանեան Ա., *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83, 109-118.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 101. Եսփումեան Ա., op. cit., p. 17. Թոփուզյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, pp. 28, 36. Թոփուզյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1977, p. 482.

²⁹ Թոսիւղյան Հոսի., op. cit., 1978, pp. 28-29. Hamont, P. H. L’Egypte sous Méhémet-Ali. Vol. I, Paris, 1843, p. 425.

³⁰ Եղիպտոս, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

³¹ Թոփուզյան Հովհ., *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 33. Egypt, *op. cit.*, p. 152.



Noubar pasha Nubarian

Noubar pasha Nubarian was appointed, in 1857, Head of the Department of Railways and Transport and, subsequently, four times nominated for the office of Egypt's Minister of Foreign Affairs (1866-1874, 1875-1876, 1878-1879, 1884-1888) and thrice for the office of Prime Minister (1878-1879, 1884-1889, 1894-1895), being thus the first Prime Minister of Egypt. Later, he also held the office of Minister of Justice³².

In 1876, the International (or Mixed) Courts and the House of Notables (by analogy with the Parliament) were created in Egypt thanks to the direct participation of Noubar pasha Nubarian, something which put on end to the unilateral intervention of foreign powers with regard to Egypt, and the country obtained thereby the right to independently conclude financial contracts with foreign states. Noubar pasha also spared no effort to improve the condition of the Egyptian peasantry, for which, besides other numerous titles and awards, he won the popular title of "Abu Fellah" (Father of the Peasant). The grateful Egyptian people have erected (1904) in the central park in Alexandria, as well as before the entrance of the Opera House in Cairo his imposing statues. Streets have also been named after him in Cairo and Alexandria³³.



Monument of Noubar Nubarian before the entrance of the Opera House in Cairo



Monument of Noubar Nubarian in the central park in Alexandria

The construction of the Suez Canal in 1869 greatly raised Egypt's standing in world trade. Unfortunate and needy Armenian emigrants from the various localities of Western Armenia (Van, Baghesh, Moush, Sgherd, Sassoun) started to cluster in the

³² Ալաջյան Ա., op. cit., pp. 83-95, 97-107. Թովույան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, p. 36. Եսփունդեան Ա., op. cit., p. 18. Եգիպտոս, op. cit., p. 152.

³³ Եսփունդեան Ա., op. cit., p. 18.

Egyptian ports to work as laborers. According to certain data, about 100 Armenians (65 of them from Moush) participated, in 1867, in the work of the opening of the Suez Canal³⁴. By 1879, 8.000 Armenians lived in Egypt³⁵.

Until the middle of the 19th century, the Armenians were concentrated mainly in Cairo and Alexandria. A small number of Armenians were living also in Rosette and Damietta. After the mid-19th century, a number of Armenians moved also to Zagazik, Tanta, Asyut, Fayum and other inner towns of the country³⁶.

In 1882, Egypt fell entirely under the hegemony of Great Britain and its economy passed under the supervision of British capital. Once more the inflow of the non-Mohammedan (including also of the Armenian) element and its involvement in the political and economic life of the country were encouraged. In 1891-1894, Tigran pasha d'Abro Bagratouni was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, who realized the policy of overcoming the feudal backwardness of the country and of the reinforcement of the Egyptian army³⁷.



Tigran d'Abro Bagratouni

The Armenians were largely involved in the tobacco industry and 90% of the manufacture of tobacco belonged to them. In Egypt, the Armenians greatly contributed also to the development of architecture, journalism, metal-processing, agriculture (Yousouf effendi El-Armani introduced for the first time tangerine from France and cultivated it over large areas of land, for which the fruit was called after him "Yousoufeffendi"—Mister Hovsep/Joseph), cloth weaving (the manufacture of headscarves was introduced to Egypt by Armenians), soap manufacture, dye-works, tailoring, shoe-making, photography and other spheres. The arts of engraving, zincography and particularly jewel-making were the Armenians' specific monopoly³⁸, a privilege, which has been kept up to the present day.

Trade was also one of the monopolies of the Armenians. Thus, in 1882, there were in Alexandria 80, and in Cairo (according to the 1886 data) 250 trade establishments (the well-known establishments were: "Gevorg Topalian", "K. Kechian", "Bakerjian Brothers", "Stepan Iplikjian", "Gevorg Mouradian", "Sargis Manoukian and Sons"), the founders of which were mainly Armenians, who had come from Constantinople and Smyrna. There were also several Armenian-Arab societies. The Armenian traders were engaged principally in the trade of imported goods. In 1913, 74 among the Armenian trade establishments were the official representatives of European manufacturers. The chief imported items were petroleum and tobacco. The Alexander

³⁴ Սափրիչեան Տիմ., Երկամեայ պանդխտութիւն ի Հապեշտան, Երուսաղեմ, 1871, էջ 8:

³⁵ Թովուլյան Հովհ., *op. cit.*, 1978, pp. 37, 40. Եգիպտոս, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

³⁶ Թովուլյան Հովհ., *op. cit.*, 1978, pp. 40, 41. Եափուճեան Ա., *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³⁷ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., *op. cit.*, pp. 95-97.

³⁸ Եափուճեան Ա., *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. Եգիպտոս, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

Mantashian trading society, which had its center in Alexandria, was the sole importer of the Baku petroleum in Egypt. The employees of its branches spread all over the country were Armenians. The monopoly of the import and the distribution of tobacco belonged to an Armenian from Aleppo, Khalil Hayyat.³⁹ A number of Armenians were also engaged in the commerce of handicraft goods made in the Ottoman Empire and, particularly, Western Armenia. The Armenians in Egypt were also great landowners; the Armenian Church also had its great share⁴⁰.

As a consequence of the recurrent massacres and the Armenian Genocide committed in the Ottoman Empire, in 1894-1896, 1909, 1915-1923, the stream of the exiled and fugitive Armenians to Egypt grew in volume. Thus, as a result of the Hamidian massacres perpetrated in 1894-1896, more than 3.000 Armenians took refuge in Egypt, while in 1914-1918, following World War I, 12.000 Armenians fled to Egypt, among them 1.500-2.000 orphans rescued from the Armenian Genocide;⁴¹ they were temporarily sheltered in the Armenian churches, schools and tents under the care of the Armenian Diocese. However, the number of the Armenian unfortunate and needy people exiled to alien countries was so large that on April 15, 1906, on the initiative of the Armenian-Egyptian public-political figure, the national benefactor Poghos Noubar (Noubar pasha Noubarian's son) the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) was founded in Cairo with a view to lending a helping hand to the fellow-countrymen.



Poghos Noubar

With the object of assisting the destitute people the Armenian Red Cross (1915, Alexandria) and the "Armenian-Egyptian Relief Body" Foundation (1915-1920) were also created. In December 1915, the French and British ships transported 4.058 Moussa Ler (Dagh) people, who had withstood the self-defensive battle of Moussa Ler, to Egypt, to the tent-camp in Port-Saïd. During the four years (till 1919) these refugees lived at the tent-camp, they earned their living by practicing their ethnic crafts (comb-making, spoon-making, rug-making, needlework, etc.), by establishing small shops and so on. At the tent-camp there were also a church, a club, a library, a hospital and the AGBU Siswan School.

Generally speaking, the Armenian-Egyptian community increased in number during the period of 1882-1917. In 1917, the Armenians in Egypt numbered 17.000. Already on the eve of World War I, numerous Armenian architects, physicians, lawyers

³⁹ Թովուլյան Հովհ., *op. cit.*, 1978, pp. 107-118. Գափամանեան Ա., Հայ տարրը Եգիպտոսի պետական, տնտեսական եւ առեւտրական ասպարեզներուն մէջ, «Եգիպտահայ տարեցոյց», Գահիրէ, 1914, էջ 222, 224, 224-229: Օտյան Երվանդ, Երկերի ժողովածու, հ. 4, Երևան, 1962, էջ 477: Աղազարմ Ն. Մ., Նորթեր Եգիպտոսի հայ գաղութին վրայ, Գահիրէ, 1911, էջ 72:

⁴⁰ Եգիպտոս, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153.

⁴¹ Ալպոյաճեան Ա., *op. cit.*, pp. D-E.

and other specialists held high positions in the state institutions of the country.⁴² In 1913-1914, of the 14-15 thousand workers and employees engaged in the tobacco industry around 10 thousand were working at the enterprises owned by Armenian businessmen ("Matossian Society," G. and K. Melkonians, A. and T. Kamsarakans, N. and A. Hedjetian, G. Ipekian and others), who produced nearly 75% of the output⁴³.

After World War I and during the rise of the national-liberation movement started in Egypt, the Armenian rich class took up the cause of British interests, although the Armenian community maintained, for the most part, neutrality trying not to get involved in the political events. As a result of the proclamation of independence in Egypt, in 1922, the rights formerly granted to non-Mohammedan communities were reconsidered. The ethnic minorities were entitled to independently manage their intracommunal affairs. Under pressure of the Egyptian national capital, the Armenian manufacturers were considerably weakened and many of them departed the country. A severe blow was delivered to the tobacco industry, nevertheless the Armenians were able to maintain their monopoly in the metal-processing, the spinning and the packaging industries. The trading societies greatly reduced or totally discontinued their activities. The "A. I. Mantashev and Co." petroleum and trading company passed into the hands of the foreign capital. Of the great number of societies engaged in the wholesale and retail trade of textiles only a few were able to maintain their positions. Only 3 Armenian commercial institutions continued to get engaged in the import of automobiles and iron goods⁴⁴.

Mainly as a consequence of favorable socio-religious conditions in the country the Armenian Apostolic Church established an ecclesiastical community in Egypt as early as the 10th century. In the 11th century, gradually enlarging Armenian Church community in Egypt had already two parishes and two primates, and in the 11th-12th centuries, there were more than 30 functioning churches and monasteries⁴⁵. Armenian churches and monasteries were functioning in Cairo, Zoueyla, Sohak, Dura, Shinar, Alexandria, Asyut, Zagazig and elsewhere. In the middle of the 11th century, as a result of the great stream of Armenians to Egypt, the Armenian houses of worship in the country grew in number to such an extent, that according to the picturesque expression of the Arab historian and traveler, Ibn Mutassar, "the native Egyptians were fearful that they [the Armenians] would drive out the Mohammedan faith"⁴⁶. Until 1311, the Armenian-Egyptian Church community was under the jurisdiction of the Cilician Catholicossate, from 1311-1839 - of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, from 1867 - of the Patriarchate of

⁴² Թովուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1977, p. 482. Եգիպտոս, op. cit., p. 153.

⁴³ Թովուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, pp. 99-107. Գափամաճեան Ա., op. cit., pp. 179, 180, 182, 185-186. Թովուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1977, p. 482.

⁴⁴ Եգիպտոս, op. cit., pp. 153-154.

⁴⁵ Գուշակեան Թ., Եգիպտոսի հայոց հին եւ արդի եկեղեցիները եւ պատմութիւն շինութեան Ա. Գրիգոր Լուսաւորիչ նորաշէն եկեղեցւոյ Գահիրէի, Գահիրէ, 1927, էջ 10, 12-18:

⁴⁶ Եգիպտոս, op. cit., p. 156.

Constantinople and after the end of the 19th century - again of the Holy See of the Edjmiadsin Catholicossate⁴⁷.

In the years of Muhammad Ali's enthronement, which were favorable for the Armenians of Egypt, the latter were organized as a community. Already in 1825, the inspectorial status of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Egypt was abolished and it was converted into a Diocese. In 1928, an Armenian seminary, a requiem-house, a hospital and a guest-house were constructed adjacent to the Armenian Apostolic Church in Cairo⁴⁸.



St. Grigor the Illuminator Church in Cairo

From the middle of the 18th century, the Armenian Catholic community was also established in Egypt; the community was officially recognized in 1831 and had churches functioning in Cairo, Heliopolis and Alexandria⁴⁹. Armenian Evangelical houses of worship functioned also in the said towns. The Armenian Evangelical community in Egypt started to take form in the beginning of 1860s, but it was officially recognized as a community in 1890⁵⁰.

Starting from the 19th century, the Armenian community had also national cemeteries adjacent to the churches in Cairo, Zagazig and Alexandria⁵¹.

The first Armenian school in Egypt, the Yeghiazarian Seminary was opened in Cairo in 1828, contiguous to the St. Astvadsadsin (Blessed Virgin) Church, where "...the first teachers were the priest and the acolyte of the same church"⁵². The schools functioning in the principal towns were: the Aramian National School (1845), renamed subsequently Poghos-Beyian and later Poghossian (1862), and the Haykazian School (1924) in Alexandria, while in Cairo, the Khorenian National School (1854), renamed subsequently Galoustian National School (1897), the Kedronakan Kertakan School

⁴⁷ Յովհաննէսեան Գ., Եգիպտոսի պատմութիւնը սկիզբէն մինչեւ մեր օրերը՝ ճոխացուած ազգ. պատմութեան դրուագներով, Գահիրէ, 1937, էջ 219: Եգիպտոս, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

⁴⁸ Յովհաննէսեան Գ., *op. cit.*, p. 220. Թովուլյան Հովհ., *op. cit.*, 1978, pp. 31, 71. Գարտաշեան Ա. Հ., Նիւթեր Եգիպտոսի հայոց պատմութեան համար, հ. Բ, Պատմութիւն եգիպտահայ բարերարներու եւ կրթական հաստատութիւններու, Վենետիկ-Ս. Ղազար, 1986, էջ 321:

⁴⁹ Դաւիթեան Սերովբէ Եպիս., Պատմական տեսութիւն Եգիպտոսի Հայ Կաթողիկէ Եկեղեցւոյ, Գահիրէ, 1914, էջ 14-15: Գարտաշեան Ա. Հ., Նիւթեր Եգիպտոսի հայոց պատմութեան համար, հ. Ա, Պատմութիւն եգիպտահայ եկեղեցիներու եւ գերեզմանատուներու, Գահիրէ, 1943, էջ 252-253, 264-266: Յովհաննէսեան Գ., *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁵⁰ Գարտաշեան Ա. Հ., *op. cit.*, Vol. A, 1943, pp. 282-283, 295-296, 300-301.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp. 26, 110, 129-130, 156-159, 254, 266-267, 297. Գուշակեան Թ., *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52, 63-65.

⁵² Համբիկեան Յ., Եգիպտահայ գաղութին կազմաւորումը եւ վարժարաններուն պատմութիւնը, «Յուշագիրք Դ վերահանդիպումի Եգիպտահայ Ազգային Վարժարաններու շրջանավարտներու. Գալուստեան-Նուբարեան-Պողոսեան», Գալուստ, Եգիպտոս, 11-20 Սեպտեմբեր, 1997, էջ 19:

(1897), the Tashjian School (1901, 1917), the Hamazgayin Girls' School (1905), the Manissalian School (1905), the Gapamajian School (1910), the Varzhapetian School (1921), the Massis School (1921), the Berberian School (1924), the Noubarian National School (1925), etc. Armenian schools were functioning also in Asyut, Zagazig, Heliopolis and elsewhere⁵³. Adjacent to the schools, kindergartens were also functioning, as the Melkonian National Kindergarten (1896, Alexandria), the Galoustian National Kindergarten (1897, Cairo), etc⁵⁴. The Armenian Catholic and Evangelical denominations also had their schools, such as the Immaculate Conception Armenian Sisters' Schools (1897, Cairo and 1914, Alexandria), the Catholic Armenian School (1919, Cairo), as well as the Armenian Evangelical School (1899, Cairo), etc⁵⁵.



Galoustian National School in Cairo

A number of book-lovers', cultural, ecclesiastic, publishing, benevolent, student, sporting, art-lovers', educational and various other unions have developed an intense activity in Egypt.

The Armenian-Egyptians have made their specific contribution to the architectural, journalism, literary, fine arts, musical, theatrical, cinematographic art and other spheres, which have enriched both the Armenian and Arabic

cultures⁵⁶.

The first Armenian-Egyptian periodical, the "Armaveni" ("Palm" - in Arm.) was published in Cairo, in 1865. At various times, numerous and multifarious Armenian periodicals (literary, satirical, national-political, party, scientific, children's, pedagogical, economic, social, etc.)⁵⁷ were published, printing-houses and publishing-houses were functioning, where the works of Armenian, Arab or foreign authors were printed⁵⁸. Until World War I Cairo came in the third place in printing after Constantinople and Smyrna⁵⁹.

⁵³ Գարտաշեան Ա. Հ., op. cit., Vol. B, 1986, p. 376. Idem, Նիւթեր Եգիպտոսի հայոց պատմութեան համար, հ. Գ, Պատմութիւն եգիպտահայ բարերարներու եւ կրթական հաստատութիւններու, Վենետիկ-Ս.Ղազար, Մխիթարեան Տպարան, 1987, էջ 3-30, 187-191, 403, 408, 410, 428, 431, 471, 482, 511, 513: Թոփուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, pp. 183-190, 275-292.

⁵⁴ Գարտաշեան Ա. Հ., op. cit., Vol. B, 1986, p. 602. Idem, op. cit., Vol. C, 1987, pp. 124-131.

⁵⁵ Թոփուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, p. 184. Գարտաշեան Ա. Հ., op. cit., Vol. C, 1987, pp. 303, 320, 383:

⁵⁶ Եգիպտոս, op. cit., pp. 159-160, 161-162. Թոփուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, pp. 190-196, 203-211, 292-298, 301-311.

⁵⁷ Հայ մամուլը Եգիպտոսի մէջ, Մատենագիտական ցուցակ, կազմեց Տոքթ. Սուրէն Ն. Պալյամեան, Գահիրէ, 2005, էջ 2-3, 367-371:

⁵⁸ Եգիպտոս, op. cit., pp. 162-164. Թոփուլյան Հովհ., op. cit., 1978, pp. 196-203, 298-301. Հայ գիրքը Եգիպտոսի մէջ (1888-2011), Մատենագիտական ցուցակ, կազմեց Տոքթ. Սուրէն Ն. Պալյամեան, Գահիրէ, 2012, էջ IX-X:

⁵⁹ Յովհաննէսեան Գ., op. cit., p. 232.

Thus, the Armenian community in Egypt, particularly, during the last historical periods, has achieved remarkable successes in the diverse spheres of the state-political, social-economic and the spiritual-cultural life of the country thanks to the favorable attitude that prevailed in the country towards the Armenians.



The header of the first Armenian-Egyptian periodical
“Armaveni”

**Translated from Armenian
by T. H. Tsoulikian**

THE ARMENIAN LEGION ¹ (1916-1920)

Gasparyan R. H.
PhD in History

The First World War, the unprecedented global conflict in the memory of a few generations, will remain as such for decades to come not only for its major catastrophes and tragic consequences but also for the most horrendous crime - the Armenian Genocide - the 20th century's first mass ethnic extermination and expulsion. The crime, which can never be condoned, was committed with the Great Powers' connivance, taking advantage of the confrontation between them².

Pursuing the goal of creating a pan-Turanian state, the Ottoman government had plotted to, on the one hand, prevent the Great Powers from interfering in Turkey's internal affairs with the excuse of improving the conditions of Christians in general and the Armenians in particular, and, on the other, deprive the Armenian active elements of their capital assets, economic power and progress - all that the people had acquired over the years, thanks to their entrepreneurial skills and enthusiasm. With these ends in view, the Ottoman government, chiefly the Young Turk party leaders, determined to "solve" the Armenian question by annihilating the whole nation³ to get rid of the major obstacle in their way. To further their aims, the Ottoman authorities were intent on exploiting WWI to their own advantage.

During the course of this calamity, our people again displayed great strength of will, tremendous fighting spirit and a desperate craving to live and survive, all of which are embodied in heroic self-defense battles and voluntary movement, which indeed are unforgettable episodes of our history. Many courageous Armenians, witnessing indescribable scenes of rampant carnage and regarding atrocious acts of brutality as sufficient grounds to punish the evildoer for hitherto unheard-of anguish, threw themselves into a fight against the infamous enemy. Tens of thousands of Armenians fought within Russian, British and French armies.

¹ The updated translation of the article Հայկական լեգիոնը (1916-1920 թթ.) – Հայկական բանակ (The Armenian Army), 1996, N 1, pp. 3-15

² Meanwhile the Allied (Entente) Powers - France, Great Britain and Russia - were the first to condemn the Armenian Genocide in their Joint Declaration (May 24, 1915): "... new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization..." (http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.160/current_category.7/affirmation_detail.html Beylerian A., Les grandes puissances, l'empire ottoman et les Arméniens dans les archives françaises (1914-1918): recueil de documents, Paris 1983, p. XLIII & document N#41; PRO, FO 371/2488/51010, 28 May 1915; History of the United Nations War Crimes Commission and the Development of the Laws of War, London, 1948; Shabas W.A., Genocide in International Law, Cambridge, 2000, p. 16) (edit.)

³ The genocide was committed against the Armenian nation as in its Motherland –Western Armenia and Armenian Cilicia, as well as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire (edit.).

As early as 1914 volunteer troops largely comprised of Western, Eastern and Diasporan Armenians began to form on the initiative of the Armenian national parties. Encouraged and headed by the Russian authorities, the volunteer troops were part of the Russian army and showed great valour on the battlefield.

Famous for glorious victories, outstanding and skillfully conducted military operations, and, alas, tragic events, the Eastern Legion – later renamed Armenian – has its own place in the history of the Armenian voluntary movements. The vast majority of the soldiers in the Legion were Armenians.

The history of the Armenian Legion has its prehistory. On May 16, 1916 representatives of Great Britain and France signed an accord, the so-called Sykes-Picot Agreement in London. According to this secret agreement, which marked the beginning of disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Cilicia and Southern Armenia were to be ceded to France by law of supremacy and Britain was allocated control of the oil-rich region of Mesopotamia, chiefly Palestine and Transjordan⁴.

There was an urgent need for fighting force at the Syrian-Palestinian front to undertake this formidable mission. The Allied Powers, therefore, started to recruit Armenian and foreign volunteers and the French authorities put forward a plan to form a separate Armenian unit.

On October 27, 1916, at the French Embassy in London a consensus was reached between Sir Mark Sykes, Georges Picot and Poghos Nubar Pasha, President of the Armenian National Delegation. Poghos Nubar was notified of a joint Anglo-French resolution to surrender Cilicia and Southern Armenia to France. The other item on the agenda was the issue of forming the *Eastern Legion*. Poghos Nubar was assured that Armenians' participation in military action would help fulfil the people's aspirations of creating an autonomous state in Cilicia afterwards. Once the war had ended, the Legion - to be comprised of Armenian and Arab (Syrian) volunteer conscripts - was to become the core of a planned future Armenian Army in the region⁵. "In response to this proposal, Poghos Pasha declared that they were ready and willing to supply new recruits, should their blood to be shed in the fighting bring freedom to their Homeland"⁶. Poghos Nubar then demanded guarantees for Cilicia's autonomy and formal assurances of the right to combat their centuries-old enemy, claiming recruitment of a higher proportion of volunteer conscripts under the French flag. To this - Georges Picot gave his word of honour. As a result, an agreement was concluded according to which Armenian volunteers would fight only against Turks - for the long-awaited liberation of their Motherland – and France would take steps to ensure the autonomy of Cilicia⁷.

At the time, this episode was perceived by a number of short-sighted politicians as the beginning of Cilicia's liberation and independence under French protection, disregarding - intentionally or otherwise - the duplicity of the Great Powers' policies. The

⁴ Հուշամատյան մեծ եղեռնի, Բեյրութ, 1965, էջ 832:

⁵ Սահակյան Ռ.Գ., Թուրք-ֆրանսիական հարաբերությունները և Կիլիկիան 1918-1921 թթ., Երևան, 1970, էջ 113:

⁶ Պոյաճյան Ս.Հ., Հայկական լեզիոնը, Ուտթթթթթթ, 1965, էջ 7:

⁷ Ibid, p. 8.

words of G. Picot, who served as High Commissioner in Syria and Armenia, were circulating among the Armenians: "Cilicia will be granted administrative autonomy under the auspices of France after the victory of the Allies."⁸ Ringing true in the beginning and arousing immense enthusiasm among Armenian survivors of the massacres, those words would turn out hollow and false later on. It seemed as though the people's old gaping wounds would be healed and pain would be soothed, and with the Armenian sun up and strong again, they would soon be able to start life anew in their Homeland. The day of reckoning for age-old massacres, humiliations and violence seemed so tantalizingly close...

The forthcoming autonomy was eagerly awaited by all. Filled with boundless enthusiasm, hundreds of young men would hurry to join the French armed services hoping that their participation in the fight would expedite this highly desirable moment.

On the very day the consensus was reached, October 27, 1916, Poghos Nubar sent Arakel Bey Nubar, his son in Cairo, a telegram wherein Arakel was entrusted with the task of expanding the voluntary movement. "In accordance with my letter dated October 6 concerning the matter of volunteer conscription and the official guarantees granted thereafter that our national aspirations will be met as soon as the Allies are victorious, I leave you responsible for necessary measures to be taken to stimulate and facilitate recruitment of as many volunteer conscripts as possible"⁹.

The thing to notice is that the voluntary movement in the Armenian communities abroad started as early as 1914 on the initiative of the Armenian national parties, evolving two years later into a whole series of major activities. Thus, on November 12, 1914, the Armenian Democratic Liberal (Ramkavar) and Social Democrat Hnchakian Parties leaving aside all the disagreements and fierce opposition between them, met in Boston, US, to determine that relief troops shall be promptly dispatched to the war zone through the US-Armenian National Organization to help the Armenian voluntary units¹⁰. Apart from this issue, the representatives of the aforementioned parties also resolved to launch a movement in the Armenian communities in the US and elsewhere in support of the ready- to- fight volunteers in defense of the Motherland, if the initiative was approved by the Allied Powers. In 1915-1916, S. Sapah-Gulian from the Hnchakian Party and Democrat Apah Petrossian got together to continue the mission in the Armenian community of Egypt. After a series of negotiations with the admiral of the French fleet - at anchor in Port Said - they recruited a volunteer troop to be trained by French naval officers but, for some reason, the squad disbanded shortly¹¹.

The British authorities in Egypt wished to move Armenian liberation-fighters from Svedia/ Musa Mountain (Dagh) to Selanik as labourers but they refused to obey, as far

⁸ Du Viou Paul, *La Passion de Cilicie. 1919-1921*, Paris, 1954, p. 59.

⁹ Պոյաճյան Տ.Հ., Հայկական լեգիոնը, էջ 8-9:

¹⁰ They had already been fighting in the Motherland against Turkish troops (edit.).

¹¹ Կիլիկյան տարեցոյց, Ա տարի, կազմեցին Նվարդ Ասպետ և Արամ Ասպետ, Կ.Պոլիս, 1922, էջ 28:

as “A Svedian soldier would decline to perform as a labourer, for he only desired to act in his capacity as combatant and fight against Turks”¹².

On November 15, 1916, the French Ministry of Military Affairs passed a resolution calling for establishment of the *Eastern Legion*, which the French government officially announced on November 26 (Decree #7/966-9/11). The Legion, with French officers in command, was to be assembled by national and religious identity, and the training of Armenian and Syrian Arab recruits - to be held in Cyprus. A foreign Legionnaire, unlike a French conscript, would not receive any compensation or termination wages when wounded or discharged. Armenians and Syrians serving in other army units could be entitled to join the Eastern Legion only with a special permission. French Armenians would be recruited and immediately sent to Cyprus. The French Consulate in Port Said was in charge of the military conscription. Recruits from other places would arrive in Le Havre or Marseille first, with the certificates - identification documents - from French consuls, and would depart for Cyprus afterwards. Volunteers from Asia travelled to Cyprus via Port Said. Travel expenses were covered by a conscription committee whilst the French government took care of other expenses like mobilization and clothing¹³.

The early fighters of the Legion were the Armenian volunteers with extensive military experience and insights that they had gained in dreadful battles of Musa Mountain. In the words of one of the participants and witnesses to those tragic events, Armenian Legionnaires were “fully fit and ready for such movement”¹⁴. Their joy was ineffable, their souls were anxious and yearning for sacred parental homes. Yesayi Yaghoubian, the leader of the Battle of Musa Mountain in 1915, and nearly 600 Svedian fighters in a short space of time entered the First Armenian battalion of the Legion which was stationed in Cyprus. According to the French naval officer Tiran Tekeyan, Musa Mountain Armenians, who had undergone military training earlier in Port Said under the direction of the French navy officer Benoit D'Azy, left for Cyprus as already well-qualified combatants. Soon, they were followed by 300 Egyptian Armenians and 236 former Turkish army prisoners of war (POWs); about 800 more young people were enlisted into the Legion after S.D. Hnchakian Party's call-up.

In November 1916, Colonel Louis Romieu, appointed Commander of the division, arrived in Cairo to deal with on-the-spot issues of the Legion's formation. He would meet frequently with members of the Armenian National Assembly of Egypt, and, as a result, an agreement was reached, at board level this time, that the Legion should fight only in Cilicia and the Palestinian front. In the presence of Arakel Bey Nubar and others, a letter of M. Briand, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, was made public. In the letter, M. Briand “affirmed” the earlier arrangement made between Georges Picot and Poghos Nubar to give back Cilicia to Armenians in due time.

¹² Ibid, p. 29.

¹³ Պոյաճյան Տ.Հ., op. cit., pp. 10-11.

¹⁴ Կիլիկյան տարեցույց, Ա տարի, էջ 29:

The First battalion of the *Eastern Legion* (comprised of the Armenians from Svedia and Egypt, as well as Armenians who were former POWs of the Turkish army) was speedily established. At the end of November, the battalion was transferred to Cyprus and deployed in a coastal wilderness area called Monarga. The news spread like wildfire and caused great excitement among Armenians in Cilicia and elsewhere. Smitten with grand illusions and sincerely believing in hollow pledges of support given by the Allies, people were willing to assist with the matter of liberation of Cilicia every way possible - some by fighting in the hot spot, others by making financial or moral contributions. Many took up arms giving heed to the calls of their kin and the dictates of their souls. They took up arms bound and determined to seek revenge for sisters who had been brutally raped and crucified, for sons and daughters viciously beaten and butchered, for hundreds of thousands of Armenians martyred for their native land, faith and for homes burgled and defiled. Here is an example of the outrages committed by Turkish butchers: "Legionnaire Misak Havountchian was stunned by gruesome tortures and suffering of a great many deportees he had witnessed all the way from the Strait of the Dardanelles to the burning deserts of Palestine. Heartbroken, he had stifled a flame of wrath inside, vowing vengeance on the foe. And now, there came a chance and sergeant Misak, full of vigour and getting into his volunteer garb, united his strength with that of his compatriots for the sacred oath"¹⁵. It was, no doubt, this unquenchable desire to win back their native land and water and re-settle in their Homeland that increased fighting spirit and hope for victory. Now it was about time American Armenians gave fresh momentum to the campaign. Military conscription in the United States - very much like everywhere else - was run by the Armenian national parties. S. Sapah-Gulian and M. Damadian under direct instructions from Poghos Nubar moved to the US in the summer of 1917 to recruit volunteers, whom French ships carried to Cyprus. The first ship with a 90-man company aboard - mostly the natives of Kessab and Tigranakert - set a course for Cyprus on June 9, 1917. Before long, the Second and Third battalions were established. Sadly, out of 5000 volunteers recruited in the US, for some reason, only 1,200 ended up travelling to Cyprus and the Legion thus numbered 3,000¹⁶.

Upon arrival in Monarga, the volunteers were split up into battalions, companies and squads and were kitted up with uniforms, weapons and ammunition. Their situation was tough, however. There was rightful discontent among the newcomers at the crude and condescending attitude that junior and non-commissioned officers would display. What is more, French commanders would initially involve the Armenian contingent in construction work, which raised a storm of protest. The volunteers maintained that they had not at all got there to perform construction tasks¹⁷.

Soon, however, the training was under way. The volunteers were intensively drilled in all aspects of military procedure: shooting and target practice, running,

¹⁵ Կիլիկյան տարեցույց, Ա տարի, էջ 38:

¹⁶ Թաթարյան Մ. Ա., Կամավորի մը հուշերը, Անթիլիաս-Լիբանան, 1960, էջ 7: Պոյաճյան Ս. Հ., op. cit., p. 38.

¹⁷ Պոյաճյան Ս. Հ., op. cit., pp. 63-64.

manoeuvres, physical exercise and military formation. Armenian volunteers worked hard, looking forward to a chance to pit their strength against the enemy forces.

Before long, the recruits were faced with other, more pressing concerns. A large number of Armenian volunteers with extraordinary military knowledge and achievements, who deserved to hold at least junior - if not senior - officer positions, were conspicuously neglected by the French commanding officers. Even those who had held various ranks in the US were promoted to sergeant or lieutenant here only in several months time. Tchan (John) Shishmanian, deputy commander of the company, was among the first to receive the rank of officer.

Days, dull and dreary, were following the usual pattern when all of a sudden the command to assemble an expeditionary corps was issued. "We have forgotten straight away all the old aches and yesterday's discontents and despair which were succeeded by great determination and fervour to win or die in this war of liberation," Legionnaire Tigran Boyajian relates in his memoirs¹⁸.

The ship with the First battalion aboard set sail at the end of April, 1918, followed by the Second battalion on May 9. Then, one part of the Third battalion set off for the Castellorizo Island while another part of it remained in Cyprus under the command of officer Chino to be called in as an aid force if need be. One more company was dispatched to the Ruad Island not far from the shores of Syria. Later, all the detachments were transferred to Beirut and Cilicia¹⁹.

Disembarking in Port Said, the Legion travelled southwards by train in the late afternoon of May 18 and temporarily encamped nearby the At-Tih Plateau of Ismaillia. On July 12, the Legion moved on to Mejdal where 250 Arab troopers joined the army. It is notable that there were three battalions comprised of Armenian volunteers, alongside an artillery unit and machine-gun company-over 4,000 in total²⁰.

To remain unnoticed, the Legion would advance under cover of darkness. On August 25, the journey was resumed and five days later the army pitched camp close by Rafat, located 4-5 miles away from the front²¹. The Palestinian front stretched from Haifa (slightly north of the Mediterranean Sea) to Jordan. Led by the German General Liman von Sanders, Turkish troops were 50,000 (with 300 cannons) facing 76,000 Allied troops with 500 cannons commanded by British General Edmund Henry Allenby. Allenby's army was reinforced by Colonel de Piepape's French detachment (7,000 soldiers) with three artillery batteries and Le Bon's cavalry company. The Eastern Legion was part of de Piepape's detachment²².

On the night of September 14, leaving Rafat and advancing towards the battleground, the Legion reached the front line and was positioned at the front of the

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 93:

¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 93-94.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 107.

²¹ Ibid, p. 111.

²² Du Viou Paul, *La Passion de Cilicie. 1919-1921*, Paris, 1954, p. 59.

Anglo-French army, in the proximity of Arara, “where the Armenian Legion adorned with laurels of victory would enjoy a resounding triumph”²³.

With the troops deployed effectively on the Plain of Sharon to the north of the port of Haifa, General E. Allenby intended mounting an all-out attack on the enemy positions located in the mountains. Colonel de Piepape’s detachment was assigned to occupy the seashore. The Eastern Legion was garrisoned on the coastal hills to the right, in the immediate vicinity of Arara (between Jerusalem and Nablus). After a series of successful manoeuvres, Allenby’s 35,000 infantry regiment with 400 cannons was concentrated along a fifteen-mile front (against 8,000 enemy forces with 130 cannons). The Eastern Legion was to launch the first assault²⁴.

The Battle of Arara, so eagerly awaited by the Armenian Legionnaires for months on end, broke out in the early hours of the morning of September 19 (4:30 a.m.). An unbending will to conquer and high hopes for the future along with great mental torment urged fearless warriors on glorious deeds. Under the command of B. Azan, Fouroutie and J. Shishmanian, the Second battalion unleashed a barrage of grenades followed by heavy aerial bombardment and a massive attack afterwards, which Turks tried to resist with a hail of machine-gun fire from the heights of Arara. Unafraid to confront death, the Armenian brave heart volunteers pushed forward, reached the enemy positions and with another assault, which the enemy was unprepared for, captured Mount Arara²⁵. One of the battle participants recalls, “The knavish enemy, unable to resist the retributive bayonets, was put to flight, abandoning all of its best positions”²⁶.

The Turks had to withdraw to the second line of defences. They tried to keep the formidable opponent at a secure distance by continuous machine-gun fire. The fighting persisted throughout the night. However, “the Armenian soldier would charge at the enemy even if he had to face hell...” He ought to take revenge for “the perpetual flame which had been burning the hearts of Armenians for ages”²⁷.

By 11 a.m. the cannonade had weakened and the first stage of the battle was over. The seeming noonday peace on the battlefield was abruptly shattered by the Turkish artillery fire. The enemy mounted a counter-attack in an attempt to win back the lost positions. With the enemy fire continuing to rain down, the Armenian brave souls lunged forward and a violent clash broke out. Unable to resist the overwhelming pressure, the attackers fled in terror, surrendering more positions to the Armenian Legionnaires. “The Turks who had shown “courage” and “skills” slaughtering unarmed men and women and defenceless children, stepped back faint-heartedly at the sight of the mighty weapons of Armenian warriors, withdrawing to the second line of defences”, recounts volunteer M. Tatarian and then continues, “Countless leaflets spread around

²³ Կիլիկյան տարեցույց, Ա տարի, էջ 39:

²⁴ Պոլյանյան Ս.Հ., op. cit., pp. 114-115.

²⁵ Թաթարյան Մ.Ա., op. cit., p. 14.

²⁶ Պոլյանյան Ս.Հ., op. cit., p. 121.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 122.

by British craft reported that the enemy would be faced with a 60,000-strong army on the front line, which threw Turks into total confusion. Our number, in fact, was not as great as the misleading information would suggest but our dauntless way of struggle would not let down”²⁸.

At 5 in the afternoon the Legionnaires launched a sudden offensive which proved quite successful. The battle lasted for more than an hour and a half and ended in a humiliating defeat of the Turkish army. The second and third enemy defensive lines were immediately seized. Here is a brief yet highly descriptive account of this episode from one of the battle participants, “September 19, 1918 turned out to be another day of great heroism and glory. The Armenian soldiers had amply fulfilled the weight of expectation placed on them by furiously attacking the enemy, ignoring its bullets and bombs and forcing it into ignominious retreat within just one day, from dawn to dusk...”²⁹.

It was approaching midnight when the First battalion replaced the second on the front line, ready to attack in the early morning. With the break of dawn, however, it turned out that the terror-stricken enemy had fled the battleground. A contemporary wrote, “The ‘Yildirim’ (‘Thunderbolt’) Turkish army unit backed off before the Armenian Legionnaire’s hand of steel and was soon in full retreat, puffing and trembling with fear”³⁰.

On the day of the battle, the Armenians had 21 killed and 76 wounded (two of the latter died from serious wounds two days later). Gourgen Tchiltchian, Hovhannes Kouyoumdjian, Misak Havountchian and many others died as national heroes³¹.

The following day, the Algerian (French) and Indian (British) detachments launched flank attacks with the result that the Turkish-German army, surrounded by three sides, was forced into retreat. The enemy surrendered its strategically important positions, which led to the collapse of the Syrian-Palestinian front.

The Battle of Arara appeared to be a devastating blow to the Ottoman Empire before it finally crumbled into dust. The 7th and 8th Turkish army units, securing the Palestinian front, were crushed on September 25, and the 4th one - on September 30. On October 1, advancing towards Damascus, the Allied troops occupied it, and then, joined by a company from Monarga, took Beirut on October 6, and finally Aleppo on October 26. Having covered more than 250km, the Armenian contingent fought on the front lines showing great courage and outstanding examples of self-sacrifice. Twenty-five of the Armenian Legionnaires were awarded with “Military Cross” medals by the French High Command. “I am proud to have had the Armenian detachment under my command because they fought brilliantly and played a crucial role in the victory”, General E. Allenby remarked in his telegram to Poghos Nubar on October 12, 1918.³² Undeniably, thanks to the Armenian Legionnaires, the route from Mejdell Yaba (the Legion’s encampment site after the Battle of Arara) to Damascus and Aleppo was now made available for use by the Allies.

²⁸ Թաթարյան Մ.Ա., *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²⁹ Հայաստանի Հանրապետության պատմության կենտրոնական պետական արխիվ (further ՀՀ ՊԿՊԱ), ֆ. 161, ց. 1, գ. 60, թ. 11:

³⁰ Կիլիկյան տարեցույց, Ա տարի, էջ 39-40:

³¹ Պոլյանյան Ս.Հ., Հայկական լեզիոնը, էջ 124:

³² Հուշամատյան մեծ եղեռնի, էջ 897:

After a series of heavy defeats, the war was lost for Turkey. The soon-to-fall Ottoman Empire agreed to a ceasefire with the Entente Powers and, on October 30, 1918, the Armistice of Mudros was signed on board HMS "Agamemnon" in Mudros harbour on the Greek island of Lemnos (northern part of the Aegean Sea). Under the terms of the truce, followed with partitioning of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey was obligated to promptly demobilize its army, pulling the troops out of Cilicia by December 18, yield up all the ammunition, deliver prisoners of war and Armenian deportees over, and ensure safe passage for British and French warships through the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus out to the Black Sea.

At the end of 1918, two Turkish divisions were deployed in Cilicia - the 2nd not far from Adana and the 7th to the north of the Armenian Gate (Mt. Amanus). One more regiment was garrisoned in Antioch. None of them, however, could serve as a major force because of mass desertion and despair. On November 24, 1918, unable to resist the enemy, Turks began to retreat towards the north. Hamelin, Commander of the French troops in Syria and Palestine, was ordered to pursue the enemy and - should his army strength and capacity allow it - occupy Cilicia by February 1, 1919³³.

It is noteworthy that on November 15 the Eastern Legion was renamed "La Légion Arménienne" (The *Armenian Legion*) by the French government's decision, and a Syrian legion was formed³⁴. According to the order issued the same day by the Ministry of Military Affairs, the whole Armenian Legion was to be relocated from Beirut to Cilicia to liberate the region. With one more battalion assembled in Beirut, the number of Armenian Legionnaires would now reach 5,000.

The Armenian Legion joined the campaign within French divisions³⁵. The Armenian contingent was lucky and honoured to be the first to enter Cilicia. The First and Third battalions of the Legion disembarked in Alexandretta as early as November 21, 1918. Later, on December 14-16, the Second battalion and part of the Third battalion arrived in Mersin. Shortly afterwards, the whole Third battalion broke enemy resistance and based in Mersin, Misis and Tarson while the Second battalion took control of some eastern Cilician towns. Substantial forces were garrisoned in the cities of Marash and Aintap. According to the French historian P. Redan, the Legion was constantly reinforced by new recruits and if Armenians dwelling in urban areas had no particular military reputation, "Armenians from mountainous regions distinguished themselves as intrepid combatants whose courage would often bring great credit to the Legion"³⁶.

As a matter of fact, the Allied troops had captured Cilicia by December 20, 1918. The British General Leslie soon arrived in Adana with the 19th overland brigade to institute the establishment of the British military rule in Cilicia that was to run until November, 1919. The British military power was succeeded by the French power and Colonel E. Brémond was then appointed Chief of the French supervision in Cilicia.

³³ Bremond E., *La Cilicie en 1919-1920*, Paris, 1921, p. 10.

³⁴ Redan P., *La Cilicie et le Problème Ottoman*, Paris, 1921, p. 35.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75:

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

After the Armistice of Mudros, Cilicia was resettled by about 150,000 Armenians who were hoping for a safe and prosperous life under French protection. However, Cilicia's fate - Cilician Armenians' in particular - had been predetermined by a project designed in the course of negotiations (December 5-6, 1919) between Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Georges Picot, High Commissioner for Syria and Armenia. It provided a solid foundation for the Franco-Kemalist prospective rapprochement (the treaties ratified in London and Ankara on March 9, 1921 and October 20, 1921 respectively). Following its political and economic interests and intending to retain Syria as well as win a number of concessions, France ceded Cilicia and, whether intentionally or otherwise, became complicit in a new tragedy of Cilician Armenians. Subsequently, 25,000-30,000 Armenians were slaughtered and the survivors were sent into exile, the way full of horrors and dismay.

Mustafa Kemal's decision to wage war in Cilicia was not at all accidental. In accordance with "The National Pact" adopted in Ankara on January 28, 1920, and the decisions taken at the Erzurum and Sebastia (Sivas) congresses, the Kemalists aimed at preserving the Ottoman Empire's "territorial integrity". From the standpoint of the Turkish nationalistic attitude, the mere existence of Armenians was threatening to Turkey's independence and "territorial integrity" as the Armenian nation was consistent in the solution of its rightful demand desiring to restore Armenian statehood for which Armenians would struggle to the last man to gain self-determination and rebuild their lives in their ancient Homeland. Furthermore, during the years 1919-1920, as a result of the Armenian genocide, of the territories of Western Armenians' Homeland, only Cilicia remained relatively densely populated by Armenians, who would bend their efforts seeking political autonomy which had been guaranteed by the Great Powers at the highest level. Besides, it was more facile for the enemy to undertake military action against France with its minor forces³⁷.

Thus, in January, 1919, the Kemalists, in collaboration with the Young Turks, took up positions along the front line covering the greater part of Cilicia. The situation grew increasingly tense in the city of Marash (January-February, 1920) with a population of 20,000 Armenians, who, together with nearly 500 Legionnaires (most of the First battalion, part of the Second battalion and the 7th, 8th and 9th companies of the Third battalion), fought back with great valour, inflicting a number of defeats on the enemy forces. The Legionnaires Gevork Haroutiunian, Tovmas Abrahamian, Smbat Shahnazarian, who acted brilliantly in these fights, would over a few days beat off the Turks' attacks on St. Sarkis Church³⁸. Under Setrak Kherlagian's command, 30 Armenian Legionnaires showed great strength of will, defending the city's Catholic Church to rescue lives of 3,700 compatriots sheltering there from the enemy³⁹. It is

³⁷ In 1919 the French troops in Cilicia and Syria numbered about 20,000, reaching 70,000 in 1921 (Гранкур К., Тактика на Ближнем Востоке, М.-Л., 1928, с. 42).

³⁸ Գալուստյան Գ., Մարաշ կամ Գերմանիկ և հերոս Ջեյթուն, Նյու Յորք, 1934, էջ 810-811:

³⁹ Ibid, pp. 814-816.

worth referring to the French writer Clément Grandcourt's opinion of an Armenian Legionnaire: "He is a valiant warrior and a great patriot, who shows a commendable zeal, persistence and wits defending his hearth and home"⁴⁰. The struggle, however, turned out to be completely useless and unnecessary. On February 11, the French Command gave the order to retreat and the city was ceded to Turks shortly thereafter. Over 13,000 Armenians were killed and the remaining 8,000 people were deported from their native land by the Kemalist authorities⁴¹.

After the fall of Marash, the Kemalist movement in Cilicia was developing even more extensively. As M. Anderson mentioned, "the nationalists demonstrated their power driving the French forces out of the region by February."⁴²

At the beginning of 1920, the situation was getting more and more tense in Adana and the surrounding areas. Later that year (in July), full-scale warfare was waged by Kemalists. It is necessary to mention that due to the adverse political circumstances, the French Military Command embarked upon mobilizing an Armenian contingent - knowing full well what a reliable and valuable ally the Armenian armed forces would be. The French authorities⁴³ were able to liberate Adana and its surroundings from the enemy largely owing to the Armenian Legionnaires and new volunteers⁴⁴.

The Battle of Hajin - a truly heroic struggle - broke out on March 14, 1920. The town remained besieged for seven months, during which Sarkis Jebejian, Aram Kaidzak (Aram the Lightning), Mihran Kayan, Mesrop Shekherdeman and many others fought unequal battles against enemy forces ten times as many. With a severe shortage of materiel and ammunition, they would successfully resist the enemy onslaughts, hoping for urgent aid, which had been repeatedly promised by Cilicia's French authorities and the President of the Armenian National Council in Cilicia, M. Tamatian. The first and second expeditionary forces mobilized for Hajin relief were suspended right away by the French Military Command, and then, to make matters worse, were disarmed and expelled from Cilicia. Hajin was left alone, hence doomed to destruction. Then, on October 15, 1920, the Kemalist troops invaded the town and put 8,000 Armenians to the sword. 387 people only, guided by Aram Kaidzak, were able to break through the enemy siege ring and reach the French zone⁴⁵.

Fighting Turkish slayers in Aintap - as well as elsewhere - Armenian Legionnaires performed miracles of courage. In the battle that lasted for nearly a year (April 1, 1920 - February 8, 1921), the Aintap Armenians with the help of the French army units survived through violent and savage passions of the Turkish slaughterers. Later, however, when Cilicia was surrendered to Turkey, the Armenians were forced to flee

⁴⁰ Гранкур К., *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁴¹ Փալուստյան Գ., *op. cit.*, pp. 810-811.

⁴² Anderson M., *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923*, New York, 1966, p. 362.

⁴³ In 1919 the French troops in Cilicia and Syria numbered about 20,000, reaching 70,000 in 1921 (К. Гранкур, *op. cit.*, p. 42).

⁴⁴ Կիլիկյան տարեցույց, Ա տարի, էջ 186, P. Redan, *La Cilicie et le Problème Ottoman*, pp. 106-108.

⁴⁵ Սահակյան Ռ.Գ., *op. cit.*, p. 180.

their homes again. Overall, “With high expectations of justice, full of hopes and aspirations, the Armenian volunteer set foot on Cilicia’s holy lands, covered with blood of his kith and kin. His biggest ambitions had now completely evaporated and his life in Cilicia was precarious and hopeless. The enemy was able to receive-or buy -sympathy from the victorious Allies. The latter had chosen to betray not only the warriors under their protection, but also the survivors of expulsion whose number grew daily reaching a hundred thousand in Cilicia’s principal city, Adana, liberated by Armenian volunteers”⁴⁶.

Given that Cilicia was going to be ceded to the Kemalists by the French military authorities, the existence of the Armenian Legion was no longer favourable for them as it might engender “major hindrances”. Therefore, the Armenian national-political forces, in their turn, conjecturing the probable sequence and logical end of events, declared Cilicia’s independence under French protection and formed a government on August 4, 1920. The following day, however, the newly-formed government was dissolved by the French authorities and Turkey took its chance to resort to genocidal actions again.

The issue of the Armenian Legion was now at the top of the agenda. The “Moor” had done his duty, the “Moor” could go. The French authorities began to cut down on the number of soldiers in the Legion. Subsequently, 3,500 Legionnaires (out of 5,000) were discharged at the beginning of 1920. On August 19, 1920 the order of demobilization of the Armenian Legion was signed by General Gouraud, French High Commissioner and Commander in the Middle East, General Dufieux, Commander of the First army unit, who replaced Lieutenant Colonel Romieu, Colonel Flye-Sainte-Marie. Further, Shishmanian’s Armenian militia was disbanded, followed by the disarmament of the Akharcha second expeditionary corps for besieged Hajin on September 22, 1920. General Gouraud in his August 19th message to Armenian Legionnaires cynically observed, “By calling for the disbandment of the Armenian Legion, France will be exempt from the arrangement which was generously signed in 1916 and 1917”⁴⁷. Not a word more! All the generous promises and pledges had been consigned to oblivion.

The Armenian Legion, nonetheless, accomplished its historic mission. The legendary heroes of the Legion not only contributed enormously to the triumph of the Allied Powers by conducting flawless military operations on the Syrian-Palestinian front, but also thwarted the Kemalists’ plans to completely annihilate Cilician Armenians, thus ensuring more or less secure migration of their compatriots, helping them to survive the Armenian Genocide, while many were brutally murdered during massacres and deportation.

***Translated from Armenian
by M. Yandian***

⁴⁶ ՀՀ ՊԿՊԱ, ֆ. 161, ց. 1, գ. 60, թ. 13:

⁴⁷ Պոլսահայտն S.Հ., op. cit., p. 376.

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF RUBEN GASPARYAN TO THE FIELD OF
RESEARCH OF THE CILICIAN ARMENIANS' HISTORY
(the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century)**

Ruben Sahakyan

Doctor of Sciences (History)



**Ruben Gasparyan
(1962-2013)**

The frames of scientific interests of Ruben Gasparyan included mainly the Cilicia's history from the end of the 19th c. to the early 20s of the 20th c. He paid a special attention to the social-economic, national-liberation, educational and other basic issues of the Cilician Armenians. The scholar published special articles and documents on the mentioned themes.

The monograph of Ruben Gasparyan was published in 1999, "The Cilician Armenians at the beginning of the 20th century"¹. As the historian mentions rightly, "the administration of Sultan Hamid was conducting a policy for detaching the Cilicia from Western Armenia economically, politically and ideologically"². The matter is that the Sultan was taking steps to give effect both to the isolation of the Cilicia's Armenians and to the physical annihilation of the population, making use of the Great Powers' equivocal policy. The Ottoman authorities were widely using the bigotry of the Mohammedan ignorant classes against the Armenians. Officials with relevant characteristic were being appointed on the places for that purpose, such as the vali (governor) of Aleppo, Anis Pasha. As R. Gasparyan was sure the abovementioned facts prove that "...the Armenian massacres had been organizing by Abdul Hamid in Cilicia in a manner of planning, slowly and cautiously"³.

Abdul Hamid II was aimed at keeping the patriarchates of both Constantinople and Jerusalem under his control. Furthermore, the sultan was seeking to get the Catholicosate of Sis as an autonomous unit, separating it from the Holy See of St. Etchmiatsin. The report of the Russian ambassador in the Ottoman Empire, I. Zinovev, proves this fact⁴.

The persecutions on the ground of nationality were intensified in parallel with the religious oppressions. R. Gasparyan calls the reader's attention to the fact that the persecutions were not becoming obstacles for liberation movement to be weakened. In particular, it was carried by the Social-Democrat Hntchakian Party in Cilicia. A number

¹ Գասպարյան Ռ. Հ., Կիլիկիահայությունը 20-րդ դարի սկզբին, Երևան, 1999:

² Ibid, p. 5.

³ Ibid, p. 6.

⁴ Ibid, p. 8.

of its representatives were organizing and conducting the battles in certain places of Cilicia, Zeitun, Chok-Marzvan, Aintap, Hatchyn and elsewhere⁵.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF/Hay Heghapokhakan Dashnaktsutjun) also launched its activities in Cilicia. The Second General Meeting of ARF made a decision of establishing a control center in Cilicia in 1898, taking into consideration the unique location of the Mountainous Cilicia. And the third General Meeting of that same party decides to esteem Cilicia "as a concentration area, adequate to Sasun"⁶; finances were provided and the Responsible Body of Cilicia with membership formed. Nevertheless, it did not succeed to create a wide network in Cilicia.

The eminent figure of ARF party, S. Zavaryan, taking into consideration the situation in Cilicia, had come to a conclusion that the Armenians of Cilicia were ready to fight for their liberation only in Mountainous Cilicia - Zeitun, Marash, as well as, in the south - Kesab. R. Gasparyan doesn't minimize the role of the Armenians in the other provinces of Cilicia, pointing to the abovementioned idea of the Armenian Liberation Movement's well known figure. The historian argues that the condition of Cilicia was bearing a resemblance with that created in the Western Armenia. He presented the reasons for such a situation in both parts of Armenia. R. Gasparyan calls the reader's attention to the fact that there occurred a gap between various segments of the Western Armenians because of administrative divisions and policy of the Ottoman government. Besides, the separate and, sometimes, contradictory actions of the Armenian national parties were not creating favorable conditions for a united struggle.

A large number of historical researches on the massacre of the Cilicia's Armenians in 1909 have been put on paper and the evidences and researches of both Armenian and foreign witnesses and historians published. R. Gasparyan was able to collect the historiographic literature and archival documents; on the basis of their research he concluded that the massacres were organized by the so called former government, that is, the Abdulhamidian, and by the newest one, that is, the Young Turks⁷.

In the work a separate chapter is dedicated to the self-defense battles of Cilicia in 1909⁸. R. Gasparyan considers necessary the scientific investigation of the Armenian's resistance, which should be given a special place and role⁹. Along with the evidences about the mass killings published for many decades in our historiography, during recent decades the self-defense battles have started to be elucidated, too.

R. Gasparyan analyzes deeply and skillfully the struggle for existence of Armenians in Adana, Dyort-Yol, Sis, Sheikh-Murad (Sharder), Baghtche, Hajn, Marash and in other localities. Discussing the resistance battles, the historian makes the

⁵ Ibid, p. 15.

⁶ Ibid, pp. 13-14.

⁷ Ibid, p. 55.

⁸ Ibid, pp. 35-42.

⁹ Ibid, p. 35.

following conclusion: "The heroic battles of 1909 proved once more that the only hope of being liberated from the Turkish bloody scimitar (yataghan) is the armed struggle, life and death battle"¹⁰.

R. Gasparyan has dedicated a special chapter to the elucidation of the problems on the numerical and material losses the Cilician Armenians suffered and of the matter on the organizers of pogroms¹¹.

The Ottoman authorities begin to falsify the real facts and reality exactly after the massacres of the Cilician Armenians, presenting the victim as a perpetrator. Different canals have been applied for that purpose, up to some foreign diplomatic missions. By the way, the mentioned policy is kept on in our days, too.

Comparing the archival papers, the witnesses' memories and the historiographic researches, according to which the death toll ranges from 25 to 30 thousands, R. Gasparyan noted: "We think that even this figure can't be considered definitive as the overall records... are reflecting the reality in part only. The Ottoman government was prohibiting and making complexity tendentiously; therefore, it is infinitely difficult to find out the exact number of victims through the scrupulous investigations. According to the reports published in some news- sheets this unit makes approximately 35 thousand"¹².

R. Gasparyan examines the damage caused to the Cilician Armenians. He studied both the published and the archival records for its determination. According to the calculations of historian George Breazul, the material damage reached 20 million Turkish lira. The numerical analysis doesn't cover 80 thousand Armenians including orphans, who had lost their properties and were impelled to exist in hardship¹³.

The cited facts permit us to conclude that the massacres, organized by the Ottoman authorities, had political and economic reasons along with deprivation of Armenians of their Homeland.

The entire Armenian nation was commemorating the 90th year of the Armenian Genocide in 2005. The government organized a committee, which had intended to publish the works dedicated to the history of Armenian tragedy together with other arrangements. The new work of R. Gasparyan was published in that year¹⁴.

The Ottoman Turkey was in a socio-economic and political difficult condition at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. The liberation struggle of the subject peoples was escalating day by day. The empire was experiencing a deep crisis, and the Great Powers were making use of it, having an intention to enlarge their domains and influence at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. The rulers of dying empire were making efforts to save it from the collapse and disintegration. And the first

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 42.

¹¹ Ibid, pp. 43-57.

¹² Ibid, p. 45.

¹³ Ibid, p. 46.

¹⁴ Գասպարյան Ռ. Հ., Հայկական կոտորածները Կիլիկիայում (XIX դարի 90-ական թթ. - 1921 թ.), Երևան, 2005:

blow was delivered to the Western Armenia and the Armenians of Cilicia and the Armenian-populated areas of Asia Minor.

In the preface of the work R. Gasparyan examines the available historiographic literature of both Armenian and foreign historians about the massacres of the Cilician Armenians, pointing out that though voluminous and solid works have been written by historians, “there is no complete work or research about the massacres of the Cilician Armenians, liberation movements, defensive battles, where the abovementioned core issues could be discussed as component parts of a whole”¹⁵.

R. Gasparyan has widely applied various documentary evidence, stored at the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts after Mesrop Mashtots (Matenadaran), the National Archives of Armenia and Russia. The investigation of the historian embraces the period from 1909-1921. He has thrown a short look at the massacres of the Cilician Armenians in 1890 as a continuation of the ottoman policy's manifestation.

R. Gasparyan divides the works of foreign authors and historians on the events in Cilicia into two groups in a conventional way; the first group consists of those who discussed impartially the events between 1890 and 1921; they are James Bryce, Arnold Toynbee, Johannes Lepsius, Fridtjof Nansen, David M. Lang, Christopher Walker and others. He extensively used the historiographic literature published in the French. Of course, R. Gasparyan has also applied the memories, books and articles of the Armenian witnesses and historians, the reports of periodicals, the documentary evidence and the comments of foreigners when elucidating the main problem.

R. Gasparyan underlined: “Now a powerful army of the history falsifiers operate abroad, which through the forgery of facts defends the official standpoint of the Young Turks, according to which the Armenian partial pogroms (and not genocide) were the result of both the Russian orientation of Armenians and the aid they provided for the Russian Army”¹⁶. The Armenian historian proved that all that was a total lie.

R. Gasparyan discusses the condition of the Armenian population not only in Cilicia, but also in the whole of Western Armenia. The historian calls the reader's attention to the fact that Turkish chieftains, enjoying the patronage of the government, were plundering the Armenian peasantry in the exact sense of the word. Such were conditions in Cilicia. The Cilician Armenians were paying numerous taxes. R. Gasparyan points out that “the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire were undergoing heavy taxation by the Mohammedan ecclesiastics, too”¹⁷.

The ruling elite of the period of the reign of Abdul Hamid II adopted the ideology of pan-Islamism. It was firstly against the Armenians and outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire against Russia, where Turkish-language and Muslim peoples lived.

Being unable to suppress the liberation movements of the Western Armenians, the sultan initiated mass slaughter of Armenians in the 1890s, the victims of which

¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 13.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 21.

numbered 300 thousand. Seventy five villages had been destroyed only in the Marash province; 2327 houses were burned, 6630 Christians killed¹⁸.

Anyhow, Abdul Hamid II was not satisfied by all this. He was preparing a new massacre of the Cilician Armenians in 1905-1906, which was schemed by the Turkish military commands of both Adana and Aleppo. Nonetheless, the slaughter was postponed¹⁹.

The massacre of Adana and the self-defense battles of the Cilician Armenians in response thereto took place in the next year of the revolution (1909) organized by the Young Turks.

The historian elucidated the self-defense battles of the Cilician Armenians, concluding, "the heroic battles of 1909 proved once more that the only hope to be liberated from the Turkish bloody yataghan is the armed struggle, life and death battle"²⁰.

R. Gasparyan especially studied the massacres and deportations of Armenians of Cilicia in 1915-1916. The objective of the Young Turks, who seized the helm of the Ottoman Empire, was to annihilate the Armenians in their cradle, who were considered as an obstacle for the realization of the Young Turks' pan-Turanian plan and capture of lands and properties of Armenians²¹.

The deportations and massacres of Armenians in the provinces of Adana and Aleppo, in Cilicia and Syria were carried into effect by the member of the so called Young Turk triumvirate, Minister of the Marine, Commander of the 4th Turkish army in Syria during WW I, the war criminal, Jemal Pasha.

To prevent the Armenian national movement the Ottoman authorities applied manifold intrigues and false promises as a result of which it had not been possible to organize general resistance. In this situation the heads of Zeitun had not been able to develop a united plan of actions against the Turkish slaughterers. It is true that some self-defensive actions anyhow took place. The Turkish genocidal plan started to work with the full intensity and in a fastest way²².

The Young Turk authorities began the deportation of the Zeitun Armenians. Eight thousand Armenians out of 30 thousand were subjected to deportation to Konia and the rest to Deir al-Zor. On the basis of various archival documents and recollections of witnesses R. Gasparyan described the horrors suffered by the deported Zeitun Armenians. Nearly two hundred fifty thousand to three hundred thousand out of one and a half million Armenian victims, subjected to Genocide, were Cilician Armenians. Only four thousand stayed alive²³.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 35.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 78.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 78.

²¹ Ibid, p. 97.

²² Ibid, p. 107.

²³ Ibid, p. 123.

R. Gasparyan elucidated the heroic resistance of Suetia's Armenians on the Mountain of Musa. Describing the geographical location of Suetia, the six villages, situated on the southern and eastern slopes of the Musa Mountain in a round way, the author underlined the double-natured positions of their heads either to resist or to obey the order of the authorities. The self-defense instinct of the population advances here. Realizing that the displacement means physical destruction, the prevailing mass of inhabitants "took the route of self-defense spontaneously, relying on their glorious past of fighting experience"²⁴. They heroically fought against the Turkish troops. The Armenians of Suetia were saved unexpectedly. The sudden appearance of the French protected cruiser *Guichen* provided an opportunity for Armenians to make contact and to ask for help. The French warships transported 4 200 people to Port Said, Egypt, on 14 September²⁵.

The scientific investigations of R. Gasparyan were mainly aimed at elucidation of both the tragic history of the Cilician Armenians at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, and the heroic, national-liberation and self-defensive struggle. He affirmed once more in his researches the continuity of the genocidal actions of Abdul Hamid II and the Young Turks and the heir of their anti-Armenian criminal policy, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. R. Gasparyan elucidated the self-defensive struggle of the Cilician Armenians in more details.

The historian analyzed the conditions of the survived Cilician Armenians after the end of the World War I. He brought into circulation the researches of both Armenian and foreign scholars. Interpreting the heroic struggle of Armenians in Marash, Hachn, Ayntap, Zeitun and in other places and analyzing the French policy in Cilicia, R. Gasparyan concluded, "the Cilician Armenians became victims because of double-faced policy of France, too, which sacrificed them for the sake of its economic and political interests"²⁶.

In the last years of his life R. Gasparyan was working²⁷ on the publication of the unpublished works by A-Do (Hovhannes Ter-Martirosyan)²⁸. The unpublished memories of Eghishe Buranyan from Van were published jointly. The two works have been published after the death of R. Gasparyan²⁹. The abovementioned co-authors prepared

²⁴ Ibid, p. 125.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 138.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 223.

²⁷ He worked with co-author R. Sahakyan.

²⁸ Ա-Դո, Իմ հիշողությունները: Առաջաբանը և ծանոթագրությունները՝ Ռուբեն Գասպարյանի և Ռուբեն Սահակյանի, Երևան, 2015:

²⁹ See Ա-Դո, Ռուսական ցարերը և հայկական հարցը. Առաջաբանը և ծանոթագրությունները՝ պ.գ.թ Ռուբեն Գասպարյանի և պ.գ.թ. Ռուբեն Սահակյանի, Երևան, 2013: Բուրանյան Ե., Իմ անցյալի հուշերից. Վասպուրականի ողբերգություն. Ներածությունը և ծանոթագրությունները՝ պ.գ.թ Ռուբեն Գասպարյանի և պ.գ.թ. Ռուբեն Սահակյանի, Երևան, 2013:

the preface and annotations of another work by A-Do for publication, which was translated into French³⁰.

The scientific investigations of Ruben Gasparyan are important contribution both for the study of the history of the Cilician Armenians of the period of the Armenian Genocide and for the Armenian Cause and the Armenian territorial demands (Western Armenia and Cilician Armenia).

***Translated from Armenian
by V. M. Gharakhanyan***

³⁰ See Les Grands événements du Vaspourakan Van 1915, A-Do Présenté par Jean-Pierre Kibarian, traduit de l'arménien par Alice Kegelian, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation société bibliophilique Ani, Paris, 2015.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY

**FOOTNOTE COMMENTARIES TO THE CHAPTER ON GREAT ARMENIA IN
CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY¹**

(updated by comparison with the Greek text)

by Danielyan E. L.

Doctor of Sciences (History)

BOOK V

CHAPTER XII² (XIII³)

Location of Armenia Major⁴ (Third, map of Asia)

1. GREAT ARMENIA⁵ is terminated on the north by a part of Colchis⁶ and Iberia⁷, and Albania⁸ on the line which we have indicated as running along the Cyrus river; on the west by Cappadocia along the accessible part of the Euphrates and the part of Pontus Cappadocia which extends as far as the Colchis border after passing through the Mosechius mountains; on the east by a part of the Hyrcanium Sea⁹ from the mouth of the Cyrus river to the terminus the location of which is in 79' 45" 43' 20" and by Media on the line leading to the Caspius mountains and along these mountains, the termini of which are located in 79' 42' 30" and 80' 30" 40' on the south it is terminated by Mesopotamia along the line of the Taurus mountains which begins at the Euphrates river, the location of which is 71' 30" 38' and extends to the Tigris river in 75' 30" 38' 30" then by Assyria on a line extending along the Niphates mountains, that line which we have said continues in a direct line as far as the indicated terminus of the Caspius mountains.
2. The noted mountains of Armenia are the Moschici extending along that part of Pontus Cappadocia, which is above them, and the Paryardes mountains, the terminal positions of which are 75' 43' 20" and 77' 42' and the Udacespes mountains the central part of which is in 80' 30" 40' and a part of the Antitaurus mountains located on this side of the Euphrates, the middle of which is 72' 41' 40"

¹ The Geography / Claudius Ptolemy; translated and edited by Edward Luther Stevenson, London, 1932

² ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΥΦΗΓΗΣΙΣ. E CODICIBUS RECOGNOVIT PROLEGOMENIS. ANNOTATIONE INDICIBUS. TABULIS INSTRUXIT Carolus Müllerus, Parisiis, Editore Alfredo Firmin-Didot, Instituti Francici Typographo, 1901, V. 12 (further: Ptol., 1901).

³ Claudii Ptolemaei GEOGRAPHIA. Edidit C.F.A. Nobbe. Tom II, Lipsiae, 1845, V. 13 <https://goo.gl/6iEiqc> (further: Ptol., 1845).

⁴ Great Armenia, according to the Armenian sources - Մեծ Հայք (Mets Hayk').

⁵ In the English translation by E. L. Stevenson: Armenia; in the Greek text: Ἡ Μεγάλη Ἀρμενία ARMENIA MAJOR-GREAT ARMENIA.

⁶ In Armenian Կողքիս (Koghkis).

⁷ In Armenian Վիրք (Virk).

⁸ In Armenian Բուն Աղուանք (Aluank Proper)

⁹ The Caspian Sea.

and that which is called the Abas mountains the middle part of which is in

77' 41' 10"

and the Gordyaei mountains¹⁰, the middle of which is located in

75' 39' 40"

3. The rivers which flow through this land are the Araxes river, the mouth of which is in the Hyrcanium Sea in the

location

79' 45" 43' 50"

the sources of which moreover are in

76' 30" 42' 30"

increasing toward the east as far as the Caspius mountains, then turning toward the north, one part empties into the Hyrcanium Sea, another joins with the Cyrus

in

78' 30" 44' 30"

and a part of the Euphrates river from that turning, which is from the east, as we have said, to the sources which are in

75' 40" 42' 40"

And there is another noted river which empties into the Euphrates river, the terminus of which, where it joins with the Euphrates is

71' 30" 40' 30"

and the terminus near the source is

77' 41'

then that part of the Tigris river which is within the region of Armenia from the entrance on the south border to the sources of the river, the location of which is in

74' 40" 39' 40"

forming there the lake which is called Thospitis¹¹. There are other lakes, one of which is called Lychnitis¹², the middle of which is in

78' 43' 15"

and the Arsessa lake¹³ the middle of which is

78' 30" 40' 45"

4. In the region of Armenia which is included between the Euphrates river, the Cyrus and the Araxes, is Catarzene¹⁴ which is near the Moschici mountains above that which is called Bocha¹⁵ near the Cyrus river, and Obarena¹⁶ and Otene¹⁷ near the Araxes river and Colthene¹⁸, and Soducene¹⁹ which are below this; then along the Paryardes mountains is Siracene²⁰ and Sacasene²¹; the towns in this section are:

5. Sala 73' 20" 44' 20"

¹⁰ In Armenian Կորդուքի լեռներ (the mountains of Korduk).

¹¹ In Armenian Վանա ծով (The Van Sea).

¹² In Armenian Սևանա լիճ (Lake Sevan).

¹³ In Armenian Արճիշակի լիճ (Lake Archishak).

¹⁴ In the English translation by E. L. Stevneson: "Cotarzena". It had to be Catarzene, according to the Greek text: Κοταρζηνή (Ptol., 1845, p. 51) or Καταρζηνή (Ptol., 1901, p. 937). In Armenian Կղարջք [Kgharjk, the ninth region of Gugark, the 13th province of Great Armenia (Երեմյան Ս., Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, Երևան, 1963, էջ 59).

¹⁵ In Armenian Բոխա (Bokha), a region in Tayk, the 14th province of Great Armenia.

¹⁶ In the English translation by E. L. Stevneson: "Tobarena", in the Greek text: Τωσαρενή (Ptol., 1845, p. 51) or Ὠβαρήνη (Ptol., 1901, p. 938) (it is supposed to be Gugark, see Guillaume de Sainte-Croix, Memoire sur le cours de l'Araxe et du Cyrus, Paris, 1797, p. 31).

¹⁷ In the English translation by E. L. Stevneson: Totene. In the Greek text: Ὠτηνή (Ptol., 1845, p. 51; Ptol., 1901, p. 938). In Armenian Ուտիք (Utik), the 12th province of Great Armenia.

¹⁸ In Armenian Գողթն (Goghtn).

¹⁹ In Armenian Սոդք (Sodk) (see Երեմյան Ս., 1963, էջ 80).

²⁰ In Armenian Շիրակ (Shirak, see Ptol., 1901, p. 938).

²¹ In Armenian Շակաշեն (Shakashen in Utik) (see Երեմյան Ս., 1963, էջ 73).

Ascura	74'		44'	10''
Baraza	75'	20''	44'	10''
Lala	76'	10''	44'	
Santuta	77'	20''	44'	20''
Santaphara	78'		44'	20''
Toga	78'	50''	43'	20''
Vathura ²²	73'		43'	
Azata	73'	45'	43'	15''
Cholua	74'		43'	10''
Sedala	74'	40''	43'	45''
Surta	74'	30''	43'	40''
Tastina	74'	40	43'	
Cozala	75'	20''	43'	30''
Cotomana	75'	15''	43'	40''
Batinna	76'	10''	43'	40''
Dizaca ²³	76'	50''	43'	10''
Ptusa	77'		43'	45''
Glisma	78'	20''	43'	40''
Choluata	78'	45''	43'	40''
Sacalbina	79'	10''	43'	15''
Arsarata	79'	30''	43'	15''
and along the Euphrates river				
Bressus	72'		42'	15''
Elegia ²⁴	73'	20''	42'	45''
Chasira	74'		42'	40''
Chorsa ²⁵	74'	40''	42'	50''
Thalina	75'	20''	42'	45''
[and along the the Araxes river]				
Harmaviria ²⁶	76'	40''	42'	45''
Artaxata ²⁷	78'		42'	40''
Naxuana ²⁸	78'	50''	42'	45''

²² In the Greek text: Οὐαρούθα.

²³ In Armenian Դիզակ (Dizak in Artsakh). Ptolemy mentioned Obarene before Otene (Utik) after which - Colthene (Goghtn) near the Arax [K. Müller noted: «Armen. Kolthan ad Araxem in *Vaspouragan* provincia» (Ptol., 1901, p. 938), i.e., he correctly identified Colthene with Goghtn], Soducene (Սոդք, Tsavdek-Sodk) (see Ս.Երեմյան, 1963, էջ 80), then Siracene (Shirak, Ptol., 1901, p. 938) and Sakasene, and after them comes *Dizaka*.

²⁴ In Armenian Եղեգն (Eghegn-Elegia-Jermuk, near Karin) (see Երեմյան Ս., Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, էջ 53).

²⁵ K. Müller comparing Χόρσα with Χάρς mentioned by Constantin Porphyrogenitus identified it with Kars (Ptol., 1901, p. 941) (Armenian Կարս).

²⁶ In Armenian Արմավիր (Armavir).

²⁷ In Armenian Արտաշատ (Artashat, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Great Armenia).

²⁸ In Armenian Նախիջևան (Nakhijevan, in the region of Vaspurakan of Great Armenia) (see Երեմյան Ս., 1963, էջ 72).

6. In the section which is below this up to that river which flows into the Euphrates in the northern country are the regions, commencing in the west, Basilisene²⁹, Bolbene³⁰ and Arsesa³¹, below these Acilisene³² and Astaunitis³³ and Sophene³⁴ near the same bend of the river. The towns in this section are:

Athua ³⁵	71'	30''	42'	30''
Tinissa ³⁶	73'	30''	42'	30''
Zoriga ³⁷	71'	30''	42'	
Sana	73'	30''	42'	
Brizaca	74'	50''	42'	30''
Daranissa ³⁸	76'		42'	20''
Zogocara	77'	5''	42'	20''
Cubina	78'	30''	42'	20''
Codana	71'	30''	41'	40''
Cachura	72'		41'	20''
Cholua	73'	30''	41'	
Sogocara	74'		41'	
Phausya	74'	15''	41'	45''
Phandalia	74'	50''	41'	30''
Zaruana ³⁹	75'	40''	41'	45''
Citamum	76'		41'	30''
Anarium	76'	50''	41'	30''
Sigua	77'		41'	
Terua	78'	41'	50''	
Zurzua	78'	30''	41'	40''

²⁹ In Armenian Բասեն (Basen), the 1st region of Ayrarat, the 15th province of Great Armenia.

³⁰ In Armenian Բողբերդ (Boghberd), a castle in the region of Basen (Н.Адонц, Армения в эпоху Юстиниана, Ереван, 1971, с. 24-25, Ս.Երեմյան, 1963, էջ 45).

³¹ In Armenian Արճեշ (Archesh, a city in Tavruheran-Turuberan, the fourth province of Great Armenia).

³² In Armenian Եկեղեաց (Ekegheats, a region in Upper Armenia, the first province of Great Armenia).

³³ In Armenian Հաշտեանք (Hashteank in the Fourth Armenia - in the province of Tsopk) (Ptol., 1901, p. 943).

³⁴ In Armenian Ծոփք (Tsopk, the second province of Great Armenia).

³⁵ K. Müller compared toponym Ἀθούα with Ada (Armenian Ադա), localized it near Kamakh (Ptol., 1901, p. 942) in Upper Armenia.

³⁶ K. Müller localized it near Elegia (Ibid.).

³⁷ K. Müller supposed that Ζόριγα corresponds to Armenian Երեզ (Erez) mentined by Movses Khorenatsi (Ibid.).

³⁸ It is supposed that *Dardanossa* ("name of a town, found upon a coin described by the Reverend Mr. Swinton...") was converted into *Daranissa*, "which seems to have been a town Seated in Sofene, a province of Greater (must be Great - ed.) Armenia" (Philosophical transactions, giving some account of the present undertakings, studies, and labours of the ingenious, in many considerable parts of world. Vol. LVI. For the year 1766, London, 1767, pp. 28, 315). *Daranissa* is also identified with Datamisa of Tabula Peutingeriana (Յ. Յարութինեան, Պետինգերեան քարտեզի Արտաշատ-Սատաղ ճանապարհի չպարզաբանուած վեց կայարանների տեղանուն եւ տեղադրման խնդիրը, էջ 44 <http://www.haigazian.edu.lb/Publications/Documents/HARVol34fullcontent/37-46.pdf>), but as earlier noted H.Manadyan Datamisa's location is uncertain (Հ. Մանադյան, Երկեր, հ. Ե, Երևան, 1984, էջ 131). K. Müller supposed *Daranissa* in Daranaghi (Ptol., 1901, p. 943). the 1st region of the province of Upper Armenia.

³⁹ In Armenian Զարեհավան (Zarehavan) in the province of Ayrarat.

Matustana	78'		41'	40''
Astacana ⁴⁰	78'		41'	
Tarina ⁴¹	72'	20'	41''	
Balisbiga	73'	40''	40'	40''
Babila	74'	20''	40'	45''
Sagauana ⁴²	75'	15''	40'	45''
Azara	76'	10''	40'	50''

8. In the remaining section located toward the south between the Euphrates and the sources of the Tigris, but below this is Anzitene⁴³, and Thospitis region⁴⁴; then Coriaea⁴⁵; and the towns in this section are:

Elegerda ⁴⁶	72'	15''	40'	15''
Mazara	71'	20''	39'	50''
Anzita ⁴⁷	72'		39'	30''
Soita	72'	50''	39'	30''
Belcania ⁴⁸	73'	30''	39'	20''
Selgia	74'		40'	
Thospia ⁴⁹	74'	20''	39'	50''
Colchis ⁵⁰	75'	30''	39'	
Siauana	71'	30''	38'	20''
Arsamosata ⁵¹		73'	38''	20'
Corrha	74'	30''	38'	40''

9. Moreover toward the east from the sources of the Tigris river is Bagraundene⁵² and Gordyene⁵³ which is below this, from which to the east is Cotaea⁵⁴ and below this

⁴⁰ In Armenian Աստականա. It is localized to the north-east of the city of Van (see Թ.Խ. Հակոբյան, Ստ.Տ. Մելիք-Բախշյան, Հ.Խ. Բարսեղյան, Հայաստանի եւ հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան, հ. 1, Երևան, 1986, էջ 342):

⁴¹ K. Müller compared it with the name of the Armenian region of Taron (Տարոն) (Ptol., 1901, p. 944).

⁴² J.Marquart corrected *Bagauana and identified it with Armenian *Բագաւան* (J.Marquart, Die Entstehung und iederherstellung der armeniaschen Nation, Berlin, 1919, S. 66, n. 10).

⁴³ In Armenian Անձիտ (the region of Andzit in the Fourth Armenia).

⁴⁴ Corresponds to the region of Van.

⁴⁵ Cf. Armenian province of Կորճայք (Korchayk).

⁴⁶ In Armenian Եղգարդ (Eghard), in Sasun.

⁴⁷ Cf. the above mentioned footnote 33.

⁴⁸ A town in the Aratsani valley, in the region of Andzit (see Թ.Խ. Հակոբյան, Ստ.Տ. Մելիք-Բախշյան, Հ.Խ. Բարսեղյան, Հայաստանի եւ հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան, հ. 1, էջ 646):

⁴⁹ In Armenian *Տոսպ* (Tosp), a region in the province of Vaspurakan.

⁵⁰ In Armenian Կոլխանա (Kolkhana), a village in Western Armenia, near the ruins of Tigranakert, in the region of Amid-Diarbekir (about Կոլխանա, see: Թ.Խ. Հակոբյան, Ստ.Տ. Մելիք-Բախշյան, Հ.Խ. Բարսեղյան, Հայաստանի եւ հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան, հատ. 3, Երևան, 1991, էջ 190):

⁵¹ In Armenian Արշամաշատ, in Tsopk.

⁵² In Armenian Բագրևանդ (the 6th region of Ayrarat, the central province of Great Armenia, see Երեմյան Ս., Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, էջ 35).

⁵³ In Armenian Կորդուք, the first region of Korchayk (the 6th province of Great Armenia, see Երեմյան Ս.,

Mardi. The towns which are in these parts are:

10. Tasca	75'	30''	40'	10''
Phora	76'		40'	10''
Maepa	76'	10''	40'	40''
Buana	76'	45''	40'	
Cholimma	77'	45''	40'	40''
Terebia	77'	40''	40'	55''
Daudyana	77'	40''	40'	20''
Caputa	79'	20''	40'	30''
Artemita ⁵⁵	79'	40''	40'	20''
Thelbalane	76'	15''	39'	50''
Siae	75'	45''	39'	40''
Pherendis	74'	40''	39'	20''
Tagranocerta ⁵⁶	76'	45''	39'	40''
Sardeva	75'	50''	39'	10''
Colsa	78'		39'	50''
Tigranoama ⁵⁷	79'	45''	40'	
Artagigarta ⁵⁸	75'	20''	38'	45''

Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի, էջ 60).

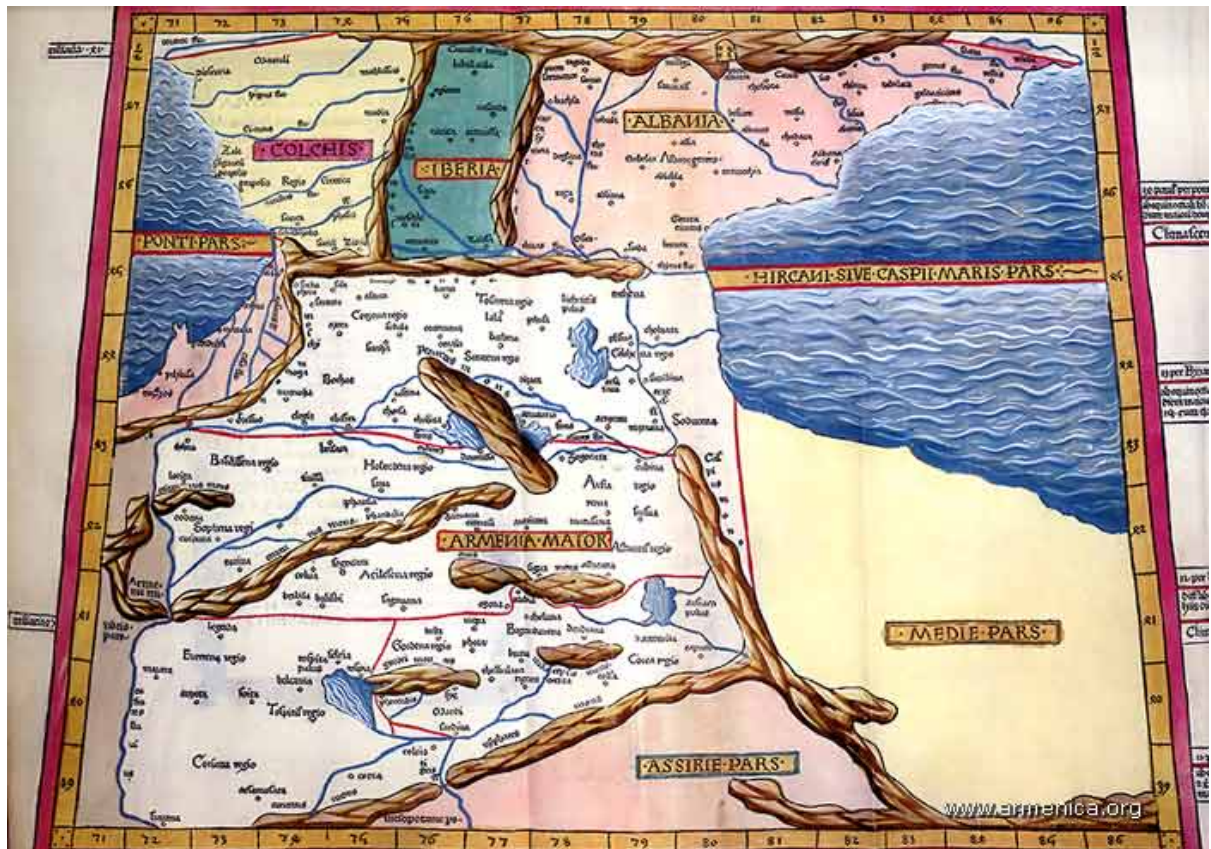
⁵⁴ In Armenian Կոտայք (the 16th region of the Ayrarat province).

⁵⁵ Cf. Armenian Արտամետ (Artamet, a village in the region of Hayots Dzor in the Vsapurakan province of Great Armenia).

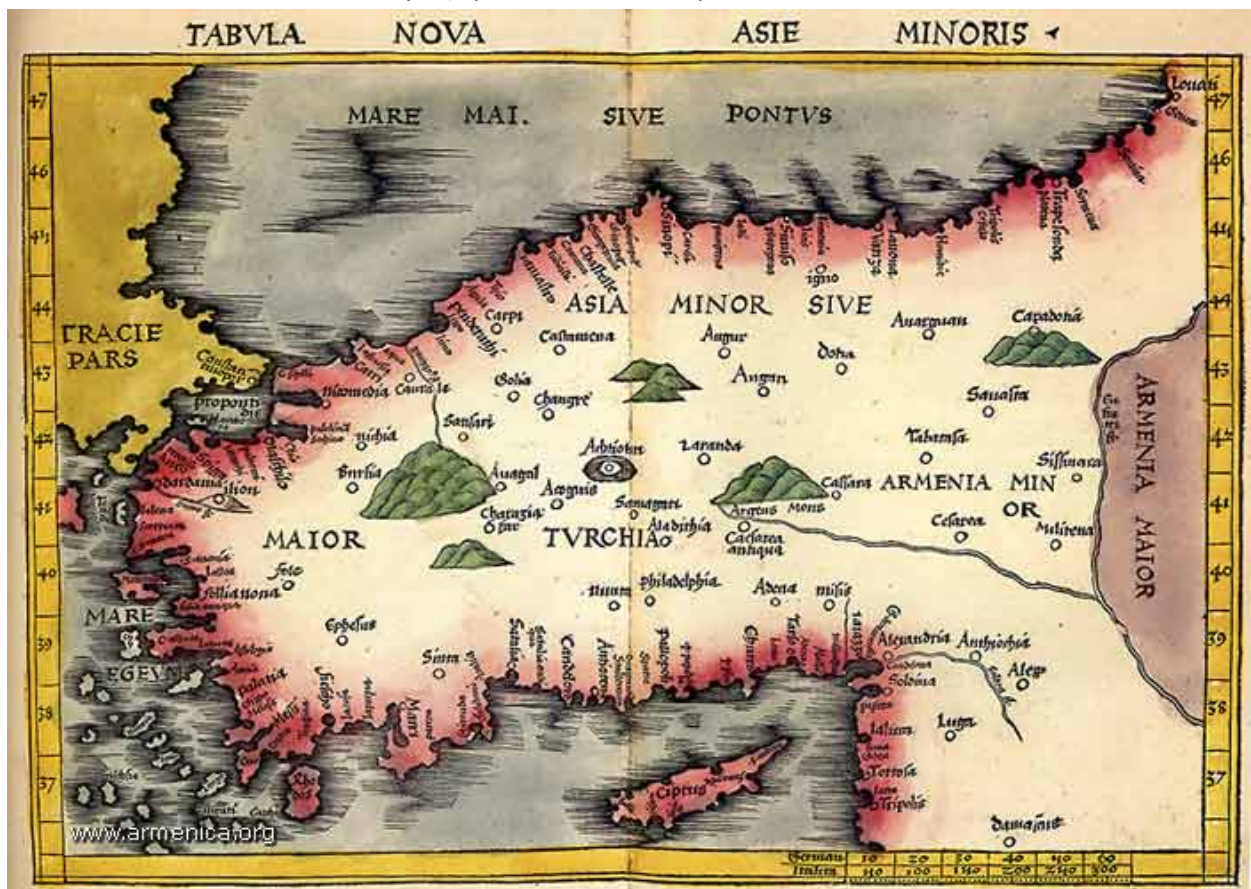
⁵⁶ In Armenian Տիգրանակերտ (Tigranakert, the capital of Great Armenia named after its builder, King of Kings, Tigran II the Great (95-55 BC).

⁵⁷ In Armenian Տիգրանոամա in the province of Paytakaran (see Թ.Խ. Հակոբյան, Ստ.Տ. Մելիք-Բախշյան, Հ.Խ. Բարսեղյան, Հայաստանի եւ հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան, հատ. 5., Երևան, 2001, էջ 94):

⁵⁸ K. Müller compared it with the same castle mentioned by Strabo (see Ptol., 1901, p. 949)..In Armenian Արտագերտ, (Artagers, a castle in the region of Arsharunik of the Ayrarat province).



Μεγάλη Αρμενία - Armenia Major - Great Armenia



Μικρά Αρμενία - Armenia Minor

Κεφ. ιγ'.

Ἀρμενίας Μεγάλης Θέσις.

[Ἀσίας πίναξ γ'.]

§. 1. Ἡ Μεγάλη Ἀρμενία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ
 5 μὲν ἄρκτων τῷ τῆς Κολχίδος μέρει καὶ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ
 Ἀλβανίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐκτεθειμένην διὰ τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ γραμμὴν.

(*p. 154. ed. B.)

ARMENIA MAIOR.

49

§. 2. ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως Καππαδοκίᾳ παρὰ τὸ ἐκτε-
 θειμένον τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέρος καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐκκείμενον
 τοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Κολχίδος διὰ τῆς
 τῶν Μοσχικῶν ὁρέων γραμμῆς.

§. 3. ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν τῆς τε Ὑρκανίας θαλάσ- 5
 σης μέρει τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Κύρου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολῶν
 μέχρι πέρατος, οὗ ἡ θέσις ὁθ Ἐδ μγ γ'
 οὗ μεταξὺ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κύρου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολῶν
 Ἀράξου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί ὁθ Ἐδ μγ Ἐγ.
 καὶ Μηδίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν γραμμὴν καὶ παρ' αὐ- 10
 τὸ τὸ Κάσπιον ὅρος, οὗ τὰ πέρατα
 ἐπέχει (*) μοίρας ὁθ μβ Ἐ
 καὶ π λθ Ἐ.

§. 4. ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας τῇ τε Μεσοποταμίᾳ
 παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ταύρου γραμμὴν, ἥτις τῷ μὲν Εὐφράτῃ 15
 ποταμῷ συνάπτει κατὰ θέσιν ἐπέ-
 χουσιν μοίρας οα Ἐ λῆ
 τῷ δὲ Τίγριδι ποταμῷ κατὰ θέσιν
 ἐπέχουσιν μοίρας ὁε Ἐ λῆ Ἐ
 καὶ τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ παρὰ τὴν διὰ τοῦ Νιφάτου ὅρους 20
 γραμμὴν ἕως ἐπ' εὐθείας τῇ εἰρημένῃ μέχρι τοῦ εἰρη-
 μένου πέρατος τοῦ Κασπίου ὅρους, δι' ἧς γραμμῆς
 διατείνει ὁ Νιφάτης ὅρος.

§. 5. Ὅρη δὲ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ὀνομάζεται τὰ τε κα-
 λούμενα Μοσχικά, διατείνοντα παρὰ τὸ ὑπερκείμενον 25
 μέρος τοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου,
 καὶ ὁ Παρνάρδης, οὗ τὰ πέρατα
 ἐπέχει μοίρας ὁθ μγ γ'
 καὶ ὁζ μβ
 καὶ Οὐδακέσπης ὅρος, οὗ τὸ μέσον 30

PTOL. GEOGR. II.

D

ἐπέχει μοίρας ὀη ʼ ʼ μ
καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιταύρου τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐ-
φράτου, οὗ τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας ὀβ ʼ μ̄α γο'
καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Ἄβρος, ὅρος, οὗ τὸ
5 μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας ὀζ ʼ μ̄α
καὶ τὰ Γορδυναῖα ὅρη, ὧν τὸ μέσον
ἐπέχει μοίρας ὀε ʼ λθ γο'.

§. 6. Ποταμοὶ δὲ διαρρέουσι τὴν χώραν ὃ τε Ἀρά-
ξης ποταμός, ὅς τὰς μὲν ἐκβολὰς ἔχει κατὰ θέσιν τῆς
10 Ὑγκανίας θαλάσσης, ἣ ἐπέχει μοί-
ρας ὀθ ʼ ʼ λδ ʼ μ̄γ ʼ ʼ λγ
τὰς δὲ πηγὰς κατὰ θέσιν ἐπέχουσιν
μοίρας ὀς ʼ ʼ μ̄β ʼ ʼ ʼ
ἀφ' ὧν ὁρμηθεὶς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέχρι τοῦ Κασπίου
15 ὅρους καὶ ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς ἄρκτους, τῇ μὲν εἰς τὴν
Ὑγκανίαν ἐκβάλλει, τῇ δὲ συμβάλλει τῷ Κύρῳ ποτα-
μῷ κατὰ θέσιν ἐπέχουσιν μοίρας . . ὀη ʼ ʼ μ̄δ ʼ ʼ
καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρημένης
πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐπιστροφῆς μέρος μέχρι τῶν πηγῶν,
20 αἱ καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπέχουσι μοίρας ὀε γο' ʼ μ̄β γο'.

§. 7. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα ἀξιόλογα [ὅρη] ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ
Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐκτροπῆς, τὸ μὲν συνάπτον τῷ Εὐ-
φράτῃ ποταμῷ, οὗ τὸ πέρας ἐπέχει
μοίρας ὀα ʼ ʼ μ̄ ʼ ʼ ʼ
25 τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ [ὀ]ρου[s]
πέρας ὀζ ʼ ʼ μ̄α
καὶ τὸ ἀπολαμβάνομενον τοῦ Τίγριδος ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ
μέρος ἀπὸ τοῦ γινομένου ὑπὸ τῆς μεσημβρινῆς πλευ-
ρᾶς τμήματος μέχρι τῶν πηγῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τίγριδος,

(*p. 135. ed. B.) **ARMENIA MAIOR.** **51**

αἵτινες ἐπέχουσι μοίρας ὁδ γό' λθ γό'
 ποιοῦσαι λίμνην τὴν καλουμένην Θωσπῆτιν.

§. 8. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεραι λίμναι ἥ τε καλουμένη *Λυχνῆ-
 τισ*, ἥς τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει μοίρας ὁη *μγ δ'*
καὶ ἡ Ἀρέησα, ἥς τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει 5
 μοίρας ὁη *λ μ λδ.*

§. 9. Χῶραι δὲ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐν τῷ ἀπολαμ-
 βανομένῳ μεταξὺ *Εὐφράτου καὶ Κύρου καὶ Ἀράξου*
ποτ. τμήματι, παρὰ μὲν τὰ *Μο-
 σχικὰ ὄρη* *ἡ Κοταρξηνή* 10
ὑπὲρ τοὺς καλουμένους Βόχας,
παρὰ δὲ τὸν Κύρον ποταμὸν *ἡ τε Τωσαρηνή,*
καὶ *ἡ Ὠτηνὴ,*
παρὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν *ἡ τε Κολθηνή,*
καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν *ἡ Σοδουκηνή,* 15
 (*) *παρὰ δὲ τὸν Παρυάρδην τὸ*
ὄρος *ἡ τε Σιρακηνή,*
καὶ *ἡ Σακαπηνή.*

§. 10. Καὶ πόλεις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τμήματι,
Σάλα ὁγ *λ μδ γ'* 20
Ἀσκουρα ὁδ *μδ ς'*
Βάραζα ὁε *γ' μδ ς'*
Λάλα ὁς *ς' μδ*
Σάντουτα ὁζ *γ' μδ γ'*
Σαταφάρα ὁη *μδ γ'* 25
Τῶγα (ἡ Ὠτα?) ὁη *λγ μδ*
Οὐάρουθα ἢ Οὐαθούρα ὁγ *μγ*
Ἀζάτα ὁγ *δ' μγ δ'*
 §. 11. *Χολούα* ὁδ *μγ ς'*
Σήδαλα ὁδ *γό' μγ λδ* 30

D 2

;

	Σοῦρτα	οδ	℥	μγ	γο'
	Τάτινα ἢ Ταστίνα	οδ	γο'	μγ	
	Κοζάλα ἢ Κόζολα	οε	γ'	μγ	℥
	Κοτομάνα	οε	℥δ	μγ	γο'
5	Βάτινα	ος	ς'	μγ	γο'
	Δίζακα	ος	℥γ	μγ	ς'
	Πτοῦα	οζ		μγ	℥δ
	Γλίσμα	οη	γ'	μγ	γο
	Χολονάτα	οη	℥δ	μγ	γ'
10	Σακάλβινα	οθ	γο'	μγ	δ'
	Ἀρσαράτα	οθ	℥	μγ	℥
§. 12. Καὶ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν πόλεις αἶδε·					
	Βρεπός	οβ	δ'	μβ	℥δ
	Ἥλεγία	ογ	γ'	μβ	℥δ
15	Χασίρα	οδ		μβ	γο'
	Χόρσα	οδ	γο'	μβ	℥γ
	Θαλίνα	οε	γ'	μβ	℥δ
	Ἀρμαουρία	ος	γο'	μγ	℥δ
	Ἀρταξάτα	οη		μβ	γο'
20	Ναξουάνα	οη	℥γ	μβ	℥δ
§. 13. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀπολαμβανομένῳ τμήματι ὑπὸ τὸ					
εἰρημένον μέχρι τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐκτροπῆς ἀρ-					
κτικώτεροι μὲν εἰσιν αἱ χῶραι					
ἀρχομένοις ἀπὸ δυσμῶν					
25	καὶ	ἢ τε Βασιλισσηνή,			
	καὶ	ἢ Ὀβορδηνή,			
	ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτας	ἢ Ἀρσία,			
	καὶ	ἢ τε Ἀκιλισσηνή,			
	καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκτροπὴν	ἢ Ἀσταυνῆτις,			
30	τοῦ ποταμοῦ	ἢ Σωφηνή.			

(*p. 156. ed. B.)

ARMENIA MAIOR.

53

- §. 14. Πόλεις δέ εἰσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τμήματι αἶδε·
 Ἀθουά (ἢ Ζάθουα) ὀδ ℥ μ̄β ℥
 Τίνισσα ὀγ ς' μ̄β ς'
 Ζώριγα ὀα ℥ μ̄β
 Σάνα ὀγ ℥γ μ̄β 5
 Βοῖζακα ὀδ ℥γ μ̄β ℥
 Δαράνισσα ὀς μ̄β γ'
 Ζογοκάρα (ἢ Ζογόρακα) ὀζ δ' μ̄β γ'.
 §. 15. Κούβινα ὀη ℥ μ̄β γ'
 Κόδανα ὀα ℥ μ̄α γό' 10
 Καχούρα (ἢ Ἰάχουρα) ὀβ μ̄α ℥
 Χολούα ὀγ ℥ μ̄α
 Σογοκάρα ὀδ μ̄α
 Φάυσνα ὀδ δ' μ̄α ℥δ
 Φανδαλία ὀδ ℥γ μ̄α ℥ 15
 Ζαρούανα ὀε γό' μ̄α ℥δ.
 §. 16. Κίταμον ὀς μ̄α ℥
 Ἀνάριον ὀς ς' μ̄α ς'
 Σιγοῦα ὀζ μ̄α
 Τερούα ὀη μ̄α ℥γ 20
 Ζουρζού[ρ]α ἢ Ζουργούα . . . ὀη ℥ μ̄α γό'
 Ματουσιάνα ὀη μ̄α γό'.
 §. 17. (*) Ἀστακάνα ὀη μ̄α
 Τάρεινα ὀβ γ' μ̄α
 Βαλισβίγα (ἢ Βαβλιστίτα) . . ὀβ γό' μ̄ γό' 25
 Βαβίλα ὀγ δ' μ̄ ℥δ
 Σαγανάνα ὀε δ' μ̄ ℥δ
 Ἀζόρα ἢ Ὀζάρα ὀς ℥ μ̄ γό'.
 §. 18. Ἐν δὲ τῷ λοιπῷ καὶ μεσημβρινωτέρῳ τμή-
 ματι μεταξὺ μὲν τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Τίγριδος 30

54

LIB. V. CAP. 13.

πηγῶν ἢ τε Ἀνζητηνῇ (ἢ Ἀνζιτηνῇ)
καὶ ὑπ' αὐτήν ἡ Θωσπῖτις,
εἶτα Κοριναία.

§. 19. καὶ πόλεις ὁμοίως ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τμήματι

5	Ἠλέγερδα (ἢ [K]λέγερδα) . . .	ὀβ δ'	μ δ'
	Μαζάρα	ὀα γ'	λθ λγ
	Ἀνζητα	ὀβ	λθ γ'
	Σόετα	ὀβ λγ	λθ λ
	Βελκανία	ὀγ λ	λθ γο'
10	Σελτία	ὀδ	μ
	Θωσπία	ὀδ γ'	λθ λγ
	Κολχίς	ὀε λ	λθ
	Σιανάνα	ὀα λ	λη
	Ἀρσαμόσατα	ὀγ	λη γ'
15	Κόρδα	ὀδ λ	λη γο'

* * *

	§. 20. Ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν δὲ τῶν τοῦ Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ
	πηγῶν ἢ τε Βαγρανδαυηνῇ (ἢ Καγρανδαυηνῇ)
	καὶ ὑπ' αὐτήν Γορδυηνῇ (ἢ Γορδυνῇ),
20	ἥς ἀνατολικωτέρα ἡ Κωταία,
	καὶ ὑπ' αὐτήν Μάρδοι.

§. 21. Πόλεις δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁμοίως αἶδε·

	Τάσκα	ὀε λ	μ γ'
	Φῶρα	ὀς	μ ς'
25	Μαῖπα	ὀς γ'	μ γ'
	Βουάνα	ὀς δ'	μ
	Χολίμμα	ὀς λδ	μγ γ'
	Τερεβία	ὀς γ'	μ λγιβ'

* * * §. 19. post Κόρδα Interpp. et Tabb. hoc nomen habent:
30 Artasigarta 75, 20. 38, 45.

cuius versus nullum vestigium est in meis codd. Graecis.

(* p. 157. ed. B.)

CYPRUS.

55

Δανδυνάνα	օջ	γո՛	մ̄	γ՛	
Καποῦτα	օη	γ՛	մ̄	ς՛	
Ἀρτέμιτα	օη	γո՛	մ̄	ւ	
Θελβαλάνη (ἢ Τελβάνη)	օς	δ՛	լ.թ	ւ.γ.	
§. 22. [καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἡ Γορδυνή[σία]					5
ἡ Γορδυνή	օε	δ՛	լ.թ	γ՛]	
Σίαι	օε	ւ.δ	լ.թ	γո՛	
Φερενδίζ	օδ	γո՛	լ.թ	γ՛	
Τιγρανοκέριτα	օς	ւ.δ	լ.թ	γո՛	
Σαρδηοῦα	օε	ւ.γ	լ.թ	ς՛	10
Κόλσα	օη		լ.թ	ւ.γ.	
Τιγρανοάμα	օθ	δ՛	մ̄		
Ἀρταγιγάριτα	օε	γ՛	լ.η	ւ.δ.	

GENOCIDE OF HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE AND CULTURE OF WESTERN ARMENIA (Reflections on the tour to Western Armenia)

Gevorgyan L. L.
Freelance Publicist

I was dreaming to travel to Western Armenia long ago and to see everything with my own eyes, whereof I had heard and read. Ideas were spontaneously born during the tour and put on paper after a while, which can be quite naturally framed with the phrase “itinerary” with an impulse of providing a peculiar and heartfelt interpretation for what one has seen and felt rather than in the traditional perception of tourism.

When making a pilgrimage in Western Armenia, a considerable part of the way to Aghtamar island is passing through the historic province of Kars and neighboring territories, the substantial parts of which, with the Ararat-Masis summit, are territories, annexed from Eastern Armenia by the unlawful treaties of Moscow (March 16) and Kars (October 16), concluded between the Bolshevik authorities and Kemalist Turkey in 1921.

When one enters the Turkish customs service on the Armenian land occupied by Turks as the result of the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923), the first impression is formed of Atatürk's pictures in every corner inside the walls and his monuments outside the walls, defiling the Armenian soil.

The heavy thoughts, full of tragic memories, become dense when approaching the coastal region of Van city.



**A quarter of the ancient Armenian capital of Van devastated
by Turks during the Armenian Genocide**

Lake Van causes plenty of contradictory feelings, too. If we compare the lake with Sevan, then we find a lot of similarities and contrasts at once. On one hand, the nature is the same, bald mountains. The altitude above the sea level reaches almost that of Sevan: if Sevan is situated at the height of about 1900 meters, then Van is at the height of 1670 meters. On the other hand, unlike sweet-water Sevan, Lake Van has sulphur-mixed water.



Van Lake

My old dream of seeing the land of our ancestors and, especially, lighting a candle in the Cathedral of Surb Khach (the Holy Cross, 915-921 AD) in Aghtamar became a reality.



The Cathedral of Surb Khach (the Holy Cross, 915-921 AD) - the unique survived pearl of Armenian medieval architecture in Turkish captivity

Lake Van's Aghtamar island appears wonderful from the boat: the Holy Cross is outlined more clearly when getting close to it. An imprisoned sanctuary.



The island of Aghtamar



Van fortress - the capital of the Armenian Ararat (Urartu) kingdom (9th-7th cc. BC)



Van fortress - the bastion of the self-defense of Armenians

In contrast to Van, where all the Armenian quarters have been completely destroyed, and the memories, particularly about Aigestan, can be restored by reading the historiographic and imaginative literature, Kars still has two-storied Armenian buildings, but abandoned and half-destroyed as well as at present subjected to demolition and damage.

In front of the Kars fortress is the church of the Holy Apostles (Surb Arakelots) of the 10th century. Newly built mosques are “pressing” it from both sides. This Armenian Church has been turned into a mosque.



The fortress of Van city, being the bastion of the self-defense of Armenians in 1915, is a place for tourism today and unfortunately a way to make money for conquerors. In front of the central entrance a large signboard is placed, “Ataturk Culture Centre” which Turkish authorities use cynically to disguise the genocide of Armenian Culture.



**The church of the Holy Apostles
(Surb Arakelots, 932-937)**



**The church of the Holy Apostles
at present turned into a mosque**

Forty kilometers away from Kars is Ani, more precisely, the ruins of the city of a thousand and one churches.

Near the entrance of Ani, in a corner of the high style walls a detailed signboard on the “creation” of Ani and its “history” is placed. “The historical happenings” are mentioned, but not a single word about the Armenians, Armenian origination and

Armenia - an ordinal demonstration of cultural genocide, carried out by the Turkish authorities.



The Ani Cathedral, 1001



The Church of the Holy Redeemer, 1035



A falsified signboard on the "history" of Ani

And the so-called service is still limited with two policemen, one of whom sells tickets at the entrance, and the other checks their availability. That is all, no excursion guide is provided, for he/she could throw up suddenly from the mouth an "unnecessary" word about the Armenian origin.

We are advancing toward Igdir; Yerevan is about 40-50 km away; we are talking with our household and friends on cell phones as if we are, for instance, in Artashat or Ararat. Hence, there was a need to overpass 550 km to reach a place, located just 50 km away from Yerevan. The consequences of the Armenian Genocide...

The next station is "Doghubayazet" (the name belonging to the series of tens of thousands etymological falsifications because of Turkish authorities' policy to distort and eliminate the Armenian toponyms), which is our old Daruynk of historical Kogovit province, having been renamed savagely. Ararat is turned to us on 180 degrees from here and brings to mind the Japanese Fuji in outward appearance; but if Fuji belongs to the Japanese regardless of the way taken to cast a look, Ararat is in captivity. The summit of Ararat appears so near from this point that it seems one can climb on it for a few hours.



Mt. Ararat-Masis

In fact, it is possible to climb Ararat for two to two and a half days if the best happened, especially, if weather conditions are favorable, about which I learned from the Austrian climbers, traveling to Aghtamar with us. They come from the Austrian Innsbruck, the most beautiful centre of Tyrol, and have obtained mountaineering skills on the Tyrolean Mountains, having almost half the height of Ararat. They knew that this is the historical Western Armenia and were informed of the 1915 Genocide, but they said they were not too familiar with our historical events. As concerns Ararat, the foreign tourists told us that this mountain is merely a biblical symbol for them and they were not very interested to know in which country's territory it is located at the moment.

Of course, it is easy for outsiders to think this way, while we, the Armenians, feel a severe pain of being conscious that the sacred summit of Ararat-Masis is in captivity...

***Translated from Armenian
by V. M. Gharakhanyan***

ARCHAEOLOGY

Multidisciplinary investigation of identity of the “Areni” grape variety

Nelli Hovhannisyan¹, Marina Dallakyan¹, Aleksandr Yesayan¹, Tamara Bagoyan², Gagik Melyan³, and Boris Gasparyan²

¹ Center of Excellence in Applied Biosciences, Yerevan State University, 1 Alex Manoogian str., 0025 Yerevan, Republic of Armenia

² Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, 15 Charents str., 0025 Yerevan, Republic of Armenia

³ Scientific Center of Viticulture, Fruit-Growing and Wine-Making, Armavir Marz, 378312 Merdzavan vil., Republic of Armenia

Abstract. Having centuries-old tradition in viticulture and winemaking Armenia characterized with high ampelographic diversity of grape local autochthonous and modern cultivars. Meantime, the world's earliest known wine-making facility has been discovered during the excavation of Areni-1 cave dating back to 6000 years (the beginning of the IV Millennium BCE). In parallel, among huge diversity of wine grapes the so called “Areni” variety is one of the most famous, used for red wine production by majority of the winemaking companies and local farms nowadays. A combination of genetic, ampelographic and archaeological data allows us to come to preliminary conclusion that as a true to type “Sev (Black) Areni” variety can be considered the one which is growing in old “Vankapatkan” vineyards of Vayots Dzor and in grape collection of the Scientific Center of Fruit Growing, Viticulture and Wine-making in Armenia (accession N42). The “Seyrak Areni” (70) should not be considered as a synonym of “Sev (Black) Areni”. In this study we tried to highlight also the importance of combination of the generated data from ancient and modern grape multidisciplinary investigations.

1. Introduction

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

Having centuries of old tradition in viticulture and winemaking Armenia characterized with high ampelographic diversity of grape local autochthonous and modern cultivars. According to the literary data until 1990s Armenian Merdzavan ampelographic collection used to contain more than 800 grape autochthonous and introduced varieties [2,3]. Unfortunately, after the privatization it was fully destroyed and currently holds less than 100 accessions. According to references, there are more than 400 native varieties among which only 70 (17.5%) are preserved in the collection. All these led to marked genetic erosion with the consequent risk of loss of the germplasm. However, the ampelographic descriptions of most varieties are available, including agronomical and technological aptitudes and, and also some of the local varieties growing in small farms. Among huge diversity of wine grapes the so called “Areni” variety is one of the most famous used for red wine production by majority of the winemaking companies and local farms. Historically it is originating from the Vayots Dzor Region in southeastern Armenia. “Areni” variety is known from the local ampelography as “Sev (Black) Areni” [2] and has 39 synonyms in VIVC database (www.vivc.de).

As part of our study on characterization of the existing autochthon, old, long-neglected and endangered grapevine cultivars in Armenia and during the inventory of grape genetic resources the presence in the vineyards of “Sev Areni” varieties with different names like “Areni”, “Areni Yeghegisi”, “Areni Vaghahas” was identified.

Observations on accessions growing in Vayots Dzor private vineyards, as well as in Merdzavan grape collection, and also having the same or a similar name in the inventory showed that the morphological characteristics of this variety were different, although some morpho-physiological traits of berry and bunch were in common. Hence the study to identify the true-to type “Areni” was set up, with an idea to implement comparative interdisciplinary investigations on accessions from different modern vineyards in Vayots Dzor (Areni (43), Areni (44), Areni (45) Areni Yeghegisi (46), Areni Vaghahas (4)), modern growing grape varieties from national grape collection of the Scientific Center of Fruit Growing, Viticulture and Wine-making (Areni (42), Seyrak Areni (70)) and from old “Vankapatkan” vineyards (old vineyards in the vicinity of the Medieval Noravank Monastic Complex) (Areni Vankapatkan (15), Areni Vankapatkan D (74), Areni Vankapatkan F (75), Areni Vankapatkan G (76). Moreover, we added to this comparison ¹⁴C dated medieval grape branch (780–1000 Cal AD) [4] from Areni 1 cave (Vitis-6).

2. Materials and methods

Samples of 13 accessions were analyzed in triplicate. The genetic analyses were implemented at Yerevan State University (Armenia). Genomic DNA was isolated

according to the protocol for DNeasy Plant Mini Kit (Qiagen, Hilden, Germany).

The aDNA extractions and PCR setup for medieval grape were performed in a dedicated ancient DNA laboratory at Yerevan State University, where appropriate measures are taken to prevent contamination with modern sources of DNA. The grape steam was washed in commercial bleach solution and rinsed with ultrapure water few times. To remove external contaminant sources of

DNA, the seeds were briefly washed in dilute bleach solution (10% commercial strength) then rinsed in analytical grade H₂O. Further the DNA was extracted using DNeasy Plant Mini Kit (Qiagen, Hilden, Germany) modified by us. The extraction was done in triplicate, four extraction controls were performed to monitor any external or cross contamination.

23 polymorphic microsatellites considered as the most appropriate to evaluate the grapevines (European project GENRES081, <http://www.genres.de/vitis>) were used. VMC1B11 [5]; VMC4F3.1 [6]; VrZAG62, VrZAG67 and VrZAG79 [7]; VVIB01, VVIH54, VVIN16, VVIN73, VVIP31, VVIP60, VVIQ52, VVIV37, VVIV67 [8]; VVMD5, VVMD7, VVMD21, VVMD24, VVMD25, VVMD27, VVMD28 and VVMD32 [9]; VVS2 [10]. The Type IT Microsatellite Kit (Qiagen) were used to set up reaction mixtures containing master mix, 100 pmol of each primer and about 1 ng of template DNA. Amplification was performed in TC 5000 Thermal Cyclers (Thechne), using the following program: 3 minutes initial denaturation at 95°C, followed by 30 cycles of denaturation at 95°C (15 seconds), annealing at 60°C (30 seconds) and extension at 72°C (30 seconds). A final extension was performed at 72°C for 7 minutes. DNA of two certified reference varieties of “Muscat á petits grains” and “Cabernet franc” were amplified and used for data comparison.

The fragment length determination and analyzes was done by capillary electrophoreses in Qiaxcel Genetic Analyzer (Qiagen). Peaks were identified by size and height with Biocalculator Software (Qiagen). The mean number of alleles per locus (*Na*), number of effective alleles (*Ne*), levels of observed (*Ho*), and expected (*He*) heterozygosity, as well as probability of identity, and Principal Coordinates Analyses (PCoA) were calculated using GenAlEx 6.5 [11,12]. The neighbour-joining analyses were conducted using MEGA version 6 [13].

3. Results and discussion

The sampling strategy which includes varieties growing within modern vineyards, old vineyards and collection gardens, as well as ancient grape remains identified in the same region and the analysis of 23 microsatellites allowed to determine true-to-type “Areni” cultivar. All the accessions of the grape “Areni” were firstly genotyped at 23 microsatellite loci. Vouillamoz et al. (2006) suggested analyzing independent samples to clear up the dilemma of true to type “Sev Areni” variety [14].

Among the analyzed accessions 171 alleles were generated at 23 microsatellite markers. The number of alleles per locus ranged from 5 (VVIN16, VVIN73, VrZAG67, VVMD7) to 11 (VRZAG62) with a mean number of 7.435 (Table 1). According to this data the most informative alleles were VRZAG62 (6.145), VMC4f3.1 (6.541), VVIV37 (6.128).

13 microsatellites were recovered from medieval grape steam DNA, which demonstrates the perfect state of nuclear DNA preservation. No extraction and PCR controls showed any example of cross contamination. The generated microsatellite data allow to perform tentative comparison of the medieval grape genetic profile with the modern varieties, which gave additional data on identification of

Table 1. Genetic parameters for 23 SSR loci analyzed for 14 Armenian “Areni” grape cultivars.

Locus	Na	Ne	Ho	He	PI
VRZAG62	11.000	6.145	1.000	0.837	0.04
VRZAG79	8.000	4.629	0.889	0.784	0.07
VVIV67	8.000	4.414	0.875	0.773	0.08
VVS2	9.000	4.694	0.154	0.787	0.07
VMC1B11	7.000	3.390	1.000	0.705	0.13
VVIN16	5.000	1.635	0.182	0.388	0.39
VVIN73	5.000	1.538	0.200	0.350	0.44
VVIP60	6.000	1.833	0.182	0.455	0.32
VVMD25	7.000	3.951	1.000	0.747	0.10
VVIB01	9.000	4.962	0.357	0.798	0.07
VVIH54	8.000	5.026	0.286	0.801	0.06
VVMD5	9.000	5.714	0.700	0.825	0.05
VrZAG67	5.000	3.282	1.000	0.695	0.14
VVIQ52	6.000	4.122	0.923	0.757	0.10
VVMD27	8.000	3.698	0.929	0.730	0.11
VVMD32	9.000	3.136	0.643	0.681	0.12
VrZAG83	4.000	1.502	0.154	0.334	0.46
VVIP31	9.000	5.452	1.000	0.817	0.06
VVIV37	9.000	6.128	1.000	0.837	0.05
VVMD24	8.000	4.102	0.818	0.756	0.09
VVMD7	5.000	1.779	0.154	0.438	0.35
VMC4f3.1	10.000	6.541	0.727	0.847	0.04
VVMD21	6.000	3.556	0.375	0.719	0.12
Cumulative	171.000	91.228	14.547	15.862	
Mean	7.435	3.966	0.632	0.690	
SE	0.392	0.324	0.073	0.035	

“Areni” variety. In general from 6 to 22 microsatellites are required to fully resolve the cultivar for modern grape samples [14–16]. The successful amplification of 5 SSR markers from an ancient DNA extracted early and late medieval grape seeds was reported by Cappellini et al. (2010). In our investigation we used steam to extract DNA instead of the seeds, because though *V. vinifera* is a hermaphrodite the crosses cannot be excluded, and consequently, analyses of ancient wood remains would also be useful to characterize old cultivars and compare their DNA profiles with those from modern ones [17,18].

The expected and observed heterozygosity values were relatively high, with average at 0.632 and 0.690 accordingly.

From the data obtained in the examined accessions the *Ho* was lower than the *He* for the 50% of SSR loci analyzed which in general indicating probable inbreeding, and in our case the fact of common origin and clonal propagation among the varieties.

However as it is shown in Table 1, for the 11 loci (VRZAG62, VRZAG79, VVIV67, VMC1B11, VVMD25, VrZAG67, VVIQ52, VVMD27, VVIP31, VVIV37, VVMD24) analyzed the *Ho* was higher than *He*, and was 0.949 and 0.767 accordingly). Such a high rate of heterozygosity is commonly observed among outbreeding, perennial species [19]. In our case it might be linked with the fact different allelic combinations, high mutation rates within the analyzed accessions [20].

The PI value estimates the probability that two unrelated (randomly sampled) individuals will have an identical genotype for each single SSR marker analyzed, or for a whole set of SSR markers. Total probability of identity (PI) was ranging from 0.04 to 0.45 and the expected number of individuals with the same multilocus genotype for Increasing Locus Combinations (calculated as respective probability × population size) was very low and was 1.1E–21, which prove the high discriminating power of the selected SSR loci.

Neighbour joining tree was constructed based pairwise population Nei’s Genetic Distance in order to analyze genetic relationships between studied accessions. Two distinct clusters were isolated. In the first cluster Areni (43), Areni (44), Areni (45), Areni Yeghegisi (46),

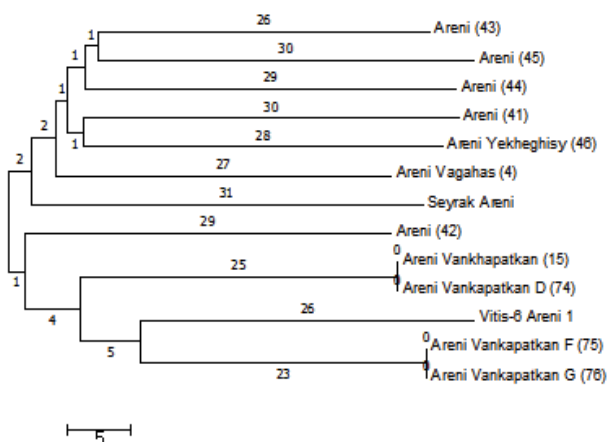


Figure 1. Neighbour-joining tree of 14 grape accessions. Every accession is shown with its accession number.

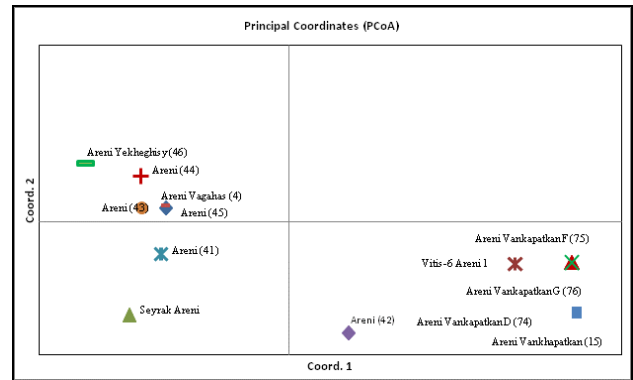


Figure 2. Principal coordinates analysis of 14 grape accessions analyzed with 23 SSR loci plotted on the first two coordinates.

Areni Vaghahs (4) which are very close to each other and Seyrak Areni (70) has the were included and in the second cluster Areni (42) (national grape collection) and Areni Vankapatskan D (74), Areni Vankapatskan F (75), Areni Vankapatskan G (76), Areni Vankapatskan (15) and Medieval Vitis-6 were merged.

It should be mentioned that Areni Vankapatskan 15 and 74 and Areni Vankapatskan 75 and 76 are absolutely identical and very close to each other. These accessions are very close to Medieval Vitis –6 excavated from Areni –1 cave. Areni (42) from national grape collection of the Scientific Center of Fruit Growing, Viticulture and Wine-making identified in the second cluster, which genetically really close to the medieval grape and grapes growing in Vankapatskan Vineyards.

The first two coordinates of the PCoA, accounting for 31.95 and 35.21% of the total variation, differentiated the samples into two main clusters: (i) the group clusterizing the Areni grapes collected from the Vankapatskan vineyards (the vineyards in the vicinity of the Noravank Monastic Complex), as well as Medieval grape from the Areni-1 cave and one accession of Areni collected from national collection; and (ii) all the varieties from the commercial vineyards and Seyrak Areni from the national grape collection of the Scientific Center of Fruit Growing, Viticulture and Wine-making.

4. Conclusion

A combination of genetic, ampelographic and archaeological data, allows as to come to preliminary conclusion that as a true to type “Areni” or “Sev (Black) Areni” variety can be considered the ones which are growing in old Vankapatskan vineyards of Vayots Dzor and in grape collection of the Scientific Center of Fruit Growing, Viticulture and Wine-making in Armenia (accession N42).

The genetic distance analyses and PI data shows that Vitis-6 is closely related to grapes collected from Vankapatskan vineyards and Areni (42) from the grape collection. This allows to assume that medieval Vitis-6 might be considered as one of the possible progenitors of modern “Areni” and other varieties.

The Seyrak Areni (70) is genetically different from Areni (42) which is considered as a true to type Sev Areni. This means that Seyrak Areni should not be considered as

a synonym of “Sev Areni” as it is mentioned in VIVC database, but should be leaved as a separate rare variety which is genetically close to Areni, as it is mentioned in Armenian Ampleography [2]. In this study we have tried to highlight also the importance of combination of data generated from ancient and modern grape multidisciplinary investigations.

The study was supported by the Armenian SCS project **13-1F237** project “archaeogenetic investigation of ancient grape remains from Areni cave”

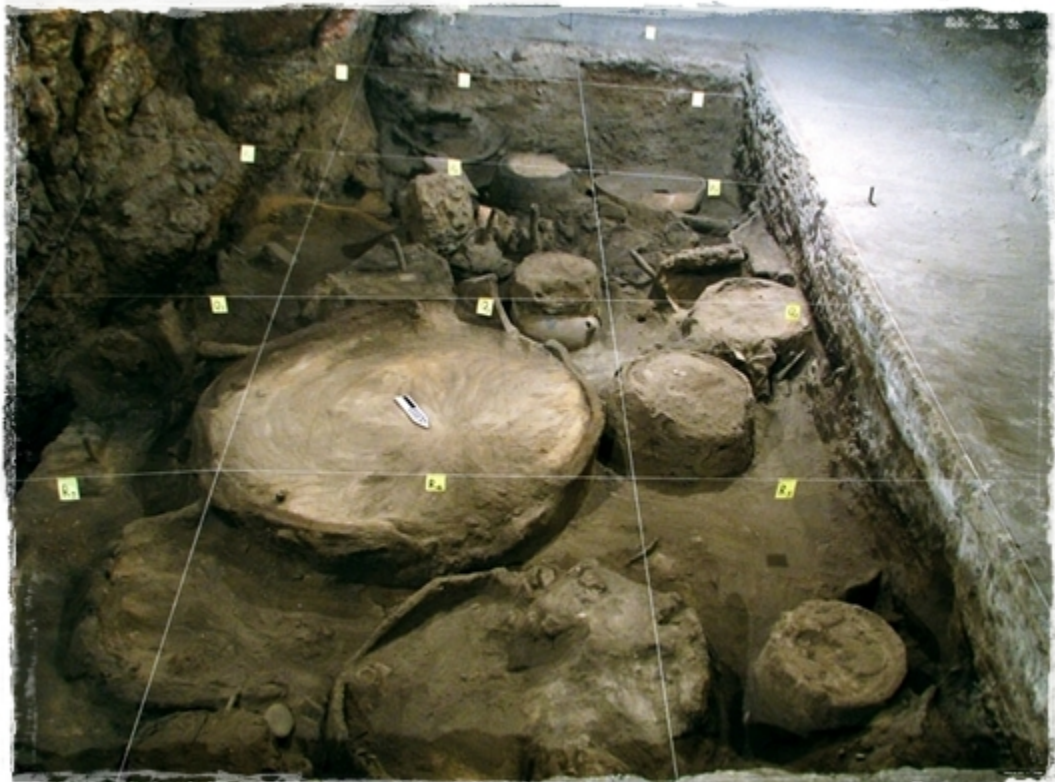
References

- [1] H. Barnard, A. Dooley, G. Areshian, B. Gasparian, K. Faull, *J Archaeol Sci* **38**, 5, 977–984 (2010)
- [2] M. G. Tumanyan (Ed.), *Ampelography of Armenian SSR*. (Armenian Academy of Sciences Press, Yerevan, 1947) (in Armenian)
- [3] S. Gasparyan and G. Melyan, *Condition and prospects preservation of genetic resources of grapes on Armenia*. Report at the international conference ‘Retention and the Use of Genetic Resources of the Grapevine of the Caucasus and North Black Sea Area’, Tbilisi, Georgia, 15 October (2003)
- [4] A. Smith, T. Bagoyan, I. Gabrielyan, R. Pinhasi, B. Gasparyan, *Late Chalcolithic and Medieval Archaeobotanical Remains from Areni-1 (Birds’ Cave), Armenia*, in B. Gasparyan and M. Arimura (Eds.), *Stone Age of Armenia, A Guide-book to the Stone Age Archaeology in the Republic of Armenia*, Monograph of the JSPS-Bilateral Joint Research Project, Kanazawa University Press, Printed in Japan, 2014, ISBN 978-4-9908070-0-9, 233-260 (2014)
- [5] E. Zyprian, R. Topfer, *National Center For Biotechnology Information NCBI, Genbank* (Bethesda, Maryland, USA, 2005)
- [6] G. Di Gaspero, E. Peterlunger, R. Testolin, K. Edwards, G. Cipriani, *Theor Appl Genet* **101**, 301–308 (2000)
- [7] K. Sefc, F. Regner, J. Turetschek, J. Glössl, H. Steinkellner, *Genome* **42**, 1–7 (1999)
- [8] D. Merdinoglu, G. Butterlin, L. Bevilacqua, V. Chiquet, A. Adam-Blondon, S. Decroocq, *Mol Breed* **15**, 349–366 (2005)
- [9] J. E. Bowers, G. S. Dangl, C. P. Meredith, *Am. J. Enol. Vitis* **50**, 243–246 (1999)
- [10] M.R. Thomas, N.S. Scott, *Theor Appl Genet* **86**, 985–990 (1993)
- [11] R. Peakall, P.E. Smouse, *Mol Ecol Notes*, **6**, 288–295 (2006)
- [12] R. Peakall, P.E. Smouse, *Bioinformatics*, **28**, 2537–2539 (2012)
- [13] K. Tamura, G. Stecher, D. Peterson, A. Filipski, S. Kumar, *Mol Biol Evol*, **30**, 2725–2729 (2013)
- [14] J.F. Vouillamoz, P.E. McGovern, A. Ergul, G. So‘Ylomezog‘Lu, G. Tevzadze, C.P. Meredith, M. S. Grando, *Plant Genet Resour* **4**, 2, 44–158 (2006)
- [15] J. Vouillamoz, D. Maigre, C.P. Meredith, *Theor Appl Genet* **107**, 448–454 (2003)
- [16] P. This, A. Jung, P. Boccacci, J. Borrego, R. Botta, L. Costantini, M. Crespan, G. Dangl, C. Eisenheld, F. Ferreira-Monteiro, S. Grando, J. Ibáñez, T. Lacombe, V. Laucou, R. Magalhães, C. Meredith, N. Milani, E. Peterlunger, F. Regner, L. Zulini, E. Maul, *Theor Appl Genet* **109**, 1448–1458 (2004)
- [17] P. This, T. Lacombe, M.R. Thomas, *Trends Genet* **22**, 511–519 (2006)
- [18] E. Cappellini, M. T. Gilbert, P. F. Geuna, G. Fiorentino, A. Hall, J. Thomas-Oates, P. D. Ashton, D.A. Ashford, P. Arthur, P.F. Campos, J. Kool, E. Willerslev, M.J. Collins, *Die Naturwissenschaften*, **97**, 2, 205–217 (2010)
- [19] M.K. Aradhya, G.S. Dangl, B.H. Prins, J.M. Boursiquot, A.M. Walker, C.P. Meredith, C.J. Simon, *Genet Res (Camb)* **81**, 179–192 (2003)
- [20] M. Dallakyan, A. Yesayan, N. Hovhannisyan, *Ajastan Kensab. Handes* **66**, 2, 84 (2014)



Areni-1 cave (in the east of the Armenian Highland, Syunik Mountains, Vayots Dzor province/marz). Several cultural layers (the earliest relates to the 6th-5th millennia BC and the latest to the 12th-14th cc. AD) have been discovered here by the archaeologists. The most important finds are the world's oldest (more than 6000-year-old) winery, the desiccated remains of human brain tissue, 5,500-year-old leather shoe and a fragment of reed skirt, etc.





Areni-1 cave, the world's earliest known wine-making facility (the late 5th and early 4th millennia BC).



Areni-1 cave, 5,500-year-old leather shoe

MANIFESTATIONS OF MYTHOLOGICAL IMAGES ON ANCIENT ARMENIAN COINS

Vardumyan G. D.

PhD in History

The most ancient coins found on the territory of Armenia refer to the 6th-5th centuries BC. They were mainly of the local - Eruanduni origin of the period of relations with the Achaemenid Empire and later of the Sophene kingdom (since the 3rd c. BC), as well as Miletus and Athens silver and copper coins were also found in a few samples. Coins as a medium of exchange had widely circulated in Armenia particularly since the second half of the IV century BC. Owing to international trade, silver coins of Alexander the Great penetrated to the Armenian market from Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. On Armenian coins of the Hellenistic period, as a rule, the portrait of the monarch is depicted, and on the reverse side mythological symbols and the king's name and title in Greek letters are often depicted¹.

The history of the Armenian currency is rich, and this is probably because of its geographical location - Armenia was in the immediate vicinity to the places where ancient coins were first minted. According to the accepted view, coinage, as a major factor which played an important role in the development of human society, began in Lydia in western Asia Minor, at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BC. Herodotus in his "History" refers to the Lydians: "the first of the people they, as far as we know, minted and put into use gold and silver coins, and for the first time were engaged in petty trade"². Shortly after Lydia appeared to be on a busy trade route to Greece and countries of the Ancient East, where it took to arrange early bargains.

The first Greek coins - drachmas, tetradrachms, denarius, sestertii, appeared on the island of Aegina in the 7th century BC. On the front side of the first drachmas was a turtle image - apparently the revered animal on the island. And in Rome, where bronze and then gold coins were minted, the first mint was set up in the temple of the goddess Junona-Moneta, hence the name "moneta" meaning "coin" origins³.

The very origin of the coins is associated with mythology. The ancient Greeks attributed the invention of coins to the heroes of their myths, the Romans - to the gods

¹ See: Babelon E., Catalogue des monnaies grèques de la Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène, Paris, 1890; Hill G.F., Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia, London, 1900; Head Barclay V., Historia Numorum, A Manual of Greek Numismatics, London, 1963, pp. 827-829; Մուշեղյան Խ., Դրամական շրջանառությունը հին Հայաստանում, Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն (ՀԺՊ), հ. 1, Երևան, 1971, էջ 689-692.

² Herodotus also reports: "The natural attractions, like other countries, Lydia did not have, except maybe golden sand brought in by the river Tmola", folk "began to run to the market square and the river Pactolus (Pactolus, carries with a golden sand, flowing with Tmola through the market square and then flows into the river Hermus, and that - in the sea)" (Herodotus, Historiarum (libri 9), London, 1946-1960, I, 94, V, 101,- <https://goo.gl/Jo5clo>; see also: Максимов М.М., Золото в качестве денег (переход к монетам),- <http://www.bibliotekar.ru/zoloto/12.htm>).

³ See: Античные монеты: драхмы, тетрадрахмы, денарии, сестерции,- <https://goo.gl/8xadHI>;

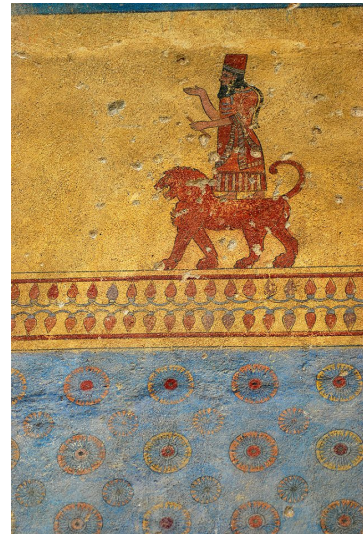
Janus or Saturn. According to their views, ancient coins with the head of the two-faced god and the ship's nose (rostrum) were minted by Janus in honor of the time-god Saturn, who sailed to Italy from Crete on a ship. The word "coin" - "moneta" translated from Latin means "cautionary, counselor" - a title given to the Roman goddess Juno - thunderer Jupiter's wife. It was believed that she had repeatedly warned the Romans about earthquakes and enemies' attacks. In the Roman Capitol near the temple of Juno Moneta (Iuno Moneta) workshops were housed where coinage was cast and minted. From the word "moneta" is "numismatics" - Latin numisma, nomisma, numismatis, Greek νόμισμα, νόμισματος - which means "established custom, standard procedure"⁴.

From monetary history in ancient Armenia it is known that on many coins there are, among others, images of mythological themes, which can be seen on gold, silver and copper coins of the periods of ancient Armenian royal houses of Ervanduni (Orontid), Artashesyan (Artashesid), Arshakuni dynasties⁵. Mythological themes, by their content, mainly are manifested in the form of images of gods, goddesses and other mythological creatures, and are as a rule on the reverse side of the coin, sometimes they accompany the ruler's image on the front side⁶.

Mythological themes are observed on the coins found in Erebuni, and two of these specimens represent lions' portraits on silver coins of the 6th century BC (fig. 1).



1



The lion portraits from Erebuni impress by their horrifying and majestic views. It is not surprising, if we remember that the main god of the supreme triad in Van Kingdom

⁴ From the same Latin root *monere* - *caution* derived the word *mantle* indicating the process of determining human destiny by judges, and in some countries prosecutors and lawyers put on the mantle in courts (see: Монета, деньги, - Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона, в 86 т. (82 т. и 4 доп.), СПб., 1890-1907; Этимологический словарь русского языка. Вып. 10 /под общей редакцией А.Ф. Журавлёва, Н.М. Шанского, М., Изд-во МГУ, 2007, - <http://enc-dic.com/rusethy/Moneta-2058.html>).

⁵ Ատրպետ, Հայ թագավորների դրամները. Յետ Աղեքսանդրեան շրջան, Ազգագրական Հանդես (ԱՀ), 1912, գիրք 23, էջ 27-38.

⁶ See: Мушегян Х., Денежное обращение Двина по нумизматическим данным, Ереван, 1962; Մուշեղյան Խ., Հայաստանի դրամական գանձերը, հ. 1, Երևան, 1973; Варданян Р., К вопросу о датировке двух армянских монет эллинистической эпохи, Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես, 1987, 2, էջ 195-207:

(Biainili-Urartu-Ararat kingdom) Haldi, the father of gods and the thunder-god, is often depicted standing on a lion, symbolizing his leading role in the pantheon (fig. 1).

Different images of a lion in future will be part of medieval coins and coats of arms. In Armenian mythology lion, eagle and horse, from most ancient times symbolized royal power, which was considered as god-given, basically - the Sun-god⁷. The cult of kings and the royal ancestors was common in Armenia⁸ as well as in other countries of the ancient world (e.g. in Egypt, where next to the name of the pharaoh often figured the name of the Sun-god Amun-Ra⁹).

Images of the “kings” of the animal world, long before the formation of pantheons, can be found among the petroglyphs in the Armenian Highland, as e.g., fig. 2.



2

The lion and the eagle as symbols of the Sun-god and royal power, in the form of huge stone statues, are preserved in the pantheon built under Antiochus I Ervanduni in I century BC, on the eastern and western slopes of Mount Nemrut in Kommagene, where they, along with statues of gods and goddesses, and the king himself, represent the royal power and the Sun-god (fig. 3)¹⁰.

⁷ About the Sun cult in ancient Armenia see: Մնացականյան Հ., Արեւապաշտության հետքերը հին Հայաստանում, Երևան, 1948; Աբեղյան Մ., Հայ ժողովրդական հավատալիքները, Երկեր, հ. Է, Երևան, էջ 40-44; Իսրայելյան Հ., Արևի պաշտամունքի հետքերը բրոնզեդարյան Հայաստանում, Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների, 1967, 7, էջ 77-88; Idem, Պաշտամունքն ու հավատալիքները ուշ բրոնզեդարյան Հայաստանում, Երևան, 1972; Вардумян Г., Дохристианские культы армян, Հայ ազգագրություն և բանահյուսություն, հ. 18, Երևան, 1991, էջ 113-119.

⁸ See: Саркисян Г., Обожествление и культ царей и царских предков в древней Армении, Вестник древней истории, 1966, 2, стр. 3-26.

⁹ Амон, в мифологии // Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона : в 86 т. (82 т. и 4 доп.), СПб, 1890 - 1907, Т. Iа, стр. 665; Матье М. Э., Древнеегипетские мифы, Ленинград, 1956; Коростовцев М. А., Религия древнего Египта, Москва, 1976; Рубинштейн Р.И., Египетская мифология, Мифы народов мира /энциклопедический словарь/, т. 1, Москва, 1980, стр. 420-427:

¹⁰ Тирацян Г.А., Культура Древней Армении (VI в. до н.э. - III в.н.э.), Ереван, 1988, стр. 109-112; Аракелян Б. Н., Очерки по истории искусства древней Армении (VI в. до н.э. - III в.н.э.), Ереван, 1976, стр. 20-24.



3

As for the coins of Ervanduni period (6th-3rd centuries BC), portraits of Armenian gods and goddesses are seen on them - Aramazd, Anahit, Vahagn, and of their Greek parallels - Zeus, Athena, Hercules. On the reverse side of the gold coin of the king of Armenia Ervand II or Ervand-Orontas (the end of the 5th - the first half of the 4th century BC) a horse image is seen (fig. 4) which was also a symbol of royal power in the Ancient World, and the kings, including the Armenian, often are depicted in the form of a winner-rider¹¹.



4

The horse, representing yet another symbol of the Sun, not only was depicted on coins, but also appeared in the cult life of the ancient Armenians. As described by the Greek historian Xenophontis (Xenophon), among Armenians was common the custom to sacrifice large number of stallions to the Sun-god Mihr, and he himself gave his horse

to the headman of an Armenian village as a gift for the sacrifice rite¹².

Starting from the second half of the 3rd century BC Armenian kings of Sophene - Arsames, Xerxes, Abdisares and others, also minted their coins, among which are

¹¹ A horse, like Pegasus, the Centaur, etc., have been active players in the Indo-European, in particular, the Greco-Roman mythology (Vigneron P., *Le cheval dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine*, Nancy, 1968; Животные в мифологии. Конь,- Мифологическая энциклопедия // <http://mythology.info/myth-animals/kony.html>).

¹² Xenophontis, *Anabasis (Expedition Cyrus)*, Lipsiae, 1878, IV, V, 34.

known some silver ones, too¹³. A specific reflection of the sacred Mount Ararat may be observed on coins, in particular on a coin of the king Arsames II of Sophene, which shows not only the Great and Small Masis, but also the sparkling stars on their peaks, symbolizing the connection of the worshipped mountains with the space. This picture witnesses that in pre-Christian times, Ararat had also been a national shrine, not only in



5

Great Armenia, but also in the small Armenian states, including Sophene, from where Ararat is not visible from any point of observation. It is also interesting, that the mountains on this coin are bordered on both sides by a pattern that resembles the Tree of Life, which is another ancient mythological

concept, symbolizing the eternal cycle of life (fig. 5).

On another coin of Sophene-Commagene cast by king Xerxes Ervanduni (220-212 BC), a mythical creature is pictured resembling the winged goddess Nike-Victoria, whose portraits are very common on the coins, because she symbolizes king's victories on the battlefield (fig. 6, 7).



6



7

Ancient Greek goddess Nike (Νίκη) (the Roman equivalent was Victoria) - daughter of Titanium Pallas and Styx, sister of Kratos (power), Bia (force) and Zelos (energy), is known to act as the goddess of victory. She accompanied Zeus-Thunderer. The coins of Alexander the Great (fig. 8) and Constantine II (fig. 9) are known with Nike-Victoria's image on the coins of the Ancient World¹⁴.



8



9

¹³ In the works of Jacques de Morgan are also represented the coins of Ervanduni dynasty of Sophene: De Morgan J., Manuel de numismatique orientale de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age, t. 1, Paris, 1923-24, pp. 11-14;

¹⁴ Müller L., Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand, Basel-Stuttgart, 1957.

The largest number of Armenian coins came to us from the time of Artashesyan kingdom (189 BC - 1 AD). Since Tigran I until the end of Artashesyan reign coinage did not stop¹⁵. Coins cast in Artashat, the capital of Great Armenia, still retained Hellenistic tradition - they were produced by the Attic monetary-weight system, which was based on the Greek drachma. During the Artashesyan reign the monetary circulation in Armenia was represented by the coins cast by Armenian kings, as well as by coins of neighboring states - Parthia, Rome (in the initial period the Roman Republic and later the Roman Empire), Seleucia, Cappadocia. Part of Armenian coins circulated in the neighboring countries, especially during the reign of Tigran the Great (95-55 BC), when they played the role of the international coin currency, and after him continued to be in circulation not only in Armenia, but also in other countries, where they were applicable and recognizable¹⁶.

Mythological images minted on the Armenian coins were dedicated to the worship of the patron-goddess of the capital-city, from which, in ancient perceptions, depended the fate of the whole country¹⁷. Such images with inscriptions in Greek occurred in the coins of the cities of the Hellenistic period. Among the coins of Artashat city, there are such ones where on one side is the head of the patron-goddess Tyche-Anahit with a tower-shaped crown on her head, and on the other side - a palm branch and winged Nike holding a laurel wreath above the name of the city (fig 10).



10

On the coins of Artashesyan period, along with the winged goddess, are depicted the symbols of the gods and goddesses of wealth and power, such as Anahit, Vahagn, etc., and bearing the same symbolism of eagle, horse, etc. The portraits of Armenian kings are also on the coins - those of Tigran I, Tigran II the

Great, Artavazd II, Artashes II, Artashes III of Tigranes, Artavazd IV, Tigran IV and Erato, Tigran V. Such an interesting specimen is the coin of Artavazd II, with a chariot drawn by four horses, symbolizing the unique power of the king and his proximity to the image of the Sun-god (fig. 11)¹⁸.

¹⁵ Langlois V., *Numismatique général de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1859; Բասմաջյան Կ., Հայկական ընդհանուր դրամագիտություն և Հայաստանի վերաբերյալ դրամներ, Վենետիկ, 1936.

¹⁶ About Artashesyan coins see: De Morgan J., *Manuel de numismatique orientale de l'Antiquité et du Moyen âge*, t. 1, Paris, 1923-24; Պտուկյան Զ., Արտաշիսյան հարստության դրամները, Վիեննա, 1969; Bedoukian Paul Z., *Armenian Coin Hoards /Special publication № 5/*, English and Armenian Edition, "Amazon", 1987; Он же, *Selected Numismatic Studies of Paul Bedoukian /Masnawor Hratarakutiwn, Hay Dramagitakan Enkeraksitiwn/*, "Amazon", 1981.

¹⁷ Ատրպետ, Հայ թագավորների և քաղաքների դրամները, ԱՀ, 1913, գիրք 24 (1), էջ 83-89:

¹⁸ About Artashesyan coins see: Ատրպետ, Հայ թագավորների դրամները. Յետ Տիգրան Մեծի, ԱՀ, 1913, գիրք 24, էջ 57-67; Bedoukian P.Z., *A Classification of the Coins of the Artaxiad Dynasty of Armenia /Reprinted from the American Numismatic Society/*, "Museum Notes", 14, New York, 1968, t. IX-XI.



11

Armenian coins were in international circulation, as already noted, during the reign of Tigran the Great. They were cast in Armenia (in the capitals Artashat, then Tigranakert), and in the cities of Syria (Antioch, Damascus). His silver coins submitted as tetradrachms and copper coins are well known. Particularly

noteworthy are those coins of Tigran II on which he is depicted with the Armenian crown - tiara, which has no analogues among the rulers of any Eastern or Western countries at the time, it was typical only for the rulers Artashesyan dynasty. The tiara top contains luminous bulges – pointed teeth, and its middle is decorated with the symbols of the Sun cult - eight-pointed star between two eagles. Eagles are in the tilted position but looking at each other¹⁹.

The portrait of King Tigran II with courageous and dignified look, is usually fringed by woven ornament, and on the reverse side mythological symbols are depicted, mainly of the country's patroness-goddess, sitting on a rock, with a palm branch in her hand, with a cone-shaped crown on her head, under the legs (in some coins) a floating water-deity is seen. Worship scenes are usually edged with inscription of the name and title of the king in Greek, in two types - "King Tigran" (cast in the mints of Syria), or "Tigran King of Kings" (cast in the mints of Armenia)²⁰. Having international importance, those coins were distinguished by an abundance of mythological themes, mythical images of the country's power and victory of the king, thus emphasizing the idea of royal power as something God-given and eternal (fig. 12: Coins of Tigran the Great).



12

¹⁹ About the tiara of Tigran the Great see: Тирацян Г., Армянская тиара: опыт культурно-исторической интерпретации, Вопросы древней истории, 1982, 2, стр. 90-95.

²⁰ About the coins of Tigran the Great see: Ասրիպետ, Տիգրանի Մեծի դրամները, ԱՀ, 1911, գիրք 21, с. 200-222; Seyrig H., Trésor monétaire de Nisibe, Revue Numismatique, Paris, 1955, p. 84-88, 121; Bedoukian P. Z., A Hoard of Copper Coins of Tigranes the Great and a Hoard of Artaxiad Coins / Special publication № 7, English, "Amazon", 1991.



13

As an interesting issue of this period should be noted the silver tetradrachm of the Tigran II the Great's son, Artavazd II (55-34 BC) with a quadriga on it and the image of goddess Nike, carrying the victory wreath in her hand, in a graceful pose, and the name and title of the king in Greek letters (fig. 13)²¹.

On the coins of Tigran III winged goddess is sometimes replaced by the image of Vahagn - the war-god personifying the power and might of the country, or by an elephant image also symbolizing the invincible power (fig. 14)²².



14



15

Of particular interest are the coins of Tigran IV, one of which - on the copper coin is the portrait of the king and queen Erato. This is the only coin, which has the portrait of an ancient Armenian Queen (fig. 15).

The copper coin of Tigran V is worthy of special attention, since it shows the reverse side of the Great and Small Masis, in the form as seen from the capital Artashat. At the foot of the two mountains are depicted trees, maybe the Tree of Life symbolizing the germination of new life, its beginning, the cycle of life and eternity (fig. 16).



16

From the reign of Arshakuni dynasty (66-428) is known that monetary circulation was carried out mainly in neighboring countries coins - of the Roman Empire and the Parthian kingdom, later of Sassanid Persia and the Byzantine Empire²³.

From this period are also known Roman coins among which the circulation of gold coins - *aurei* (with wonderful realistic portraits belonging to the best works of ancient art) was very limited. The silver coins

²¹ Muschegjian Ch., Eine Tetrachme Artavazdes II, - Bibliotheca classica orientalis, 11 Jahrgang, Heft 4, Berlin, 1966, S. 208-209; Wroth W., Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria, Bologna, 1964, t. XIV.

²² Bedukian P.Z., A Classification of the Coins of the Artaxiad Dynasty of Armenia, pp. 63-65.

²³ About the coins of Arshakid Armenia and Roman medallions see: Ասորպետ, Հայ թագավորների դրամները նախնական ժամանակներից մինչև Տրդատ Մեծ եւ Փոքր Արմենիայի իշխանների եւ քաղաքների դրամները, ԱՀ, 1912, գիրք 22 (1), 198-231, 23 (2), էջ 39-56; Տաշյան Հ., Արշակունի դրամներ, մաս 1, 2, Վիեննա, 1920 (1917-60); Պտուկյան Հ., Հայաստանի վերաբերյալ հռոմեական դրամներ և մեդալիոններ, Վիեննա, 1971; Մուշեղյան Խ., Դրամական շրջանառությունը Հայաստանում I-II դարերում և հռոմեական շքադրամներ, ՀԺՊ, հ. 1, էջ 813-822.

were called *denarius* and *quinarius*, and the copper ones - sesterces, etc. The cast of these coins had the purpose of exalting Caesar's victories. Among them were coins dedicated to Armenia. A remarkable specimen of silver coin of the 2nd century BC has been preserved belonging to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (nicknamed "Armenian") with the image of a seated woman in a majestic pose, and in the lower part of the coin is visible the inscription in Latin letters *Armen*, i.e. Armenia (fig. 17)²⁴.



17

On the Armenian coins of the Arshakuni period appear the images of Roman gods: the supreme god Jupiter, father of gods; the god of waters and seas Neptune; goddesses protectors of victory - Victoria, Fortune, Roma; the Greek mother goddess Demeter and others (fig. 18-19).



18



19

Thus, mythological images on ancient coins were intended to emphasize the majesty and power of producing them ruler, and therefore depicted mostly the supreme god, the goddess of victory, the mother goddess, animals symbolizing the royal power. The presence of mythological themes on coins basically had a number of representations, among which especially significant are the idea of the divine origin of the royal dynasty, the protection of king's activities by gods, and many other ideas characteristic of the mythological thinking in ancient societies. In Ancient Armenia, as in other countries of the Ancient World, the money circulation passed through different stages, and mythological images and themes always accompanied the images of kings, giving a special shade to the iconography of coins.

²⁴ Mattingly H., *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, v. 1, London, 1923, p. 281, № 406-412.

PHILOSOPHY AND LAW

THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF TRANSFORMATIONAL LOGIC

Brutian G. A.

Academician of NAS RA



G. A. Brutian (1926-2015)

The idea of the foundation of transformational logic first was fixed by the author in 1976¹. The first article on that problem was published in 1981². In 1982 the author gave a lecture "Transformational Logic" in the University of Science in Tokyo and made a report on the same problem in the University of Kyoto (Japan) at the session of the "Association of Philosophy of Science". In the same 1982 the article

"Transformational Logic" was published in Japan in English³.

*In 1983 the author gave a paper on the above mentioned problem at XVIII World Congress of Philosophy in Montreal (Canada), published five years later in its proceedings⁴. In 1983 the author's monograph "Transformational Logic" was published in Russian (with summaries in Armenian, English, and French)⁵. The Moscow leading philosophical journal **The Questions of Philosophy** in 1983 published the article "Transformational Logic. General Characteristic and Main Concepts"⁶.*

To elucidate the essential nature of transformational logic let us first describe its basic concepts. These are explicit and implicit forms (structures) of thought, the subtextual and contextual forms of thought, the rules of transformation, subtextual logic, contextual logic, etc. We call the "explicit" (abbreviation: EXP) form (structure) of thought that form (structure) of thought which is fixed in a given logical system by means of the given language.

We call the "implicit" (abbreviation: IMP) form (structure) of thought that form (structure) of thought which is (or can be) derived from EXP form (structure) of thought by the interpretation of the given logical system and its language expressions.

Let us take a look at the following sentence: "Only some sets are finite". This sentence expresses in direct form an exclusive particular-affirmative proposition. This proposition contains implicitly more information than a simple affirmation of a fact. This

¹ Брутян Г. А., Природа языка философии, Философские науки, 1976, 1, стр. 24-30.

² Брутян Г. А., Трансформационная логика, Л<С>Ф, 1981, 11, стр. 14-29.

³ Brutian G. A., Transformational Logic. In: A. Ishimoto (ed.), Formal Approaches to Natural Language. Proceedings of the Second Colloquium of Montague Grammar and Related Topics, Tokyo, 1982.

⁴ Brutian G.A., Logique Transformationnelle. In: Philosophie et Culture. Acts/Proceedings. Vol. II, I-986, Congrès mondial de philosophie. Montréal 1983, Éditions Montmorency, 1988:

⁵ Брутян Г. А., Трансформационная логика, Ереван, 1983.

⁶ Брутян Г. А., Трансформационная логика. Общая характеристика и основные понятия, Вопросы философии, 1983, 8, стр. 95-106.

proposition at least gives grounds for asserting that "Some sets are not finite". This means that the examining linguistic expression directly fixes a particular-affirmative proposition of a definite type and, at the same time, presupposes some particular-negative proposition. The first of these is an explicit form, and the second, an implicit form of thought.

"The Slavic languages, like the Indo-European, are inflected languages". This sentence expresses an in direct, explicit form a universal-affirmative proposition. This form may be easily transformed into the following syllogism: "All Indo-European languages belong to the class of inflected languages; the Slavic languages are Indo-European languages; therefore, the Slavic languages belong to the class of inflected languages". Clearly, this is already another form of thought, another structure. But this form is already contained in the proceeding form, is implicitly understood in it, so that we may characterize this syllogism as an IMP form (structure) of the starting, original form of thought. This means that one and the same linguistic unit (in this case, a compound sentence) expresses at the explicit level one form (structure) of thought (in this case, a universal - affirmative proposition), while at the implicit level it expresses another form (structure) of thought (a syllogism).

The examples given above of the IMP forms and structures of thought may be referred to as subtextual or presupposing. The given logical (as well as linguistic) unit to be analyzed provides grounds for deriving from it, by means of our interpretation, i.e., by exposing the subtext, a form (structure) of thought distinct from the fixed logical form (structure).

The part of transformational logic that studies implicit forms and structures of thought generated by the subtext may be called subtextual logic. However, the IMP forms and structures of thought are not exhausted by subtextual logic. There is a number of IMP forms (structures) of thought that are generated by the context rather than by the subtext.

"What could there be more purely bright in Truth's day-star?". This interrogative sentence, seen as such, does not express a proposition directly in explicit form; it expresses what is the same thing, an explicitly zero proposition (EXPo). Meanwhile in the context of E.A. Poe's poem "**A Dream**" the same sentence presupposes the categorical proposition "Nothing could there be more purely bright in Truth's day-star". This is an IMP proposition of contextual origin.

The part of transformational logic that studies implicit forms and structures of thought generated from the context may be called contextual logic.

However, transformational logic not only studies subtextual and contextual forms and structures of thought. It also examines the nature of those logical rules by means of which IMP forms and structures of thought are derived, generated from EXP forms and structures of thought by means of interpretation of the subtext, the context being taken into account. We may call these logical rules transformational rules; we examine them somewhat later in the section "Transformational rules".

From what has been said, we may now define transformational logic as a science studying the relationship between EXP and IMP forms and structures of thought, the essence of subtextual and contextual forms and structures of thought, the means and rules by which IMP forms and structures of thought are generated from the EXP forms and structures, as well as forms and structures of thought are made precise.

Genocide in International Law

The Crimes of Crimes

William A. Schabas

National University of Ireland, Galway



PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK www.cup.cam.ac.uk
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA www.cup.org
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain

© William A. Schabas 2000

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2000

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset in Plantin 10/12 pt [CE]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Schabas, William, 1950–

Genocide in international law: the crimes of crimes / William A. Schabas.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 78262 7 (hardback) – ISBN 0 521 78790 4 (pbk.)

1. Genocide. 2. Convention on the Prevention and Treatment of Genocide (1948) I. Title.

K5302.S32 2000

341.7'78–dc21 99–087924

ISBN 0 521 78262 7 hardback

ISBN 0 521 78790 4 paperback

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	page ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
1 Origins of the legal prohibition of genocide	14
2 Drafting of the Convention and subsequent normative developments	51
3 Groups protected by the Convention	102
4 The physical element or <i>actus reus</i> of genocide	151
5 The mental element or <i>mens rea</i> of genocide	206
6 'Other acts' of genocide	257
7 Defences to genocide	314
8 Prosecution of genocide by international and domestic tribunals	345
9 State responsibility and the role of the International Court of Justice	418
10 Prevention of genocide	447
11 Treaty law questions and the Convention	503
Conclusions	543
Appendix The three principal drafts of the Convention	553
<i>Bibliography</i>	569
<i>Index</i>	608

1 Origins of the legal prohibition of genocide

Winston Churchill called genocide ‘the crime without a name’.¹ A few years later, the term ‘genocide’ was coined by Raphael Lemkin in his 1944 work, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*.² Rarely has a neologism had such rapid success.³ Within little more than a year of its introduction to the English language,⁴ it was being used in the indictment of the International Military Tribunal, and within two, it was the subject of a United Nations General Assembly resolution. But the resolution spoke in the past tense, describing genocide as crimes which ‘have occurred’. By the time the General Assembly completed its standard setting, with the 1948 adoption of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, ‘genocide’ had a detailed and quite technical definition as a crime against the law of nations. Yet the preamble of that instrument recognizes ‘that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity’.

This study is principally concerned with genocide as a legal norm. The origins of criminal prosecution of genocide begin with the recognition that persecution of ethnic, national and religious minorities was not only morally outrageous, it might also incur legal liability. As a general rule, genocide involves violent crimes against the person, including murder. Because these crimes have been deemed anti-social since time immemorial, in a sense there is nothing new in prosecution of genocide to the extent that it overlaps with the crimes of homicide and assault. Yet genocide almost invariably escaped prosecution because it was virtually

¹ Leo Kuper, *Genocide, Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981, p. 12.

² Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*, Washington: Carnegie Endowment for World Peace, 1944.

³ Lemkin later wrote that ‘[a]n important factor in the comparatively quick reception of the concept of genocide in international law was the understanding and support of this idea by the press of the United States and other countries’: Raphael Lemkin, ‘Genocide as a Crime in International Law’, (1947) 41 AJIL 145, p. 149, n. 9.

⁴ And French as well: Raphael Lemkin, ‘Le crime de génocide’, [1946] *Rev. dr. int.* 213.

always committed at the behest and with the complicity of those in power. Historically, its perpetrators were above the law, at least within their own countries, except in rare cases involving a change in regime. In human history, the concept of international legal norms from which no State may derogate has emerged only relatively recently. This is, of course, the story of the international protection of human rights. The prohibition of persecution of ethnic groups runs like a golden thread through the defining moments of the history of human rights.

International law's role in the protection of national, racial, ethnic and religious groups from persecution can be traced to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, which provided certain guarantees for religious minorities.⁵ Other early treaties contemplated the protection of Christian minorities within the Ottoman empire⁶ and of francophone Roman Catholics within British North America.⁷ These concerns with the rights of national, ethnic and religious groups evolved into a doctrine of humanitarian intervention which was invoked to justify military activity on some occasions during the nineteenth century.⁸

International human rights law can also trace its origins to the law of armed conflict, or international humanitarian law. Codification of the law of armed conflict began in the nineteenth century. In its early years, this was oriented to the protection of medical personnel and the prohibition of certain types of weapons. The Hague Regulations of 1907 reflect the focus on combatants but include a section concerning the treatment of civilian populations in occupied territories. In particular, article 46 requires an occupying belligerent to respect '[f]amily honour and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice'.⁹ Moreover, the preamble to the Hague Regulations contains the promising 'Martens clause', which states that 'the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection and the rule of the principles of the law of nations, as they result from the usages

⁵ Treaty of Peace between Sweden and the Empire, signed at Osnabruck, 14(24) October 1648; Dumont VI, Part 1, p. 469, arts. 28–30; Treaty of Peace between France and the Empires, signed at Münster, 14(24) October 1648, Dumont VI, Part 1, p. 450, art. 28.

⁶ For example, Treaty of Peace between Russia and Turkey, signed at Adrianople, 14 September 1829, BFSP XVI, p. 647, arts. V and VII.

⁷ Treaty of Peace and Friendship between France and Great Britain, signed at Utrecht, 11 April 1713, Dumont VIII, Part 1, p. 339, art. 14; Definitive Treaty of Peace between France, Great Britain and Spain, signed at Paris, 10 February 1763, BFSP I, pp. 422 and 645, art. IV.

⁸ See Michael Reisman, 'Humanitarian Intervention to Protect the Ibos', in Richard B. Lillich, ed., *Humanitarian Intervention and the United Nations*, Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1973, pp. 178–83.

⁹ Convention (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War by Land, [1910] UKTS 9, annex, art. 46. See *Prosecutor v. Tadic* (Case No. IT-94-1-AR72), Decision on the Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction, 2 October 1995, para. 56.

established among civilized peoples, from the laws of humanity, and the dictates of the public conscience'.¹⁰ But aside from sparse references to cultural and religious institutions,¹¹ nothing in the Regulations suggests any particular focus on vulnerable national or ethnic minorities.¹²

Early developments in the prosecution of 'genocide'

The new world order that emerged in the aftermath of the First World War, and that to some extent was reflected in the 1919 peace treaties, manifested a growing role for the international protection of human rights. Two aspects of the post-war regime are of particular relevance to the study of genocide. First, the need for special protection of national minorities was recognized. This took the form of a web of treaties, bilateral and multilateral, as well as unilateral declarations. The world also saw the first attempt to establish an international criminal court, accompanied by the suggestion that massacres of ethnic minorities within a State's own borders might give rise to both State and individual responsibility.

The wartime atrocities committed against the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire¹³ had been met with a joint declaration from the governments of France, Great Britain and Russia, dated 24 May 1915, asserting that '[i]n the presence of these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the allied Governments publicly inform the Sublime Porte that they will hold personally responsible for the said crimes all members of the Ottoman Government as well as those of its agents who are found to be involved in such massacres'.¹⁴ It has been suggested that this constitutes the first use, at least within an inter-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, preamble. The Martens clause first appeared in 1899 in Convention (II) with respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land, 32 Stat. 1803, 1 Bevans 247, 91 BFST 988.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, art. 56.

¹² In 1914, an international commission of inquiry considered atrocities committed against national minorities during the Balkan wars to be violations of the 1907 Hague Regulations: Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars, Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1914, pp. 230–4. The section entitled 'Extermination, Emigration, Assimilation', pp. 148–58, documents acts that we would now characterize as genocide or crimes against humanity.

¹³ Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide, History, Politics, Ethics*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1991; R. Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origin of the Armenian Genocide and of the Holocaust*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

¹⁴ English translation quoted in United Nations War Crimes Commission, *History of the United Nations War Crimes Commission and the Development of the Laws of War*, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948, p. 35.

national law context, of the term 'crimes against humanity'.¹⁵ At the time, United States Secretary of State Robert Lansing admitted what he called the 'more or less justifiable' right of the Turkish government to deport the Armenians to the extent that they lived 'within the zone of military operations'. But, he said, '[i]t was not to my mind the deportation which was objectionable but the horrible brutality which attended its execution. It is one of the blackest pages in the history of this war, and I think we were fully justified in intervening as we did on behalf of the wretched people, even though they were Turkish subjects.'¹⁶

Versailles and the Leipzig trials

The idea of an international war crimes trial had been proposed by Lord Curzon at a meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet on 20 November 1918.¹⁷ The British emphasized trying the Kaiser and other leading Germans, and there was little or no interest in accountability for the persecution of innocent minorities such as the Armenians in Turkey.¹⁸ The objective was to punish 'those who were responsible for the War or for atrocious offences against the laws of war'.¹⁹ As Lloyd George explained, '[t]here was also a growing feeling that war itself was a crime against humanity'.²⁰ At the second plenary session of the Paris Peace Conference, on 25 January 1919, a Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties was created.²¹ Composed of fifteen representatives of the victorious powers, the Commission was mandated to inquire into and to report upon the

¹⁵ The concept, however, had been in existence for many years. During debates in the National Assembly, French revolutionary Robespierre described the King, Louis XVI, as a '[c]riminal against humanity': Maximilien Robespierre, *Œuvres*, IX, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1952, p. 130. In 1890, an American observer, George Washington Williams, wrote to the United States Secretary of State that King Leopold's regime in Congo was responsible for 'crimes against humanity': Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998, p. 112.

¹⁶ Quoted in Vahakn N. Dadrian, 'Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law: The World War I Armenian Case and Its Contemporary Legal Ramifications', (1989) 14 *Yale Journal of International Law*, p. 221 at p. 228.

¹⁷ David Lloyd George, *The Truth About the Peace Treaties*, Vol. I, London: Victor Gollancz, 1938, pp. 93–114. For a discussion of the project, see 'Question of International Criminal Jurisdiction', UN Doc. A/CN.4/15, paras. 6–13; Howard S. Levie, *Terrorism in War, The Law of War Crimes*, New York: Oceana, 1992, pp. 18–36; 'First Report on the Draft Code of Offences Against the Peace and Security of Mankind, by Mr Doudou Thiam, Special Rapporteur', UN Doc. A/CN.4/364, paras. 7–23.

¹⁸ Lloyd George, *Truth About Peace Treaties*, pp. 93–114.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²¹ Seth P. Tillman, *Anglo-American Relations at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961, p. 312.

violations of international law committed by Germany and its allies during the course of the war.

The Commission's report used the expression 'Violations of the Laws and Customs of War and of the Laws of Humanity'.²² Some of these breaches came close to the criminal behaviour now defined as genocide or crimes against humanity and involved the persecution of ethnic minorities or groups. Under the rubric of 'attempts to denationalize the inhabitants of occupied territory', the Commission cited many offences in Serbia committed by Bulgarian, German and Austrian authorities, including prohibition of the Serb language, '[p]eople beaten for saying "good morning" in Serbian', destruction of archives of churches and law courts, and the closing of schools.²³ As for 'wanton destruction of religious, charitable, educational and historic buildings and monuments', there were examples from Serbia and Macedonia of attacks on schools, monasteries, churches and ancient inscriptions by the Bulgarian authorities.²⁴

The legal basis for qualifying these acts as war crimes was not explained, although the Report might have referred to Chapter III of the 1907 Hague Regulations, which codified rules applicable to the occupied territory of an enemy.²⁵ But nothing in the Hague Regulations suggested their application to anything but the territory of an occupied belligerent. Indeed, there was no indication in the Commission's report that the Armenian genocide fell within the scope of its mandate.²⁶ The Commission proposed the establishment of an international 'High Tribunal', and urged 'that all enemy persons alleged to have been guilty of offences against the laws and customs of war and the laws of humanity' be excluded from any amnesty and be brought before either national tribunals or the High Tribunal.²⁷

A 'Memorandum of Reservations' submitted by the United States challenged many of the legal premises of the Commission, including the entire notion of crimes against the 'Laws of Humanity'. The American submission stated that '[t]he laws and principles of humanity vary with the individual, which, if for no other reason, should exclude them from consideration in a court of justice, especially one charged with the administration of criminal law'.²⁸ The United States also took issue with

²² *Violations of the Laws and Customs of War, Reports of Majority and Dissenting Reports of America and Japanese Members of the Commission of Responsibilities, Conference of Paris, 1919*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919, p. 23.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 39 ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁵ Convention (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War by Land, note 9 above.

²⁶ However, see Dadrian, 'Genocide as a Problem', p. 279, n. 210.

²⁷ *Violations of the Laws and Customs of War*, note 22 above, p. 25.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64. See also p. 73.

the suggestion that heads of State be tried for 'acts of state',²⁹ and that leaders be deemed liable for the acts of their subordinates.³⁰ But while clearly lukewarm to the idea, the American delegation did not totally oppose the convening of war crimes trials. However, it said efforts should be confined to matters undoubtedly within the scope of the term 'laws and customs of war', which provided 'a standard certain, to be found in books of authority and in the practice of nations'.³¹ The Japanese members also submitted dissenting comments, but these were considerably more succinct, and did not focus on the issue of crimes against humanity.

At the Peace Conference itself, Nicolas Politis, Greek Foreign Minister and a member of the Commission of Fifteen, proposed creating a new category of war crimes, designated 'crimes against the laws of humanity', intended to cover the massacres of the Armenians.³² Woodrow Wilson protested a measure he considered to be *ex post facto* law.³³ Wilson eventually withdrew his opposition, but he felt that in any case such efforts would be ineffectual.³⁴ At the meeting of the Council of Four on 2 April 1919, Lloyd George said it was important to judge those responsible 'for acts against individuals, atrocities of all sorts committed under orders'.³⁵

Although article 227 of the Treaty of Versailles stipulated that Kaiser Wilhelm II was to be tried, this never took place because of the refusal of the Netherlands to extradite him. Articles 228 to 230 allowed for the creation of international war crimes tribunals, the first in history.³⁶ They were to try persons accused of violating the laws and customs of war, yet in deference to the American objections the Treaty of Versailles did not

²⁹ Citing *Schooner Exchange v. McFaddon et al.*, 7 Cranch 116, in support.

³⁰ 'It is one thing to punish a person who committed, or, possessing the authority, ordered others to commit an act constituting a crime; it is quite another thing to punish a person who failed to prevent, to put and end to, or to repress violations of the laws or customs of war', said the American dissent: *Violations of the Laws and Customs of War*, note 22 above, p. 72.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³² Dadrian, 'Genocide as a Problem', p. 278.

³³ George Goldberg, *The Peace to End Peace, The Paris Peace Conference of 1919*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969, p. 151.

³⁴ Arthur Walworth, *Wilson and His Peacemakers, American Diplomacy at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1986, pp. 214–16 at p. 216. See also Tillman, *Anglo-American Relations*, p. 313.

³⁵ Arthur S. Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Vol. 56, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 531.

³⁶ Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany ('Treaty of Versailles'), [1919] TS 4, entered into force 28 June 1919. There were similar penal provisions in the related peace treaties: Treaty of St Germain-en-Laye, [1919] TS 11, art. 173; Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine, [1920] TS 5, art. 118; and Treaty of Trianon, (1919) 6 LNTS 187, art. 15.

refer to 'crimes against the laws of humanity'. The new German government voted to accept the treaty, but conditionally, and it refused the war criminals clauses, noting that its penal code prevented the surrender of Germans to a foreign government for prosecution and punishment.³⁷ A compromise was effected, deemed compatible with article 228 of the Versailles Treaty, whereby the Supreme Court of the Empire in Leipzig would judge those charged by the Allies. Germany opposed arraignment of most of those chosen for prosecution by the Allies, arguing that the trial of its military and naval elite could imperil the government's existence.³⁸ In the end, only a handful of German soldiers were tried, for atrocities in prisoner of war camps and sinking of hospital ships.³⁹ A Commission of Allied jurists set up to examine the results at Leipzig concluded 'that in the case of those condemned the sentences were not adequate'.⁴⁰

The Treaty of Sèvres and the Armenian genocide

With regard to Turkey, the Allies considered prosecution for mistreatment of prisoners, who were mostly British, but also for 'deportations and massacres', in other words, the persecution of the Armenian minority.⁴¹ The British High Commissioner, Admiral Calthorpe, informed the Turkish Foreign Minister on 18 January 1919 that 'His Majesty's Government are resolved to have proper punishment inflicted on those responsible for Armenian massacres'.⁴² Calthorpe's subsequent dispatch to London said he had informed the Turkish government that British statesmen 'had promised [the] civilized world that persons connected would be held personally responsible and that it was [the] firm intention of HM Government to fulfil [that] promise'.⁴³ Subsequently, the High Commission proposed the Turks be punished for the Armenian massacres by dismemberment of their Empire and the criminal trial of high officials to serve as an example.⁴⁴

London believed that prosecution could be based on 'the common

³⁷ Goldberg, *Peace to End Peace*, p. 151.

³⁸ *German War Trials, Report of Proceedings before the Supreme Court in Leipzig*, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921, p. 19. See also 'Question of International Criminal Jurisdiction, Report by Ricardo J. Alfaro, Special Rapporteur', UN Doc. A/CN.4/15 and Corr. 1, para. 9.

³⁹ James F. Willis, *Prologue to Nuremberg: The Politics and Diplomacy of Punishing War Criminals of the First World War*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982; Sheldon Glueck, *War Criminals. Their Prosecution and Punishment*, New York: Knopf, 1944.

⁴⁰ United Nations War Crimes Commission, *History*, p. 48.

⁴¹ Dadrian, 'Genocide as a Problem', p. 282.

⁴² FO 371/4174/118377 (folio 253), cited in *ibid.* ⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ FO 371/4173/53352 (folios 192–3), cited in *ibid.*, pp. 282–3.

law of war', or 'the customs of war and rules of international law'.⁴⁵ Trials would be predicated on the concept that an occupying military regime is entitled to prosecute offenders on the territory where the crime has taken place because it is, in effect, exercising *de facto* authority in place of the former national regime. Jurisdiction would not, therefore, be based on broader notions rooted in the concept of universality.

Under pressure from Allied military rulers, the Turkish authorities arrested and detained scores of their leaders, later releasing many as a result of public demonstrations and other pressure.⁴⁶ In late May 1919, the British seized sixty-seven of the Turkish prisoners and spirited them away to more secure detention in Malta and elsewhere.⁴⁷ But the British found that political considerations, including the growth of Kemalism and competition for influence with other European powers, made insistence on prosecutions increasingly untenable.⁴⁸ In mid-1920, a political-legal officer at the British High Commission in Istanbul cautioned London of practical difficulties involved in prosecuting Turks for the Armenian massacres, including obtaining evidence.⁴⁹ By late 1921, the British had negotiated a prisoner exchange agreement with the Turks, and the genocide suspects held in Malta were released.⁵⁰

Attempts by Turkish jurists to press for trial before the national courts of those responsible for the atrocities were slightly more successful.⁵¹ Prosecuted on the basis of the domestic penal code, several ministers in the wartime cabinet and leaders of the Ittihad party were found guilty by a court martial, on 5 July 1919, of 'the organization and execution of crime of massacre' against the Armenian minority.⁵² The criminals were sentenced, *in absentia*, to capital punishment or lengthy terms of imprisonment.⁵³

According to the Treaty of Sèvres, signed on 10 August 1920, Turkey recognized the right of trial 'notwithstanding any proceedings or prosecution before a tribunal in Turkey' (art. 226), and was obliged to surrender 'all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war, who are specified either by name or by rank, office or employment which they held under Turkish authori-

⁴⁵ FO 371/4174/129560 (folios 430–1), cited in *ibid.*, p. 283.

⁴⁶ Dadrian, 'Genocide as a Problem', p. 284. ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁴⁸ FO 371/4174/156721 (folios 523–4), cited in *ibid.*, p. 286.

⁴⁹ FO 371/6500, W.2178, appendix A (folios 385–118 and 386–119), cited in *ibid.*, p. 287.

⁵⁰ Dadrian, 'Genocide as a Problem', pp. 288–9.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 293–317; Vahakn N. Dadrian, 'The Turkish Military Tribunal's Prosecution of the Authors of the Armenian Genocide: Four Major Court-Martial Series', (1997) 11 *Holocaust & Genocide Studies*, p. 28.

⁵² Cited in Dadrian, 'Genocide as a Problem', p. 307.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 310–15.

ties'.⁵⁴ This formulation was similar to the war crimes clauses in the Treaty of Versailles. But the Treaty of Sèvres contained a major innovation, contemplating prosecution of what we now define as 'crimes against humanity'⁵⁵ as well as of war crimes. Pursuant to article 230:

The Turkish Government undertakes to hand over to the Allied Powers the persons whose surrender may be required by the latter as being responsible for the massacres committed during the continuance of the state of war on territory which formed part of the Turkish Empire on the 1st August, 1914. The Allied Powers reserve to themselves the right to designate the Tribunal which shall try the persons so accused, and the Turkish Government undertakes to recognise such Tribunal. In the event of the League of Nations having created in sufficient time a Tribunal competent to deal with the said massacres, the Allied Powers reserve to themselves the right to bring the accused persons mentioned above before the Tribunal, and the Turkish Government undertakes equally to recognise such Tribunal.⁵⁶

However, the Treaty of Sèvres was never ratified. As Kay Holloway wrote, the failure of the signatories to bring the treaty into force 'resulted in the abandonment of thousands of defenceless peoples – Armenians and Greeks – to the fury of their persecutors, by engendering subsequent holocausts in which the few survivors of the 1915 Armenian massacres perished'.⁵⁷ The Treaty of Sèvres was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne of 24 July 1923⁵⁸ that included a 'Declaration of Amnesty' for all offences committed between 1 August 1914 and 20 November 1922.

Inter-war developments

The post-First World War efforts at international prosecution of war crimes and crimes against humanity were a failure. Nevertheless, the idea had been launched. Over the next two decades criminal law specialists turned their attention to a series of proposals for the repression of international crimes. The first emerged from the work of the Advisory Committee of Jurists, appointed by the Council of the League of Nations in 1920 and assigned to draw up plans for the international judicial institutions. One of the members, Baron Descamps of Belgium, proposed the establishment of a 'high court of international justice'.

⁵⁴ [1920] UKTS 11, Martens, *Recueil général des traités*, 99, 3e série, 12, 1924, p. 720 (French version).

⁵⁵ Egon Schwelb, 'Crimes Against Humanity', (1946) 23 BYIL, p. 178 at p. 182.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Kay Holloway, *Modern Trends in Treaty Law*, London: Stevens & Sons, 1967, pp. 60–1.

⁵⁸ Treaty of Lausanne Between Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Turkey, (1923) 28 LNTS 11.

Borrowing language from the Martens clause in the preamble to the Hague Convention, Descamps wrote that the jurisdiction of the court might include not only rules 'recognized by the civilized nations but also by the demands of public conscience [and] the dictates of the legal conscience of civilized nations'. However, as a result of American pressure, his formulation was later changed to 'general principles of law recognized by civilized nations'. In any case, the Third Committee of the Assembly of the League declared Descamps' ideas 'premature'.⁵⁹

The International Law Association and the International Association of Penal Law also studied the question of international criminal jurisdictions.⁶⁰ These efforts culminated, in 1937, in the adoption of a treaty by the League of Nations contemplating establishment of an international criminal court.⁶¹ A year later, the Eighth International Conference of American States, held in Lima, considered criminalizing '[p]ersecution for racial or religious motives'.⁶² Hitler was, tragically, one step ahead. Only after his genocidal policies were ineluctably underway did the law begin to assume its pivotal role in the repression of the crime of genocide.

Also in the aftermath of the First World War, the international community constructed a system of protection for national minorities that, *inter alia*, guaranteed to these groups the 'right to life'.⁶³ It is almost as if international lawmakers sensed the coming Holocaust. Their focus was on vulnerable groups identified by nationality, ethnicity and religion, the very groups that would bear the brunt of Nazi persecution and ultimately mandate development of the law of genocide. According to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the minorities treaties were intended to 'secure for certain elements incorporated in a State, the population of which differs from them in race, language

⁵⁹ 'Question of International Criminal Jurisdiction', UN Doc. A/CN.4/15 (1950), paras. 14–17.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, paras. 18–25.

⁶¹ Convention for the Creation of an International Criminal Court, League of Nations OJ Spec. Supp. No. 156 (1936), LN Doc. C.547(I).M.384(I).1937.V (1938). Failing a sufficient number of ratifying States, the treaty never came into force.

⁶² 'Final Act of the Eighth Interamerican Conference', in J. B. Scott, ed., *The International Conferences of the American States*, Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1940, p. 260.

⁶³ Treaty of Peace Between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and Poland, [1919] TS 8, art. 2: 'Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion'. Similarly Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Roumania, (1921) 5 LNTS 336, art. 1; Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Czechoslovakia, [1919] TS 20, art. 1; Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, [1919] TS 17, art. 1.

or religion, the possibility of living peaceably alongside that population and co-operating amicably with it, while at the same time preserving the characteristics which distinguish them from the majority, and satisfying the ensuing special needs'.⁶⁴ According to Hersch Lauterpacht, 'the system of Minorities Treaties failed to afford protection in many cases of flagrant violation and although it acquired a reputation for impotence, with the result that after a time the minorities often refrained from resorting to petitions in cases where a stronger faith in the effectiveness of the system would have prompted them to seek a remedy'.⁶⁵ Yet to a certain and limited extent their provisions stalled the advance of Nazism. In Upper Silesia, for example, the Nazis delayed introduction of racist laws because this would have violated the applicable international norms. Jews in the region, protected by a bilateral treaty between Poland and Germany, were sheltered from the Nuremberg laws and continued to enjoy equal rights, at least until the convention's expiry in 1937.⁶⁶ The minorities treaties are one of the forerunners of the modern international human rights legal system. They contributed the context for the work of Raphael Lemkin, who viewed the lack of punishment for gross violations to be among their major flaws. Lemkin's pioneering work on genocide is to a large extent the direct descendant of the minorities treaties of the inter-war years.

Raphael Lemkin

Raphael Lemkin was born in eastern Poland, near the town of Bezwo-dene. He worked in his own country as a lawyer, prosecutor and university teacher. By the 1930s, internationally known as a scholar in the field of international criminal law, he participated as a rapporteur in such important meetings as the Conferences on the Unification of Criminal Law. A Jew, Lemkin fled Poland in 1939, making his way to Sweden and then to the United States, finding work at Duke University and later at Yale University.⁶⁷ He initiated the World Movement to Outlaw Genocide, working tirelessly to promote legal norms directed against the crime. Lemkin was present and actively involved, largely

⁶⁴ *Minority Schools in Albania*, Advisory Opinion, 6 April 1935, PCIJ Series A/B, No. 64, p. 17.

⁶⁵ Hersch Lauterpacht, *An International Bill of the Rights of Man*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 219.

⁶⁶ Jacob Robinson, *And the Crooked Shall Be Made Straight*, New York: MacMillan, 1965, pp. 72–3.

⁶⁷ A. J. Hobbins, ed., *On the Edge of Greatness, The Diaries of John Humphrey, First Director of the United Nations Division of Human Rights*, Vol. I, 1948–9, Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1994, p. 30.

behind the scenes but also as a consultant to the Secretary-General, throughout the drafting of the Genocide Convention. 'Never in the history of the United Nations has one private individual conducted such a lobby', wrote John P. Humphrey in his diaries.⁶⁸

Lemkin created the term 'genocide' from two words, *genos*, which means race, nation or tribe in ancient Greek,⁶⁹ and *caedere*, meaning to kill in Latin.⁷⁰ As an alternative, he considered the ancient Greek term *ethnos*, which denotes essentially the same concept as *genos*.⁷¹ Lemkin proposed the following definition of genocide:

[A] co-ordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objective of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups. Genocide is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group.⁷²

Lemkin's definition was narrow, in that it addressed crimes directed against 'national groups' rather than against 'groups' in general. At the same time, it was broad, to the extent that it contemplated not only physical genocide but also acts aimed at destroying the culture and livelihood of the group.

Lemkin's interest in the subject dated to his days as a student at Lvov University, when he intently followed attempts to prosecute the perpetrators of the massacres of the Armenians.⁷³ In 1933, he proposed the recognition of two new international crimes, 'vandalism' and 'barbarity'

⁶⁸ John P. Humphrey, *Human Rights and the United Nations: A Great Adventure*, Dobbs Ferry, NY: Transnational, 1984, p. 54.

⁶⁹ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, p. 344; William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957, p. 155; Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, Editions Klincksieck, 1968, p. 222.

⁷⁰ During the drafting of the Convention, some pedants complained the term was an unfortunate mixture of Latin and Greek, and that it would be better to use the term 'generocide', with pure Latin roots: UN Doc. A/PV.123 (Henriquez Ureña, Dominican Republic).

⁷¹ Since Lemkin, the term 'ethnocide' has also entered the vocabulary, mainly in the French language, and is generally used to refer to cultural genocide, particularly with respect to indigenous peoples.

⁷² Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 79.

⁷³ 'Totally Unofficial' (unpublished autobiography of Raphael Lemkin in the Raphael Lemkin Papers, New York Public Library), in United States of America, *Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 5 March 1985*, Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1985, p. 204.

(*barbarie*), in a report to the Fifth International Conference for the Unification of Penal Law.⁷⁴ For Lemkin, ‘vandalism’ constituted a crime of destruction of art and culture in general, because these are the property of ‘l’humanité civilisée qui, liée par d’innombrables liens, tire toute entière les profits des efforts de ses fils, les plus géniaux, dont les oeuvres entrent en possession de tous et augmentent leur culture’. In other words, the cultural objects in question belonged to humanity as a whole, and consequently humanity as a whole had an interest in their protection.⁷⁵ As for the crime of *barbarie*, this comprised acts directed against a defenceless ‘racial, religious or social collectivity’, such as massacres, pogroms, collective cruelties directed against women and children and treatment of men that humiliates their dignity. Elements of the crime included violence associated with anti-social and cruel motives, systematic and organized acts, and measures directed not against individuals but against the population as a whole or a racial or religious group.⁷⁶ Lemkin credited the Romanian jurist Vespasien V. Pella with authorship of the concept, which appears in Pella’s report to the third International Congress on Penal Law, held at Palermo in 1933.⁷⁷

Axis Rule in Occupied Europe

A decade later, in his volume, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, Lemkin affirmed that the crimes he had recommended in 1933 ‘would amount to the actual conception of genocide’.⁷⁸ But, as Sir Hartley Shawcross noted during the 1946 General Assembly debate, the 1933 conference rejected Lemkin’s proposal.⁷⁹ During the war, Lemkin lamented the fact that, had his initiative succeeded, prosecution of Nazi atrocities would have been possible.⁸⁰ But the Allies proceeded anyway, on the basis of a definition of ‘crimes against humanity’ that encompassed ‘extermination’ and ‘persecutions on political, racial or religious

⁷⁴ Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 91.

⁷⁵ Luis Jimenez de Asua, Vespasien Pella and Manuel Lopez-Rey Arroyo, eds., *V^e Conférence internationale pour l’unification du droit pénal, Actes de la Conférence*, Paris: Pedone, 1935, pp. 54–5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55. See also Raphael Lemkin, ‘Genocide as a Crime in International Law’, (1947) 41 AJIL, p. 145 at p. 146.

⁷⁷ Lemkin cited the provisional proceedings of the 1933 meeting, *ibid.*, p. 55, n. 11.

⁷⁸ Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 91.

⁷⁹ UN Doc. A/C.6/SR.22 (Shawcross, United Kingdom). The conference proceedings do not show that the proposal was defeated; it appears to have been quietly dropped by a drafting committee preparing a text for the Second Commission of the Conference: de Asua, Pella and Arroyo, *V^e Conférence*, p. 246.

⁸⁰ Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 92.

grounds'.⁸¹ The International Military Tribunal and other post-war courts consistently dismissed arguments that this constituted *ex post facto* criminal law.⁸²

'New conceptions require new terms', explained Lemkin. Noting that 'genocide' referred to the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group, he described it as 'an old practice in its modern development'. Genocide did not necessarily imply the immediate destruction of a national or ethnic group, but rather different actions aiming at the destruction of the essential foundations of the life of the group, with the aim of annihilating the group as such. 'The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups.'⁸³

The major part of *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* consisted of laws and decrees of the Axis powers and of their puppet regimes for the government of occupied areas. These were analyzed in detailed commentaries. One chapter of the book was devoted to the subject of the new crime of genocide. Lemkin defined several categories of genocide. Basing his examples on the practice of the Nazis in occupied Europe, he wrote that genocide was effected:

through a synchronized attack on different aspects of life of the captive peoples: in the political field (by destroying institutions of self-government and imposing a German pattern of administration, and through colonization by Germans); the social field (by disrupting the social cohesion of the nation involved and killing or removing elements such as the intelligentsia, which provide spiritual leaderships – according to Hitler's statement in *Mein Kampf*, 'the greatest of spirits can be liquidated if its bearer is beaten to death with a rubber truncheon'); in the cultural field (by prohibiting or destroying cultural institutions and cultural activities; by substituting vocational education for education in the liberal arts, in order to prevent humanistic thinking, which the occupant considers dangerous because it promotes national thinking); in the economic field (by shifting the wealth to Germans and by prohibiting the exercise of trades and occupations by people who do not promote Germanism 'without reservations'); in the biological field (by a policy of depopulation and by promoting procreation by Germans in the occupied countries); in the field of physical

⁸¹ Agreement for the Prosecution and Punishment of Major War Criminals of the European Axis, and Establishing the Charter of the International Military Tribunal (IMT), annex, (1951) 82 UNTS 279, art. 6(c).

⁸² *France et al. v. Goering et al.*, (1946) 22 IMT 203, pp. 497–8; *United States of America v. Alstötter et al.* ('Justice trial'), (1948) 6 LRTWC 1, 3 TWC 1, (United States Military Tribunal), pp. 41–3; *United States of America v. Flick et al.*, (1948) 9 LRTWC 1 (United States Military Tribunal), pp. 36–9; *United States of America v. Krupp et al.*, (1948) 10 LRTWC 69 (United States Military Tribunal), p. 147.

⁸³ Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 79.

existence (by introducing a starvation rationing system for non-Germans and by mass killings, mainly of Jews, Poles, Slovenes, and Russians); in the religious field (by interfering with the activities of the Church, which in many countries provides not only spiritual but also national leadership); in the field of morality (by attempts to create an atmosphere of moral debasement through promoting pornographic publications and motion pictures, and the excessive consumption of alcohol).⁸⁴

Lemkin identified two phases in genocide, the first being the destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group, and the second, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor.⁸⁵ He referred to the war crimes commission established in 1919, which had used the term 'denationalization' to describe the phenomenon.⁸⁶ Lemkin also cited remarks by Hitler, speaking to Rauschning:

It will be one of the chief tasks of German statesmanship for all time to prevent, by every means in our power, the further increase of the Slav races. Natural instincts bid all living beings not merely conquer their enemies, but also destroy them. In former days, it was the victor's prerogative to destroy entire tribes, entire peoples. By doing this gradually and without bloodshed, we demonstrate our humanity. We should remember, too, that we are merely doing unto others as they would have done to us.⁸⁷

Yet Lemkin observed that while some groups were to be 'Germanized' (Dutch, Norwegians, Flemings, Luxemburgers), others did not figure in the Nazi plans (Poles, Slovenes, Serbs), and, as for the Jews, they were to be destroyed altogether.⁸⁸

Lemkin wrote of the existence of 'techniques of genocide in various fields' and then described them, including political, social, cultural, economic, biological, physical, religious and moral genocide. Political genocide – not to be confused with genocide of political groups, which Lemkin did not view as falling within the definition – entailed the destruction of a group's political institutions, including such matters as forced name changes and other types of 'Germanization'.⁸⁹ On the subject of physical destruction, Lemkin said it primarily transpired through racial discrimination in feeding, endangering of health, and outright mass killings.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xi–xii.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* In a subsequent article, Lemkin suggest that 'denationalization' had been used in the past to describe genocide-like crimes: Lemkin, 'Le crime de génocide', p. 372. See the discussion on genocide-like war crimes in the note accompanying *United States of America v. Greifelt et al.*, (1948) 13 LRTWC 1 (United States Military Tribunal), p. 42. Specific cases of the war crime of 'denationalization' were also considered by the United Nations War Crimes Commission, *History*, p. 488.

⁸⁷ Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 81, quoting Hermann Rauschning, *The Voice of Destruction*, New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1940, p. 138.

⁸⁸ Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 82.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 87–9.

The chapter on genocide concluded with 'recommendations for the future', calling for the 'prohibition of genocide in war and peace'.⁹¹ Lemkin insisted upon the relationship between genocide and the growing interest in the protection of peoples and minorities by the post-First World War treaties. He noted the need to revisit international legal instruments, pointing out particularly the inadequacies of the Hague Regulations.⁹² For Lemkin, the Hague Regulations dealt with technical rules concerning occupation, 'but they are silent regarding the preservation of the integrity of a people'.⁹³ Lemkin urged their revision in order to incorporate a definition of genocide. '*De lege ferenda*, the definition of genocide in the Hague Regulations thus amended should consist of two essential parts: in the first should be included every action infringing upon the life, liberty, health, corporal integrity, economic existence, and the honour of the inhabitants when committed because they belong to a national, religious, or racial group; and in the second, every policy aiming at the destruction or the aggrandizement of one of such groups to the prejudice or detriment of another'.⁹⁴ Lemkin also said that the Hague Regulations should be modified 'to include an international controlling agency vested with specific powers, such as visiting the occupied countries and making inquiries as to the manner in which the occupant treats natives in prison'.⁹⁵ But he also signalled the great shortcoming of the Hague Regulations: their limited application to circumstances of international armed conflict.

Lemkin observed that the system of minorities protection created following the First World War 'proved to be inadequate because not every European country had a sufficient judicial machinery for the enforcement of its constitution'.⁹⁶ He proposed the development of a new international multilateral treaty requiring States to provide for the introduction, in constitutions but also in domestic criminal codes, of norms protecting national, religious or racial minority groups from oppression and genocidal practices. Lemkin also had important recommendations with respect to criminal prosecution of perpetrators of genocide. 'In order to prevent the invocation of the plea of superior orders', argued Lemkin, 'the liability of persons who *order* genocidal practices, as well as of persons who *execute* such orders, should be

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁹² Convention (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War by Land, note 9 above.

⁹³ Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 90. ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 94. Here Lemkin may be able to claim credit for conceiving of the fact-finding commission eventually provided for under article 90 of Protocol Additional I to the 1949 Geneva Conventions and Relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, (1979) 1125 UNTS 3, that was created in 1991.

⁹⁶ Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 93.

provided expressly by the criminal codes of the respective countries.' Finally, Lemkin urged that the principle of universal repression or universal jurisdiction be adopted for the crime of genocide. Lemkin made the analogy with other offences that are *delicta juris gentium* such as 'white slavery', trade in children and piracy, saying genocide should be added to the list of such crimes.⁹⁷

Prosecuting the Nazis

During the Second World War activity intensified with regard to the creation of an international criminal court and the international prosecution of war crimes and crimes against humanity. An unofficial body, the League of Nations Union, established what was known as the 'London International Assembly' to work on the problem. In October 1943, it proposed the establishment of an international criminal court whose jurisdiction was to encompass 'crimes in respect of which no national court had jurisdiction (e.g. crimes committed against Jews) . . . [T]his category was meant to include offences subsequently described as crimes against humanity.'⁹⁸ On 17 December 1942, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden declared in the House of Commons that reports had been received 'regarding the barbarous and inhuman treatment to which Jews are being subjected in German-occupied Poland', and that the Nazis were 'now carrying into effect Hitler's oft repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe'. Eden affirmed his government's intention 'to ensure that those responsible for these crimes shall not escape retribution'.⁹⁹

The United Nations War Crimes Commission

The Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943 is generally viewed as the seminal statement of the Allied powers on the subject of war crimes prosecutions. While referring to 'evidence of the atrocities, massacres and cold-blooded mass executions' being perpetrated by the Nazis, and warning those responsible that they would be brought to book for their crimes, there was no direct reference to the racist aspect of the offences or an indication that they involved specific national, ethnic and religious groups such as the Jews of Europe.¹⁰⁰ The United Nations Commission

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 93–4 (italics in the original).

⁹⁸ Quoted in United Nations War Crimes Commission, *History*, p. 103; see also p. 101.

⁹⁹ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 385, No. 17, cols. 2082–4.

¹⁰⁰ 'Declaration on German Atrocities', Department of State Publication 2298, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945, pp. 7–8. See also (1944) 38 AJIL, p. 5.

for the Investigation of War Crimes, established immediately prior to the Moscow Declaration,¹⁰¹ was composed of representatives of most of the Allies and chaired by Sir Cecil Hurst of the United Kingdom. It initially agreed to use the list of offences that had been drafted by the Responsibilities Commission of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 as the basis for its prosecutions. The enumeration was already recognized for the purposes of international prosecution. In addition, Italy and Japan had agreed to it, and Germany had never formally objected.¹⁰²

Although the 1919 list included the crime of 'denationalization' as well as murder and ill-treatment of civilians, the Commission did not initially consider that its mandate extended to prosecutions for the extermination of European Jews. The Commission's 'Draft Convention for the Establishment of a United Nations War Crimes Court', prepared in late 1944, was confined to 'the commission of an offence against the laws and customs of war'.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, from an early stage in its work, there were efforts to extend the jurisdiction of the Commission to civilian atrocities committed against ethnic groups not only within occupied territories but also those within Germany itself. In the Legal Committee of the Commission, the United States representative Herbert C. Pell used the term 'crimes against humanity' to describe offences 'committed against stateless persons or against any persons because of their race or religion'.¹⁰⁴ On 24 March 1944, President Roosevelt referred in a speech to 'the wholesale systematic murder of the Jews of Europe' and warned that 'none who participate in these acts

¹⁰¹ United Nations War Crimes Commission, *History*, p. 112; Arie J. Kochavi, *Prelude to Nuremberg, Allied War Crimes Policy and the Question of Punishment*, Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998; Arie J. Kochavi, 'The British Foreign Office Versus the United Nations War Crimes Commission During the Second World War', (1994) 8 *Holocaust & Genocide Studies*, p. 28.

¹⁰² 'Transmission of Particulars of War Crimes to the Secretariat of the United Nations War Crimes Commission, 13 December 1943', NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060-40C, Part Two.

¹⁰³ 'Draft Convention for the Establishment of a United Nations War Crimes Court', UN War Crimes Commission, Doc. C.50(1), 30 September 1944, NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060-40C, Part Four, art. 1(1).

¹⁰⁴ United Nations War Crimes Commission, *History*, p. 175; Kochavi, *Prelude*, pp. 143ff. In 1985, during debates about ratification of the Genocide Convention, United States Senator Claiborne Pell said 'this Convention has a very real personal meaning for me, because it was through my father's efforts as US Representative on the UN War Crimes Commission that genocide was initially considered a war crime': United States of America, *Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 5 March 1985*, Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1985, p. 3. See also United States of America, *Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 12 September 1984*, Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1984, p. 40.

of savagery shall go unpunished'.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the State Department was decidedly lukewarm to the idea that war crimes prosecutions might innovate and hold Germans accountable for crimes committed against minority groups within their own borders.¹⁰⁶

In May 1944, the Legal Committee submitted a draft resolution to the plenary Commission urging it to adopt a broad view of its mandate, and to address 'crimes committed against any persons without regard to nationality, stateless persons included, because of race, nationality, religious or political belief, irrespective of where they have been committed'.¹⁰⁷ Studying what it called 'crimes for reasons of race, nationality, religious or political creed', the Commission considered that recommendations on 'this vital and most important question' should be sent to the Allied governments.¹⁰⁸ On 31 May 1944, Hurst wrote to Foreign Secretary Eden: 'A category of enemy atrocities which has deeply affected the public mind, but which does not fall strictly within the definition of war crimes, is undoubtedly the atrocities which have been committed on racial, political or religious grounds in enemy territory.'¹⁰⁹ The reply came from Lord Simon, the Lord Chancellor, on 23 August 1944:

This would open a very wide field. No doubt you have in mind particularly the atrocities committed against the Jews. I assume there is no doubt that the massacres which have occurred in occupied territories would come within the category of war crimes and there would be no question as to their being within the Commission's terms of reference. No doubt they are part of a policy which the Nazi Government have adopted from the outset, and I can fully understand the Commission wishing to receive and consider and report on evidence which threw light on what one might describe as the extermination policy. I think I can probably express the view of His Majesty's Government by saying that it would not desire the Commission to place any unnecessary restriction on the evidence which may be tendered to it on this general subject. I feel I should warn you, however, that the question of acts of this kind committed in enemy territory raises serious difficulties.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ 'Statement of the Acting Secretary of State, 1 February 1945, on War Criminals', NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060–40C, Part Four.

¹⁰⁶ Kochavi, *Prelude*, p. 149. See also Shlomo Aronson, 'Preparations for the Nuremberg Trial: The OSS, Charles Dworak, and the Holocaust', (1998) 12 *Holocaust & Genocide Studies*, p. 257.

¹⁰⁷ United Nations War Crimes Commission, *History*, p. 176.

¹⁰⁸ 'Memorandum on the Present Position of the United Nations War Crimes Commission, the Work Already Done and its Future Tasks, by Dr B. Ecer', UNWCC Doc. C.76, 8 February 1945, NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060–40C, Part Four, p. 7.

¹⁰⁹ 'Correspondence Between the War Crimes Commission and HM Government in London Regarding the Punishment of Crimes Committed on Religious, Racial or Political Grounds', UNWCC Doc. C.78, 15 February 1945, NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060–40C, Part Four.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

As a compromise, Hurst thought the Commission might issue reports dealing with 'special categories of the atrocities committed by the Axis Powers' and that '[o]ne of these reports might well deal with this campaign for the extermination of the Jews as a whole'.¹¹¹ Hurst also told the Commission that 'Lord Wright was of opinion that the persecution of the Jews in Germany was, logically, a war crime, and that the Commission might have to consider extending its definition of war crimes'.¹¹² Hurst presented his idea of preparing reports on 'special categories' and the Commission agreed with the approach.¹¹³ Hurst died in the midst of this work, but had already made preparations for the drafting of a report on 'atrocities committed against the Jews'.¹¹⁴

The London Conference

The United States became the first to alter its position, as Washington prepared for the meeting of the Big Three in Yalta. On 22 January 1945, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War and the Attorney-General issued a memorandum entitled 'Trial and Punishment of War Criminals'.¹¹⁵ It called for prosecution of German leaders for pre-war atrocities and those committed against their own nationals:¹¹⁶

Many of these atrocities . . . were '*begun by the Nazis in the days of peace* and multiplied by them a hundred times in time of war.' These pre-war atrocities are neither 'war crimes' in the technical sense, nor offences against international law; and the extent to which they may have been in violation of German law, as changed by the Nazis, is doubtful. Nevertheless, the declared policy of the United Nations is that these crimes, too, shall be punished; and the interests of post-war security and a necessary rehabilitation of German peoples, as well as the demands of justice, require that this be done.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹² 'Minutes of the Thirty-Third Meeting Held on 26 September 1944', UNWCC Doc. M.28, NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060-40C, Part Three, p. 3.

¹¹³ 'Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Meeting Held on 22 August 1944', UNWCC Doc. M.28, NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060-40C, Part Three, pp. 3-4. See also 'Progress Report', UNWCC Doc. C.48(1), NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060-40C, Part Three; 'Minutes of the Thirty-Second Meeting Held on 19 September 1944', UNWCC Doc. M.32, p. 7, NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060-40C, Part Three; and 'Minutes of the Thirty-Eighth Meeting Held on 6 December 1944', UNWCC Doc. M.38, p. 3, NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060-40C, Part Four.

¹¹⁴ 'Reports on Special Classes of Axis War Crimes, Note by the Secretary General on the History of the Question', UNWCC Doc. C.72, 29 January 1945, NAC RG-25, Vol. 3033, 4060-40C, Part Four.

¹¹⁵ 'Memorandum for the President, Subject: Trial and Punishment of Nazi War Criminals', in Bradley F. Smith, *The American Road to Nuremberg, The Documentary Record, 1944-1945*, Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1982, pp. 117-22.

¹¹⁶ Kochavi, *Prelude*, p. 160.

¹¹⁷ 'Memorandum for the President, Subject: Trial and Punishment of Nazi War Criminals', in Smith, *American Road*, pp. 117-22 at p. 119 (italics in the original).

DEMOGRAPHY AND GOVERNANCE

THE DEMOGRAPHIC MOVEMENTS OBSERVED IN AKHALKALAK DISTRICT IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE 19TH CENTURY AND IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Melkonyan A. A.
Academician of NAS RA

In the 1880s one of the peculiar features of the demographic development of Transcaucasia and the districts of Akhaltskha and Akhalkalak was the drastic increase in the number of the Armenian population in the cities¹. This was primarily due to the rise and development of market relations. Gradually more and more Armenian merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs moved to the cities, where great opportunities awaited them.

This was particularly obvious in the provinces of Tiflis, Yelizavetpol, and Baku. With this regard, the Caucasian Calendar states, "The Armenians constitute a majority in all the cities of Tiflis Province. In Tiflis City they comprise almost half of the population (45 %), the other half being Georgians (26 %), Russians (24 %) and Tatars (Tartars) (5 %). In the other cities, the Armenians outnumber the Georgians. In Akhaltskha, for example, the Armenians make up 93 % of the population. Even in Telav and Segnakh, cities in a purely Georgian country, the Armenian population constitutes 73 % and 89% respectively. In contrast to this, the villages of Telav and Segnakh represent quite the opposite picture: the 49,103 inhabitants of the former comprise only 2,869 (6 %) Armenians, and the 74,142 inhabitants of the latter 5,567 (7.5%) Armenians"².

As for the peasantry of Tiflis Province, the Armenians constituted an overwhelming majority in Javakhk, Samtskhe, and Lori, as well as in the districts of Akhalkalak, Akhaltskha, and Borchalu.

Akhalkalak District did not undergo any serious territorial changes after its establishment: in the last decades of the 19th century, it covered an area of 2392.86 square versts (249,255 dessiatinas), or 2723.12 kilometres.

The district was divided into two police municipalities: the center of the southern one was Bogdanovka, and that of the northern, Baralet. The police municipality of Bogdanovka was larger in territory, covering 1491.55 square versts, or 1697.41 square kilometres. Baralet reached 901.31 square versts, or 1025.71 square kilometres³. Each of these two police municipalities had 5 equal village communities, but Baralet, whose territory was smaller, had a denser population: out of the 110 villages of the whole

¹ Melkonyan A., Javakhk in the 19th century and the 1st quarter of the 20th century (A historical research), Yerevan, 2007, pp. 103-108.

² Кавказский календарь на 1882г., Тифлис, 1881, стр. 312. In all the 6 cities of Tiflis Province together (except for Tiflis), the Armenians constituted 79 % of the population (idem, pp. 314-315).

³ By 1913 the district territory had enlarged a little, amounting to 2,407 versts (Кавказский календарь на 1913г., Тифлис, 1912, стр. 212).

district, 65 belonged to Baralet, and 45 to Bogdanovka⁴. Before World War I different nationalities inhabiting the district represented the following demographical picture:

Table 5

Year ⁵	Armenians	Georgians	Russians	Greeks	Jews	Muslims	Others	Total
1886	46,386	3,735	6,674	102	53	6,824	14	63,788
1894	49,807	3,714	7,272	56	52	4,962 ⁶	6 Poles	65,869
1897	48,403	6,322	4,750	35	22	6,827	910 ⁷	67,269
1914	81,014	6,905 ⁸	7,185	-	-	3,036	19 Poles	98,159

The aforementioned data help us calculate what percentage each of the different nationalities of the district formed. It is obvious that the Armenians retained their constant numerical superiority. Thanks to the high birth rate prior to World War I, their relative number was 82.5 % of the entire population, while that of the Muslims diminished due to the continuous emigration. The percentage of the Georgian and Russian population was mostly stable, fluctuating between 6 % and 10 %. A considerable increase was noticeable in the number of the Georgians from 1894 to 1897, whereas that of the Russians drastically dropped at the same time: Lynch observed this fact during his visit to Akhalkalak in the late 1890s⁹.

In the 1880s the Armenian settlements having more than a thousand inhabitants amounted to 14. In 1885 some of the largest Armenian villages represented the following picture with regard to their population:

Year	Armenians	Georgians	Russians	Greeks	Jews	Muslims	Others
1886	72.7%	5.8%	10.4%	0.1%	0.08%	10.7%	0.02%
1894	75.6%	5.6%	11%	0.08%	0.07%	7.5%	0.009%
1897	72%	9.3%	7%	0.05%	0.03%	10.1%	1.3%
1914	82.5%	7%	7.3%	*	-	3%	0.01%

Alastan - 1,298;

Gumburdo - 1,121;

Heshtia - 1,546;

Kartzakh - 1,612;

⁴ Кавказский календарь на 1891г., Тифлис, 1890, стр. 2-3. The 10 village communities of the 10 villages of Akhalkalak District represented the following picture as per their centers and number of villages: Aragova (13 villages), Baralet (23), Varevan (9), Vachian (11), Gorelovka (8), Diliska (9), Kartzakh (10), Satkha (8), Khertvis (11), Heshtia (8).

⁵ See Akhalkalak District of Tiflis Province, pp. 18-19 for the data of 1886; Lalayan Yer., Works, vol. 1, p. 96 for 1894; Кавказский календарь на 1907г., Тифлис, 1906, стр. 129-130 for the data of the population census of 1897, Кавказский календарь на 1915, Тифлис, 1914, стр. 242-243 for 1914.

⁶ Out of the 4,962 Muslims, 4,372 were Turks and 590 Kurds.

⁷ The 910 representatives of other nationalities included 810 Kurds, 53 Poles, 17 Lithuanians or Letts, 17 Germans, 9 Lezghins and Chechens, 3 Persians and 1 Ossetian.

⁸ The 6,905 Muslims include 135 Muslim "Georgians."

⁹ Lynch H. F. B., Armenia. Travels and Studies. Vol. 1, New York, 1990, p. 86.

Satkha - 1,374;
Vachian - 1,276¹⁰.

As for Khertvis, the continuous emigration of the local Armenian population to the villages of the district converted this fortress town into a township inhabited mainly by Sunni Muslims. Meanwhile, Khertvis had only 1,314 Turkish Meskhetians, who still preserved their memories of once being Christians. In 1890 55 of the district villages had a population comprising 50 households; in 33 of these, the number of the families fluctuated between 50 and 100; twenty of the villages had a population of 100 to 200 families, and in 2 villages, the inhabitants consisted of more than 200 households¹¹.

In the early 1880s, the lack of lands compelled the entire population of Chiftlik, Modigya, and Khumris villages, about 130 families, as well as 52 families (435 people) from the Russian Dukhobors' villages, to emigrate to the newly-conquered marz of Kars. The inhabitants of Chiftlik, located 1 to 1.5 kilometres west of Akhalkalak City, on the left bank of the stream Karasnaghbyur, emigrated to Mazra village of Kars, this being instigated by the authorities. The site of the village was used for the construction of a station for the Russian troops; soon the whole garrison of the semi-destroyed fort moved there.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Akhalkalak was gradually acquiring the image of a city. In the northern part of the Central Street, a Russian church was erected through Stepanos Ananikian's efforts. The surroundings of Sourb Khach (Holy Cross) Church and the Armenian schools functioning there were improved. Near this church, at the western extremity of the street intersecting the Central Street, at the crossing of several streets, the City Park was founded in 1880: the people of Akhalkalak tenderly called it *Khas Bakhcha*. The park was 40 sazhen (85.3 meters) long and 22 sazhen and one arshin (about 47.6 meters) wide. It had a fence and was planted with trees. A traveler passing through Akhalkalak in 1885 wrote, "The buildings of the city, which are erected of finely-finished stone and lime, are separated by regular wide streets"¹².

In 1912 Gaspar Shahparonian and his son Vardan Shahparonian built the first hydroelectric station in Akhalkalak on the river Taparvan. They also built a watermill as well as a meat factory and mills processing oil, soap, and wood. It was through their efforts that the new building of the local parish school opened in 1912¹³. In 1890 Akhalkalak was given the status of second-class city. In 1896 it was granted municipal autonomy.

¹⁰ Кавказский календарь на 1886, Тифлис, 1885, стр. 118.

¹¹ Кавказский календарь на 1891, Тифлис, 1890, стр. 2-3.

¹² Ճանապարհորդական յիշատակարան, Արձագանք, 1885, 21 հուլիս, էջ 42-43:

¹³ Շիրինյան Ս. Խ., Ախալքալաքցիներ, Երևան, 2000, էջ 107-108: Նազարյան Ս., «Ջավախք» շաբաթաթերթը, ԲԵՀ, 1992, 1, էջ 201: The new building of the school built by Vardan Shahparonian, standing up today, housed the local Armenian school in the first years of the Soviet rule. Now part of it belongs to the Russian school, the other to the Regional Cultural Centre.

The following table reflects the ethnic make-up and displacements of the population of Akhalkalak City.

Year ¹⁴	Armenian	Georgian	Russian	Greek	Jew	Muslim	Other	Total
1886	4,079	45	61	40	53	15	10	4,303
1894	4,290	48	55	29	52	22	6 (Poles)	4,502
1897	4,136	129	703 ¹⁵	40	189	44	199	5,440
1914 ¹⁶	6,697	262+35= 297 ¹⁷	284	-	-	35	6	7,284

This table leads us to the following conclusions: first, both in the entire district and Akhalkalak City, the Armenians constantly maintained their numerical dominance over the other nationalities. In the thirty years following 1894, the growth of the Armenians constituted more than 50 %; the Russian population increased for five times, and the Georgians for more than 6 times. The point is that during that period, gradually more and more Russian and Georgian officials were appointed in the district authorities, while the region was always predominantly Armenian-populated. The discriminatory policies against the Armenians become clearly apparent from the names of the appointed officials and their national identity recorded in the annual volumes of the Caucasian Calendar.

It is interesting to note that the municipal budget of Akhalkalak was in far better condition than those of the other cities in Tiflis Province. In this regard, the Caucasian Calendar reads, "All the cities in Tiflis Province are buried in debts, except for Akhalkalak, which has a surplus of 23 thousand rubles"¹⁸. However, this does not speak of the prosperity of the city at all; since Akhalkalak represented a small town, it had modest needs which were often neglected by the authorities so that the budget was in a seemingly good condition.

The severe natural disaster that befell the district at the end of the century had a great influence on its demographical make-up. On December 19, 1899, a severe earthquake struck the district, with its epicentre in Merenia Village. Particularly heavy damage was inflicted upon about 30 villages in the north of the district; in certain villages the number of the fatalities amounted to 10 % of the entire population. The earthquake caused the death of 86 people in Merenia; 48 in Bezhan; 46 in Metz Samsar; 27 in Pokr Samsar, and 14 in Agana, the number of the victims amounting to

¹⁴ See Table 5 for the sources referred to. The number of the Armenians also includes about 30 families of Armenian gypsies called „boshā“: they lived in the north of the city (see Վանցյան Գ., Պատմական ակնարկ բոշաների անցյալից, Մուրճ, 1894, 7-8, էջ 1074).

¹⁵ We tend to think that the 703 Russian inhabitants fixed in 1897 also included the family members of the officers' staff of the military town.

¹⁶ The data for 1914 miss the number of the Greeks and Jews and represent that of the other nationalities only partially: therefore, we have no complete data about the entire population of the city.

¹⁷ The 262 Orthodox Georgians also include 35 Muslim "Georgians".

¹⁸ Кавказский календарь на 1887, Тифлис, 1886, стр. 186.

248 in only 28 villages. These 28 villages had 2,043 private houses built of mud with some insignificant exceptions: of these 672, i.e. about one third, were reduced to ruins. Out of the 15,140 head of animals, 2,357 were killed. Only very few houses remained semi-standing. In the villages that are mentioned below the number of the ruined houses was as follows: Ekhtila - 69 out of the total of 72; Pokr Samsar - 51 out of 54; Bezhan - 117 out of 125; Balkho - 45 out of 48; Merenia - 117 out of 130; Drkna - 19 out of 21; Lomaturtskh - 19 out of 26, and Pokrik Sirg - 10 out of 10¹⁹. The churches of the district suffered severe damage, too. So heavy was the harm inflicted by this natural calamity that its news reached St. Petersburg, the capital of the Russian Empire. Tsar Nicholas issued a circular and allocated a certain sum to the victims' fund from his own means. Catholicos of All-Armenians Mkrtych Khrimian gave a considerable amount of money from the budget of the Holy See of Ejmiatzin. He ordered the Primate of the Georgian-Armenian Diocese to allocate 1,000 rubles from the diocese budget and ordered all the other dioceses to raise money for that purpose²⁰. The victims of the earthquake also received considerable funds from some Pan-Russian and Pan-Caucasian charitable organizations.

¹⁹ See National Archives of Armenia, fund 35, list 1, file 103, p. 68 for more details about the damage caused by the earthquake of 1899. The document whose authenticity was confirmed by the District Head himself is fully included in the Appendix of the Armenian original of the present work.

²⁰ Կոստանդյան Է. Ա., Մկրտիչ Խրիմյան. հասարակական-քաղաքական գործունեությունը, Երևան, 2000, էջ 401:

MIKAYEL NALBANDYAN ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Suvaryan Yu. M.

Academician of NAS RA



Mikayel Nalbandyan
(1829-1866)

A prominent representative of the Armenian social-political thought is Mikayel Nalbandyan, a poet, writer, literary critic, publicist, and revolutionary-democrat. His rich literary and public heritage has been studied, literarily criticized, and appreciated in a number of literary, historical, philosophical, and economic studies. Particularly, the two-volume work by the academician Ashot Hovhannisyan entitled “Nalbandyan and His Time,” a principal and historical-philological monograph, is devoted to the description of “the historical and social sources of his revolutionary-democratic views”, “linked to the intellectual and social-political ideological battles of his time”¹.

Prominent literary critics, such as A. Terteryan, Kh. Sargsyan, S. Daronyan, A. Inchikyan, and K. Danielyan, have highly appreciated Nalbandyan’s literary and public heritage, regarding him as a prominent figure in the Armenian literary realism and the founder of aesthetics and critical analysis in the Armenian literary realism².

Literary studies mention that, while narrating his work, M. Nalbandyan consulted Ogaryov, Gertsen, and Bakunin in London, as well as used materials published in “Kolokol” and other London publications³. According to K. Danielyan, the essence of his study is based on the following concept adapted from the physiocrats: Agriculture is the real source of the wealth of the nation⁴, while the agenda of economic development is social utopia⁵.

As a broad thinker and a supporter of promoting Armenian national issues, M. Nalbandyan especially emphasized economic problems within the broader issues. This is why he has prioritized economic development in his works and developed advanced concepts in this regard, which later on have become research topics for the economists.

S. Zurabyan has thoroughly discussed and evaluated M.

Nalbandyan’s economic views and economic program, arguing that he, “together with Russian revolutionary democrats, built a conceptual platform for the spread of Marxism in the Armenian reality”⁶. M. Nalbandyan’s economic views have been

¹ Հովհաննիսյան Ա., Նալբանդյանը և նրա ժամանակը, հ. 1, Երևան, 1955, էջ 10:

² Հայկական Սովետական Հանրագիտարան (այսուհետև՝ ՀՍՀ), հ. 8, Երևան, 1982, էջ 150-151:

³ Դարոնյան Ա., Միքայել Նալբանդյան, Երևան, 1979, էջ 382

⁴ Դանիելյան Կ., Հայ գյուղացիությունը XIX դարում (1860-1890), Երևան, 1973, էջ 23:

⁵ Ibid, p. 56.

⁶ Զուրաբյան Ա., Հայ տնտեսագիտական մտքի զարգացման ուղիվազներ, XVIII դարի վերջին քառորդ - XIX դարի 90-ական թվականներ, Երևան, 1959, էջ 229:

provided similar evaluation by Kh. Gulanyan⁷.

In his book “The Socio-Economic Views of Mikayel Nalbandyan”⁸, V. Aghuzumtsyan has tried to incorporate Nalbandyan’s philosophical, revolutionary, illuminative, and economic views, and assess them in the history of the Armenian social thought. According to the author, M. Nalbandyan has had certain influence from the physiocrats, and “wrongly puts an equation sign between the land and economic issues, arguing that everything depends on the resolution of the land issue”. Nalbandyan’s approach to the economic issue has served a reason to present him as a representative of utopian socialism⁹.

Different scholars have attributed to Nalbandyan concepts that he has not authored. For example, according to some authors, Nalbandyan “has defended the labor theory of value and considered labor and the means of production as the main elements of material production”¹⁰, or that “the main branch of the economy is exploitation-free agriculture,” while, as it will be pointed out later, he has also emphasized processing industry and trade. Perhaps, under the pressure of social-political circumstances, there was an attempt to present Nalbandyan as more a revolutionary and a proponent of the theory of Karl Marx, while the first volume of “Das Kapital,” the main scholarly work of scientific communism, was first published in 1867 (the Russian edition in 1872).

These observations have, indeed, been made from the standpoint of the Marxist-Leninist ideology dominant in the former Soviet Union, where the only option for social progress was considered the establishment of communal order through class struggle and revolution. These ideas, however, do not derive from the logic of Nalbandyan’s scholarly work.

Nalbandyan’s philosophical views, this time without ideological limitations, were considered in the monograph by S. Sargsyan.¹¹ “Nalbandyan was a realist,” writes the author, “and, as a national ideologist and supporter of national advancement, was convinced that for the self-establishment and development of the nation, the platform of the nation, that is, the social, economic, and legal conditions for the existence of ordinary people comprising the majority of the nation, and the liberty of the nation, should be ensured”¹². This interpretation and evaluation of Nalbandyan’s study is in line with the problems and proposed solutions discussed in his work. In the conclusion of his above-mentioned book, A. Hovhannisyan writes, “The dust of time has covered his literary heritage and the number of undisclosed memories of his time. But wipe the trace of time from his deceased life and smudged heritage, and you will see

⁷ Гулянян Х., Микаел Налбандян, Москва, 1955.

⁸ Աղուզումցյան Վ., Միքայել Նալբանդյանի սոցիալ-տնտեսագիտական հայացքները, Երևան, 1955, էջ 134:

⁹ Ibid, p. 135.

¹⁰ ՀԱՀ, հ. 8, էջ 151:

¹¹ Սարգսյան Ս., Մարդու հիմնախնդիրը XIX դարի հայ փիլիսոփայական և հասարակական մտքում, Երևան, 2001:

¹² Ibid, p. 260.

underneath it lively and energetic, sparkling and passionate pages, which have been written as if yesterday in order to become supportive directives for today's struggles. This is why we often witness the steady strength of his mind in our times"¹³.

Studying Nalbandyan's social-economic heritage, we become convinced about A. Hovhannisyan's thoughts.

Below follow interpretations of Nalbandyan's views on public administration, which, as we will see in the coming text, are really "supportive directives" for the strengthening and development of the current Armenian statehood¹⁴.

Liberty and Civil Society

It is known that public administration, as a phenomenon, concept, and a complete system of government, has been formed in parallel with and as a result of democratization and the formation of civil society. A feature of civil society is the opportunity of individuals to think, act, and live freely. Published in 1859, the poem of Nalbandyan, entitled "Liberty," emphasizes the importance of the liberty of an individual citizen, which is an important precondition for the democratization of the public life and the establishment of the principles of public administration. It is worth mentioning that Nalbandyan's concept of liberty has one more perception - the liberty of the Motherland.

"Death is unique everywhere, A person dies only once,
But blessed is the person,
That dies for the liberty of his nation"¹⁵

Nalbandyan's concept of liberty is further developed in his prominent work entitled "Agriculture as the Right Way." Analyzing the essence of tyranny, Nalbandyan writes: "Tyranny, if its representative is one individual, be it Nero, Caligula or his pupil, or a political crook, is not scary at all, for it will go down to grave together with the individual"¹⁶.

But "tyranny is indescribably violent, naughty, and persistent, if it stems from the principles adopted by ordinary people. An everlasting tyrant government in a nation is nothing other than the reflection of that nation"¹⁷. According to the author, many times the nation, feeling the burden of tyranny and without analyzing its roots, comes out against the tyranny, gets rid of the reflection of tyranny, without acknowledging that "the element of tyranny and corruption is within itself."

According to Nalbandyan's logic, the liberty granted from above is nothing, "if, first,

¹³ Հովհաննիսյան Ա., Նալբանդյանը և նրա ժամանակը, գիրք երկրորդ, Երևան, 1956, էջ 605:

¹⁴ Suvaryan Yu., Mirzoyan V., Hayrapetyan R., Public administration: theory and history, Yerevan, 2014, pp. 157-167.

¹⁵ Նալբանդյան Մ., Երկեր, Երևան, 1985, էջ 34:

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 472.

¹⁷ Ibid.

the person is not free within himself and, second, he exercises tyranny towards his fellow person.” The author relates real freedom to the economic system and the nature of property rights. “And because the economic problem - the old Gordian Knot - is not resolved, the society is not free in its friendly and family relations. Let them change the government system forty times, if they please; because part of the society owns the land, and the other part remains poor, tyranny comes to reign there”¹⁸.

Thus, Nalbandyan’s perception of liberty is multi-layered and broad. First, it implies individual liberty, which is equivalent to today’s human rights and liberties that are guaranteed by the constitutions of democratic countries and are important components of the civil society. The next reflection of liberty is the liberty of the Motherland, the existence of the independent state, which is an important precondition for the establishment and development of the national state, its economy, and culture.

The next reflection of liberty is economic. “Liberty by itself is merely a word and cannot be materialized without solving the economic problem. No free government, no free legislature can save a person from slavery until that person acquires rights over land. And until then, poverty will exacerbate and reach enormous levels.”¹⁹

Another interpretation of Nalbandyan’s liberty is that only the citizens that have internal liberty can form free and democratic government free of tyranny. This issue is especially important for the post-Soviet countries, including Armenia, which pursue the development of a democratic state. Democratic institutions and the civil society can develop, if people, as individuals, are free in their mentality and social behavior, being exempt of “the element of tyranny and iniquity”.

Matters of Economic Policy

Nalbandyan emphasized economic policy as one of the principal functions of public administration. According to him, generally and specifically, the economic issue has been crucial for the Armenian people. “The economic issue is a matter of life and death, we like to reiterate. It is impossible to repair the base of the Armenian nation and to insert strength and power into it, until the nation, the ordinary people, struggles for daily bread, until its economic issue is not resolved”²⁰. He goes on to propose a solution. “What are the sources of ordinary people’s means of living, to avoid saying wealth, belief of living, eternal and not just daily?” asks Nalbandyan, and goes on to answer, “For the ordinary people directly and the rest of the people indirectly, but nevertheless necessary as water for the fish, the only source of living and wealth is agriculture”²¹.

Thus, he accepts the viewpoints expressed during his time, according to which,

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 474.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 479.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 493.

²¹ Ibid, p. 462.

for the salvation of the Armenian nation it is required to spread illumination or develop trade. Nalbandyan argued that “the majority of the nation should be occupied with agriculture,” while “the minority, which is not engaged in agriculture... should be able to process, build, act, and trade what is being taken out of land by the majority.” It is noteworthy that Nalbandyan emphasizes the need for agro-processing. “It is not only the raw harvest that can attract the activities of Armenian traders, the processing of this harvest is a broad spectrum of activity for those diligent and hard-working people who are good at trading”²². Nalbandyan talks about creating agricultural product processing factories, which can produce food and light manufacturing products. According to the author, “the people of that nation are wealthy and secure, which is based on nature.”

Nalbandyan wrote these lines in the beginning of the second half of the 19th century (“Agriculture as the Right Way” was published in 1862), when in Europe, particularly in England (starting from the sixth decade of the 17th century), France (after 1789-1797), and Germany (after 1848-1849), industrial revolution had gathered pace, manual work was being replaced by mechanization, light manufacturing and production of technology were developing at a rapid pace. Armenia (having millennia old civilizational history) at that time was partitioned between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire which were lagging behind the European civilization, that is why the direction outlined by Nalbandyan was justified for its time. In today’s wording, he emphasized the development of real production and provided evidence that trade alone, especially in goods not produced in our country, cannot foster the development of national economy.

Trade with European countries, according to M. Nalbandyan, can be called national trade for the sole reason that “there were Armenians.” “Their trade is not national and it has nothing to do with the common national interest. Trade can be national only when goods produced predominantly by Armenians are traded. The nation will benefit from trade, when traders become intermediaries between Armenia and Europe. Trade is national when it is anchored to the basis of the nation”²³. This concept expressed in the middle of the 19th c. had broad strategic importance. Today, the concept is deployed to develop real production and services sectors, and ensure a positive balance of trade and payments based on increased economic competitiveness. In contemporary era of globalization, countries import and export products; the main thing is that the latter exceed the former, “the nation will only benefit from it.”

Nalbandyan discusses price inflation in the context of justifying the need to foster agriculture. “The value of money is conditional. Its strength or weakness, its appreciation or depreciation depends on the quantity of goods and materials money

²² Ibid, p. 500.

²³ Ibid, pp. 419–492.

had been intended to trade for”²⁴. According to the author, “... if agriculture prospers, and the goods to be exchanged with money become abundant, ...the value of money too will increase proportionally to the increase in goods”²⁵.

It is obvious that the solution of the problems of price change and money circulation was rightly seen by Nalbandyan, in the words of macroeconomics, in the domain of changes in supply and demand for goods, while conditioning the change in the value of the national currency to real economic development. Regarding the issue of agricultural raw materials, Nalbandyan notes: “Lots of machinery, which function in Europe on fire and steam, within the Asian simplicity can function on water currents furiously coming down the mountains, which does not require the money spent on coal and wood in Europe”²⁶. It is obvious that the author has predicted 150 years ago the need for the development of hydro energy and its advantage over the alternative sources of energy.

Nationality and Government

There are important observations on the concepts of “nationality,” “government,” and their interrelationship, as well as on the rights of nations, in Nalbandyan’s “Agriculture as the Right Way.” According to Nalbandyan, “Nationality, as a historical reality and concrete phenomenon, cannot be rejected in the general human life.” To the question “what is nationality?” Nalbandyan answers: “Nationality is the individuum of the nation, its face. Millions of people lose their personal individuality for the sake of that individuum. They do not appear as persons, but rather as members of one or another collective individuum. And that individuum lives morally and independently; it has its life, its tongue, its customs, and its traditions...”²⁷ Nalbandyan then goes on. “Sacred is its every property and damned are those who would dare to challenge any of its sacred properties.” Criticizing the fact that “one nation oppresses and robs another, and forces limits to the latter’s land by its weapon,” he emphasizes that “there is no need to transform nationality into blind fanaticism. It’s enough that blind and fanatic nationality has its selfish sides, we say it’s enough that one nationality the slaughter the bull of another for the sake of its one portion of barbeque...”²⁸

“Harmful and illegal is the nationality that sacrifices everyone other for its life,” goes on Nalbandyan, “... Such a nation, no matter how violent, no matter how furious, will some day be exhausted by time”²⁹. This prediction has been partially fulfilled. A number of Empires existing in his times (the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, Russian Empires) have collapsed, although the government systems have changed too.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 483.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 500.

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 503-504.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 502.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 512.

By the way, Nalbandyan has come very close to the nations' right for self-determination. "Nationality is useful and necessary when it is not a moral luxury but a necessity, a right, a claim for a piece of land on the Earth so that the members of that nation can provide for their living, so that they are not slaves or hostages to others. A nation is immune to accusations and accepted by others, if it can promise other nations similar and unconditional right as enjoyed by itself"³⁰.

It is especially noteworthy that Nalbandyan considers the self-determination of nations fulfilled, if it is realized "through acquiring rights on the name of the collective individuum, which then passes on the same rights and privileges equally to its members"³¹. Thus, Nalbandyan stresses the close interconnection between the right of nations' self-determination, on the one hand, and democracy and the protection of human rights on the other, which has been confirmed by centuries-long experience of human civilization. A lot of nations have self-determined and new countries have been formed in the 20th century, although, based on old traditions, the realization of nations' right for self-determination is forbidden predominantly in tyrannical government countries but not only. Can a country be considered fully democratic, if there is a nation within itself striving for self-determination? Of course, not. Nalbandyan elaborates "If there is a balance and rights within the country, the same balance and rights should be within the nations enslaved in that country....You talk with other countries on the name of rights, but in relation to myself [*the nation within the country* (Yu. Suvaryan)], why are you ignoring them and acting illegally?"³²

Nalbandyan was convinced that government and nation are two different things. The government "is the officials or rulers of a country," who owns "the country's land, treasures, etc.," "governments reign different countries and different nations"³³. Examining the expansionary politics of the English, Austro-Hungarian, Prussian, Russian, and Turkish Empires, Nalbandyan refutes the colonization-justifying thesis, as if "it is the love towards humanity that makes them enslave nations, because those nations lag behind and do not civilize"³⁴.

The aim of Nalbandyan's work "is only to make the nation think about its future," that is why, in his own words, there is a need for "preaching the economic issue, preaching the human being, preaching the nation..."³⁵ as the main pillars for the establishment and development of statehood.

***Translated from Armenian
by R. A. Hayrapetyan***

³⁰ Ibid, p. 513.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid, p. 512.

³³ Ibid, p. 509.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid, pp. 510, 522.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INFORMATIONAL SECURITY

NAKHIJEVAN - A VICTIM OF GENOCIDE (NOT AREA BUT HOMELAND)¹

Balayan Z. H.

*You love your homeland not because it is big
but because it is yours.*

Seneka

February 25th, 1988. The Kremlin, Moscow. I am waiting with Silva Kaputikyan to be received by M. S. Gorbachev, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The day before we agreed that she would speak about Karabakh (Artsakh), and I would mainly speak about Nakhijevan, its history and the awful facts which affected the fate of the Armenians. I was sure that no one knew about these in the Kremlin, because, for the Kremlin decrepit old men, Nakhijevan is “a laureate of the Decoration of Peoples’ Friendship”, which means that everything is all right there in terms of Leninist internationalism.

IN ONE WORD, THE MEANING AND SUBSTANCE OF THE MEETING BOILED DOWN TO THE TRAGIC FATES that befell the two Armenian autonomous entities - Nakhijevan (as a republic) and Karabakh (as an *oblast*). I told Gorbachev that in 1978, under a 'Literary Gazette' project, I made a long journey through Armenia, Nakhijevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (NASSR) and Mountainous (Nagorno)-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO). After that I wrote the book "Hearth". I told him this to emphasise that to enter the territory of the Armenian Nakhijevan Autonomous Republic, I, a citizen of the USSR, had to apply to Nakhijevan Militia through the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Armenia, to obtain a visa ten days before I started. Imagine this happening on the territory of the USSR (!!).

First Gorbachev did not believe me. He simply had no idea about such, putting it mildly, a complex and intricate situation. However, on the fourth day after our meeting (and on the third day of the massacres of Armenians in Sumgayit), on February 29th, 1988, at the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU they talked about our meeting, too. Gorbachev said, "Nagorno Karabakh is an Armenian Autonomy. Even the roads leading to Armenia (Armenian SSR) are in a neglected condition. The cultural links are disrupted. That was done deliberately (! -Z. B). The broadcasts of the Turkish television are received in Nagorno Karabakh, while the Armenian ones are not."

After these words he switched to the topic of Nakhijevan (perhaps, with his better informed staff, he had verified the data Silva and I had provided). "I asked Viktor Mikhailovich (Chebrikov, the Chairperson of the USSR KGB – Z. B.) what he had done there with the border strip. He told me that Nakhijevan, where the border with Turkey

¹ Translation from the Armenian (Զորի Բալայան, Ոչ թե տարածք, այլ Հայրենիք. «Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն» օրաթերթ, 04.10, 2016, էջ 6) and Russian (Зорий Балаян, Нахиджеван - жертва геноцида, не территория, а Родина!, - газета «Голос Армении», 04.10. 2016) versions of Zori Balayan's article (updated).

lies, is under surveillance of border guards; they have their own strip with outposts. And the entire depth (i.e. the entire territory of Nakhijevan Autonomous Republic, five and a half thousand square kilometers - Z. B.) of the border zone was determined by the local bodies, in this case, the republican ones (i.e. exclusively Azerbaijani– Z. B.). And what was their decision? To consider all of Nakhijevan as a border zone. Free entry there was forbidden. And yet the victims of the Armenian Genocide were buried there, there are graves. Once there were many monuments there², and only one is left. That's it. No one is allowed there on the pretext that it is a border zone”.

Jumping ahead, I will add: even after Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the said meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU nothing changed about that. This improbable situation started in 1924.

THE POLITBURO, NATURALLY, ADDRESSED 'SUMGAYIT' TOO. Even before the meeting started, Gorbachev had managed to become informed about that nightmare, then, in everyone's presence, he addressed D. Yazov, the USSR Defence Minister.

”Tell us, Dmitri Timofeevich, how do they kill in Sumgayit?”

”They cut off two women's breasts. They beheaded one and skinned the girl. Such savagery. Some cadets, seeing such things, fell into a swoon ...”



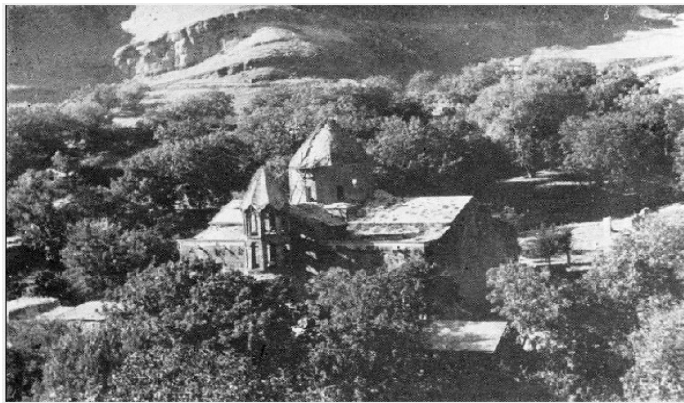
Armenian victims of the Sumgayit genocide

It seemed after all of this Gorbachev should do everything so that the organisers and perpetrators of the monstrous crimes were severely punished. Trials were held in ten cities of the USSR on the genocide of the Armenians in Sumgayit. However, in his nation-wide standard communist speech, Gorbachev accused the Azerbaijani leadership only for the “bad ecological situation in Sumgayit” where, it appeared, there were “many

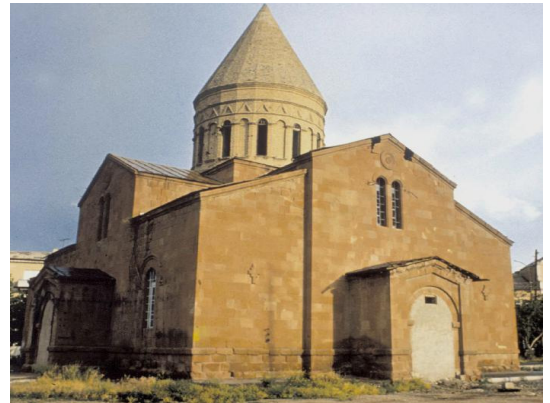
hooligan elements’. After that, all Soviet courts were silenced. And soon “sumgayit” impunity spawned a new evil, genocide of the Armenians in Baku and other Azerbaijani cities where Armenians had been living for centuries. Meanwhile, they were evicting the last thousands of Armenian families from Nakhijevan.

² According to the researcher of the Armenian cultural heritage of Nakhijevan Argam Ayyazyanyan, there were tens of thousands historical architectural, monumental and other monuments (200 monasteries and churches, 60 chapels and sanctuaries, 26 bridges, 41 castles, 84 village and town sites, 86 cemeteries with 22600-23000 tombstones, khachkars-cross-stones and others) in the ancient Armenian region of Nakhijevan. A. Ayyazyanyan registered of them 4500 monumental units (see Այվազյան Ա., Նախիջևանի իսլամական հուշարձանները (համահավաք ցուցակ), Երևան, 1986, էջ 11, see also Nakhijevan: Atlas. Text by S. Karapetyan; RAA, Yerevan, 2012). During several decades Azerbaijani savages destroyed in Nakhijevan more than 27 thousand monuments <http://mamul.am/en/video/26644253/> (ed.).

... During the Supreme Council sessions the USSR People's Deputies discussed all issues related to Karabakh, Nakhijevan, Sumgayit, Baku, Kirovabad and Shushi only behind closed doors, without journalists. The Congresses were the only exceptions. I appeared in the first Congress, proposing to correct the absurdity which consisted in the fact that among the thirty-eight autonomous entities in the Soviet Union only the two Armenian ones, Nakhijevan and Karabakh, bore names based not on national characteristics, as required by the Constitution, but geographical ones. Hundreds of deputies supported my fully logical proposal. To no avail. Only years later, Yevgeny Primakov, the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the USSR, who often received in his office the Armenian envoys from NKAO, said that during the discussion on the issue of the logical naming of Karabakh and Nakhijevan Gorbachev had said, "Logic for logic's sake, yet you cannot avoid headache."



Church of the Holy Mother of God, Tsgzna

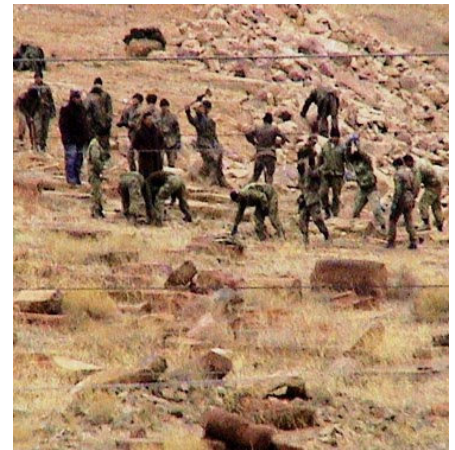


St Gevorg Church, Nakhijevan
(at present destroyed by Azerbaijani savages)

... In September 1990, in Moscow, Academician Viktor Hambardzumyan and I (as People's Deputies of the USSR) received a large group of our compatriots from Nakhijevan. They were essentially "the last of the Mohicans" - Armenians who were deprived of their Homeland. They talked about how in Nakhijevan the Azerbaijani, with blatant impudence and without a fear of punishment, broke, destroyed and even blew up everything that was Armenian.



Jugha khachkars



Destruction of Jugha khachkars by
Azerbaijani savages

Our compatriots were talking not only about the tombstone *khachkars* (cross stones) in Jugha, but also about all the towns and villages having being deprived of the native Armenian population. Over time, as all of our guests told gasping with heartache, it got worse, because the Azerbaijanis continued killing Armenians only because they were Armenians, and destroying Armenian cultural masterpieces not at night any longer but in broad daylight and before everyone's eyes. It was a real genocide. And Victor Hambardzumyan constantly spoke about the meeting with the Armenians from Nakhijevan, and unassailably repeated: "A genocide is happening in Nakhijevan and we maintain silence".

BUT WE WERE NOT SILENT. WE SPOKE. WE WROTE. WE APPEARED. WE WERE SENDING formal appeals to the Director-General of UNESCO Federico Mayor demanding stubbornly to establish an international commission to save the ancient Armenian historical and cultural monuments in Nakhijevan including (in the first place) the true masterpieces of the world Christian cathedral architecture. And, of course, we realised deeply that we should demand and act at the level of the entire people, all of Armenia and the whole world. For it was really a genocide.

...On January 28 1998 President H. Aliyev, not just at a meeting but at the session of the Constitutional Commission, not in the Azerbaijani language but in Russian, for the special purpose of replicating the text, made an impertinent and cynical statement full of falsifications: "The lands around Nakhijevan were also Azerbaijani lands, but, despite this, Armenians lived there, just the way they had seized other lands, for example, some lands on the territory of present day Turkey, or Azerbaijani lands - Zangezur region which separates Nakhijevan from Azerbaijan. If we had taken Zangezur then, perhaps Nakhijevan would not need autonomy ..." H. Aliyev did not fail to speak about Azerbaijani 'losses' like "Gafan (Kapan - Z. B.) and Meghri regions and even Erivan (Yerevan)". I emphasize that all of this was happening when the OSCE Minsk Group on the settlement of the Karabakh conflict was already operating.

UNESCO's deaf silence and our unforgivable passivity allowed Aliyev-Junior to totally destroy the last three thousand khachkars of Jugha - masterpieces that were shattered and transported by rail in open railway wagons. And UNESCO, one of the main UN agencies, was silent this time too. No masterpieces, no problems? Too much Turkish style. But even if not a single Armenian, not a temple, not a khachkar remains on the native land of Armenians, it does not mean that Nakhijevan is not Armenian, because we are not talking about land or about territory, but about Homeland.

... Throughout the Soviet period unbearable living conditions were being constantly and deliberately created for the native Armenian population of Nakhijevan. The Armenian population was deprived of contacts with their relatives in Armenian SSR, which forced many families to move there and other republics of the USSR.

Yet, Article II of the UN General Assembly's Convention states that "genocide means ... (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part."

AND SO, THE ARMENIAN AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC OF NAKHIJEVAN was deliberately left without Armenians and anything Armenian: language, traditions, national holidays, historical monuments ... And the world was silent. Perhaps that was the reason that Aliyev-Senior brazenly admitted: "Nakhijevan's autonomy is a very serious factor that could help address the issue of return of the other lost lands (? - Z. B) and serve that purpose. Nakhijevan's autonomy is a historical event in terms of creating Azerbaijan's and Nakhijevan's border with Turkey."

Here's the crux of the matter. Today we, instead of addressing the issue of the genocide of the Armenian people of Nakhijevan on the planetary level, allow the liberated territories of Artsakh, part of historical Armenia, to be deemed as "disputed", thus turning them into a subject of bargaining. Meanwhile, before the October Revolution all of the Armenian territories liberated at the cost of much blood were without exception part, I repeat, of historical Armenia. As to Nakhijevan, I suggest to read the authoritative Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary: "Nakhijevan - according to ancient Armenians, Naksuana - according to classical authors, a district in the province of Erivan... on the foothills of the Karabakh highlands"³.

After the signing of the Treaties of Gulistan (1813) and Turkmenchay (1828) the most part of Eastern Armenia was incorporated into the Russian Empire. So, all the talks about artificially formed "Azerbaijan" as such, can only be from the mid 1918 and after its Sovietization (April 28, 1920). In 1921 were signed unlawful treaties of Moscow and Kars (1921) at the expense of the Armenian territories [Kars region, Ardahan, Mt.Ararat, Ani, Surmalu (Surb Mari) uezd, Nakhijevan, etc.]⁴. It was a gift of Lenin and Stalin to Ataturk, who, incidentally, years later frankly admitted: "We accelerated the establishment of ties with the Bolsheviks, hoping that, if successful, we would destroy the Armenian state, which is an abscess on the body of our country." Do many of us know about this today?

In Volume I (1904) of the 22-volume Encyclopedia by S. N. Yuzhakov the word "Azerbaijan" is written not where the Republic of Azerbaijan is denoted in modern encyclopaedic publications. There are several historical provinces in the northern part of Persia. One of them (I quote) is "Aderbaijan"⁵ inhabited by Turks and Kurds living a nomadic way of life". Meanwhile, the Kurds in low-lying areas are engaged in agriculture, but the Turks ("Aderbeijanians") are only "nomads".

During the Soviet period in different parts of artificially formed "Azerbaijan" along with the indigenous Armenians, the original owners of the Armenian lands with their thousands of Christian churches (many of which were destroyed in Soviet and post-Soviet times by the Azerbaijani savages and only due to the liberation struggle of the

³ Энциклопедический словарь, том XX, изд. Ф.А.Брокгауз, И.А.Ефрон, С. Петербург, 1897, стр. 704.

⁴ On the other hand, original Armenian territory of Mountainous Artsakh (Karabakh) was annexed to Azerbaijan SSR by the unlawful decision of Kavburo (Yuly 5, 1921).

⁵ Ancient Atropatene (according to Greek and Latin sources)-Atrpatakan (according to medieaval Armenian sources) in north-western Iran, to the south-east of Lake Urmia.

Armenian people historical monuments have been saved in the Artsakh Republic), also lived different (mostly called “Azerbaijanis”), indigenous Caucasian peoples - Lezgins, Budukhs, Khinalugs etc., as well as Iranian peoples - Talysh, Tats, and alien Kurds and Turks⁶. It is an indisputable fact. As for Azerbaijani ‘arithmetic’, as the Kurdish scholar Shakro Mgon wrote, “The Azerbaijani leadership deliberately substitutes religious identity for the national one”. In other words, all the representatives of the Muslim peoples (who were converted to Islam) living in Azerbaijan as in Soviet times, at present also are artificially turned into “Azerbaijanis”, the Turkic part of which not long ago they called ‘Turks’ or “Caucasian Tatars”.

... IN ORDER FOR THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND the issue of the genocide of Armenians in Nakhijevan, it should fully comprehend what happened to Artsakh (Karabakh) some years after the October Revolution. The collapse of the USSR, of course, gave Azerbaijan the opportunity to finally devastate stubborn Artsakh. In fact, Baku started an undeclared war. But at the cost of heavy losses we liberated some (not all!) parts of our Homeland, which before the October Revolution were part of unified Armenia, and which, of course, included the future NKAO with intricate borders. Azerbaijani cartographers regularly narrowed the map of Karabakh. And not only the map. In the heroically liberated regions – Lachin (Berdazdor), Karvachar, Kubatlu (Vorotan), Zangilan (Kovsakan), Jabrail (Mekhakavan), Fizuli (Varanda), Aghdam (Akna) only traces were left of historical Armenia. The picture was the same on the vast territories of Yelizavetpol province, historical Gardmanq, Gulistan province (Shahumyan region, legendary Getashen and Martunashen), in the magic village of Marshals Baghramyan and Babajanyan Chardakhlu where overall there were about eight hundred temples, churches, chapels, hundreds and hundreds of cemeteries with their thousands and thousands of stone crosses. And after all of that today they demand to “liberate” the seven historical Armenian regions which made up one entirety before the Soviet power. It was later, under Stalin, that the splitting into regions was carried out. So, the tragedy came to Eastern Armenia some time after the October Revolution. Incidentally, Russian President V. Putin wrote about a analogous tragedy: “After the revolution, the Bolsheviks, for various reasons, may God be their judge, joined considerable territories of the historical south of Russia to the Ukrainian Union Republic. This was done without taking into account the national composition of the population”⁷.

With regard to NKAO, back in 1930 the Primate of the Artsakh Diocese Bishop Vrtanes sent a telegram to Echmiadzin through a courier: “We were first told that under the program of state atheism they would destroy only every other church, but they destroyed almost all. Due to the insistant urging of Karabakh leaders they kept only several half-ruined temples, including Amaras (4th century), Dadivank (9th century)⁸,

⁶ http://www.ecmi.de/uploads/tx_lfpubdb/ECMI_Europabuch_2011_Vol_1_Internet.pdf

⁷ http://pravo.gov.ru/proxy/ips/?doc_itself=&&nd=102367453&&page=1&rdk=0#I0

⁸ According to the ecclesiastical tradition, the monastery Dadivank was founded in the I century by Dadi, a disciple of the Apostle Thaddeus. His relics were found during archaeological excavations in 2007.

Gandzasar (13th century) and Holy Savior Church in Shoushi (19th century). Thus, 112 churches and 17 temples were destroyed”⁹.

I will note that since the first days of Liberation of Karabakh (1994) through the efforts of the Primate of the Artsakh Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church Archbishop Pargev Martirosyan, more than seventy churches have been restored in all parts of the liberated Homeland. Their revival continues today.



St. Hovhannes Mkrtych Church (1216-1238).
Gandzasar



The Cathedral of Christ the Holy Savior (1868-1887),
Shushi

Nevertheless, the leaders of Turkey and Azerbaijan (I mention Turkey in the first place because in 1921 all the documents in Moscow and Kars were signed exclusively by the Turks), desecrating Armenian history, call the liberated part of the Homeland of Armenians “occupied territory”. In a similar context, back in 2006 the Russian President V. V. Putin raised the important issue of the necessity for active “protection of historical truth”. And Russia took action. A high-level special commission was created to counter the “increasingly aggressive attempts to rewrite history to the detriment of Russia.” Armenia is facing exactly the same problem.

IS IT BY MERE CHANCE THAT ONLY IN ORDER to force the word “Azerbaijan” into history, Aliyev-Senior. in 1998 legislatively fixed a special date of the “genocide”... of Azerbaijanis on March 31. According to Aliyev, it turns out that the Bolsheviks headed by Vladimir Lenin and the Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of Baku, Stepan Shahumyan (an Armenian was required for the absurd lie) as if “committed a genocide in March 1918, killing a total of five hundred thousand Azerbaijanis”. By the way there is a large map of the Transcaucasus on the wall of Lenin’s apartment in the Kremlin (currently a museum) (I have seen it with my own eyes), where there is no “Azerbaijan”. Only Armenia and Georgia. Meanwhile today the whole Azerbaijani people, especially the young generation, believe all this nonsense about the alleged “genocide” in Azerbaijan in 1918.

Indeed, in early 1918 there was a terrible massacre of 2,000 soldiers near the stations Elizavetopol and Shamkhor (and, in fact - a genocide) only because they were

⁹ The Azerbaijan SSR’s authorities carried out policy of systematical destruction of Armenian cultural heritage; it continued also during military operations unleashed by aggressive Azerbaijan against Artsakh after declaration of independence and establishment of the Artsakh Republic (September 2, 1991). Azerbaijani savages altogether destroyed 167 churches, 8 monastic complexes, 123 Armenian historic cemeteries, 47 settlements, 2500 cross-stones and more than 10000 gravestones, 13 historical archaeological monuments <https://goo.gl/aLnGqL>

Russians¹⁰. In those days the Russian pogroms continued at Aghstafa, Dallar, Yevlakh and Khachmas stations. The immediate supervisors of the Russian pogroms were the members of the Muslim National Council of the Caucasian Tatars A. Ziyatkhanov, A. Sofikyursky, L. Magalov and M. Rustambekov (the latter, incidentally, was the organiser of the Armenian pogroms in Nukhi, Arish and other regions). In September of the same year the genocide against Armenians was committed in Baku by the Turkish regular troops and gangs of Caucasian Tatars. This is what actually happened in 1918. And, after all of this, a top Russian official, while in Baku, solemnly declared about some centuries-old friendship between Russia and Azerbaijan. Friendship, let's imagine, but "centuries-old" is a historical nonsense!

... I respect the leaders of the co-chairs of the Minsk Group on settlement of the Mountainous-Karabakh conflict. But I can not understand why as soon as Azerbaijan, violating the ceasefire agreements of 1994 and 1995, once again organized the barbarous adventure on the night of April 2nd, 2016, the Presidents and Foreign Ministers of the co-chair states set their minds to actively speeding up the solution to the issue. Instead, they should have punished the barbarians and instigators in the first place. The horrors of the April morning were nothing new. After the Bishkek agreements since the early days, during all the 22 years without exception, the Azerbaijanis fired, even with rockets, not only at the villages and towns of Karabakh, but also the settlements of the Republic of Armenia which is a member of the UN. And all this time, the world was silent.

IN 2004 IN BUDAPEST, AT NIGHT AN AZERI OFFICER cut off with an axe the head of the Armenian officer Gurgen Margaryan while he was sleeping, only because he was Armenian. It seemed that would be the worst of all crimes. And the court of Budapest ruled, "for life". A few years later, the President of Azerbaijan fished the cutthroat out (not for his beautiful eyes). But it was not enough. The cutthroat (literally) was not only freed, but solemnly received with flowers during a merry holiday organised by the President of Azerbaijan himself. Before the eyes of the whole world, the barbarian was made not merely a hero but a role model for young people. And so it happened.

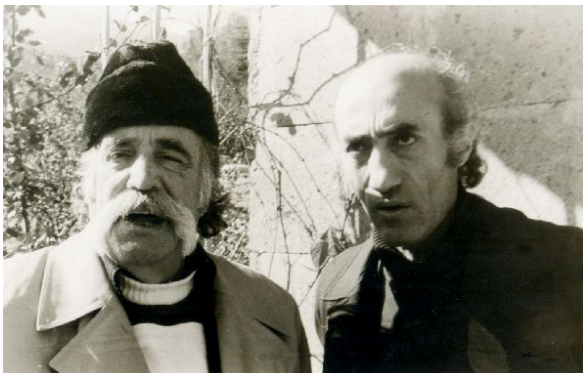
During those bloody days in April 2016 an Azerbaijani military serviceman, so to say, went farther than his "Budapest teacher". He did not just cut off the head of the 20-year old Armenian soldier of Yezidi ethnicity Kyaram Sloyan. It is difficult to imagine how in this age, a man in uniform, like the ISIS thugs, can carry in his hands a severed head (may the reader forgive me for the forced naturalism) and display it under the blustering of the crowd. The cynicism was repeated: the same person, the President of Azerbaijan, again in a festive atmosphere and with a smile on his face, handed the cutthroat the highest decoration of Azerbaijan. This monstrous cynicism was shown on Azerbaijani television.

And the world continues to keep silent. The co-chair countries' Presidents and Foreign Ministers, ignoring this whole nightmare, just now suddenly come to the conclusion that the problem of Artsakh should be solved as quickly as possible, based

¹⁰ In Soviet times it was forbidden to write about this.

on the documents of 1994-95. Yet what was going on in and around Karabakh at the time is well known: it is well known who began the war and how the war ended in 1994. As it is known, the victorious Armenian army was to return (by the way, without bloodshed) the Armenian villages of Erkej, Buzlukh and Manashid occupied by the Azerbaijanis, eleven villages in Shahumyan region, legendary Getashen, Martunashen and many others which were experiencing the tragic fate of Nakhijevan. But, someone at the top suspended the attempt to rescue parts of our country and our compatriots.

Therefore, I am deeply convinced that we should sit down at the negotiating table only when we know exactly how the realities will develop after the ink dries on the paper, as the legitimacy of the formation of the Republic of Mountainous Karabakh (NKR) with the liberated Armenian historical regions is beyond doubt.



William Saroyan and Hrant Matevosyan



William Saroyan and Zori Balayan

... The great Armenian and American writer William Saroyan, with whom I was fortunate enough to make long trips in Armenia, Russia and the Baltic States, once said in the presence of his favourite famous writer Hrant Matevosyan: "I was born in Fresno. Since my childhood I had been thinking that America was my Homeland. But when, as a mature writer I visited the home of my parents and ancestors in Bitlis (Baghesh), I realised that Bitlis is my Homeland where currently Turks live. Since then I became a different person. I agree with Goethe, who believed that "the true courage of enlightened nations is in their readiness to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their Homeland". The same thing is happening to all of my compatriots who are scattered across all the five continents."

... During half a century I visited almost all the Armenian communities in all the five continents. And everywhere I became convinced that, indeed, there is no nobler sickness than homesickness. This illness is chronic. Probably it will never disappear for Armenians. However, this does not mean that we are talking about coming to terms with the loss of our historical Homeland. I am deeply convinced that our people just do not have the right to become prisoner to the "phenomenon of a fait accompli", as if it is too late, as if the train has left, as if it is useless act.

On the contrary. All we need to do is act. It is time for us to know and tell the world that there is no Karabakh problem. There is the problem of Azerbaijan, which committed the monstrous genocide of native Armenians of Nakhijevan. The true apartheid lies not

only in depriving people of their political, social, economic and civil rights, but also in depriving them of their national identity, and even in territorial isolation.

Article 1 of the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to Crimes Against Humanity begins with a loud line: "No statutory limitation shall apply to the crimes, irrespective of the date of their commission." It is important that numerous logically verified provisions of the UN General Assembly' Convention "do not provide for any exception in any case." This means that, pursuant to Articles VIII and IX of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Armenia, i.e. the National Assembly, in accordance with the provisions of the UN Charter, shall have the right to apply to the United Nations with the lawful claim to "take all necessary measures". And this implies that, in accordance with the said Article IX, "the disputes shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice". It should be emphasized that in the case of Nakhijevan, "attempt to commit genocide and complicity in genocide" shall be punishable.

Thus, the genocide had been committed in Nakhijevan before the eyes of all the generations of Soviet times since the 20s of the 20th century. The last several thousands of Nakhijevani Armenians were deported in 1991. And the last thousands of sacred khachkars were smashed into pieces and taken out in open railway wagons in the beginning of the third millennium. I will repeat myself: *khachkars* - masterpieces of small architecture, first and foremost are tombstones, beneath which lie the remains of the ancestors of Armenians, the ancestors of geniuses like Komitas and Aram Khachaturian and many thousands of talented Nakhijevani Armenians. I think very few people know that in this sacred place for Armenians the Azerbaijani barbarians have now established a military training ground, a combat firing range.

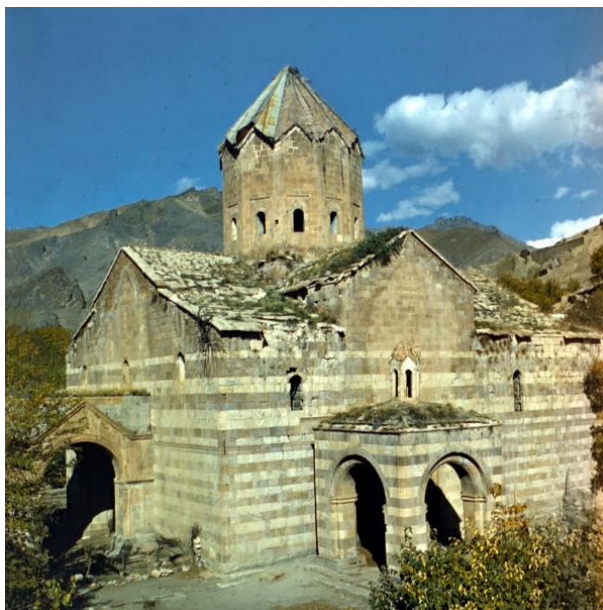
We should not keep silent. We need to raise our voices! We need to act!

P.S. I have stepped into the ninth decade of my life. In 1937 I lost my father who was the People's Commissar of Education of Mountainous Karabakh and was condemned as "an enemy of the people." I was raised by my grandfather who lost three sons in the first two years of the war. I served in the Baltic Fleet for four years. I graduated from Ryazan Medical Institute. I worked as a doctor in Kamchatka for ten years. I was awarded the Medal for Excellence in Healthcare by the Minister of Health of the USSR. I worked as an own correspondent of 'Literary Gazette' in Armenia for forty years. I wrote about eighty books. To me the main ones among these are "Between Hell and Heaven" about the Karabakh war and "Vanquishing Death" about the tragic fate of my parents in GULAG ("Main Administration of Corrective Labor Camps"). I was a People's Deputy of the USSR, and all my speeches at the Congresses and sessions focused exclusively on the fate of Nakhijevan and Artsakh (Karabakh).

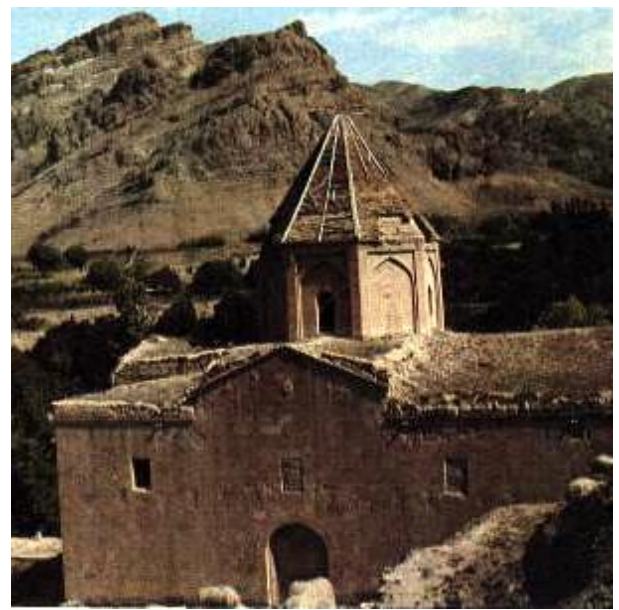
I MUST SAY COMPETENTLY THAT AFTER THE END OF KARABAKH WAR and the adoption of Bishkek so-called peace agreement, the Presidents of the co-chair countries changed three times. And, of course, no matter how carefully they may have studied the issue, they may still not know a lot, the main thing, the details. For those who possess the entire volume of information, it is clear: one can proceed to the issue

of Artsakh only after imposing sanctions on Azerbaijan for the genocide in Nakhijevan, through the legitimate application of the UN General Assembly's Convention.

In the current difficult situation, I urge and advise all the three Presidents, before undertaking the final solution of the problem, no matter how naive it may sound, to visit Artsakh. Visit the monastery of Amaras which has seen one and a half thousand calamities and misfortunes during one and a half thousand years. It was there that the inventor of the Armenian alphabet St. Mesrop Mashtots opened the first school where Armenians in Armenia first learned to write and read with the thirty-six sacred Mesropian letters. It is remarkable and exciting (especially today) that Mashtots took his thirty-six letters that people had called soldiers first to the town of Agulis in Nakhijevan (! Z.B.) where twelve majestic Armenian Christian churches and cathedrals were erected throughout the centuries.



St Thomas the Apostle Monastery of Agulis.



**St. Christophor Church of Agulis
(at present destroyed by Azerbaijani savages)**

Mashtots as if predicted that the vandals would destroy Agulis. And he opened his own school in Amaras of Artsakh. The monastery of Amaras was always the target of the vandals, especially during the Artsakh war. Everything was restored and recreated after the victory.

... A little farther from Amaras there is the village of Machkalashen where until recently a truly saintly woman, mother Raya, lived. At the funeral of her son (I was there together with the Speaker of the House of Lords Baroness Cox and the Russian writer Andrei Nuykin) she said, addressing the people:

"Today I sacrifice my second son who gave his life for his Motherland, for Amaras. But God forbid, if you allow the enemy to commit sacrilege again and to freely desecrate the graves of our ancestors and our children and our holy Amaras again".

**Translated from Armenian
by V. M. Gharakhanyan**

THE METHODS AND MECHANISMS OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE DENIAL IN MODERN TURKEY

Hovhannisyan A. R.

Senior researcher, Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA

The Turkish denialism was launched in parallel with the Armenian Genocide. It was developed as a state policy from the very outset and obtained new shapes during the time. As the American genocide scholar Henry Huttenbach describes, the genocide denial presents “the institutionalized denialism”¹. As Donald Bloxham asserts, the denialism is a vital instrument for formation of the Turkish national identity through making legends on the origin of modern Turkey².

Since World War I each succeeding government in Turkey has consistently denied the mass killings of Armenians. The first example of literature of the official denial was a brochure “The aspirations and actions of Armenian committees prior to proclamation of Constitution and after it”, compiled and published in several languages - Turkish, German, English and French by the support of the German propagandistic agency “Wolf” in 1916³. It was full the photos of “dashnak and hntchakist committeemen” with “horrifying” faces being pictured under the flags of their parties as well as with the portraits of guns, having been allegedly “confiscated” from them. The book was immediately sent to the embassies represented in Constantinople and was planned “to justify” the exterminating actions against the Armenians carried into effect by the Ottoman government. Taner Akcam remarks that during the last November meeting of the “Unity and progress” party in 1918 Talaat pasha boasted that he “prepared a ground” for the “Turkish version” of denialism through “regulating” the deportation, dispossession and killings of Armenians by provisional laws⁴.

The denialist policy of the Young Turks was inherited by the Republican Turkey, too, and the Armenians either “did not exist” in the “new historiographic concept”⁵ in general worked out by the latter’s founder, Kemal Atatürk or were acting simply as an instrument in the hands of the Western imperialistic powers⁶, threatening the integrity of

¹ Denialism, in which the state structures and institutes take active part; see Henry R. Huttenbach, “The Psychology of Genocide Denial : a Comparison of Four Case Studies”, in Problems of Genocide, Zoryan Institute of Canada, Toronto, 1997, pp. 166-168.

² Bloxham D., The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of Ottoman Armenians, Oxford, 2005, p. 207

³ “Ermeni Komitelerinin Âmâl ve Harekât-i İhtilâliyesi; İlân-i Meşrutiyetten Evvel ve Sonra” [“Armenian Aspirations and Revolutionary Movements”, Istanbul, 1916(in English, French, and German)].

⁴ Taner Akcam, A Shameful Act, New York, 2006, p. 184.

⁵ Հովհաննիսյան Ա., Թուրքիայում «նոր պատմական կոնցեպցիայի» մշակման հարցի շուրջը (XX դարի 30-ական թթ.), Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, 1989, XV, էջ 5-16:

⁶ Fatma Ulgen, Reading Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on the Armenian Genocide of 1915”, in Patterns of Prejudice, Vol. 44, No. 4, 2010, pp. 369-391, <https://goo.gl/klyv1w>.

the Ottoman Empire and Turkey; and the Armenian Genocide was mentioned as an “alleged” or “so-called” if mentioned at all. The denialism reached such an extent that leading specialists in the field of genocide studies Yves Ternon and Pierre Vidal-Naquet called the Turkish historiography *the historiography of denialism*⁷.

Nevertheless, if it was a taboo to talk about the Armenian Question after proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, then numerous books had started to be published at full tilt since the 1950s. Despite the Armenian “taboo” was continuing to be in force, works were published in the Turkish historiography, considering the events of the beginning of the 20th century. This interest toward the history of the Armenian people is interpreted not by the Turkish authors’ desire to investigate the history of the Western Armenians, suffering under the yoke of the Ottoman despotism for centuries, but by intention to substantiate, “scientifically and historically”, that is to say, to justify the barbaric policy of the former Turkish ruling circles that committed the annihilation of Armenians. To such works of that period belong “The Armenians in the History and The Armenian Question” by E. Uras, which has been published in 1950, “The Armenians in Civil Service of Turkey in 1453-1953” by Y. Chark (published in 1953), “How Karabekir destroyed Armenia” by J. Kuta (1956), “The History of Turkish Revolution” by H. Bayur (1957) etc⁸.

As the Armenian historian A. Marukyan points, the accents of the Turkish historiography in the attempts to deny and distort the Armenian Genocide underwent essential changes after WW II, when a series of important international events took place - the Nuremberg trial of the Nazi criminals, the USSR brought a territorial claim against Turkey on behalf of Soviet Armenia and Georgia, the adoption of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the commemoration of the semi- centennial of the Armenian Genocide by the whole Armenian nation in 1965, which was followed by the process of recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide by the Parliaments of different countries. The abovementioned developments made the Turks not to accept the historical truth, but to make more sophisticated the tricks of the denial and misinterpretation. The Turkish state has taken the denial and misinterpretation under its protection and control, turning it into a state propagandistic policy, as the recognition and condemnation of the

⁷ Саакян Р., Методологические вопросы историографии геноцида армян, Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, 1996, XVI, էջ 156:

⁸ The Armenian historians-Turkologists have published a number of books and articles about the falsifications of the Turkish historiography; see Սարգիսով Ե., Սաֆրաստյան Ա., Պատմության հակագիտական լուսաբանման մի քանի փաստերի մասին, Արևելագիտական ժողովածու, 1960, I, էջ 379-398; Սարգսյան Ե., Սահակյան Ռ., Հայ ժողովրդի նոր շրջանի պատմության նենգափոխումը թուրք պատմագրության մեջ, Երևան, 1963: Կիրակոսյան Զ., Երիտթուրքերը պատմության դատաստանի առաջ, գիրք երկրորդ, Երևան, 1983, էջ 335-401: Զովալյան Մ., Հայոց պատմության խեղաթյուրումը արդի թուրք պատմագրության մեջ (հին և միջին դարեր), Երևան, 1995: Ներսիսյան Մ., Պատմության կեղծարարները, Երևան, 1998: Հովհաննիսյան Ն., Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը ցեղասպանագիտության հայեցակարգային համակարգում, Երևան, 2002:

Armenian Genocide by different countries considers a threat to its interests, and the probability to be a subject of international responsibility for that crime is also perceived⁹.

In the course of time new questions on the Armenian Genocide appeared in the circles of Turkish society. The “wall” of silence of Turkish society cracked at the beginning of the 1990s¹⁰. If for decades the Turkish denialism was directed toward the exterior world, then it started to obtain an inner direction, as well, which, in its turn, made difficult the realization of the denialist policy by the Turkish state. If formerly Turkey applied all its resources to deny the fact of Genocide in the exterior world, then it was already compelled to take steps to prove the same for an interior audience, as well. Alternative points of view of the Turkish society on the Armenian Genocide, different from the official thesis, has started since the 1990s. Such a state of affairs was promoted by the independence of Armenia, that is, the restoration of Armenian statehood, and consequently, the possibility of touching the Armenian Question at the state level as well as by both the aspiration of Turkey to be integrated with the EU and its interior political developments, the Kurdish Problem, discussions around the Turkish identity etc¹¹.

The tradition of discussing freely the themes concerning the problem of genocide was missing in Turkey for a long time; it was the so called “Armenian taboo”, which has been operated. But the said tradition has been shattered in recent times. The Turkish official view has obtained serious opponents in this matter in the face of historians, writers and journalists like Taner Akcam, Orhan Pamuk, Baskin Oran, the late Hrant Dink, Ragyp Zarakolu etc. Anyhow, the abjuration and denialism continue to be predominant official and public standpoints. Some specialists are searching the explanation of the Turkish denialist syndrome and find it in the peculiarities of both Turkish identity and creation of the Republic of Turkey¹². It is known that the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Kemal Ataturk, was trying to present his land as a new country, gotten rid of the past, which pretends to take its start from zero. One of Turkish identity's pillars in the Kemalist interpretation is the creation of the republic, triumphed in “anti-imperialistic and national-liberation” struggle. In reality, this state has been created not as a result of the triumph against the imperialist powers, but as a result of annihilation of the empire's Armenian and Greek subjects¹³. As Taner Akcam denotes, if a public takes part in massacres, it can't find the strength to condemn these events¹⁴. A point of view that the Turkish national Kemalist movement was organized by the “Unity and progress”

⁹ Մարության Ա., Հայոց ցեղասպանության ժխտման ու նենգափոխման թուրքական «հայեցակարգի» հիմնական բաղադրիչները, Պատմա-քաղաքական հանդես, 2015, 1, էջ 27:

¹⁰ Taner Akcam, “Genèse d'une histoire officielle. Le tabou du génocide arménien hante la société turque” <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2001/07/AKCAM/15341>.

¹¹ Հովհաննիսյան Ա., Թուրք հասարակության վերաբերմունքը Թուրքիայի կողմից Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչման խնդրին, ՎԷՄ համահայկական հանդես, 2012, թիվ 2(38), էջ 189-198:

¹² Taner Akcam, Türk ulusal kimliği ve ermeni sorunu, Istanbul, 1993, s. 149-153.

¹³ Ibid, p. 149.

¹⁴ Taner Akcam, İnsan hakları ve Ermeni sorunu. Ittihat ve Terakki' den Kurtuluş savaşı' na, Istanbul, 2002, s. 586.

party has entered into circulation in the historiography in recent times. The Young Turks had prepared the so called plan “B” for the case of being defeated in WW I, that is, to take positions in the Asian part of the country and to call for national liberation struggle. This plan was launched after the ceasefire in 1918¹⁵. *The nouveaux riches*, having embezzled and stolen the property of the massacred Armenians, laid the economic foundation of the Republic of Turkey. The political elite of the newly created republic consisted mainly of the persons, who were direct organizers and participants of the Armenian Genocide.

The denial of genocide in the Republic of Turkey has underlying reasons. In fact, those “heroes”, who “saved the Turkish nation” and created a country from nothing, merely act as murderers and plunderers.

The Turkish state machine and society deny fiercely their own culpability; and there are sound “reasons” for that, which have been considered by a number of researchers, who set aside basically three factors of fear:

- a) **the fear of compensation;** the Armenians were the most advanced and powerful people in terms of culture and economy. This huge fortune passed to the organizers of their massacres and killers after the genocide. Turkey’s largest trade houses and business companies have an Armenian trace in their history of wealth accumulation. Namely, these forces have a fear that the Armenian Genocide recognition will bring a claim for compensation. It can turn into territorial claims because of reparation’s huge sizes;
- b) **the fear of discrediting the heroes;** many former members of the Young Turks’ party, who were convicted by the government also for the crime, committed against the Armenians, had joined the Kemalist movement. Joining the Turkish nationalistic and revolutionary movement was the only way for those criminals to escape the responsibility. Later they got important offices in the new Turkish republic. For instance, Shyukru Kaya, the general secretary of the Republican People's Party, established by Kemal, and the minister of interior affairs, was one of the chief responsible persons for the deportation of Armenians, made declaration to the German consuls many times, “We have to annihilate the Armenians”¹⁶. Mustafa Abdulhalik Renda, Speaker of the Grand National Assembly in the republican period, had burned alive thousands of Armenians in Mush. The founders of the Republic will be presented as murderers and criminals in the case of veritable history;
- c) **the fear of identity crisis;** The loss of the modern Turkish society’s collective memory is the main obstacle for the matter to be discussed publicly. When Ataturk was creating a new state he changed the real history with that of the official narrative, where the military defeats and the bloody

¹⁵ Հովհաննիսյան Ա., Ցեղասպանության ժխտումը և էթիկան (թուրքական ազգային պետության կազմավորման որոշ հարցերի լույսի ներքո), Թուրքագիտական և օսմանագիտական հետազոտություններ, 2006, IV, էջ 124-129:

¹⁶ Մանուկյան Ս., «Թուրքական ժխտողականություն» <https://goo.gl/rPft4X>

crimes, committed against the subjugated peoples, simply are not mentioned and are taken out of the public discussions. One may say that exterminating the Armenians, the Ottoman leaders avenged the European powers in a unique way for humiliation they had been subject to and were getting rid of their own complexes. The Kemalist leaders not only removed the consequences of this trauma, but also rewrote the history and reshaped the national identity. And from that time on, the Turkish state itself suppresses every initiative, which would try to disclose “the prohibited history”.

The recognition of Armenian Genocide will bring all conceptions to nothing, upon which the history of the republican Turkey is based. In this case the anti-imperialistic war becomes warfare against the Armenian and Greek minorities; the first people's brigades, Kuvva-i Milliye, which are being presented as fighters for independence, simply become gangs, which had grown rich at the expense of possessions of the Armenian Genocide victims. It turns out that Mustafa Kemal has neither waged a national liberation struggle nor founded the Republic of Turkey, but merely carried out the backup plan of the Young Turks and, exterminating the Armenians, Greeks and Assyrians, secured the existence of the crushed empire at least. There is a need to remark that **the state-society concord persists in the matter of the Armenian Genocide denial**¹⁷.

A decision was taken in Turkey's National Security Council meeting in the autumn of 2000 according to which the Armenian Genocide related issue is an object of national security from that time on. In pursuance of the National Security Council's decisions a special body was created, responsible for the control and coordination of struggle against the recognition of the Armenian Genocide. It was called “The Coordination Committee Against Baseless Genocide Claims” (**«Asılsız Soykırım İddialarıyla Mücadele Koordinasyon Kurulu»**). High ranking officials of various offices were involved in the latter's staff¹⁸. The main objective of the council is to provide the Turkish society, beginning from the school years, with the reports about the “groundlessness” of claims on the Armenian Genocide and to shape a denialist consciousness as well as to neutralize the strivings for the Armenian Genocide recognition, having been regularly brought to the agenda in foreign countries. The “Council” had been financed by the foundation of Turkey's prime minister. After the founder of the council, D. Bahçeli, it was directed by some members of the “Justice and Development” party, Erkan Mumju, Abdullah Gull and Jemil Cicek¹⁹. In the policy of the Armenian Genocide denial the “Council” was working mainly on the following directions in the last decade:

- a) publication and dissemination of various books, manuals and leaflets,
- b) creation and service of web pages,
- c) “convincing” speeches in scientific conferences and lectures,

¹⁷ Baskin Oran, “Son tabunun kökenleri: Türkiye kamuoyunun Ermeni sorunundaki tarihsel-psikolojik tikanışı”, Türk-Ermeni ilişkilerinin gelişimi ve 1915 olayları uluslararası sempozyumu bildireleri, Ankara, 2006, s. 202.

¹⁸ Սաֆրաստյան Ռ., «Թուրքիան Հայոց ցեղասպանության հարցը համարում է իր ազգային անվտանգության խնդիր», Հնարավոր չէ 21-րդ դարում պատմեցնել ստեղծել հարևանների միջև..., Երևան, 2003, էջ 41:

¹⁹ See Zarakolu R., “Yeni hükümet ASİMKK'yi sürdürecektir mi?”, 11.07.2011, <http://www.ozgur-gundem.com>.

- d) propaganda through TV and press,
- e) publication of books in authoritative universities.

There was a well awareness in Ankara that the resolutions and discussions in various parliaments and international instances on the recognition of the Armenian Genocide can seriously harm the prestige of Turkey and bring forward problems regarding the compensation and reshaping of Turkish society's identity, as well as to harm the implementation of the country's political objectives, especially the prospect of entering into the European Union²⁰. Even today the Turkish state system spared no effort and resources in its policy to involve a number of western academic circles. Turkey seeks to transfer the Armenian Genocide from the political field into the whirlpool of the endless false scientific debates with the assistance of some western partner circles at any cost. Turkey finances those researchers who are able to form public opinion. A number of scholars, having popularity in the worldwide scientific sphere, are working under the direct control of the Republic of Turkey and its finances. They are classified in the group of public opinion makers, who conduct their activities for the purpose of having the world society "informed". The most common method the public opinion makers apply in the policy of the Armenian Genocide denial is the presentation of a target group, which was subjected to genocide, as a danger and not as a victim. The purpose of the so called public opinion makers is to assure the maximum number of people that the presented genocide had not occurred. They are busy in organizing scientific conferences, publishing books, creating factions, etc. The most active figures are Stanford Shaw, Bernard Lewis, Hit Lawry, Justin McCarty and others²¹. The difference and uniqueness of denialist policy of the public opinion makers from others is determined by the following factors:

- a) they are authors and figures of not Turkish origin,
- b) they try to show an "unprejudiced and neutral" attitude toward the events,
- c) they are financed by Turkey,
- d) they have a large audience and readers and are available for a wider layer of society due to linguistic diversity and massive dissemination of the provided materials.

The main directions of the public opinion makers' activities, serving the denialist policy of the Armenian Genocide, are the following directions:

- a) to transfer the problem of genocide into the field of endlessly protracted discussions,
- b) to deny the intention of realizing the genocide,
- c) to put under question the fact of genocide,
- d) to consider the Armenian Genocide as a fiction.

²⁰ Սահակյան Լ., Միրզոյան Ք., Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչման գործընթացը կասեցնելու թուրքական մեթոդաբանությունը, Հայոց Մեծ Եղեռն 90 (հոդվածների ժողովածու), Երևան, 2005:

²¹ Оганесян А., «Хорошо ли читать чужие письма или подробности "дела Лоури" (механизмы отрицания геноцида армян)», Թյուրքագիտական և օսմանագիտական հետազոտություններ, 2011, VII, էջ 354:

These figures are well conscious that they can't reach great successes when counteracting openly the historical facts in the field of the Armenian Genocide denial, since the fact of genocide is proved by the vast majority of the sphere's specialists; therefore, they seek to make usual the following concept, "even if something happened in 1915, these events may also be not genocide". The appliers of such tactics are guided by the slogan **"yes, but..."** according to genocide scholars²².

The denial apologists are seeking continuously to make the denial of the Armenian Genocide a more effective model, which aims to establish itself as a legitimate "history of the other side". Mark Mamigonian considers them to look like the heroes of the novel *«Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius»* by world known Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges, who are making the multivolume encyclopedia of Tlön, a composed planet with the detailed descriptions of its languages, philosophy, mathematics and other spheres, having been united in a secret organization. According to Mamigonian, the historiographic fictions of Turkish state that have a tendency "to subdue, modify or build the past in a new fashion" can be seen as creation of a specific Turkish Tlön²³.

The Turkish denialist policy on the Armenian Genocide was continuing and obtaining new developments even during a process called "football diplomacy" by the journalists, when the official Ankara was trying to show its alleged "constructive" approach in the affair of "reconciliation with the Armenians" in every way²⁴. If the events and incidents of the beginning of the preceding century had been merely denied in the past, now they are qualified as a tragedy, which as if it causes Turkey great pain. For instance, during the press conference with President Obama in Turkey in 2009, the President of Turkey Abdullah Gull reacted to the Armenian Genocide related issues in the following manner,

- a) both sides have suffered from the events of 1915, for which he feels pain,
- b) this tragedy occurred with the intervention of outer forces, whose provocation was echoed by "some of our citizens",
- c) the Armenian Diaspora exploits the events of 1915 to establish itself,
- d) the history can't become the subject of review for political figures and parliaments,
- e) only historians should deal with this issue and Turkey is ready to accept the unbiased conclusion of each historical commission²⁵.

The prominent genocide scholar and the executive director of the Jerusalem Institute of Holocaust and Genocide, Israel Charny, makes a note of a sample,

²² Deborah E. Lipstadt, "Deniers, Relativists and Pseudo-Scholarship", Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies, vol. 6, No.1, 1991 http://archive.adl.org/braun/dim_14_1_deniers.html#Vug1Z_I97IU.

²³ Mamigonian M., Tlön, Turkey, and the Armenian Genocide", The Armenian Weekly Magazine, April 2012 <http://armenianweekly.com/2012/06/04/mamigonian-tlon-turkey-and-the-armenian-genocide/>.

²⁴ About the factor of Armenian Genocide in the Armenian-Turkish relations see Անանյան Ա., Հայոց ցեղասպանության հիմնախնդիրը հայ-թուրքական հարաբերություններում, Երևան, 2006:

²⁵ Հովհաննիսյան Ա., Թուրքիա. ազնիվ միջնորդություն թե՞ քաղաքական սակարկություն, Թյուրքագիտական և օսմանագիտական հետազոտություններ, 2009, VI, էջ 354-355:

turned to a “template” of tactics for denial of genocides²⁶, almost all items of which are applied by deniers of the Armenian Genocide,

- a) **“Rebellion and treachery”**: the Ottoman empire has adopted a decision of “deportation”, for the Armenians, having rebelled against the state, assisted the hostile countries;
- b) **“The reason of displacement was the Van rebellion”**: A massive Armenian revolt was exploded in Van. The Ittihat government didn’t find immediate means in wartime conditions except the exile;
- c) **“The genocide is one thing, and the displacement, another”**: it was made a decision of deportation, but not the one of genocide. The deportation had been limited to the period of war. Despite all kinds of preventive measures, deaths were recorded because of either natural conditions or gangs’ attacks;
- d) **“The mistreatment is not gone unpunished”**: the state has punished those who mistreated the Armenians, subjected to deportation;
- e) **“The state extended an affectionate hand”**: the Ottoman government provided every possible help to the deported peoples and has acted with the initiative of finding a job in the places of exile;
- f) **“The death toll is exaggerated”**: the number of the deported reaches five hundred thousand. Two hundred thousand people died;
- g) **“The displacement has been limited simply with the period of war”**: the decision of deportation has been applied in May. First, it was employed in the war zones;
- h) **“The Armenians were sent to a terrain, where they would find a peace”**: Armenians were sent to the settlements of Syria in the empire, suitable for residence, but not to a desert;
- i) **“The victims of April 24 were not guiltless”**: all Armenian intellectuals, arrested on April 24 1915, were committeemen, fomenting revolt.
- j) **“The Ittihadists were acquitted, having been convicted at the international level”**: the Ittihadists were cleansed from the genocide’s sin at the international level via the process of Malta.

The Turkish historians Mehmed Polatel and Naziphe Kosukoglu have gathered these essential statements of the state historiography on the 1915 Armenian Genocide under 10 points, each of which has been critically considered with the incontestable historical records, giving rise to no doubt²⁷.

²⁶ “Templates for Gross Denial of a Known Genocide: A Manual,” in Encyclopedia of Genocide, ed. Israel Charny, Jerusalem, 1998, vol. I, p. 168.

²⁷ Փոլաթել Մ., Քոսուքոկլու Ն., «10 հնացած թեզեր, որոնք պաշտոնական պատմագրությանը ստիպում են նույն դասարանում մնալ», <http://akunq.net/am/?p=26636>; տե՛ս նաև Տատրյան Վ., Հայոց ցեղասպանության ժխտման թուրքական հիմնական փաստարկները. աղավաղման և կեղծարարության ուսումնասիրություն, Երևան, 2005, էջ 5-50:

To meet the 2015 demands Turkey activated the struggle against the fact of the Armenian Genocide in both political and academic directions²⁸. As the former Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey, Bulent Arinch stated, “The centenary of both Dardanelles events and the “Claims of Armenian Genocide” is having been completed. We are working seriously. Operations are carried out through symposiums, conferences, seminars, publications and documentaries. But we are working out a special activity in the sphere of public diplomacy, too, to influence the public opinion of all countries in the world”²⁹.

The views of the Turkish government in the mentioned matter have found their expression in the “Armenian Report” made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2011, which carries the title “The events of 1915”³⁰. Having not changed the strategy of the genocide denial, Turkey tries to apply new tactics, deforming the essence of the matter and ignoring the consequences of the genocide. Particularly,

- an attempt is made to put the genocide of Armenians and the hardship of combating Turkish people on the same scale, presenting the genocide as «tragic events», which occurred during the war and “having caused hardships to the Armenian and Turkish peoples”.
- Mentioning that Turkey has solved the problem of the “Ottoman debt”, an attempt is made to renounce the claims of Armenians, that is, the material compensation for Genocide;
- pointing out that the “tragedy” occurred by the intervention of the “outer forces”, whose impulsion was resounded “by some of our citizens” (the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire-A. H.), an effort is made to keep Turkey away from any responsibility;
- claiming that this matter should be weighed up by the historians of these two countries and that Turkey is ready to accept every conclusion of the “historians’ committee”, an attempt is made to prevent the discussions and adoptions of resolutions on the Armenian Genocide in international organizations.

On the eve of the Genocide centenary one of the steps elaborated by the Turkish government had been the announcement of Turkey’s current President Recep Tayyip Erdogan (former Prime Minister), delivered on April 23, 2014, before the day of commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, April 24, and addressed to Armenians, on the basis of which was laid the thesis of “common pain”³¹, according to which “grievous events occurred in the course of World War I, the victims of which were not only

²⁸ Erik Jan Zürcher, “The Role of Historians of Turkey in the Study of Armenian Genocide”, vol. IV, Issue 5, (May, 2015), pp. 12-17 <http://researchturkey.org/?p=8775>; Boyakhchyan G., “The Armenian Genocide in Modern Turkey’s Official Denialism: A Hundred Shades of Denial”, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/author/grigor-boyakhchyan/>.

²⁹ Cengiz O. K., “What is Turkey’s 2015 strategy?”, 30.01.2014, Today’s Zaman, <https://goo.gl/GX4HzW>

³⁰ «Թուրքիայի ԱԳՆ-ն ընդդեմ Հայոց ցեղասպանության 100-ամյակի «1915-ի դեպքերը» անունով զեկույց է պատրաստել» <http://news.am/arm/news/48632.html>.

³¹ Պետրոսյան Գ., «Ընդհանուր ցավ». թուրքական ժխտողականության արդիականացումը» <https://goo.gl/8L02f1>

Armenians, but also the Turks and Muslims; hence, this pain belongs to all”³². It is noteworthy that the mentioned statement of R. Erdogan was qualified “as a bone, thrown for Armenians” by some influential representatives of the Armenian community in Turkey³³.

In the joint press conference on the occasion of the Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev’s visit to Ankara President R. Erdogan announced about having arrangements on the centennial of the Dardanelles battle to celebrate in great festivity on April 24, 2015, which was aimed at counterbalancing and shadowing the events on commemoration the centennial of the Armenian Genocide through the simultaneous and mass arrangements³⁴. The anniversary of the Dardanelles battle was being traditionally celebrated on March 18; therefore, “the trick” of Ankara to create a fictitious date of a historic event was nothing more than a “diplomatic fiasco” as the lecturer of Istanbul’s Bilgi University, Ayhan Aktar, interpreted³⁵.

One should record that the consistent actions toward the anti-Armenian propaganda have resulted both to equilibrium of Turkey’s and Azerbaijan’s forces and to creation of mutually beneficial approaches. In this regard it is worth mentioning the activities of anti-Armenian organization “The union of struggle against the Armenian groundless claims” (ASIMDER), operating in Turkey and financed by Azerbaijan, the objective of which is to counteract the actions of the Armenian Diaspora within the frames of the 100th centennial of the Armenian Genocide³⁶.

The subversive work in the communities of the Armenian Diaspora is an active component of anti-Armenian policy, conducted in the direction of the Armenian Genocide denial by the official Ankara. Its objective is to make contradictions both within the Armenian communities and in Armenia-Diaspora relations. Still in 2010 the former Minister of Foreign affairs of Turkey, then the Prime Minister of Turkey, Ahmet Davutoglu had talked over the Armenian Genocide and Armenian Diaspora in an interview on CNN Türk: “Turkey wants to normalize its relations not only with Armenian, but also with the Armenian Diaspora”³⁷. And in the end of November of the same year, having a speech at Georgetown University, USA, Davutoglu announced that if the events at the beginning of the 20th century were denied in former times, now they don’t deny that the Armenians

³² The unofficial translation of the message of the Prime Minister of The Republic of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, on the events of 1915, 23 April 2014» <http://www.mfa.gov.tr>; Cengiz Çandar, “Erdoğan Ermenilere başsağlığı mesajı sürprizler” <http://www.almonitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/04/erdogan-condolence-armenians-shrewd.html>.

³³ Հովսեփյան Ա., Հայոց ցեղասպանության ժխտողական քաղաքականության արդի դրսևորումները Թուրքիայում, Բանբեր Երևանի համալսարանի. միջազգային հարաբերություններ, քաղաքագիտություն, 2015, 1 (16), էջ 29:

³⁴ “Turkey Invites Armenian Leader to Gallipoli Commemoration” <http://www.rferl.org/content/turkey-invites-armenian-leader-to-gallipoli-commemoration/26797274.html>

³⁵ «Թուրքիայի Ապրիլի 24-ի հաշիվներն ու դիվանագիտական ֆիասկոն. թուրք պատմաբան», <https://goo.gl/gbnMOX>

³⁶ <http://asimder.org.tr>

³⁷ «Մենք ցանկանում ենք նաև երկխոսություն սկսել Հայկական սփյուռքի հետ. Ահմեդ Դավութօղլու» http://www.1in.am/arm/a_a_15116.html.

experienced tragic events in Turkey: “We don’t say that nothing happened to Armenians in those days. If mistakes occurred, then they should be considered. But one has to remember that we are talking of a historical period, during which there was no law and order in the entire territory of Turkey. 1915 is an important date for Armenians, but one should remember that about 250.000 Turks died just in one of the fronts (in Dardanelles) during that same year, including my grandfather”³⁸. This thesis of “rightful memory” (“*adil hafıza*”) authored by the Ex-Prime Minister of Turkey Ahmet Davutoglu has been repeatedly criticized by the Turkish specialists, too³⁹.

The circular of Turkey’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, sent to Turkey’s extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors in September, 2011, with the demand to be prepared for the 100th centenary of the Armenian Genocide and to carry out an active propaganda against the international recognition of the Genocide, testifies about developing a subversive activity in the Armenian Diaspora. Reminding of the Diaspora’s worldwide endeavors for recognition of Armenian Genocide, the Ministry of Turkey’s Foreign Affairs was expecting from the ambassadors to enter into close contacts with the Armenian Diaspora and prevent these actions. One should pay attention to the tactics of rethinking the meaning of the word “Diaspora” or redefining it by the authorities of Turkey in this context. We have to remember the speech of Ex-Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu at the year-end conference of Turkey’s ambassadors on December 23, 2011: “When I left for the USA I had meetings with our ambassador and consuls general there and gave them the following order; we have to change the concept of “Diaspora”. Each individual, emigrated from the lands of Anatolia⁴⁰, is our Diaspora, irrespective of religion and belief. Where there is an Armenian, there we have to go and talk to him/her of our joint history, on how we have lived together for 10 centuries”. He also cynically indicated that the official Ankara is discussing the matter of granting the citizenship of Turkey to the descendants of the former Ottoman-subject Armenians⁴¹.

The April of 2015 was historical. The Armenians, scattered all over the world, commemorated the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide. High-level delegations from more than 60 countries joined Armenian people in Yerevan in the commemoration day of Genocide victims, sharing the tragedy and pain not only of a nation, but of a whole humanity, as well. Commemorative ceremonies and events took place not only in Armenia and Diaspora, but also in the entire world. The impressive speech, made by Pope Francis I during the Holy Mass in St. Peter’s Basilica in April, 2015⁴², as well as the courageous statement of the President of Federal Republic of Germany, where he

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ «Անխիղճ հիշողությունը չի կարող արդար լինել. թուրք հեղինակը՝ Հայոց ցեղասպանության մասին» <http://www.1in.am/1611580.html>

⁴⁰ Using the term Anatolia he meant not only Asia Minor, but also Western Armenia without mentioning it. The usage of the term Anatolia (or eastern Anatolia) instead of Western Armenia is wrong and must be considered as the continuation of the genocide in the sphere of historical geography.

⁴¹ “Turkey considers citizenship for heirs of displaced Armenians” <https://goo.gl/a1voQh>

⁴² <https://goo.gl/cP8n9N>

not only paid tribute to the memory of innocent victims, but also spoke about the share of Germany's responsibility in that crime⁴³, deserve special mention.

But as the Foreign Minister of Armenia, Eduard Nalbandyan, pointed in his speech, made in the London Royal Institute of International Relations (Chatham House) during his official visit in September, 2015, "Unfortunately, not only the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide was commemorated, but also the 100th year of Turkish denialism this year"⁴⁴.

On the one side, the Prime Minister of Turkey, Ahmet Davutoglu, had offered "a deep condolence" to the "descendants of the innocent Ottoman Armenians, having lost their lives"⁴⁵; on the other side, the Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs had issued a press release, condemning the resolution of European Parliament and qualifying it "as an example of Armenian propaganda, full of anti-Turkish patterns", because a call was made there for Turkey to recognize the Armenian Genocide⁴⁶. As concerns President Erdogan, he had announced that "not a thing, called genocide and dropping either a spot or shade on Turkey, has occurred"; then he added with an undisguised and unrestrained shamelessness, typical of him, that "the words of Europeans go through one ear and out from the other"⁴⁷.

Thus, we may note that though the denialism is typical for almost all genocides, the Turkish denialism of the Armenian Genocide has a very important singularity, that is, an entire state is engaged in the denialism; hence, the denialism is the official policy of the Turkish state.

The Turkish authorities will continue the policy of the Armenian Genocide denial with the new tactical approaches and initiatives, trying to solve the problem, by their opinion "dangerous" for national security of Turkey and being its first priority, in relations with Armenia by all means, that is, the matter of stopping the Armenian Genocide recognition process. The lecturer at the American Villanova University and the specialist of Turkish historiographic problems, Jennifer Dixon, has given an ironic, but very accurate characterization for the campaign of the Armenian Genocide denial, "**Change within continuity**"⁴⁸.

Summarizing we have to indicate that the new tactics, adopted by Turkey, can be characterized as "**sprawling**" **denialism**⁴⁹, which is more dangerous than the overt denial, since it may create seemingly an **illusion** of the intention to achieve the "objective" appraisements.

⁴³ <https://goo.gl/hVpG9V>

⁴⁴ «Այս տարի նշվեց ոչ միայն Հայոց ցեղասպանության 100-րդ տարեիցը, այլև՝ թուրքական ժխտողականության 100-րդ տարին» <https://goo.gl/3V77sT>

⁴⁵ http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/_Article/pg_Article.aspx?Id=7dfcf217-12f7-4354-b37b-6e78664f8e8f.

⁴⁶ http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/_Article/pg_Article.aspx?Id=7dfcf217-12f7-4354-b37b-6e78664f8e8f.

⁴⁷ Turkey's Willful Amnesia, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/17/opinion/turkeys-willful-amnesia.html?_r=1

⁴⁸ Dixon J., "Turkey's Narrative of the Armenian Genocide: Change within Continuity," in Annette Becker, et al., eds., *Le Génocide des Arméniens: Cent Ans de Recherche 1915-2015* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2015), pp. 249-256.

⁴⁹ «Ա. Հովհաննիսյան. Թուրքիան «սողացող մերժողականություն» է վարում» <https://goo.gl/7Ylz1g>

IRANIAN STUDIES PUBLISHED IN BRITAIN AND THE USA, FRENCH TRANSLATION OF “ASHKHARHATSUYTS” AND THE ARMENIAN LAPIDARY HERITAGE OF ARTSAKH VERSUS AZERBAIJANI FALSIFICATIONS

Danielyan E. L.

Doctor of Sciences (History),

Dumikyan A. V.

PhD in History

In the world of science it is accepted to talk about achievements in regard to new discoveries. But, in artificially-formed Azerbaijan with each new round of the falsification of history and historical geography the incapacity of bellicose ignorance is revealed more and more¹. For the lack of their own source-based history the newly-fledged Azerbaijani pseudo-researchers have this time selected as objects of falsifications some English-language works of Iranian Studies, “Ashkharhatsouyts” - *The World Atlas* (the 5th - 7th cc.) translated from Old Armenian into French by Antoine-Jean Saint-Martin (1791-1832) and the unpublished collection - “The Inscriptions of Gandzasar and Havotsptouk” by Hovsep (Iosif) A. Orbeli.

In particular, the interest manifested by some English and French historians and orientalists towards the history of Armenia gives no rest to the Azerbaijani falsifiers. At the same time trying to bring a “basis” to their voluntary interpretations, the Azerbaijani pseudo-researchers, in particular, challenge the viewpoints of English-language authors on the history of Iran. For instance, N. Gyozalova, writes: “*Англоязычная литература по истории Азербайджана XVIII в. невелика*” (“The English-language literature on history of Azerbaijan of the 18th c. is not large”) and complaining that “*монографического комплексного исследования проблем истории Азербайджана данного период нет*” (“there is no complex monographic study of the problems of

¹ The detailed criticism of Azerbaijani falsifications see: Мнацаканян А. Ш., Паруйр Севак. По поводу книги З. Бунятова Азербайджан в VII-IX вв., Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես (ՊԲՀ), 1967, 1, стр. 177-190; Мелик-Оганджян К. А., Историко-литературная концепция З. Бунятова, Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների (ԲՀԱ), 1968, 2, стр. 169-190; Арутюнян Б. А., Когда отсутствует научная добросовестность, Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների (ԼՀԳ), 1987, 7, стр. 33-56; Акопян А. А., Мурадян П. М., Юзбашян К. Н., К изучению истории Кавказской Албании (по поводу книги Ф. Мамедовой «Политическая история и историческая география Кавказской Албании (III в. до н. э.-VIII в. н. э.)», ՊԲՀ, 1987, 3, стр. 166-189; Улубабян Б. А., Магические превращения, или как были «албанизированы» хачкары и другие армянские памятники; Литературная Армения, 1988, 6, стр. 84-92; Мушегян А. В., Псевдоалбанская литература и ее апологеты., ԼՀԳ, 1989, 8, стр. 16-33; Шнирельман В. А., Албанизация армянского наследия. Албанский миф, в кн. “Войны памяти. Мифы, идентичность и политика в Закавказье”, Москва, 2003, стр. 201-222; Galichian R., The Invention of History, London, 2010; Даниелян Э.Л., Историческая справедливость против воинствующего мракобесия, 21-й век, 2011, 3, стр. 90-110; Danielyan E.L., Turkish-Azerbaijani falsifications of the Armenian toponyms as an indication of the genocidal policy, Բանբեր հայագիտության, 2013, 1, pp. 159-179; Danielyan E.L., Historical Truth against Turkish Falsifications in Information Warfare, 21st CENTURY, 2014, 1, pp. 105-131, etc.

history of Azerbaijan of the given period”), she continues: “*В англоязычной историографии прошлое Азербайджана не отделяется от истории Ирана*”² (“In the English-language historiography³ the past of Azerbaijan is not separated from the history of Iran”).

Gyozalova and her colleagues are constantly uneasy about Armenian toponyms and their mention, particularly in the British, American and French historical research works. Her ungrounded criticism is directed, particularly, against the works of R.G. Watson⁴, P. Sykes⁵, J.P. Perry⁶ and others⁷, at the same time misrepresenting Prof. Muriel Atkin’s studies. Gyozalova obstinately falsifying facts, writes: “*Ниже рассмотрены лишь наиболее значимые труды англоязычных авторов, занимавшихся непосредственно исследованием истории Карабахского и Эриванского ханств. Причина такого внимания именно к этим двум азербайджанским ханствам состоит в том, что вокруг этих ханств развивались главные исторические события того времени*”⁸ (“Below are considered only the most significant works of the English-language authors who directly studied the history of Karabakhian and Erivanian khanates. The reason of such an attention to these two Azerbaijani khanates is that major historical events of that time developed around these khanates”). Contrary to Gyozalova’s statements, the fabricated term “Azerbaijani khanates” concerning Artsakh (Karabakh/Qarabagh) and Erevan (Yerevan) is not used in the English-language works of the mentioned authors.

Taking an excessive burden on herself and embarking on the path of criticizing the English-language historiography, she concludes: “*Англоязычных трудов по иранской истории много, но не все они равноценны и объективны с точки зрения освещения истории Азербайджана*”⁹ (“There exist numerous English-language works

² Гёзалова Н., Вопросы истории Азербайджана XVIII века (на основе сведений англоязычных источников и историографии), Баку-Москва, 2010, стр. 13) <https://goo.gl/BZmABK> “В англоязычной историографии прошлое Азербайджана описывается в контексте истории Ирана” (Гёзалова Н., Карабахское и Эриванское ханства в англоязычной историографии, Источники, 2009, 6 (42), стр. 44, <https://goo.gl/Bkhu7w>) (“In the English-language historiography the past of Azerbaijan is described in the context of the history of Iran”).

³ In her falsified book “The questions of history of Azerbaijan of the 18th century” N. Gyozalova noted: “Когда мы говорим «англоязычная историография», то имеем в виду не только британскую или американскую историографию, а в целом всю западную историографию, опубликованную на английском языке” (Гёзалова Н., 2010, стр. 13) (“When we say “the English-language historiography” we mean not only British or American historiography, but, all western historiography published in the English language, on the whole”).

⁴ Watson R.G., A History of Persia from the Beginning of Nineteenth Century to the Year 1858, London, 1866.

⁵ Sykes P., A History of Persia, vol. II, London, 1921.

⁶ Perry J.R., Karim Khan Zand, A History of Iran 1747-1779, Chicago, 1979.

⁷ The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic (Vol. 7). Edited by P. Avery, G.R.G. Hambly, C. Melville, Cambridge, 1993.

⁸ Гёзалова Н., 2009, стр. 44.

⁹ Ibid. N. Gyozalova represents the generation of the Azerbaijani falsifiers who have involved in their slanderous arsenal the attacks on some works of the Western historiography’s representatives, thus “modernizing” launched by their elder colleagues falsification of the history of the Armenian principalities (melikdoms), “presenting” them as so-called “Albanian formations”. For the criticism of such kind of fabrications (including the distortion of Armenian geographic names), particularly, of the publications of O. Efendiev (Эфендиев О., Еще раз о так называемых,

on the history of Iran but not all of them are of equal value and unbiased from the point of view of the elucidation of the history of Azerbaijan"). In order to involve European and American scholars in Azerbaijani falsification machinations Gyozalova writes: *"Выступление с проармянских позиций в зарубежной историографии, является на наш взгляд, нежеланием историков самим детально ознакомиться с источниками, следует отходить от навязанных клеше. Мы призываем ученых, особенно европейских и американских к независимому и беспристрастному изучению истории..."*¹⁰ ("Acting from pro-Armenian positions in foreign historiography is, according to our view, an unwillingness of historians to get detailed acquaintance with sources; it is necessary to withdraw from forced cliché. We appeal to scholars, particularly, European and American, to an independent and unbiased study of history").

Still, is it possible to demand any results from the representatives of the English-language historiography in regards to a non-existent history of "Azerbaijan" and "Azerbaijani khanates"? It is well known that up to the middle of 1918 there was not a single territory named "Azerbaijan" outside the province of Atropatene-Atrpatakan, which is located in the northwest of the Iranian Highland¹¹.

Gyozalova misrepresenting M. Atkin's article ("The Strange Death of Ibrahim Khalil Khan of Qarabagh"), writes: *"Статья М. Аткина «Странная смерть Ибрагим Халил хана Карабахского» - серьезное историческое исследование, посвященное одному из азербайджанских ханств и личности одного из выдающихся государственных деятелей данного периода"*¹² ("The article of M. Atkin is a serious historical research, devoted to one of the Azerbaijani khanates and the person of one of the prominent state figures of the given period").

Гарабагских меликствах, Гарабаг: Курекчай - 200, Баку, 2005, стр. 85-90) and G. Mamedov (Мамедов Г., К вопросу о христианских меликах и меликствах Северного Азербайджана в XVIII в., Гарабаг: Курекчай - 200», Баку, 2005, стр. 68-84) see in the article of A. Maghalyan (Магальян А., Фальсификация истории меликств Арцаха в азербайджанской историографии, *Բնիւթիկ Մատենադարանի*, 2014, 20, стр. 83-94).

¹⁰ Гёзалова Н., 2010, стр. 20.

¹¹ Since the second half of 1918 the toponym stolen from the north-western region [*Atropatene* (in Armenian sources named *Atrpatakan*) – Aderbaigan – Azerbaijan] of Iran have been used to name an artificial "state formation" of the "Caucasian Tatars" in the Cis-Caspian region of the southeastern Transcaucasia for Pan-Turkic purposes, planning to annex the neighbouring territories including the Iranian Azerbaijan, too. (Бартольд В. В., Курс лекций, 1924г.. Соч., т. II, часть I, Москва, 1963, стр. 703, 775-776). This "toponymic plunder" just at that time brought the protest of Iran [Bayat K., *Storm over the Caucasus*, Tehran, 2002, pp. 66-67; Kāveh Bayāt, *Storm over the Caucasus: A Glance at the Iranian Regional Relationship with the Republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia in the First Period of Independence 1917-1921*, Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2002, pp. 45-47 (in Persian), Touraj, Atabāki. *Azerbaijan. Ethnicity and the Struggle for Power in Iran*, London and New York, 2000, pp. 2, 25; Moghaddam, *Where is the Real Azerbaijan*, Bonn, 2008, p. 38 (in Persian), etc. See: Rouben Galichian, op. cit., pp. 6-7].

¹² Гёзалова Н., 2009, стр. 44. She singled out her falsification ("... посвященное непосредственно отдельному азербайджанскому ханству... ") in her next publication (Гёзалова Н., 2010, стр. 18) ("...devoted directly to a separate Azerbaijani khanate...").

But M. Atkin presented this person in the following way: “Ibrahim Khalil Khan, the octogenarian ruler of Qarabagh...”¹³. It is necessary to note that neither M. Atkin nor any other aforementioned English-language author did not use the term “the Azerbaijani khanates”, as Gyozalova arbitrarily ascribes to them. Moreover, Gyozalova does not say a word about M. Atkin’s remarks concerning Armenian Christians in the region¹⁴, negotiations of Armenians with the Russian military command¹⁵, the declarations of the Armenian Bishop Iosif (Hovsep) Argutinskii-Dolgorukov about liberating Armenians from Muslim rule¹⁶, the aspirations of the Armenian melik Jamshid of Varanda “to have Russia overthrow the khan and make Qarabagh a protectorate under an Armenian governor. Perhaps he also looked forward to filling that office himself”¹⁷.

It is necessary to remember that the Russian statesman, Prince G.A. Potemkin in his letter (dated April 6, 1783) to his cousin, General P.S. Potemkin sent the following instruction concerning the future of the Armenian region Artsakh (Karabakh), as an independent region: “*Шушинского хана Ибрагима свергнуть должно, ибо после сего Карабаг составит армянскую независимую кроме России никому область*”¹⁸ (“It is necessary to depose the khan of Shushi, thus, after it, Karabagh will be an Armenian independent region, beyond any [power] but Russia”).

N. Gyozalova, burning with desire to see non-existent “Azerbaijani territories” in place of the Armenian lands, writes: “*Наиболее часто встречаемой ошибкой англоязычной историографии является утверждение о существовании армянских земель на Южном Кавказе в XVIII в. Так, М. Аткин делит весь Южный Кавказ на три пограничные зоны - Грузия, Иранская Армения (Гянджа, Гарабаг, Иреван и Нахчыван) и наследие Ширванского государства (Ширван, Шеки, Дербенд-Губа и Баку)*”¹⁹ [“The mistake most often encountered in the English-language historiography appears to be the statement on the existence of Armenian lands in the South Caucasus, in the 18th c. Thus M. Atkin divides the whole South Caucasus into three frontier zones - Georgia, Iranian Armenia (Gyanja, Garabag, Irevan and Nakhchyvan) and the heritage of the Shirvan state (Shirvan, Sheki, Derbend-Ghuba and Baku)”. Gyozalova continues: “*Несомненно, следует указать, что никакой “Иранской Армении” не существовало, а все земли, указанные в составе этой зоны являлись неотъемлемой частью азербайджанских территорий... Заблуждение англоязычных авторов, указывающих на существование какой-то “Иранской Армении”, мы склонны объяснять, во-первых, “удачной” фальсификацией армянами исторических*

¹³ Atkin M., The Strange Death of Ibrahim Khalil Khan of Qarabagh, Iranian Studies, 1979, Volume XII, N 1-2, Winter-Spring, p. 79.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁸ Армяно-русские отношения в XVIII веке. 1760-1800гг, Сборник документов, т. IV, под ред. М. Нерсисяна, Ереван, 1990, стр. 239.

¹⁹ Гёзалова Н., 2010, стр. 25.

*фактов в своих интересах, во-вторых, не достаточным знакомством англоязычных авторов со всем комплексом источников и, как следствие с трудами азербайджанских историков. Тенденция рассматривать исконно азербайджанские земли как армянские в англоязычной историографии, несомненно - заслуга армянской пропагандистской машины*²⁰ ("Undoubtedly, it should be indicated that there had been no "Iranian Armenia" and all of the lands mentioned within this zone were an inseparable part of the Azerbaijani territories... The error of the English-language authors, who point out the existence of a kind of "Iranian Armenia", we are inclined to explain firstly by the "successful" falsification of the historical facts by the Armenians in their own interest, secondly, by the insufficient familiarity of the English-language authors with the whole complex of sources and, as a consequence, with the works of the Azerbaijani historians. The tendency to consider proper Azerbaijani lands as Armenian ones in the English-language literature undoubtedly is the merit of the Armenian propaganda machinery").

Along with the falsifications of the historical facts there is a full muddle concerning the cited literature in Gyozalova's text. For instance, she writes (1): *"Как указывает М. Аткин, "все ханства Южного Кавказа, за исключением Грузии, находились под властью мусульманских правителей, их владения охватывали большую часть территории Южного Кавказа и имели более многочисленное население, чем Грузия"* ("As M. Atkin states, 'all the khanates of the South Caucasus, with the exception of Georgia, were under the rule of Muslim rulers, their possessions covered the larger part of the territory of the South Caucasus and had a more numerous population than Georgia' "); or (2) *"особую группу англоязычных публикаций составляют труды армянских авторов по истории Южного Кавказа, в том числе Азербайджана. Среди них привлекают внимание несколько работ Дж. Борнотьяна"*²¹ ("a special group of the English-language publications constitute the works of the Armenian authors on the history of the South Caucasus also including Azerbaijan. Among them several works of J. Bournutyan attract one's attention"). In both cases Gyozalova made the citations not to the works of M. Atkin and J. Bournutyan but to the book, "The Descendants of Hayk. An Outline of the History and Culture of Armenia from the Ancient Times up to the Establishment of the Third Republic" (Erevan, 1998, in Russian) by G. Sargsyan, K. Khudaverdyan, K. Yuzbashyan, where there is not a single word about the sentences cited by Gyozalova, as well as about the abovementioned authors, M. Atkin and J. Bournutyan. N. Gyozalova presents the toponyms mentioned in the book of M. Atkin in a distorted form: instead of Erevan (Ереван) she uses the form of "Irevan (Иреван)", instead of Qarabagh (Карабах/Artsakh) she uses "Garabag (Гапабар)", instead of Nakhijevan (Nakhjavan)²² she writes "Nakhchyvan (Нахчыван)".

²⁰ Ibid, p. 26.

²¹ Гёзалова Н., 2009, стр. 45. N. Gyozalova cited the surname of G. Bournoutian in an incorrect form.

²² Atkin M., op. cit., pp. 11, 19, 54.

Since ancient times Armenia²³ has been clearly mentioned in the works and cartographic materials of Herodotus (485-425 BC)²⁴, Eratosthenes (276–194 BC)²⁵, Strabo (64 BC - 24 AD)²⁶, Ptolemy (83-161 AD)²⁷ and other ancient as well as, medieval authors. M. Atkin refers to competent English authors' works in historical geography where Armenia is mentioned²⁸.

The fabricated "Azerbaijan" outside the Iranian region of Atropatene-Atrpatakan and, in general, out of the history of Iran, as represented in Azerbaijani "historiography", appears as a component of the falsification of history and proper toponymy of the Armenian Highland and the Caucasus²⁹, since there had not been any historical and geographical concept under the name "Azerbaijan" ("Aderbaygan") beyond the Atropatene-Atrpatakan's territory either in the 18th century or in previous and subsequent centuries (until mid-1918) and it could not be.

The fabrications by N. Gyozalova absolutely do not stand up to criticism. M. Atkin's book does not give any ground for such fabrications. A. Atkin writes: "In referring to the disputed border zone, I have used the term *eastern Caucasus* rather than the Russian name *Transcaucasia*"³⁰. M. Atkin represents Eastern Armenia within the bounds from Erevan (Yerevan) to Gandzak, pointing out Nakhijevan and Artsakh (Karabakh) as its organic parts. She writes: "Development in Iranian Armenia bore a resemblance to developments north of the Kura... During the Safavi era, Iranian Armenia was divided into two administrative units Yerevan... and Ganjeh" (Armenian *Gandzak*). Then, M. Atkin notes that "Nakhjavan was part of the former (Yerevan administrative unit), and Qarābagh of the latter (Gandzak administrative unit)"³¹.

The undeniable facts denounce the Azerbaijani fabrications about the nonexistent "Azerbaijan" in the territories of the Armenian Highland and the south-eastern part of the neighbouring Caucasus. Director of the Institute of Political and Social Studies of the Black Sea-Caspian Region, V. Zakharov, writes: «В западе Ильхам Алиев доходит

²³ Great Armenia and Armenia Minor.

²⁴ For the map of the Ancient World according to Herodotus see Das Geschichtswerk des Herodotos von Halikarnassos. Übertragen von Theodor Braun. Stuttgart, 1964.

²⁵ Eratosthenes' World map (Eratosthenes' *Geography*. Fragments Collected and Translated, with Commentary and Additional Material by Duane W. Roller, Princeton and Oxford, 2010, pp. 256-257).

²⁶ The Geography of Strabo, with an English translation by H. L. Jones, Cambr., Mass., London, in eight volumes, vol. V, 1954, XI, 12. 3; 14. 14-15.

²⁷ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΥΦΗΓΗΣΙΣ. Parisiis, M DCCCCI, V. 12.

²⁸ Morier J. J., Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, London, 1812; Morier J.J., A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, London, 1818; R.Ker, Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc., during the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820 (2 vol., London, 1821), etc.

²⁹ Manipulations (for the purpose of falsification) with the names of the provincial divisions of the Safavids period and the representation of the Iranian Safavid dynasty as, allegedly, "Azerbaijani" in the present Azerbaijani publications (see, for instance "War against Azerbaijan: Targeting Cultural Heritage", compiled by Kamala Imranli, in a series The True Facts about Garabagh, Baku, 2007) have been disclosed in historiography (see Galichian R., op. cit., p. 39, etc.)

³⁰ Atkin M., Russia and Iran 1780-1828, Minneapolis, 1980, p. xi. <https://goo.gl/6W0TNE>

³¹ Ibid., p. 19.

до антиисторических заявлений, а уж кому-кому, а ему, выпускнику МГИМО, стыдно не знать истории. Ведь ему преподавали выдающиеся историки. Нет, ничтоже сумняшеся азербайджанский лидер 20 ноября 2009 г. сказал: "Всем прекрасно известно, что нынешняя Армения создана на исконных азербайджанских землях. Иреванское ханство, Зангезурский махал - это азербайджанские земли. В 1918г. Иреван был подарен Армении. С того времени не прошло и 100 лет, а против нас выдвигаются новые притязания. На азербайджанских землях было создано армянское государство. А теперь хотят создать второе. Это не поддается никакой логике, азербайджанский народ, азербайджанское государство никогда не согласятся на это" ("In a fit of temper Ilham Aliyev comes to anti-historical statements, and it is shame unto him, an alumnus of MGIMO (Moscow State Institute of International Relations) not to know history. After all, he was taught by outstanding historians. No, on November 20, 2009 the Azerbaijani leader on the spur of the moment said: "It is well known that present-day Armenia is established on the ancient Azerbaijani lands. The Irevan khanate, Zangezur mahal are the Azerbaijani lands. In 1918 Irevan was gifted to Armenia. Less than 100 years have passed since then, and new claims are put forward against us. An Armenian state has been founded on the Azerbaijani lands. And now they want to establish the second one. It resists logic; the Azerbaijani people, the Azerbaijani state will never agree to it"). Condemning anti-historical attacks of Ilham Aliyev, V. Zakharov concludes: "Стыдно читать эту историческую несуразицу... Подтекст в этом выступлении очевиден: Алиев пытается обосновать претензии азербайджанской стороны уже не только на Карабах, но и на территорию самой Республики Армения"³² ("It is a shame to read this historical nonsense ... The subtext is obvious in this speech; Aliyev is trying to substantiate the claims of the Azerbaijani side, this time not only on Karabakh, but on the territory of the Republic of Armenia itself"). Nevertheless, Aliyev did not stop and on 14 October, 2010 made a mind blowing instruction addressed to the future generations: "Нынешняя Армения, территория, именуемая на карте Республикой Армения, - это исконно азербайджанская земля. Это истина. Конечно, Зангезур, Иреванское ханство - это наши земли!... Наши дети должны знать все это, должны знать, что нынешняя Армения располагается на исконных азербайджанских землях" и т.д.³³ (The present-day Armenia, a territory called the Republic of Armenia on the map, is a proper Azerbaijani land. It is true. Certainly, Zangezur, the Irevan khanate are our lands!... Our children must know all this; they should know that the present-day Armenia is located on the proper Azerbaijani lands", etc.). The same nonsense Ilham Aliyev repeated ["Нашим является не

³² Нагорно-Карабахской Республике 20 лет, Москва, 2011, стр. 4, 53-58.

³³ Виктор Шнирельман: Ну, зачем же приписывать господствующие в Азербайджане взгляды "мировой науке"? <http://regnum.ru/news/1624198.html> These periodic fits of militant ignorance, illiteracy and falsifications give evidence about serious mental disorders, caused by the defeat of Azerbaijan in the war (1991-1994) unleashed by it against the Armenian people.

*только Нагорный Карабах, но даже нынешняя Армения...*³⁴ ("Not only Nagorno Karabakh is ours, but even present-day Armenia ...")] on June 26, 2015 at the opening of a new base and a military unit in the Puta (Buta) settlement of the Baku's Gharadagh district, as well as on September 12, 2015, at the Fifth Summit of the Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States in Astana, when he stated: "... *Нагорный Карабах – исконно азербайджанская земля. Азербайджанский народ веками жил и творил на этих землях. Не только Нагорный Карабах, но и Зангезур, древний тюркский край, - наша исконная земля. С отделением в начале XX века Зангезура от Азербайджана и передачей его Армении, по существу, была прервана географическая связь всего тюркского мира...*"³⁵ ("Nagorno-Karabakh is a proper land of Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijani people lived and worked on these lands for centuries. Not only Nagorno-Karabakh is our proper territory, but also Zangezur, an ancient Turkic region - our proper land. The geographical communication of the whole Turkic world was interrupted, as such, with the separation of Zangezur from Azerbaijan and its handover to Armenia at the beginning of the 20th century...").

Such a verbal nonsense was picked up and obsequiously activated by the Azerbaijani flunkies of anti-science. By the way, N. Gozalova and her colleagues on the falsification of history, were awarded "*Государственной премии в области науки распоряжением президента Азербайджана Ильхама Алиева за научные труды по истории Карабахского, Нахчыванского и Иреванского ханств*"³⁶ ("the State prize in science for the scientific works on the history of Karabakh, Nakhchivan and Irevan khanates by an order of the president of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev"). The presidential "children", nurtured on pseudoscience and Armenophobia, are busy with the publication of books and articles based on falsifications and fabrications, as well as with the axe murder of a sleeping man³⁷.

³⁴ <http://www.armenianreport.com/pubs/109585/>

³⁵ <http://www.armenianreport.com/pubs/114329/>

³⁶ <http://vesti.az/news/118808/news.php?id=122812>

³⁷ On February 19, 2004 the lieutenant of the Armenia's Armed Forces Gurgen Margaryan, holding English courses, organized in the framework of the NATO-sponsored "Partnership for Peace" program held in Budapest, was brutally hacked to death by an Azeri officer, senior lieutenant Ramil Safarov. On April 13, 2006, the murderer of the Armenian officer was sentenced to life imprisonment without the right of general amnesty for 30 years by the Budapest City Court. Nevertheless, on August 31, 2012, the lifelong condemned criminal Safarov was extradited from Hungary to Azerbaijan being pardoned by a presidential decree the next day and receiving the rank of Major as well as an apartment and a salary for the past 8 years" (see in detail: <http://www.panarmenian.net/rus/news/188437/>). In the Artsakh Liberation War (1991-1994) the crushingly defeated aggressor Azerbaijan, led by its notorious leaders and full of fury, continues its misanthropic and anti-Armenian actions. In the four-day war (April 1-4, 2016), again unleashed by aggressive Azerbaijan against the Republic of Artsakh, soldiers of the Azerbaijan's army units, encouraged by the Azerbaijani authorities, mutilated elderly and young people, decapitated them and cut off their ears and presented those actions in the social networks as a manifestation of "heroism" (<http://www.president.am/en/press-release/item/2016/04/23/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-at-genocide-forum/>). The Armenian Defense Forces due to professionalism of the Armenian Army and heroism of its soldiers and officers again struck a powerful counterblow to aggressive Azerbaijan, crushing its plan of blitz-krieg.

N. Gozalova and R. Huseynov entered into a relatively "new" field of distorting the historical realities of Armenia, since the "pet subject" of the Azerbaijani falsifiers³⁸ has been a concoction of fabrications directed at the "Albanization" of the Armenian heritage. The usage of absolutely alien "geographical" names and concepts against Armenia (which in reality has millennia of its own history) in Azerbaijan is intensifying with the invention of the myth about "Western Azerbaijan"³⁹ allegedly "occupying" the territory of Armenia. The antiscientific efforts on the "Albanization" of the Armenian heritage, as well as the myth about "Western Azerbaijan" absolutely do not withstand criticism on the basis of reliable historical sources⁴⁰. At this point, it's time to remember the extremely negative qualification provided by V. Zakharov to the Azerbaijani antiscientific publications: "... Ни в одном уважаемом западном академическом центре не читают подобную литературу. Врученные участникам любого форума образцы бакинских изданий, оседают в гостиничных номерах или оказываются в мусорных ящиках"⁴¹ ("No one reads such literature in any of the reputable western academic centres. The examples of the Baku publications handed to participants of any forum either subside in the hotel rooms or appear in garbage cans").

Recently, R. Huseynov unleashed a falsifying propaganda campaign against the 19th century French historiography, in particular, the translations and interpretations by Saint Martin. He writes, «Отметим, что Антуан Жан де Сен-Мартен (1791-1832 гг.) является для армян важным авторитетным источником, на который они очень часто ссылаются, стремясь доказать древность своей истории, в том числе и на Кавказе.... Ведь поздние армянские переводчики, мягко говоря, лукавили: не только неверно переводили труды Хоренского, но даже «подправляли» их названия, в частности, перевели как "История Армении" труд Хоренского, который в оригинале назывался "Патмутюн Хайоц" - то есть "История Хаев". Тем самым армянские исследователи пытаются скрыть истинную историю и самоназвание нынешнего армянского народа"⁴² ("We have to note that Antoine-Jean de Saint-Martin is an important authoritative source for Armenians whom they often cite in an effort to prove the antiquity of their history, including that in the Caucasus, too After all, the later Armenian translators, to put it mildly, were not sincere; they translated the works of Khorenski not only in a wrong way, but even "fixed up" their titles, interpreting, in particular, the work of Khorenski as "History of Armenia", which was originally called "Patmutyun Hayots" - that is, "The History of Hays." Thus,

³⁸ Буниатов З., Азербайджан в VII-IX вв., 1965; Мамедова Ф., Политическая история и историческая география Кавказской Албании, III в. до н.э. - VII в. н.э., Баку, 1986.

³⁹ One of such forgeries is the book by A. Alakbarli. Les Monuments d'Azerbaïdjan d'Ouest, Baku, 2007.

⁴⁰ For a detailed analysis of sources and literature from numerous works see Шнирельман В., op. cit., pp. 201-222 etc.

⁴¹ "Нагорно-Карабахской Республике 20 лет", стр. 130-150.

⁴² This forgery R. Huseynov titled: "История подлогов и фальсификаций: Критика французского ориенталиста Ж. Сен-Мартена армянских первоисточников и рукописей". http://www.rizvanhuseynov.com/2012_05_01_archive.html ("The history of forgery and falsifications. The critics of the Armenian primary sources and manuscripts by the French Orientalist J. Saint-Martin").

the Armenian researchers try to hide the true history and the selfname of the present-day Armenian people"). Huseynov continues his fictions: "*Ведь неискушенные читатели, да и многие специалисты, до сих пор не знают разницы между армянами и хаями. Дело в том, что самоназванием нынешних армян является слово "хай", а страной Хаястан, которые не имеют отношения ко всей древней армянской культуре, истории и географическому ареалу...*"⁴³ ("After all, the inexperienced readers and many specialists, too, do not know the difference between Armenians and Hays. The fact is that the selfname of the contemporary Armenians is the word "hay", and the country - Hayastan, which do not relate to the entire ancient Armenian culture, history and geographical area ... "). Here, Huseynov tries to push on some forgeries which have nothing to do with the French Armenologist. Contrary to his statement, Saint-Martin considered Movses Khorenatsi as an author of the 5th century and translated his work accurately, *Histoire d'Arménie*,⁴⁴ the newly emerged "critic", Huseynov, concerning invented by himself "differences between Armenians and Hays," tries in vain to drive a wedge between Saint Martin and other Armenologists.

In fact, there are no such differences. Antoine-Jean Saint-Martin writes clearly about Hayk, his descendant Aram, and Armenia (Arménie) - the country of the *Haykian nation* (nation Haïganienne). Following the concept of Movses Khorenatsi⁴⁵, the French Armenologist writes: "Quoi qu'il en soit, au rapport des écrivains Arméniens, le premier chef ou prince qui gouverna leur pays fut un certain Haïg, fils de Thaglath, qui selon eux, est le même que le patriarche Thogorma... Bélus, roi d'Assyrie... rassembla une nombreuse armée et vint attaquer Haïg jusque dans son nouvel établissement: le sort des armes fut contraire au roi d'Assyrie ; il fut vaincu, et périt dans une grande bataille qui se livra sur les bords du lac des Peznouniens⁴⁶, qui porte actuellement le nom de lac de Van... Après un règne fort long, il laissa ses états à son fils Arménag, qui donna des apanages et des établissements à ses frères dans les diverses parties de l'Arménie. Aussi plusieurs familles nobles de ce pays prétendaient-elles descendre de Haïg par ce prince. Le cinquième successeur d'Arménag, nommé Aram, se distingua tellement entre tous les descendants de Haïg par ses grandes actions, que, depuis son règne, les peuples étrangers appelèrent Arménie le pays habité par la nation Haïganienne"⁴⁷.

As follows from these lines, Saint-Martin regarded as a coherent whole the heritage of Hayk and his descendent Aram, for he knew perfectly well that Movses Khorenatsi calls the *country of Armenia* - Hayq-Hayastan, and this has been known

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Saint-Martin A.-J., *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, Imprimerie Royale, t. I, Paris, 1818, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Մովսես Խորենացի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Երևան, 1991, էջ 37, 42:

⁴⁶ Lake Van.

⁴⁷ Saint-Martin A.-J., *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, t. I, pp. 281-282.

both to the **indigenous - Hay (հայ) - Armenian nation** (ընդհանուր ազգ) of **Armenia-Hayastan** and to other peoples in the world since the ancient times⁴⁸.

Many more falsified statements can be found in the narratives of Huseynov, but we will focus on three of them, sufficient to illustrate the absurdity of his fabrications.

It seems to him that he allegedly will be able to prove that Atropatene (Atrpatakan) was in the Caucasus by presenting the Saint-Martin's French translation of the "Ashkharhatsuyts" in a distorted way. The motives of his vain efforts come from his morbid imagination, in which he fancied the ghost of "Azerbaijan" out of the north-western region of Iranian Atropatene-Atrpatakan located to the south-east of Lake Urmia (Kaputan). So, the next "target" of Huseynov's fabricated attacks became the following passage from the "Ashkharhatsuyts", translated by Saint-Martin: "La grande Arménie est à l'orient de la Cappadoce et de la petite Arménie, sur le bord de l'Euphrate, et près du mont Taurus, qui la sépare de la Mésopotamie: du côté du midi, elle est limitrophe de l'Assyrie; en allant par l'Aderbadagan vers la Médie, elle s'étend jusqu'à l'embouchure de l'Araxes dans la mer Caspienne: au nord, elle est bornée par l'Albanie, l'Ibérie et la Colchide, ou Éger, jusqu'au lieu où l'Euphrate se dirige vers le midi"⁴⁹.

Huseynov making the Russian translation (messed up by himself) from Saint-Martin's work arrived at the following conclusion: *"То есть М. Хоренский, говоря о землях, некогда захваченных "Великой Арменией", упоминает об Азербайджане и локализует его севернее Мидии, а именно НА КАВКАЗЕ. Тем самым "отец армянской истории V века" или тот, кто за него писал эту книгу, констатирует существование Азербайджана на Кавказе в раннем средневековье или в более поздний период!"*⁵⁰ ("I.e. M. Khorenski, speaking of lands, once captured by "Great Armenia", mentions Azerbaijan and localizes it to the north of Media, namely IN THE CAUCASUS. Thereby, the "father of Armenian history of the 5th century" or the one who wrote this book instead of him, ascertains the existence of Azerbaijan in the Caucasus in the early Middle Ages or at a later period!").

⁴⁸ Մովսես Խորենացի, էջ 37, 230, 358. The root of the Armenians' Homeland name, Hayk'-Hayastan (originated from the name of the Armenians' eponym, Հայկ-Hayk, see Մովսես Խորենացի, էջ 37) is attested in the cuneiform sources of the 3rd-2nd millennia BC in "the ethnonym and onomastic element Իաја (Иванов Вяч. Вс., Выделение разных хронологических слоев в древнеармянском и проблема первоначальной структуры гимна Вахагн, ՊԲՀ, 1983, 4, стр. 30-31) in the name of god Կայա (see in detail Մովսես Խորենացի, Սրբազան լեռնաշխարհը. Հայաստանը Առաջավոր Ասիայի հնագույն հոգևոր ընկալումներում, Երևան, 2006, էջ 49-52) as well as in the Hittite sources of the mid-II millennium BC, as the country name Իաја (see Капанцян Г., Хайаса колыбель армян, Ереван, 1947). Armenia (according to Movses Khorentsi having as a root the name of Aram-Արամ, a descendant of Haik, see Մովսես Խորենացի, էջ 49) is also mentioned in the cuneiform sources of the III millennium BC - Armanum, Armani, Armi [see Кифишин А., Географические воззрения древних шумеров при патеси Гудеа (2162-2137 гг. до н. э.), Палестинский сб., вып. 13 (76), 1965, стр. 64; Иванов Вяч. Вс., op. cit., pp. 32-33].

⁴⁹ Saint-Martin A.- J., Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie, t. II, pp. 359-361.

⁵⁰ <http://www.rizvanhuseynov.com/2012/06/3.html>

No matter how much Huseynov exclaims, Atropatene won't be removed to the north nor will the Caucasus be relocated to the south, for in "Ashkharhatsuyts" it is about Հայք (Hayk) - Hayastan - Armenia consisting of Great Armenia and Armenia Minor, as witnessed still in the historical and cartographic sources of ancient period and the Middle Ages. The French translation of the abovementioned text of "Ashkharhatsuyts" absolutely does not give any ground for a falsified assumption that it is as if about the Caucasus and artificial "Azerbaijan". Moreover, it is well known from the ancient and medieval sources and the geographic and geologic special literature of modern times that the Caucasus is situated to the north and north-east of the Phasis-Rion and Kura rivers, and not a single part of the Armenian Highland is in the mountain system of the Caucasus⁵¹. At the same time, the contribution of Armenia and the Armenians to the civilizational progress of the Caucasian countries (particularly, proper Aluank and Iberia) is great.

The passage from "Ashkharhatsuyts" (translated into French by Saint Marten) verified with its Old Armenian original text («Մեծ Հայք, յեկեղ կալով Կապադովկիոյ եւ Փոքր Հայոց, առ Եփրատ գետով, մերձ ի Տաւրոս լեռոն, որ բաժանէ զնա ի Միջագետաց, եւ ի հարաւոյ սահմանի Ատրեստանի, եւ դառնայ առ Արրպարականաւ ընդ Մարս մինչև ի մուրս Երասխայ ի Կարբից ծով, իսկ ըստ հիւսիսոյ առ երի կալով Աղուանից եւ Վրաց եւ Եգերաց, մինչեւ ցնոյն դարձուածքն Եփրատայ ի հարաւակոյս») ⁵² is the following in our English translation: "Great Armenia is to the east of Cappadocia and Armenia Minor, by the Euphrates River, beside the mountain of Taurus, which separates [Great Armenia] from Mesopotamia; [Great Armenia] borders with Assyria on the south side; then [the border] runs to Atrpatakan beside the Medes and to the inflow of the Eraskh in the Caspian Sea; [Great Armenia] borders in the north with [proper] Aluank (բուն Աղուանք), Iberia and Colchis or Eger, to the same turning place of the Euphrates southward".

As it is seen, a "concept" of "stretching out" to the Armenian Highland both the Caucasus (to the south) and the Iranian Atropatene-Atrpatakan (to the north) is a result of Huseynov's fantasies.

The translation by Saint Martin of another extract from "Ashkharhatsuyts" reads as follows: "Le Vasbouragan est à l'occident de la Persarménie⁵³ et près des frontières de la Gordjaikh: il contient trente-sept provinces, qui sont Ereschdouni, Dosb, Poutouni, Adjischagovid, Aghavis, Parhizagovid, Gaghanovid, Tarhni, Palakhovid, Arhperhani, Pajouni, Arhnoïodn, Andsevatsi, Aderbadouni, Erovantouni, Markasdan, Ardazagé, le grand Aghpag, Andzakhadsor, Thrhounavan, Djovaschrhod, Gerdjouni, Medznouni,

⁵¹ See: Зограбян Л., Орография Армянского нагорья, Ереван, 1979; Դանիելյան Է.Լ., «Քարտեզագրական պատերազմը» և Հայոց տեղանունների պաշտպանության հիմնախնդիրը, <http://blog.ararat-center.org/?p=160>

⁵² Saint-Martin A.-J., Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie, t. II, pp 358, 360, see also Երեմյան Ս.Տ., Հայաստանը ըստ "Աշխարհացոյց"-ի, Երևան, 1963, էջ 105-106:

⁵³ It had to be *Parskahayk*, as it is in the original Armenian text (Երեմյան Ս., op. cit., p. 108).

Balouni, Kougan, Aghovankrhod, Barsbarouni, Ardaschisan, Ardavanian, Pak'han, Kapithian, Kazriken, Dangriaïn, Varajnouni, Koghthen, qui est fertile en vin, Nakhtchovan, où se trouve la ville du même nom, et Marant"⁵⁴.

Its correct English translation, verified with the Old Armenian original text of "Ashkharhatsuyts"⁵⁵ reads about Vaspurakan, the eighth province of the Great Armenia, as follows: "Vaspurakan is located west of Parskahayk, near the borders of Korchayk ...". And further, Saint-Martin mentions Ատրպատունիք (Atrpatunik) in the form of *Aderbadouni* among the *gavars* (regions) of Vaspurakan⁵⁶.

Having completely distorted the meaning of both the extract from the "Ashkharhatsuyts" and the translation by Saint-Martin, Huseynov in a spastic fit of complete and belligerent ignorance, "comments": "М. Хоренский, описывая область Васбураган 'на востоке от Персидской Армении и вблизи границы с Горджайком'⁵⁷ (Грузия), среди ее провинций упоминает Адербадуни (Азербайджан), вновь локализуя его на Кавказе"⁵⁸ ("M. Khorenski, describing the Vasburagan region to the east of the Persian Armenia and near the borders of Gordzhayk (Georgia), mentions Aderbaduni (Azerbaijan) among its provinces, locating it again in the Caucasus").

First of all, *occident* means *west* and not *east*.

Secondly, it is not about *Persian Armenia*, i.e. the eastern part of Great Armenia, which came to be in the sphere of the Persian influence after the Byzantine-Persian partition at the end of the 4th century. "Ashkharhatsuyts" states about *Parskahayk* (also known as *Norshirakan*, the seventh province of Great Armenia)⁵⁹, near Vaspurakan.

Third, Korchayk (Կորճայք) is the sixth province of Great Armenia⁶⁰ and has absolutely no relation to Georgia.

Fourthly, "Ատրպատունիք" or, more precisely, Տրպատունիք / *Trpatunik*, is indeed one of the *gavars* of Vaspurakan and has nothing to do with "Azerbaijan" invented by Huseynov. Atrpatunik / Ատրպատունիք is referred to as *Trpatunik* -զՏրպատունիս in the majority of "Ashkharhatsuyts" manuscripts⁶¹.

The translation of Saint-Martin states, "L'Artsakh est voisine de la Siounie; elle contient douze provinces ...". Then, in the list of Artsakh's *gavars* (regions), in relation to "Gokhth" (Կոխթ/Kokht), it is said: "յորում լինի քարախունկ"⁶², which Saint-Martin

⁵⁴ Saint-Martin A.- J., Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie, t. II, pp. 364-365.

⁵⁵ "Վասպուրականի ի մտից Պարսկահայք, եւ առ երի Կորճէից: Ունի գաւառս Երեսունեփնդ..." (Երեմյան Ս., op. cit., pp. 108-109):

⁵⁶ Saint-Martin A.- J., op. cit., t. II, pp. 362-363.

⁵⁷ Կորճայք:

⁵⁸ <http://www.rizvanhuseynov.com/2012/06/3.html>

⁵⁹ Երեմյան Ս., op. cit., p. 108.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Մատենադարան Մխիթարեանց, Վենետիկ - Ս. Ղազար, ձեռ. N 1245, թ. 51:

⁶² Երեմյան Ս., op. cit., p. 109.

translated, "Gokhth, dans laquelle vient le k'harakhoun⁶³". In Huseynov's false mirror the entire phrase, having being completely distorted ["...Арцах по соседству с Сюником, он состоит из двенадцати провинций, ... в которых проживают каракоюны ("... Artsakh is in the neighborhood of Syunik, it consists of twelve provinces ... inhabited by karakoyuns")], turned into a nightmarish marasmus: "Как видим, "отец армянской истории", которого ученые Армении упорно называют автором V века, упоминает об азербайджанском племени кара-коюнлу известном лишь с XIII- XIV вв."⁶⁴ ("As we can see, the "father of the Armenian history", whom the Armenian scholars consider persistently the author of the 5th century, mentions the Azerbaijani Kara-Koyunlu tribe, known since just the 13th -14th centuries!").

In the first place, "յորում լիւի" should be translated in the singular: "in which" (or "where"), as has been done properly by Saint-Martin.

In the second place, the text of "Ashkharhatsuyts" refers to քարախունկ (*karakhunk*), which means *bdellium*, *lacrima*, *gummi*.⁶⁵ The correct translation of the entire phrase is as follows: "... The Kokht, in which" (or "where") is *bdellium* (*olibanum* or *myrrh*). Thus, there is no question of a tribe "Kara Koyunlu" in "Ashkharhatsuyts" and there couldn't have been as such.

Huseynov in an unbridled way falsifies the reports on the sources of "Ashkharhatsuyts."

Saint-Martin, referring to "The Christian topography" by Pappus of Alexandria as one of the sources of "Ashkharhatsuyts", writes: "... il nous est impossible de savoir si l'ouvrage de Pappus a été traduit en son entier, ou s'il a été seulement abrégé par le traducteur Arménien. Nous sommes assez portés à admettre cette dernière opinion; car le titre de Chronographie universelle que Suidas donne à l'original Grec, promet *un ouvrage bien plus considérable que celui que nous avons. Nous croyons que le traducteur n'aura conservé que les grandes divisions, et qu'il aura supprimé tous les détails pour les pays éloignés de l'Arménie*⁶⁶ ... Il résulte assez évidemment de ce fait que l'auteur Arménien ne s'est servi, pour composer son ouvrage, que de celui de Pappus d'Alexandrie, qu'il s'est borné à traduire et à abrégé. Nous allons examiner maintenant les diverses additions qu'il y a faites; et elles nous prouveront que ce traducteur ne peut être le célèbre Moyse de Khoren.

Le traducteur Arménien place les Francs dans les Gaules. En supposant que ce traducteur soit Moyse de Khoren, il se pourrait à la rigueur qu'il eût parlé des Francs

⁶³ Saint-Martin A.-J., Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie, t. II, p. 365. Saint-Martin contented himself with a notion: "J'ignore ce que c'est que le քարախունկ k'harakhoun⁶³" (Ibid., p. 389, n. 74).

⁶⁴ <http://www.rizvanhuseynov.com/2012/06/3.html>

⁶⁵ Նոր բառգիրք Հայկազեան լեզուին, Վենետիկ, էջ 995. *Bdellium* - a precious substance, which is compared to manna. "And the manna was as coriander seed, and the colour thereof as the colour of bdellium" (Numbers 11:7). See also <http://www.kniga-zelii.ru/basics/essence/?myrrh>

⁶⁶ Saint-Martin A.-J., Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie, t. II, p. 303.

comme habitants de la Gaule, quoiqu'ils n'y fussent pas encore bien puissants en l'an 460; ce qui rend difficile de croire qu'on ait pu les connaître alors en Arménie"⁶⁷.

As clearly follows from the text of Saint-Martin: "... it is impossible to know if the work of Pappus was completely translated or just abbreviated by the Armenian translator. It is quite possible for us to take the latter view ... We consider that the translator has retained only important parts and removed all the details about the countries far away from Armenia. Hence, it naturally follows that the Armenian author while composing his work had used the work by Pappus of Alexandria. He limited himself with the translation and reduction. Now, we will examine various additions he has made and they prove that that this translator cannot be the famous Movses Khorenatsi. The Armenian translator puts the Franks in Gaul. If to suppose this translator to be Movses Khorenatsi, he, at most, would talk about the Franks as the inhabitants of Gaul, although they were not so powerful in 460, which makes it difficult to believe that they had been known in Armenia."

The text of Saint-Martin has been warped beyond recognition in the translation by Huseynov: *"Армянский переводчик был родом из Галлии, местным франком... и насколько верно говорить (в труде М. Хоренского) о местности Франков, и жителях Галлии, хотя тогда, в 460 году, она не была еще достаточно могущественна; и тому, кто поведал об этом, трудно поверить, что он видел и знал в то время Армению"*⁶⁸ ("The Armenian interpreter was a native of Gaul, a local Frank ... and how accurate is to speak (in the work of M. Khorenatsi) about the area of Franks, and the inhabitants of Gaul, although then, in 460 it was not yet powerful enough; and the one who told about it, it's hard to believe that he saw and knew Armenia at that time").

After such ignorant interpretations Huseynov has the courage to declare brazenly about "Ashkharhatsuyts", *"...еще раз становится ясным, что этот труд никак не может претендовать на достоверность и древность"*⁶⁹ ("... it becomes clear once again that this work can not lay claim to authenticity and antiquity"). It turns out that the falsifying fever does not allow him to see the historical truth.

The "culmination" of these anti-historical efforts of the Azerbaijani falsifiers and pseudo-scientific publications is an insinuation against the truth about the Armenian belonging and antiquity of Erevan. The antiquity and identity of *Erebuni-Erevan* became a bone in the throat of Azerbaijani falsifiers. Huseynov, confusing and falsifying everything, came to the absurdity that the name of the city of Erevan occurred in the form of "Irevan" at the beginning of the 16th century. For such a forgery Huseynov has misrepresented another piece from Saint-Martin's work, then "concluded": *"Т.е. Сен-Мартен и ученые его времени прекрасно были осведомлены о тюркских мусульманских основателях и дате построения ими города-крепости Ревана"*

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 305.

⁶⁸ <http://www.rizvanhuseynov.com/2012/05/2.html>

⁶⁹ Ibid.

(Иревана), являвшегося “всегда частью Азербайджана” и нигде не упоминают о древнеармянском Эребуни-Ереване, миф о котором армянские ученые придумали в середине XX века. Несмотря на то, что Сен-Мартен старается назвать эти земли «частью Армении», он тем не менее вынужден признать, что в действительности это искони азербайджанские земли и всегда были таковыми... В 1504-м г. сефевидский шах Исмаил поручил своему полководцу Ревангулу-хану построить на этой территории крепость. Крепость была возведена за 7 лет на скалистом берегу в юго-восточной стороне реки Занги, ныне переименованной армянами в Раздан. Построенная крепость была названа Реваном в честь Ревангулу-хана, а позже стала произноситься как Иреван...»⁷⁰ (“I.e. Saint-Martin and his contemporary scholars were perfectly aware of Turkic Muslim founders and the date of the construction by them of the city-castle Revan (Irevan), which “always was a part of Azerbaijan” and they never mention about ancient Armenian Erebuni-Erevan, the myth about which Armenian scholars invented in the middle of the 20th century. Although Saint-Martin tries to call these lands “part of Armenia,” he, anyhow is obliged to confess that, in reality, these are Azerbaijani lands from time immemorial and always were such... In 1504 the Safavid Shah Ismail ordered his commander Revangul Khan to build a fortress in this territory. The fortress was built in seven years on the rocky bank, on the south-eastern side of the River Zangi, now renamed Hrazdan by the Armenians. The constructed fortress was named Revan in honor to Revangul Khan and later it sounded as Irevan...”).

Saint-Martin writing that “Rhovan” or “Rewan”⁷¹ “donné à une des divisions de l’Aderbaijan”⁷² (Atrpatakan-Atropatene), at the same time added that it was a notion of the Muslims (“que les Musulmans assignèrent à la portion de l’Arménie dont Erivan était la capitale...”)⁷³. But this notion of Muslims is absolutely incorrect, because, according to the text of “Ashkharhatsuyts,” “Rhovan” (“Ruan/Ruyan”), is located far away from Armenia and not even in Atropatene-Atrpatakan. It is necessary to pay attention also to the fact that Saint-Martin used the verb *être* in imperfect - *était*, meaning the antiquity of Erevan. Huseynov, incorrectly translating this verb “...is...” (“...является...”) and, generally, completely distorting the meaning of Saint-Martin’s note, made falsified statements.

Huseynov, trying to find confirmations for his extravagant fictions, invented another lie this time about the allegedly late origin of the name of the River Hrazdan, but it is well known that the Hrazdan is mentioned by Movses Khorenatsi in the 5th century⁷⁴ and Sebeos in the 7th century⁷⁵.

⁷⁰ Ibid. All this miserable lie has been used in a low-grade “movie”, see <https://goo.gl/e59s6T>

⁷¹ It is an incorrect reconstruction.

⁷² It is a wrong statement, because Atrpatakan-Atropatene and “Rhovan” (“Ruan/Ruyan”) are mentioned separately in “Ashkharhatsuyts”.

⁷³ Saint-Martin A.-J., *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l’Arménie*, t. II, pp. 314-315, n.3.

⁷⁴ Մովսես Խորենացի, էջ 42, 121:

⁷⁵ Պատմութիւն Սեբէոսի, Երևան, 1979, էջ 84:

The records of the Biainian cuneiform inscriptions that have been found on the steles in the church of Saint Sahak in Van city, the Khorkhor Chronicles of Argishti, as well as owing the excavations on the hill of Arin-Berd in the south-eastern outskirts of Erevan⁷⁶ give evidence about both the construction in 782 BC of the Erebuni fortress by the King of the ancient Armenian state of Ararat (Uraratu) (the Kingdom of Van) Argishti I (786-764 BC.) in the Ararat valley, on the Arin-Berd hill, in a marvelous setting of the mountains of Ararat-Masis, Aragats, Ara⁷⁷, and the identity of Erebuni-Erevan⁷⁸. Erevan is also mentioned in the historical sources of early medieval and later periods⁷⁹, i.e. many centuries ago, before the Safavid state was established (1501-1736) in Iran.

"Revan", which Huseynov tries to "derive" from the name of Revangul Khan has absolutely no relation as to the name of Erevan, nor to any personal name. A series of his own falsified ideas Huseynov ascribed to Movses Khorenatsi who mentioned *Atrpatakan* and not "Azerbaijan." Huseynov fabricates: "Говоря об Азербайджане в числе провинций Мидии, М. Хоренский упоминает и Рован - Иреван: «Мидия, которую называют Кусди-кабок, соседствует с Арменией и Каспийским морем. Здесь находятся провинции: Адербадаган, Рей, Килан, Муган, Тилум, Ахмадан, Тампвар, Сбарасдан, Амл, Кшош и Рован (Иреван - Р.Г.).»"⁸⁰ ("Speaking about Azerbaijan among the provinces of Media, M.Khorenski mentions also Rovani-Irevan: 'Media, which is called Kusdi-kabok, is in the neighbourhood of Armenia and the Caspian Sea. Here are provinces: Aderbadagan, Rey, Kilan, Mugan, Tilum, Akhmadan, Tampvar, Sbarasdan, Aml, Kshosh and Rovani (Irevan-R.H.)'").

As follows from "Ashkharhatsuyts" the toponym *Ruan* is localized far away of Armenia's territory and, as we noted above, has nothing to do with Erevan ("Irevan").

It is important to pay attention to the fact that the countries described in "Ashkharhatsuyts" are mentioned separately. The description of Great Armenia⁸¹ is

⁷⁶ Пиотровский Б.Б., Ванское царство, Москва, 1959, стр. 69-70; Арутюнян Н., Корпус урартских клинообразных надписей, Ереван, 2001, стр. 504.

⁷⁷ According to G. Kapantsyan, all these names originated from the name of Ara the Beautiful (Արա Գեղեցիկ) (see Ղափանցյան Գ., Արա Գեղեցիկի պաշտամունքը, Երևան, 1945, էջ 98-99).

⁷⁸ König F., Die Gründung der Stadt Erivan (ca 785 V.C.), Հանդես ամսօրեայ, 1954, 7-8, S. 291; Пиотровский Б., op. cit., p. 31, Redgate A. E., The Armenians, Oxford, 1998, 2000, pp. 17, 54 etc.; M. Israelyan believed that the name Erebuni means *victory* (Իսրայելյան Մ., Էրեբունի բերդ-քաղաքի պատմություն, Երևան, 1971, էջ 13). It is possible that the name of the city-fortress Erebuni comes from the name of the ancient Armenian deity, Ara (see Ղանիելյան Է., Հին Հայոց դիցաբանական պատկերացումները աստղային երկնքի մասին, ՊԲՀ, 1989, 3, էջ 111). It is necessary to take into account that Plato mentions the name of the hero Er, the son of Armenius (The Republic of Plato. Second edition, translated with notes and An Interpretive Essay by Allan Bloom, Basic Books, A Division of Harper Collins Publishers, 1968, Book X, p. 297), who is known by his death and resurrection on the battlefield.

⁷⁹ One of the works on the history of Erevan that has an important value in the Armenian historiography is the research by Yervand Shahaziz (Երվանդ Շահազիզ, Հին Երևանը, Երևան, 1931, էջ 68-76), which provides written sources, mentioning Erevan: in the documents of the Third Church Council of Dvin (609 BC) is a mention of Priest Davit Erevantsi (of Erevan), as well as in the records of Sebeos (the 7th century), Ghevond (the 8th century), Asoghik (the 11th century), Samvel Anetsi (the 12th century), Homiliarium (1341), the manuscripts and colophons of the 14th-18th centuries.

⁸⁰ <http://www.rizvanhuseynov.com/2012/06/3.html>

⁸¹ Երեմյան Ս., op. cit., pp. 105-114.

followed by information about the Persian Empire, including the Medes' (Մարք) territory with its divisions. In Saint-Martin's translation actually done from the short version (edition) of "Ashkhahratsuyts", it follows: "La Médie, qu'on appelle K'housdi-k'habgokh, est voisine de l'Arménie et de la mer Caspienne. On y trouve les provinces d'Aderbadagan, de Rhé, de Kilan, de Mougan, de Tiloum, d'Ahmadan, de Tampvar, de Sbarasdan, d'Aml, de K'hschosch et de Rhovan..."⁸²

Naturally, the location of Armenia is clearly denoted separately from the Medes' territory and their provinces are not mixed. This is evidenced by the manuscript which Saint-Martin used and the corresponding manuscripts of the short version of "Ashkhahratsuyts" that are kept in Matenadaran after Mesrop Mashtots. As clearly follows from the text of "Ashkharhatsuyts" the mention of Քուստիք Կապկոհ (Kust ī Kapkōh) relates to one of four governorships of the administrative-political division of the Sassanid Empire. Following J. Markwart's publication of a part of "Ashkharhatsuyts" relating to the four governorships of the Persian Empire, it is noted: "(1) K'usti Khorbaran, the West, (2) K'usti Nemroy, the midday region, the South, (3) K'usti Khorasan, the East, and (4) K'usti Kapkoh, the direction of the Caucasus, the North"⁸³.

As follows from the long version of "Ashkharhatsuyts," «Պարսից աշխարհ ընդ դ. քաժանի այսպէս Քուստի Խորուաբան (Խորբարան), որ է կողմ արեւմտեայ... Քուստի Նեմրոջ, որ է կողմն միջօրեայ որ է հարաւ... Քուստի Խորասան, որ է կողմ արեւելից... Քուստի Կապկոհ, որ է կողմն Կաւկասու լեռանց, յորում են աշխարհք երեքասան. Ատրպատական, Արմն [որ է] Հայք, Վարջան, որ է Վիրք, Ռան, որ է Աղուանք, Բալասական, Սիսական, Առէ, Գեղան, Դմունք, Դմբաւանդ, Տապար[ա]ստան, Ռան, Ամլ»⁸⁴ ("The Persian world is divided into four, thus: Kusti Khoruaban (Khorbaran), that is the western side... Kusti Nemroj, that is the southern side... Kusti Khorasan, that is the eastern side... Kusti Kapkoh, that is the side of the mountains of the Caucasus, where are thirteen provinces: Atrpatakan, Armn [that is] Hayk', Varjan that is Virk' (Iberia), Ran that is Aluank, Balasakan, Sisakan, Are, Geghan, Dlmunk, Dmbavand, Tapar[a]stan, Rvan, Aml").

It is notable, that there is a detailed information about "Mark' " = "Medes," in the long version of "Ashkharhatsuyts", which contains information of the ancient period: «... Պարսկէն զՄարս յելից [եւ ի հարաւոյ] Կասքից [ծովուն] ասէ բնակել. եւ զոր ասեն ընդ մի իշխանութեամբ, եւ ոչ ուրեք գրանին Մարք, բայց Պարսկէն ասէ զաշխարհս

⁸² Saint-Martin A.-J., Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie, t. II, p. 371.

⁸³ The History of al-Ṭabarī. Volume V. The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakmids, and Yemen. Translated and annotated by C.E. Bosworth, New York, 1999, p. 149, n. 385.

⁸⁴ These lines are given on the basis of the manuscript 1245, fols. 63-65 (Matenadaran Mkhitarants in Venice), cf. J. Marquart's Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i (Berlin, 1901, S. 8-10) and S.T. Eremyan's publication (Երեմյան Ս., op. cit., p. 114).

ungwa' Կասր, Քաղնիշք, Գեղք, Դիլումք. եւ Ռէ եւ Ասպահան քաղաք են Մարազ:»⁸⁵
 ("Ptolemy says that Mark' live in the east and [further to the south of] the Caspian [Sea], and, as It is said, under one rule, and Mark' are not found anywhere else. But Ptolemy says that their provinces are Casb, Kadushk', Gegh, Dilumk'; as well as Re and Aspahan [or Ahmadān] are the cities of Mark' ").

Description of Media (*Μηδίας θέσις. " Ἀσίας πίναξ ε' ". Ἡ Μηδία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων μέρει τῆς Ὑγκανίας θαλάσσης κατὰ περιγραφὴν τοιαύτην Μετὰ τὸ εἰρημένον πρὸς τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ πέρας τοῦ Ἀράξου ποταμοῦ ... ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ... ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν Ὑγκανία καὶ τῇ Παρθίᾳ...*) and the enumeration of some toponyms (*ἢ Τροπατηνῇ*⁸⁶... Κάσπιοι, Καδουσίοι, Γῆλοι") in Ptolemy's text⁸⁷ clearly indicate that later, in the short version of "Ashkharhatsuyts" took place a blend of information about the territories of ancient Mark', Persia and medieval administrative unit Kusti Kapkoh.

According to S. Eremyan, later the editors while compiling the short version of "Ashkharhatsuyts" had left out from the description of Kustik Kapkōkh the names of Armenia, Virk, Aluank, etc. and fixed *“Մարք են որ կոչի...”*⁸⁸ There is a reason in such a supposition, because from the mention of the aforesaid provinces it follows that it is about the habitation territory of “Mark' ”=“Medes” of ancient times. According to the short version of "Ashkharhatsuyts", *“Մարք են որ կոչին քուստիկք [կ]ասպկոխ յեղից⁸⁹ կալով հայոց. և առ երի կասքից ծովուն. և ունի աշխարհս զայսոսիկ. զպարպարական. զռէ, զգելան, զմուկան, զդիլումս, զահմարան, զդարավադ, զբապարասարան զամլ, զքշանշ, զռուան”*⁹⁰ (“Mark', that are called Kustik Kapkōkh, are to the east of Armenia and beside the Caspian Sea. It has the following lands: Ātrpātakān, Rē, Gelan, Mukan, Dilumn, Ahmadān, Daravad, Taparastan, Āml, Ksharsh, Ruan...”).

Thus the expression “Mark', that are called Kustik Kapkōkh” with its content is a blend of different geographical notions.

⁸⁵ These lines are given on the basis of the Matenadaran manuscript N1245, fol. 65, J. Marquart, op. cit., S. 10 and S.T. Eremyan's publication (Երեմյան Ս., op. cit., p. 115). It is necessary to denote that Movses Khorenatsi in his “History of Armenia” mentions both “Mark'” and “Medes” as synonyms. Retelling events of the 6th century BC, the Father of history applied this ethnonym to the territory lying to the east of Great Armenia: *“Եւ ժողովէ արքայն Հայոց ի սահմանացն Կապադոկացոց, և որչափ ընդիրք Վրաց և Աղուանից, և զամենայն ընդիրս Հայոց Մեծաց և Փոքունց: Եւ խաղայ ամենայն զօրութեամբ իւրով զկողմամբք Մեդացոց”* (Մովսէս Խորենացի, էջ 81) (“The Armenian king gathered [troops] from the confines of Capadocians and as much as selected of the Iberians and Aluans and all the chosen of Great and Minor Armenia. And marched with all his might to the confines of the Medes”).

⁸⁶ Atropatene, see Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, London, 1854 <https://goo.gl/6GqyiM>

⁸⁷ Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia. Edidit C.F.A. Nobbe, Tom II, Lipsiae, 1845, VI. 2, pp. 84-86. <https://archive.org/stream/clauidiptolemaei02ptol#page/84/mode/2up>

⁸⁸ Երեմյան Ս., op. cit., p. 104, n. 2.

⁸⁹ In the manuscripts of the short version of "Ashkharhatsuyts" used here stands *“յեղից կալով”* (“to the east”), instead of *«յերի կալով»* (“in the neighbourhood”) of the manuscript used by Saint-Martin.

⁹⁰ See manuscript variant readings: Matenadaran after Mesrop Mashtots - N 1898, fol. 2716; N 1267, fol. 359; N 1486, fol. 103; N 1883, fol. 154b; N 1864, fol. 290; N 1717, fol. 168.

The comparative analysis of the abovementioned manuscripts of "Ashkharhatsuyts" makes clear that:

1. In spite of the fact that by the time of the creation of "Ashkharhatsuyts"⁹¹ Media had long since ceased to exist in its ancient coverage, the Armenian authors continued to mention the Mark' (*Medes*) and described their living area as a separate geographical unit⁹² located to the south-east of Armenia, and limited within the bounds of a territory, stretching to the east from Atropatene (in the south-east of the Lake Urmia's basin) to the south-west of the Caspian Sea basin.
2. The mentioned provinces and toponyms were parts of the Iranian state: Atrpatakan (Atropatene), Ray, Gilan, Mukan⁹³, Dilum (Dillman), Hamadan (Ecbatana) Dambvar, Taparastan (Tabaristan), Aml (Amegh)⁹⁴, Ruan;
3. *Atrpatakan* is mentioned in all manuscripts, there is no mention of its later form.
4. Variant readings of the abovementioned toponym Ruan are Ruegh, Rvan in the manuscripts of "Ashkharhatsuyts";
5. Ruan (Rowan)⁹⁵ - Ruyan is localized in Iran⁹⁶.



F. Akhundov (the head of sector of the administration of the president of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliiev) also fell into the most awkward situation, having attacked the short and informative article of the Russian political scientist Anton Evstratov, in which the author presents his personal impressions about the state of the religious situation in Artsakh. A. Akhundov was enraged about the truthful information that Evstratov had provided about Artsakh and the Gandzasar monastery:

“Нагорно-Карабахская республика (НКР, армянское название региона - Арцах) со времен обретения ею независимости воспринимается как один из оплотов Армянской Апостольской церкви (ААЦ)... Армянская Апостольская церковь действительно сыграла важнейшую роль в

⁹¹ The authors: Movses Khorenatsi (the 5th century) and the continuer of his work Anania Shirakatsi (the 7th century).

⁹² «Ամուր աշխարհն Մարաց», «Իշխան Մարաց», (Սեբեդու, 125, 143, 164) (“a strong country of Mark’,” “prince of Mark’”):

⁹³ Movkan or Mukan was formerly a part of Paytakaran, an utmost southeastern province of Great Armenia. (Ս.Երեմյան, Հայաստանը ըստ “Աշխարհացոյց”-ի, էջ 71), Հակոբյան Թ., Մելիք-Բախշյան Սո., Բարսեղյան Հ., Հայաստանի և հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան, Երևան, հ. 2, 1988, էջ 36, հ. 3, 1986, էջ 867. Ya'qub mentions Mukan within the limits of the province of *Arminia* (see Тер-Гевондян А., Армения и Арабский халифат, Ереван, стр. 157).

⁹⁴ Arab.-Pers. Amul ((J. Marquart, op. cit., S. 136), Amol <https://www.britannica.com/place/Amol>

⁹⁵ Rowan (Persian: روعان, also Row'ān, Rawān, Ro'ān, Rojan) (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rowan,_Iran), (J. Marquart, op. cit., S. 136). There is also a toponym Rawān further to the east, in Tokharistan (Ibid., S. 237).

⁹⁶ <https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Табаристан#/media/File:Tabaristan-EN.svg>, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rowan,_Iran

истории Арцаха и всего армянского народа - зачастую помимо религиозных функций она в периоды утери государственности брала на себя и политические. К примеру, расположенный в Мартакертском районе НКР монастырь Гандзасар стал настоящим политическим центром средневековой Армении - именно гандзасарский католикос Есаи Асан-Джалалян организовал переговоры армян с российским императором Петром I, инициировал сопротивление персам, туркам и соседним тюркским племенам и даже изгнал захватчиков лишь силами войск Арцаха и Сюника на 20 лет. В эпоху национального движения и войны с Азербайджаном 1988-1994 годов Апостольская церковь также выступила в поддержку армян Нагорного Карабаха. В народе до сих пор помнят диаконов Раффи и Тер-Корюна и священника Тер-Григора, взявших в руки оружие во имя своего народа... На данный момент ААЦ имеет в независимом Карабахе статус национальной Церкви. Этот ее исключительный статус отражен в пункте 2 главы 10 Конституции НКР. Представлена Церковь на территории республики Арцахской епархией, возглавляемой архиепископом Паргевом Мартиросяном. В ее распоряжении – кафедральный собор Святого Христа Всеспасителя в Шуши, собор Святого Иоанна Крестителя на горе Гандзасар, церковь Святого Акола в Степанакерте и др.”⁹⁷ (“The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (NKR, the Armenian name of the region is Artsakh) is perceived as one of the strongholds of the Armenian Apostolic Church (AACH) from the time of its independence. The Christians in Nagorno-Karabakh make up 99.9% of the entire population at the moment... The AACH has indeed played a very important role in the history of both Artsakh and the whole Armenian nation - oftentimes, in the periods when the statehood had been lost, AACH assumed also the political functions aside from the religious ones. For example, the Gandzasar monastery (located in the Martakert district of the NKR) became a real political centre of medieval Armenia; it was namely Yesayi Hassan Jalalyan, the Catholicos of Gandzasar who organized the negotiations between Armenians and the Russian Emperor Peter I and initiated the resistance to the Persians, Turks and the neighbouring Turkic tribes, even expelling the invaders by just the armed forces of Artsakh and Syunik for 20 years.

In the epoch of national movement and the war with Azerbaijan in 1988-1994 the Apostolic Church supported the Armenians of Nagorno Karabakh as well. The people still remember the deacons Raffi and Ter-Koryun as well as the priest Ter-Grigor, who had taken up arms in the name of their people... At the present time, the AACH has the status of the National Church in Independent Karabakh. This exceptional status is reflected in Article 10, paragraph 2 of the NKR Constitution. The Church is represented on the territory of the Republic by the Artsakh Diocese, headed by Archbishop Pargev Martirosyan. The Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Shushi, the Cathedral of St. John the

⁹⁷ Антон Евстратов, “Колокольни и минареты Карабаха”, *Независимая газета*, НГ Религии.

http://www.ng.ru/ng_religii/2015-08-19/6_karabah.html

Baptist on the Gandzasar mount and St. Hakob Church in Stepanakert and others belong to the Artsakh Diocese”).

F. Akhundov, having passed the school of lies and showing a complete ignorance, writes: *“Возникает закономерный вопрос: “А где же тогда Эчмиадзин (или Вагаршапат)?” Ответ очень прост - за тысячу километров, у берегов реки Евфрат...”*⁹⁸ (“An appropriate question comes up, “And where is then Echmiadzin (or Vagharshapat)?” The answer is very simple - thousand of kilometers away, by the Euphrates river banks...”).

One of the ancient Armenian capitals, the city of Vagarshapat, as we see, also became the “target” of Akhundov’s unscientific attacks. Due to the scratch of the pen of Akhundov, Vagarshapat suddenly “appeared” *“за тысячу километров, у берегов реки Евфрат, в средневековой Византии, там, где проживали и сами армяне до их переселения в XV веке на территории Эриванского ханства. Кстати, на всех документах о приобретении армянскими церковниками участков земли, территории, на которые они переселялись, в том числе и сама Эривань, назывались Азербайджаном, а не Арменией”*⁹⁹ (“thousand of kilometers away, at the banks of the Euphrates River, in the medieval Byzantium where the Armenians themselves were living before they resettled on the territory of the Erivan khanate in the 15th century. By the way, in all documents about the acquisition of plots by the Armenian churchmen, the territories where they resettled, including Erivan itself, were called Azerbaijan, but not Armenia”). After such absurd allegations and showing disrespect over the objective presentment of A. Evstratov, this high-ranking official writes, *“Вот такая короткая, но очень антинаучная фраза получилась у господина Евстратова. А теперь некоторые подробности”*¹⁰⁰ (“Here is a short but very unscientific phrase ended up with Mr. Evstratov. And now some details”).

But, on the contrary, the anti-scientific content and the absurdity, in general, come to total meaninglessness in the words that Akhundov himself writes: *“Дело в том, что до XV века армянские духовные центры располагались в Малой Азии, где, собственно говоря, и проживали сами армяне, в том числе и сам Вагаршапат, находившийся у берегов реки Евфрат. В преддверии падения Византийской империи и взятия Константинополя османами армянские церковники искали защиту у правителей азербайджанского государства Кара-Коюнлу, которые в рамках своей борьбы с османами были заинтересованы в поддержке Армянской церкви. Таким образом, правители Кара-Коюнлу предоставили Армянской церкви убежище на Кавказе, в Азербайджане, в селе Учкилиса, ныне Эчмиадзин, о чем сохранилось немало документов”*¹⁰¹ (“As a matter of fact up to the 15th century

⁹⁸ Фуад Ахундов, “Тайна исчезновения книги Орбели раскрыта”, Независимая газета, 02.09.2015 http://www.ng.ru/ng_religii/2015-09-02/7_orbel.html (further: ФА).

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

the Armenian spiritual centres were located in Asia Minor,¹⁰² where, properly speaking, the Armenians themselves had their residence, including Vagharshapat itself, which was located at the banks of the Euphrates River. Ahead of the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans the Armenian churchmen sought the protection of the rulers of the Azerbaijani state, Kara Koyunlu, who were interested in supporting the Armenian Church in their struggle against the Ottomans. Thus, the rulers of the Kara Koyunlu provided the Armenian Church with a shelter in the Caucasus, in Azerbaijan, in the village of Uchkilisa,¹⁰³ now Echmiadzin; numerous documents have been preserved about it").

Here, the falsification is presented as a deceptive information along with the distortion of history. The experienced reader of the newspaper "Независимая газета" ("Independent gazette"), without any problems, can recognize the whole absurdity of this verbal rubbish, for it is well known that the name Vagarshapat is related to that of the Armenian King Vagharsh I (117-140 AD) who founded this city (which became the capital of Great Armenia along with the ancient Artashat) near Vardgesavan (close to Shresh Blur), known since the times of the Armenian Kingdom Haykazun-Ervandakan¹⁰⁴.

After the proclamation of Christianity as a state religion in Armenia the first in the world in 301 AD St. Grigor Lusavorich (the Illuminator), having seen a vision, founded the Echmiadzin Cathedral in the site of the *Descent of the Only Begotten* in Vagharshapat¹⁰⁵ in 303 AD, and afterwards the city received the same name as well.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the construction of Vagarshapat and all the other events, according to historical sources, occurred in the 2nd and the beginning of the 4th century in Armenia, in the Ararat valley, at the foot of Mount Ararat-Masis. How could Vagarshapat [also known as the "New City" (Καὶνὴ πόλις), according to Dio Cassius]¹⁰⁷ together with its Armenian population and buildings, as well as, thereunto (if only Akhundov could know of that) with Greek and Latin inscriptions [as an evidence of the temporary location of two detachments of the Roman legions XV *Apollinarius* and XII *Fulminata* (in the 70-80s of

¹⁰² The same baseless and fabricated "concept" is present also in the notorious article of N. Gyoalova: "Армянская государственность появилась и существовала в Малой Азии, где она четырежды - в IV, VI, XI, XIV веках была ликвидирована великими державами" (Гёзалова Н., 2009, р. 45) ("The Armenian statehood appeared and existed in Asia Minor, where it four times - in IV, VI, XI, XIV centuries was liquidated by great powers").

¹⁰³ "Uchkilisa" is a distorted translation of the Armenian *Three Churches* - The Echmiadzin Cathedral, the churches of St. Hripsime (618 AD) and St. Gayane (630 AD) in Echmiadzin.

¹⁰⁴ Մովսես Խորենացի, էջ 199:

¹⁰⁵ Ագաթանգեղոս Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Տիգրիս, 1909, էջ 386-387:

¹⁰⁶ One should note that there are many sites with two or more names. For example, Mazhak - Caesarea (Cappadocia), Argentorate-Strasbourg, Voskresensk-Istra, etc. Now imagine! Someone takes into "presenting" the hometown (Caesarea in Asia Minor) of Basil the Great (330-379) in any other country (Caesarea Maritima or Caesarea Palaestinae, Caesarea Philippi in Galilee), because of the similarity of the names, and talks nonsense like Akhundov. It is completely impossible in the case of truthful research works.

¹⁰⁷ Cassius Dio, Roman History, LXXI, 2.

the II century AD) therein] appear "thousand of kilometers away, at the banks of the Euphrates River"?

Considering the total illiteracy of the concoction of Akhundov, none of the scholars with self-esteem would have entered into polemics with him. However, as he has entered the information war, it is necessary to show his place in the garbage dump of information viruses, for it's obvious the level of his "historical preparation". He patches up his "presentment" with new fabrications, and as a result comes out with a mosaic of falsifications. At the same time, the "secret" of his quick and inadequate response to the article by Evstratov has been figured out. It turns out that Akhundov wants to exhibit his writing about Hovsep Orbeli because the first of his attempts failed, for he was unmasked by the political scientist and the founder and unchallenged director of the "Voskanapat" analytical centre, Levon H. Melik-Shahnazaryan¹⁰⁸ and S. Tarasov¹⁰⁹.

But after the death of L. Melik-Shahnazaryan (12 August 2015) Akhundov appeared again and attacked Alexander Evstratov in the beginning of September. The matter for the falsification spasm by Akhundov is a "new" wave of forgeries through denigrating both the scientific heritage and the bright memory of Hovsep Orbeli. When acting in this way, Akhundov utters not a single word about the article of L. Melik-Shahnazaryan, who debunked and crushed his falsified publication by a profound criticism.

F. Akhundov thought that after the death of L. Melik-Shahnazaryan he may continue his slandering of Hovsep Orbeli without any responsibility before the scientific community and the wider reading public, for he writes again: *"В 1919 году И. Орбели издал книгу «Надписи Гандзасара и хавоцптука» и сразу же уничтожил весь тираж. Около 100 лет в научных кругах эта книга считалась утерянной. Поэтому я решил разыскать ее и обнаружил в архивах Петербурга. В своем исследовании я показал причины столь странного поступка, а также привел переводы нескольких надписей из этой книги"*¹¹⁰ ("In 1919 I. Orbeli published the book, "The Inscriptions of Gandzasar and Havotsptuk", and immediately liquidated the complete edition. For about 100 years this book was considered lost in the scientific circles. Therefore I decided to seek out the work and found it in the archives of St. Petersburg. In my study I presented the reasons for that strange deed, and provided translations of several inscriptions from this book").

¹⁰⁸ Мелик-Шахназарян Л. Г., Академия мошенников. Азербайджан пытается совокупить историю с топором или О книге академика И. Орбели «Надписи Гандзасара и хАвоцптука» <http://voskanapat.info/?p=83>

¹⁰⁹ Criticizing F.Mamedova's falsifications, S.Tarasov noted: "...азербайджанский народ является не прямым потомком албан... Азербайджан подвергает ревизии устоявшуюся в историографии версию о своей национальной идентичности, занят поисками «новой исторической родины», считая себя чуть ли не правопреемником всего культурно-исторического наследия Кавказской Албании" (Зачем Азербайджану новая «историческая родина» <https://goo.gl/IZPp15>) ("... Azerbaijani people is not a direct descendant of Albanians ... Azerbaijan revises the version of its national identity established in historiography, and is busy in looking for a "new historical homeland", considering itself almost a legal successor of all the cultural and historical heritage of Caucasian Albania... "(Tarasov Stanislav, Why Azerbaijan needs a new "historical homeland").

¹¹⁰ ФА

All of the falsifications of Fuad Akhundov and “information fuss” around the artificially exaggerated problem on the unpublished collection by Hovsep Orbeli falls apart when the fundamental books, “The Principality of Khachen in the 10th-16th centuries” (published in 1975) and “Gandzasar” (published in 1981) by Bagrat Ulubabyan are opened along with the annihilating criticism of Fuad’s falsifications by Levon Melik-Shahnazaryan.

Having thoroughly studied the political history, material and spiritual culture of Artsakh, and taking into consideration the research work of Hovsep Orbeli, B. Ulubabyan wrote: «*Խաչենի վիմագրական հարուստ նյութը հետազոտելու նպատակով... Օրբելին 1909-ի օգոստոսի սկզբին գալիս է Խաչեն: Նա այստեղ մնում է ընդամենը 17 օր և գրի առնում շուրջ 270 արձանագրություն. 84-ը՝ Գանձասարի վանքից, 21-ը՝ Վաճառից, Խաչխութից ու Ծմակահող գյուղից, 13-ը՝ Հավապտուկից, 36-ը՝ Կոշիկ անապատից, 37-ը՝ Մեծառանից Ս. Հակոբա վանքից, 11-ը՝ Զուխր-խաչ ու Խանչալ-խաչ սրբավայրերից, 35-ը՝ Խաթրավանքից և 33-ը՝ Դադի-վանքից: Այս բոլոր արձանագրությունները Հ. Օրբելին իրեն հատուկ բարեխղճությամբ ու խնամքով արտագրել է (բացառությամբ Գանձասարի ու Հավապտուկի) փոքր չափսի մի ընդհանուր տետրում, որի տիտղոսաթերթին գրել է “Армянские надписи Хачена”:* Ըստ երևույթին տետրից անմիջապես պիտի շարվածք կատարվեր տպարանում, քանի որ հենց վերնագրի տակ էլ կա հեղինակի հանձնարարությունը ընտրելի տառերի ու շարվածքի մյուս հանգամանքների մասին... Այս տետրը գտնվում է ՍՍՀՄ ԳԱ Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի Լենինգրադյան բաժանմունքի արխիվում: Նույն արխիվում է գտնվում նաև Գանձասարի ու Հավապտուկի արձանագրությունների հավաքածուն՝ արդեն տպարանային սրբագրական արտատպվածքի ձևով: Բանն այն է, որ Օրբելին դեռևս 1909 թ. տպագրության պատրաստած առաջին տետրակի ու սույն ժողովածուի հրատարակությունը հետաձգել է տպագրական համապատասխան տառատեսակների բացակայության պատճառով և նրանց վերստին անդրադարձել է 1919-ին, որոշելով հավաքած բոլոր վիմագրերը հրատարակել առանձին փոքրիկ ժողովածուներով: Նա այդ շարքի առաջին ժողովածուի մեջ մտցրել է Գանձասարի ու Հավապտուկի արձանագրությունները: Սակայն, դժբախտաբար, այս ժողովածուի հրատարակությունը ևս ինչ-ինչ պատճառներով գլուխ չի եկել և այն մնացել է որպես սրբագրական արտատպվածք՝ բաղկացած 42 փոքրադիր էջերից”¹¹¹ (“To study the rich lapidary material of Khachen... Orbeli comes to Khachen at the beginning of August 1909. He stays there just 17 days and records approximately 270 inscriptions, 84 of them from the Gandzasar monastery, 21 from Vachar, Khachkhut and the Tsmakahogh village, 13 from Havaptuk (Havotsptuk), 36

¹¹¹ Ուլուբաբյան Բ., Խաչենի իշխանությունը X-XV դարերում, Երևան, 1975, էջ 21-22: Ուլուբաբյան Բ., Գանձասար, Երևան, 1981, էջ 82-83:

from the Koshik hermitage (*anapat*), 37 from the St. Hakob monastery of Metsarank, 11 from holy sites of Jukht-khach and Khanchal-kach, 35 from Khatravank and 33 from Dadi-vank. Hovsep Orbeli copied all these inscriptions (except for those of Gandzasar and Havotsptuk), with great conscientiousness and care, in a small size commonplace book, writing “The Armenian inscriptions of Khachen” on its title page. Apparently, a typesetting had been made from this notebook immediately, since the author’s instructions on conditions of both selecting the letters and typing is recorded just under the title...This notebook is in the Archive of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Leningrad branch of the USSR Academy. The same archive keeps also the collection of the Gandzasar and Havotsptuk’s inscriptions in the form of corrected typographical overprint. The fact is that Orbeli still in 1909 postponed the publication of the first notebook and the given collection, which had already been ready, because of lacking an appropriate typographic font, and applied to them again in 1919, arriving at a decision to publish all of the collected lapidary inscriptions as separate small collections. He inserted the Gandzasar and Havotsptuk’s inscriptions in the first collection of this series, but, unfortunately, the publication of this collection was not likewise followed up for some reasons and only a corrected overprint, consisting of 42 pages of a small format, was not realized, too”). As follows from some details, relating to the text of Orbeli’s notebook, B. Ulubabyan investigated the unpublished collection, preserved in the Archive of the Institute of Oriental Studies¹¹². Thus, this information from the works of B. Ulubabyan is sufficient to nullify the F. Akhundov’s false statement that “for about 100 years this book was considered lost in the scientific community”. Moreover, as Levon Melik-Shahnazaryan noted: “In 1919, a flood occurred in Petrograd; the water flooded the printing house and damaged hopelessly a lot of fonts, including Armenian ones. The publication of the book was forcedly postponed until 1922. Having received the text compositions’ copies, Akhundov has learned this story and this makes his lie even more abominable...We have to upset heavily and disappoint the whole gang of swindlers falsifying history. The editorial board of *Voskanapat.info* has recently acquired that same “unique throughout the world” copy, which is being so diligently “cited” by Azerbaijani historians. And now, we have an opportunity to demonstrate with facts, that is, the copies of the text compositions of the book by Orbeli, that all the insinuations of Azerbaijani politicians and historians around this book are shameless lies ... In the preface to the book, written by Hovsep Orbeli himself one can find the following lines: “При списывании надписей выяснилось, что в Хачене, более чем в какой-либо другой области Армении, надписи гибнут и исчезают” (“While copying inscriptions, it was found out that the inscriptions crumble away and disappear in Khachen more than in any other region of Armenia”). H. Orbeli means natural crumbling of tens of inscriptions, “вырезанных на слоистом, крошащемся камне” (“carved on a layered and crumbling stone”). The Azerbaijani fraudsters busy with the falsification of history will not, of course, cite these words from the “discovered book”,

¹¹² Ibid.

but, as we see, **Orbeli has no doubt about Khachen's belonging to the Land of Armenia**. The conviction of the outstanding scientist is based not on emotions, but on a solid knowledge of history of the region, including a thorough study of the inscriptions on the Gandzasar church and other churches in the region"¹¹³.

The unmasking of the Turkish-Azerbaijani falsifications is in the sphere of an information war. The victory is on the side of the history and historical geography of Armenia (Great Armenia, Armenia Minor and Cilicia). It is evidenced by the written, material and spiritual primary sources and monuments of the historical heritage of Hayastan-Armenia rooted in the history of the origin of world civilization.

¹¹³ Мелик-Шахназарян Л., Академия мошенников. <http://voskanapat.info/?p=83>.

ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

“Mashtotsyan Matenadaran” serial publication



“FRIENDS OF MATENADARAN”
BENEVOLENT FOUNDATION

VARDAN DEVRIKYAN

**TRANSFIGURATION
AND
THE FEAST OF VARDAVAR**



“MAGALAT”
publishing house

Yerevan 2006

The book is printed by the decision of the
scientific council of the Matenadaran named after MESROP MASHTOTS

Editor - **GAYANE POGHOSYAN**

The book is printed with the assurance of
AELITA DOLUKHANYAN,
Doctor Prof. of Philological Sciences
and
HRAVARD HAKOBYAN,
Doctor Prof. of Art History

The book is printed with the support of the
Ministry of Culture and Youth of the Republic of Armenia
and
"Friends of Matenadaran" Benevolent foundation

The book is dedicated to the iconography of the paintings of Christ's
Transfiguration elucidating its allegorical meanings and pointing out the sources
and commentaries on which the iconography of this motif is based.



PREFASE

The feast of Vardavar

Traditional Churches celebrate the feast of Transfiguration on August 6. Originally, the Armenian Church also celebrated this feast on August 6, and in the Synaxary, which represents the feasts and saints' commemoration days of the Church, the Transfiguration is mentioned on August 6.

However, beginning from the V-VI centuries, the feast of Transfiguration underwent two major changes. It was also called Vardavar and instead of being celebrated on August 6, it began to be celebrated on the 14th Sunday subsequent to the Easter, i.e. 98 days after the Easter. Therefore, being related with the Easter it has mobility of 35 days and is celebrated between June 28 and August 1.

Vardavar is one of the five major feasts of the Armenian Church. The Armenian Church destined three days for the feast of Transfiguration or Vardavar. On Saturday, after the vespers, the eve of the feast is celebrated, thus announcing the beginning of the feast, because according to the Church calendar, the day begins after the vespers. For this reason, the feast of Transfiguration begins after the Saturday vespers.

On Sunday, festive Divine Liturgy is celebrated and on Monday, it is a memorial day. In the Armenian Church, all the Mondays following the five major feasts are memorial days.

On the feast of Vardavar, people sprinkle water on each other and set doves fly, and according to the national-ecclesiastical tradition, these customs keep the memory of the Flood. It is said that Noah established the feast of Vardavar after leaving the ark that had stopped on Mount Ararat. In the memory of the Flood, he commended to sprinkle water on each other and set doves fly, which symbolizes the dove that brought an olive leaf in her beak, thus announcing that the waters were abated from off the earth (Genesis 8:8-12).

National celebrations of Vardavar were performed in the open air. For this reason, Transfiguration, one of the five major feasts, most of all is compared with the feast of tabernacles (Leviticus 23: 33-44, Numbers 29:12-40).

The term Vardavar is composed of the words "vard" (rose) and "var" (bright), therefore, Vardavar means brightness of a rose or a bright, shining rose.

This ancient feast that keeps the memory of the Flood, has got a new Christian reinterpretation and is related to the

Transfiguration of Christ in the following way. According to the Armenian Church Fathers and especially to St. Grigor Tatevatsi (1345-1409), the feast of Transfiguration is called Vardavar, because the brightness of a rose is hidden in its bud, and likewise Jesus kept hidden the light of His Divine glory in His body prior to His Transfiguration on Mount Tabor. Afterwards, He revealed and showed it in all its brightness on Mount Tabor.

Since Vardavar is related with rose and water, at the Divine Liturgy on the feast of Transfiguration one of the deacons immersed a bunch of roses into the water and sprinkled the faithful, when they approached to kiss the Gospel and take communion.

In the world literature and art, rose is one of the symbols of love. In the same way, the feast of Vardavar was regarded a day of love and betrothal. On its eve, boys and girls made fires at night and spent the night by organizing song contests around them. The losers were supposed to treat fruits and sweets.

In summer, on the feast of Vardavar lovers were betrothed, and in autumn they got married. Generally, Vardavar first of all was the feast of youth.

Vardavar was also a feast for pilgrimages. The main shrine was the Monastery of St. Karapet of Moush, which bore the name of John the Baptist and was in the province of Taron. In all the regions, people organized pilgrimages to those churches and monasteries that were named after John the Baptist.

According to an Armenian custom, during pilgrimages sacrifice (matagh) was offered, and for this reason, offering sacrifice was popular on the feast

of Vardavar. All the inhabitants of the region made donations for offering the sacrifice.

The feast of Vardavar coincides with the gathering in the harvest, and being related with flowers and plants, it is as a gift presented to the harvest for its abundance. For this reason, according to a nice national tradition, people took ears of corn to Church asking priests to bless them, so that the fields could be protected from hail and locusts. On the same purpose, people used to knit the ears of wheat like a cross on the feast of Vardavar.

According to the tradition, Yeghishe, a 5th century historian, wrote the prayer that is read in the Church on the feast of Vardavar. It states, "O Lord, bless the harvest of this year and defend from all the perils, and may Your Right Hand, O Lord, protect us for the whole year".

This brightness of the popular feast of Vardavar has been also conveyed to the medieval Armenian miniatures of Transfiguration.

In this brochure, we have tried to give iconographical analysis of Vardavar paintings basing on the interpretations of the Armenian and Universal Church Fathers, as well as on the art literature dedicated to this theme.

Similarly, we have made parallels between the historical development of this painting and its progress in the general Christian art, beginning with the mosaic of St. Apollinare Church of Ravenna through to the famous "Transfiguration" of Raphael.

In this work with the example of one thematic painting, we aim in showing the peculiarities of the Armenian art within the framework of general Christian art.

Transfiguration



ցեն զմար, միայն
 տեսցեն զարքայու
 թիմն այ եկեա լ
 զարդոյմեամբ :
 Եւ յետկեցաւ որ
 առնուրնդիւր յս
 զպետրոս, և զյա
 կովբոս, և զյո Վ
 հաննես, և հանե
 զնոսաիւնեանմ ի
 զառնալիւնոցա :
 և ճորճքնորաւորն
 փայլուին սպի
 առակ յոյժ : որպէս
 թափիցք երկրի, ոչ
 կարեն այնպէս սպ
 իտակեցուցանել :
 Եւ իերևեցան ոցա
 եղիա մովսեսի և
 հանդերձ, և խառտ



GOSPEL, 1268, Hromkla
 Illuminator – Toros Rosslin
 (Matenadaran, manuscript N 10675, 128v)

TRANSFIGURATION GOSPEL ACCOUNT

Jesus showed His divine power by making the water wine in the marriage of Cana and showed His glory and light through Transfiguration on Mount Tabor symbolizing that by following Him humanity will regain those luminous clothes that lost on the account of

Adam's sin.

Matthew, Mark and John the Evangelists write about Transfiguration (Mt. 17:1-13, Mark 9: 1-12, Lk. 9: 28-36). In the Gospel, it is stated that Jesus took Peter, James, and John, and brought them up into a high mountain, and was transfigured before them. As Matthew the Evangelist writes, His face did shine as the sun, and his rai-

Transfiguration

ment was white as the light. At that time, there appeared unto them Moses and Elijah talking with Him. Shocked by this scene Peter said: "Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias". While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold a voice out of the cloud, which said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him". And when the disciples heard it, they fell on their face, and were sore afraid. And Jesus came and touched them, and said, Arise, and be not afraid. And when they had lifted up their eyes, they saw no man, save Jesus only. And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying, "Tell the vision to no man, until the Son of man be risen again from the dead".

GENERAL ICONOGRAPHY

According to the Gospel text, Christ is depicted in the middle of the Transfiguration scene, Moses and Elijah are on His right and left sides, and Peter, James and John are on the slope of the mountain. The luminous cloud is represented through mandorla, where Christ stands (sometimes together with Moses and Elijah) and the Father's voice is represented through the hand of God, which descends from the semi-circle of heaven.

Since Transfiguration also symbolizes human beings' regaining of the luminous clothes of paradise, likewise the earth represents here the regained paradisiacal graciousness, which is symbolized by the plants depicted in the Transfiguration scene.



GOSPEL XVII century
(Manuscript library of Holy Etchmiadzin,
manuscript N 60, 4v)

THE ANCIENT KNOWN REPRESENTATION OF TRANSFIGURATION

One of the ancient representations of Transfiguration or perhaps the most ancient one is the altar mosaic of St. Apollinare Church (c. 549) of Ravenna. Here a symbolic way of representation is preferred. The Savior is depicted through the cross, surrounded with a glory of shining stars and stands in a medallion.

According to the words: "I am Alpha and Omega" A and W are written on either side of the cross symbolizing Christ as the beginning and the end.

Transfiguration

Above the cross, "ΙΧΘΥΣ" (fish) is written. At the early stage of Christianity, it symbolized Christ and Christianity. The Apostles, who were fishers, after having been called to ministry, became fishers of souls, and the fish symbolized Christians converted by the Apostles.

The first Christians represented the word "ΙΧΘΥΣ" in Greek with the following acrostic interpretation:

Ιησους – **J**esus
 Χριστος – **C**hrist
 Θεον – **G**od's
 Υιος – **S**on
 Σωτηρ – **S**avior

Just for this reason, the first Christians depicted fish as a symbol of Christianity. And as the Transfiguration is represented here with a symbolic interpretation, above the cross "ΙΧΘΥΣ"



St. Apollinare



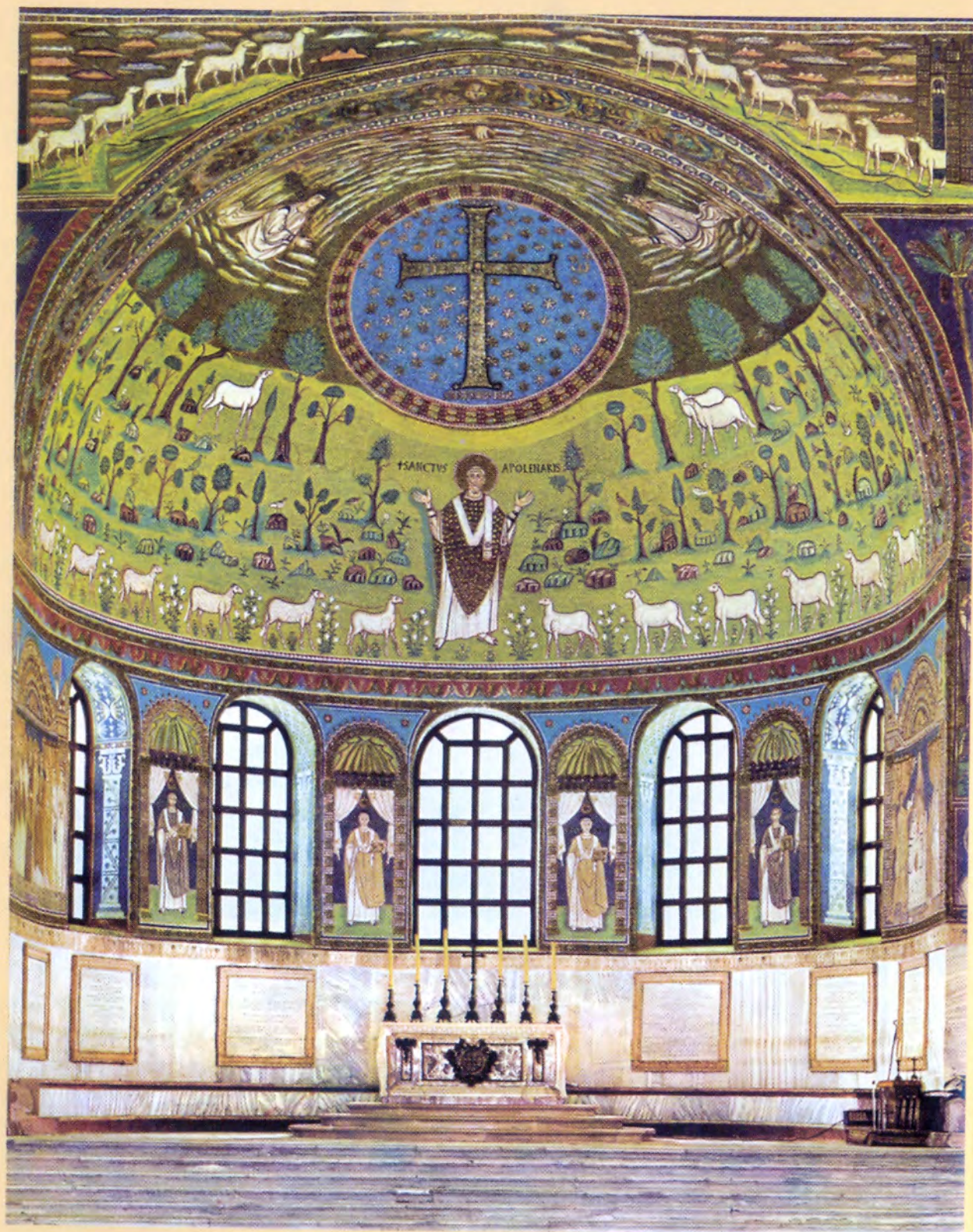
Cross surrounded by stars and bearing inscriptions "Ichthys" and "Light of the World"

is written instead of Christ representing the Savior.

Bellow the cross "salus mundi" – salvation of the world is written. The hand of God, which descends from the cloud above the cross stands for God and the divine voice, and on the right and left of the cross Elijah and Moses are standing, who are hovering towards the cross. Apostles Peter, James and John are symbolized by three lambs bellow the cross.

Bellow the lambs, on the mountain foot, St. Apollinare as an orant is depicted, who is said to have been a disciple of Peter and to have been one of the first martyrs of Christianity. He is depicted in this scene because that Church bears his name and his bones are preserved bellow, in front of his icon.

Transfiguration



TRANSFIGURATION,
Altar mosaic of St. Apollinare Church of Classe,
Ravenna, IV century

TRANSFIGURATION IN THE ARMENIAN MINIATURE OF THE X-XI CENTURIES



TRANSFIGURATION,
Mosaic of St. Catherine Monastery of Sinai,
VII century

There are twelve lambs on either side of St. Apollinare. As G. Schiller, an expert of Christian iconography mentions, the lambs signify the local Christian community asking its saint to intercede for it¹. On the triumphal arch above, the twelve lambs that proceed from the gates of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, symbolize the twelve apostles.

In this Transfiguration scene ever-green trees: laurel, olive tree, pine tree, cypress are depicted, which according to V. Lazarev, symbolize St. Apollinare's eternal life². It is noteworthy that, in all likelihood, these plants also symbolize the graciousness of paradise, like those of the Transfiguration scene in exegetic literature, on which we will reflect later.

The mosaic of St. Catherine monastery traces back to the VII-VIII centuries (Fig. 2), where the Transfiguration scene appears in thematic-historical interpretation and in entirely shaped iconographic canons.

The most ancient Armenian Gospels and Gospel fragments preserved to our days trace back to the VII-VIII centuries. However, Transfiguration scenes appear in the X-XI century Gospels. Those Gospels, which have exact dates and which include the Transfiguration scene, trace back to the XI century, and two other miniatures refer to the X century, due to manuscript data.

The most ancient Armenian paintings known to us in the series of Transfiguration miniatures, in all likelihood, are the miniatures of the Tsughrut Gospel and the Gospel of His Holiness Vasken I of blessed memory. The memorandum of the Tsughrut Gospel says that it was written in 994 by John (Hovhannes) the Scribe. However, as N. Kotanjian, an art historian states, the miniatures of this manuscript are divided into two groups. The miniatures belonging to the first group were part of this Gospel from the very beginning and, in all likelihood, were made by John the Scribe. The miniatures of the second group, along with those of the Transfiguration, were attached to the above-mentioned manuscript during further recompilation³.

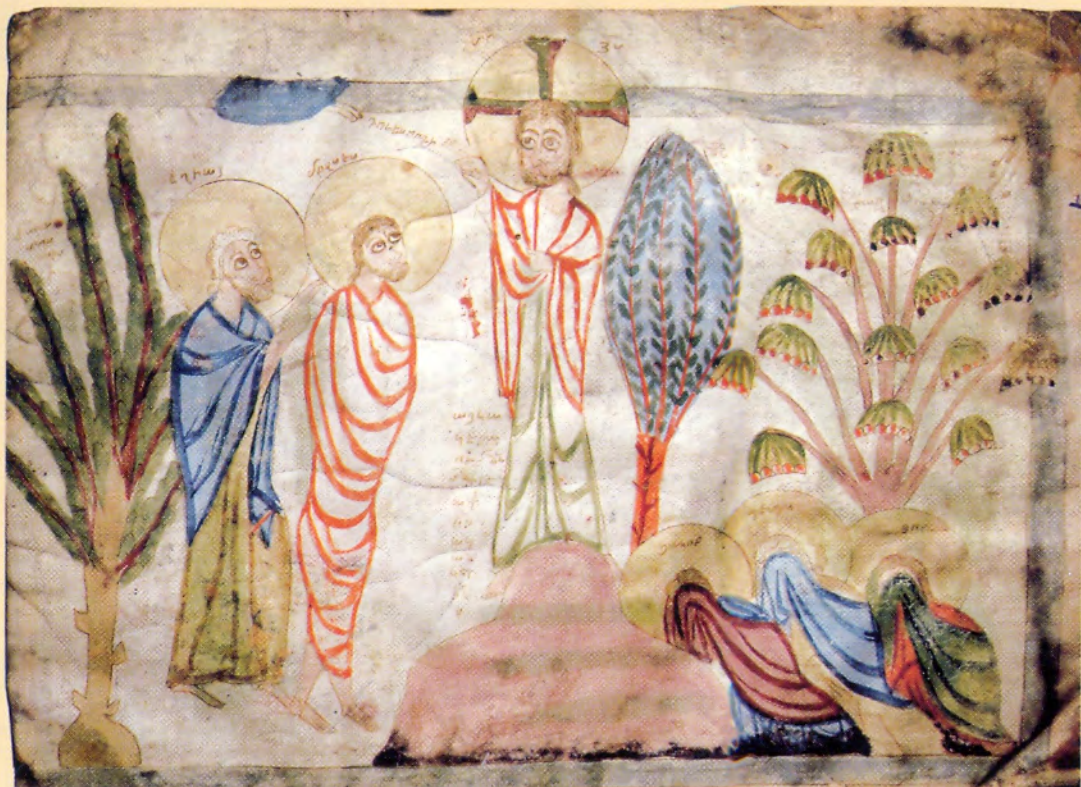
The miniatures of this second group, according to N. Kotanjian, form a generalization with miniatures created on those motifs and included in manuscript

1. Schiller G., *Iconography of Christian art*, London, 1971, p. 148

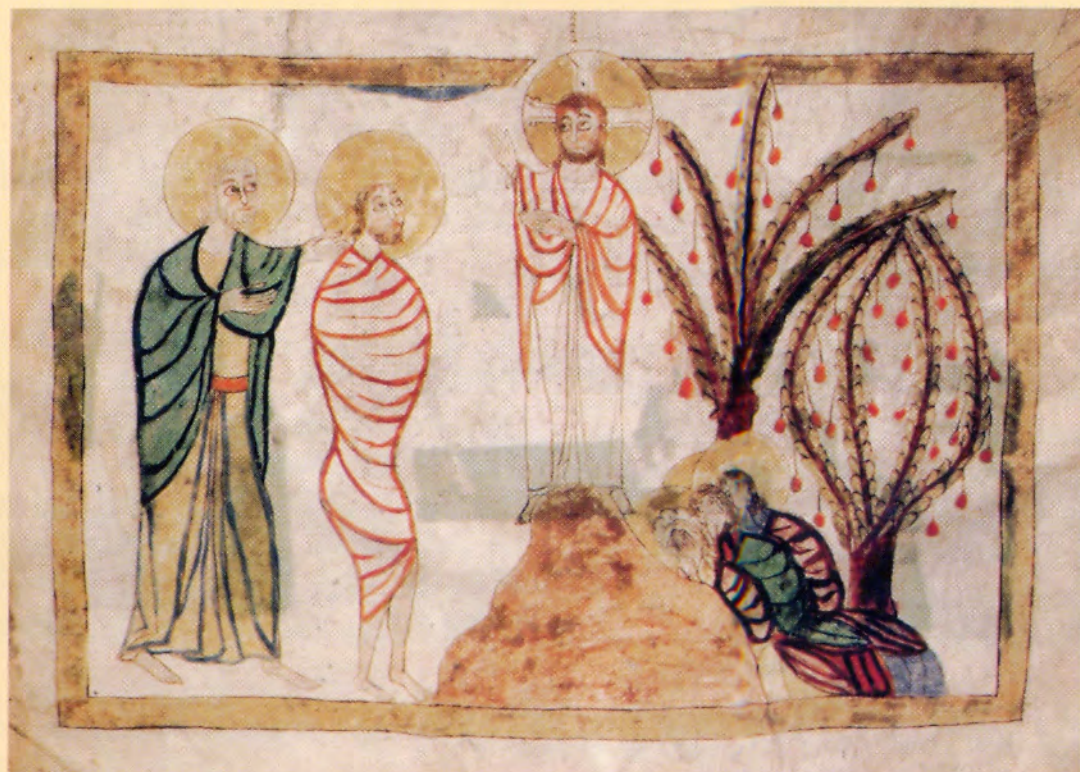
2. See V. N. Lazarev, *History of Byzantine Painting*, Moscow, 1986, p. 46 (В. Н. Лазарев, *История Византийской живописи*, Москва)

3. See N. Kotanjian, *The Tsughrut Gospel, Armenia and the Christian East*, Conference materials, Yerevan, 2000, p. 303 (Н. Котанджян, *Цугрутское Евангелие*)

Transfiguration



TSUGHRUT GOSPEL, X century



GOSPEL, 1038, Taron
Scribe – Evagrius
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 6201, 6a)

N 6201 of the Matenadaran (manuscript library) of Yerevan. The examination of the Transfiguration scene included in the Gospel of Tsughrut and in the Gospel written in 1038, as well as their comparison with many other paintings having those motifs, testify that the miniature of the Tsughrut Gospel represents the phase of development of this motif's iconography preceding the XI century not only in Armenia, but also in Christian East.

Among the X-XI century manuscripts known to us, the Transfiguration has an asymmetric compositional structure only in the Gospel of Tsughrut, Gospel of Vasken I (X century) and in the Gospel written in 1038 testifying about the archaism of these paintings and their prototypes⁴:

In contrast to the generally accepted canon, in which Moses and Elijah stand on Christ's right and left sides, and Peter, John and James stand below, in these miniatures Moses and Elijah stand on Christ's left side and the Apostles – on the right side. However, in the Gospel of Vasken I, the apostles stand on the right side, and Moses and Elijah – on the left side.

These three miniatures are distinguished with depictions of plants, which rather dominate in the Tsughrut Gospel. Perhaps it is conditioned with the ancient perception of the symbolic relation between the regaining of the luminous clothes and the earthly flourishing of paradisaical graciousness through the Transfiguration.

However, the Tsughrut Gospel has an important token of ancientness, which appears only in this manuscript.

Generally, in Eastern and Byzantine iconography the behavior of the three apostles in the Transfiguration scene is represented according to their individual reactions towards that event. However, in the Tsughrut Gospel the three apostles do not just cover their eyes from the light, but for more emphasizing the impression they are depicted covered their eyes with a mantle.

As we have mentioned, this Transfiguration miniature of the Tsughrut Gospel was attached to this manuscript during further recompilation.



GOSPEL OF VASKEN I, X century
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 10870, 44v)

4. Both in this case and generally it will be possible to make general conclusions about iconographic different peculiarities of the Lord's other paintings only when the miniatures of Armenian manuscript collections preserved in world great manuscript repositories are published with respective thematic classification.

Transfiguration

And the ancientness of this miniature becomes more emphasized when it is compared with other paintings having this type of iconography.

In manuscript N 21 of the St. Petersburg public library, which was

written in the IX century, only one of the disciples covers his eyes⁵.

K. Weitzman, however, can see a connection between this manuscript of St. Petersburg and the famous Drabizon Gospel preserved in the



DRABIZON GOSPEL, X century,
(Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, manuscript N 1400 /108/)

⁵. See N. Kotanjian, *The Tsughrut Gospel*, p. 304, see also C. Morphy, *Notes on East Christian miniatures*, „The Art Bulletin” 1929, March, fig 103 (Н. Котанджян, *Цугрутское Евангелие*)

Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, in the Transfiguration miniature of which Apostle John also covers his face with a mantle. Since this motive is not characteristic to the Byzantine iconography and the St. Petersburg manuscript is also from Drabizon, Weitzman thinks that quite probably one can suppose that depicting the apostles with their eyes covered with a mantle is a local characteristic of Asia Minor⁶.

As N. Pokrovsky states, the motive to depict the face covered with a mantle appears also in the mosaic of SS. Nereo and Achilleo Church in Rome dating from the VIII-IX cies⁷.

In miniatures of Rome, dating from the VIII-IX centuries, the three apostles are portrayed with their eyes covered with mantle. However, in the IX century Greek Gospel, only one of the apostles covers his eyes with mantle.

According to H.M. Janashian, the Drabizon Gospel due both to its *erkatagir* (uncial script



GOSPEL, 1316, Village Hazarakn (Berkri)
Scribe – Hakob Hovsian
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 4818, 3v)



GOSPEL, 1294, Monastery of Ter Husik's Son (Arkalan)
Illuminator – Khatcher
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 4814, 2v)

6. See N. Kotanjian, *ibid*, p.308.

7. N. Pokrovsky, *Gospel in the Monuments of Iconography*, St. Petersburg, 1892, p. 202 (Н. Покровский, *Евангелие в памятниках иконографии*, С. Петербург)

Transfiguration



GOSPEL, 1454, Ardjesh, Lim
Illuminator – Minas
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 6570, 5v)

with large characters) style and to the fact that "it does not have some fragments and lections, which are missing in ancient Gospels"⁸, refers to the X century. In the Transfiguration scene of this Gospel, only Apostle John covered his eyes with mantle. It is not accidental that only John did so. John as the youngest and the Lord's beloved and devoted disciple is usually depicted in a more sensitive behavior. Even in the main canon, he is depicted with the face covered with his hand or hands. So, the scene, in which the three apostles cover their faces with mantle in the paintings of the X-XI centuries, leads to the covering only John's eyes in this way, and already in the Gospel of 1038 it is represented in the form of covering the faces of three apostles only with hands. However, in manuscripts written in the second half of the XI century and the subsequent period, this motive does not appear any more, and the three apostles are portrayed in different behaviors.

As in the X-XI centuries, one could not find a Transfiguration painting, where the apostles are portrayed covered their faces with mantle or with their clothes generally, it is possible to suppose that this miniature of the Tsughrut Gospel or its prototype was created not later than in the IX century.

As a reflection of an iconographic ancient tradition, the asymmetric composition of the Transfiguration and the motive of covering the faces of three apostles with hands are found also in manuscripts N 4814 and N 4818 of Matenadaran, which were respectively written in 1294 and 1316. In the Gospel illuminated by Minas in 1454, John again covers his face with his sleeve.

8. Armenian Miniature, compiled by H.M. Janashian, vol. I, Venice, 1966, p. 28 (in Armenian)

GOD'S HAND AND THE BRIGHT CLOUD

The Gospel according to Matthew says that at the Transfiguration "a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him".

In his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, Hovhannes Yerznkatsi, a XIII century author, interprets this verse saying that God appears everywhere in clouds according to the following words, "Clouds and darkness are round about him" (Psalm 97:2)⁹.

The divine voice both in the scenes of baptism and in those of Transfiguration is represented through God's hand. As N. Pokrovsky writes, the divine voice, as well as God's presence is generally expressed through God's hand, which descends from a segment-shaped cloud¹⁰.

For making the painting more expressive, it is often written next to God's hand "This is my beloved Son".

As we have seen, God's hand was already represented in the mosaic of Ravenna, the most ancient Transfiguration painting, as well as in ancient Armenian miniatures, beginning with the Tsughrut Gospel.

The bright cloud is portrayed either in blue as the sky or in gold symbolizing divine light and glory.

The luminous cloud is usually represented in a mandorla or in a larger circle, trying to clarify whether only Jesus is represented surrounded with a cloud



GOSPEL, 1604, Khizan
Illuminator – Martiros Khizanetsi and
his son Grigoris
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 6093, 11v)

or Moses and Elijah as well. The Gospel says that a cloud overshadowed them; therefore, it surrounded also Moses and Elijah.

In miniatures of the Tsughrut Gospel and in the Gospel of 1038 the cloud is not depicted, instead it exists in Drabizon Gospel (XI century), as well as in other Transfiguration miniatures of the XI century, where Moses and Elijah are represented in the cloud together with Christ.

Transfiguration miniatures of Gospel N 3624 (1041) of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem and Gospels N 3784 (1057) and N 974 (XI century) of

9. Hovhannes Yerznkatsi, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Constantinople, 1825, p. 364 (in Armenian)

10. See N. Pokrovsky, *Gospel in the Monuments of Iconography*, p. 202 (Н. Покровский, *Евангелие в памятниках иконографии*)

Transfiguration



GOSPEL, XI century
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 974, 1v)



GOSPEL, 1057, Melitene
Scibe – Presbyter Thomas
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 3784, 7v)

Matenadaran form a unique iconographic group, which seems to have derived from the same prototype.

In these three miniatures, Transfiguration is represented along with the scene of Lazarus' resurrection, which is explained by the follow-

ing three stages of expressing Christ's divinity through the Lord's representations: during baptism the divinity was verified by the Father's voice, during Transfiguration the divine glory was revealed by the light, and through Lazarus' resurrection divine power was revealed. In the above-mentioned three miniatures, Moses and Elijah also stand in a circle, which symbolizes the cloud.

It is noteworthy that there is a situational generalization between miniatures of Baptism and Transfiguration. In both cases Christ is standing, in both cases God's voice that sounds from heaven, says, "This is my beloved Son", which in both paintings is expressed through God's hand that descends from the cloud with the above-mentioned words of God next to it.

For making more striking the parallel to the baptism in the copied Gospel of Gladzor of 1307, Toros of Taron depicted a dove representing the Holy Spirit on the mandorla, which made more complete the parallel between Baptism and



GOSPEL, Gladzor, written till 1307

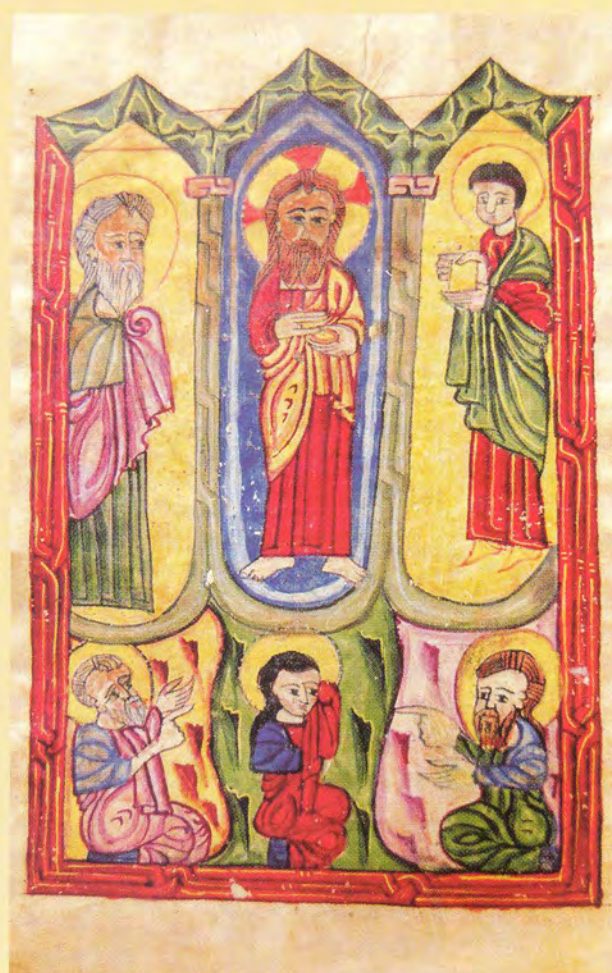
Illuminator – Toros Taronatsi

(Library of the University of California, manuscript N 170/ 466, 4a/)

Transfiguration



GOSPEL, 1452, Seri Monastery (Moks)
Illuminator – Mkrtich
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 9841, 5a)



GOSPEL, 1602
(Manuscript library of Holy Etchmiadzin,
manuscript N 131, 5v)

Transfiguration.

The parallel examination of Transfiguration paintings shows that in the course of time in subsequent miniatures Moses and Elijah gradually “go far” from the mandorla, which symbolizes the cloud. In Gospel N 974 and in the Gospel of Mughni (N 7736, XI century) they are already depicted on the border of the mandorla, and in miniatures of succeeding centuries, they are mainly represented beyond the mandorla or standing closely next to it, which to some extent signifies the stretching of the cloud over them;

or only Christ is represented in mandorla.

During Transfiguration, Apostle Peter told Jesus: “Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias”. And according to these words, Jesus, Moses and Elijah are represented on three tabernacle-shaped altars.

Hovhannes Yerznkatsi in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew writes that the mystery of the Holy Trinity was expressed in Peter’s words, who recognized the Trinity in



GOSPEL, XV century
Scribe-Hovhannes
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 5511, 3v)

Transfiguration



GOSPEL, 1315, Khordiants Monastery
Illuminator – Markare
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 2930, 6v)



NEW TESTAMENT, 1302, 1406 Siunik
Illuminator – Momik
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 6972, 5v)

the vision - The Father manifest by His voice, the Son by his Transfiguration and the Holy Spirit by the luminous cloud. As Hovhannes Yerznkatsi beautifully writes, the luminous cloud symbolizes the Holy Spirit, which is the true light that enlightens every man coming into this world¹¹.

As A. Sanjian, who has made a detailed art examination of Gladzor Gospel states, the illuminator, by depicting a dove over the mandorla,

wanted to represent the mandorla as a symbol of the cloud and therefore, of the Holy Spirit¹².

Sometimes the cloud is represented not in general features as a blue or gold mandorla, but as just clouds.

The miniature of the Gospel illuminated by Momik, in which Christ is depicted in clouds, is also remarkable for the fact that here Christ is not bearded, according to the perception that in Transfiguration light Christ could be seen without beard¹³.

11. See Hovhannes Yerznkatsi, Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, p. 365 (in Armenian)

12. See Matthews T.F. & A.K. Sanjian, Armenian Gospel Iconography: The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel, Washington, 1991. About the Gladzor Gospel, see also T. Matthews & Taylor, The Armenian Gospels of Gladzor, Los Angeles, 2001, p. 119.

13. See A. N. Avetisyan, Gladzor School of Armenian Miniatures, Yerevan, 1971, p. 64 (in Armenian)

LIGHT OF TRANSFIGURATION

Matthew, Mark and Luke the Evangelists represent Christ's Transfiguration in the following way:

Matthew: "And He was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light" (17:2).

Mark: "And he was transfigured before them. And his raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow; so as no fuller on earth can white them" (9:2-3).

Luke: "And as he prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment was white and glistening" (9:29).

According to these descriptions, Christ is mainly represented in white and luminous clothes and with rays of light that radiated from Him. Referring to the commentaries of the Church Fathers, H. Kyoseyan writes, "The light that is uncreated by its nature, was the expression of divine glory or divinity"¹⁴.

Ephrem the Syrian, one of the IV century Church Fathers, explains the following way why Jesus showed His divine glory before Crucifixion: By transfiguring Jesus showed His kingdom of glory prior to His death through crucifixion; He showed His power prior to being bound; prior to being spat in his face and buffeted, He radiated the light of His glory on that face; He showed His honor prior to being dishonored and He appeared in luminous clothes prior to

being stripped on the cross¹⁵.

When Moses received the Ten Commandments from the Lord on Mount Sinai, his face began radiating light out of the divine light: "And the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone". Ephrem the Syrian, differentiating this light as proceeding from the true divine light that radiated from Jesus, writes that by making radiate light even from His clothes Jesus showed His disciples that the divine light radiated from His whole body, and it was not the case of Moses, when only his face was covered with that light. The divine glory derived from Jesus Himself and He is the source of that glory¹⁶.

Sarkis Kund, a XII century Armenian author, making parallels between Transfiguration and Resurrection, writes that Jesus was transfigured before His crucifixion so that people could know that He who made His body so luminous was He who later gave resurrection to His body¹⁷.

Sarkis Vardapet also states that Jesus showed His divine glory through Transfiguration before being dishonored¹⁸.

Hovhannes Yerznkatsi explains the following way the phenomenon of revealing the divine glory before crucifixion: Christ showed the light of His glory prior to His crucifixion so that after resurrection no one could say that He received that light of glory as an appre-

14. H. Kyoseyan, *Fragments of Theology of the Armenian Medieval Art, Holy Etchmiadzin*, 1995, p. 26 (in Armenian)

15. *Literature of St. Ephrem*, vol. IV, *Homilies and Prayers*, Venice, 1836, p. 64 (in Armenian)

16. *Ibid.*, p. 65

17. Sarkis Kund, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, by Bishop Yeznik Petrossian, Holy Etchmiadzin, 2005, p. 226 (in Armenian)

18. *Ibid.*, p. 229

Transfiguration

ciation to His sufferings¹⁹.

If in the general representation of Transfiguration scene, the Holy Trinity is expressed by God's hand, luminous cloud (the Holy Spirit) and Christ Himself, in the main Transfiguration episode it is represented by shades of colors and light, as well as by shapes. Hence, Christ is represented standing on the central hill, in the mandorla and light is radiating from Him.

The idea of Trinity is expressed here in the following way:

1. By tonal triple gradation of mandorla colors,



GOSPEL, 1619 Constantinople
(Manuscript library of Holy Etchmiadzin,
manuscript N 462, 5v)

19. Hovhannes Yerznkatsi, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Constantinople, 1825, p. 358: about the existing perceptions about the nature of Transfiguration in Armenian and generally in Christian literature see H. Kyoseyan, the above-mentioned work, p. 26-30 (in Armenian)

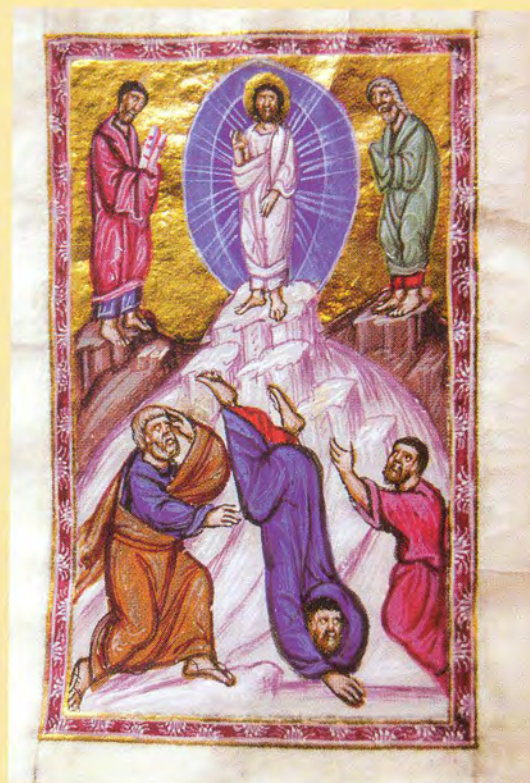
2. Each of the rays of light, radiating from Christ towards the apostles and prophets, is represented with three beams,



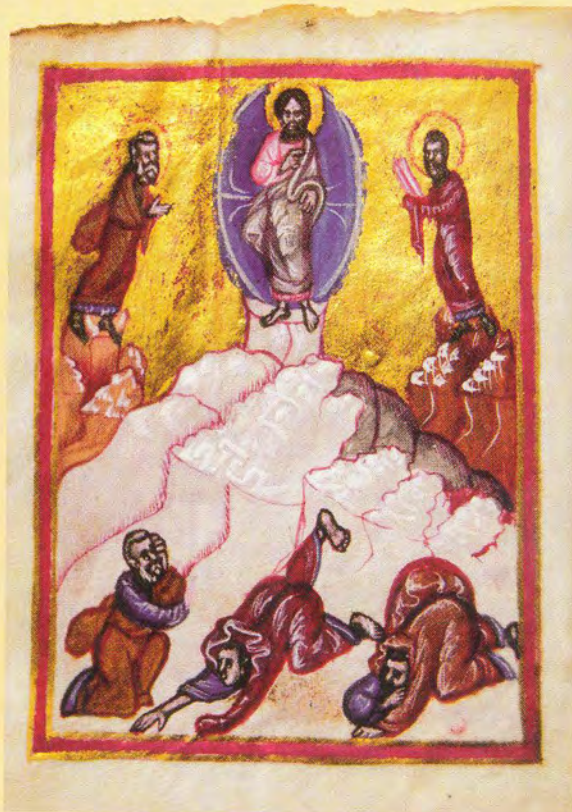
GOSPEL, 1329, Ortubazar
Illuminator – Clerk Avag
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 7650, 16v)



GOSPEL, 1337, Sultania, Tabriz
Scribe, illuminator, binder – Avag, see fig. 32
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 212, 58v)



GOSPEL, XVII century
(Manuscript library of Holy Etchmiadzin,
manuscript N 213, 8v)



GOSPEL, 1653
(Manuscript library of Holy Etchmiadzin,
manuscript N 266, 5v)



GOSPEL, 1641 Kiotaia
(Manuscript library of Holy Etchmiadzin,
manuscript N 461, 11v)

3. Three lines, having the same color of light as the mandorla, spread over the apostles (over their nimbus). Each of these three rays in its turn is often tripartite.



GOSPEL, 1590, Vaspourakan
Scribe – Hovhannes, see fig. 16, 17, 28, 31, 33
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 5027, 6v)

Transfiguration

4. Three such lines descend toward the mandorla from above, and again three lines stretch towards the apostles below the mandorla, representing both the heavenly Trinity and the spread of the light of the Trinity in the world.



GOSPEL, XIV century
Illuminator – Hovhannes
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 7645, 122a)



TRANSFIGURATION, Icon, Theophan
Grec, end of the XIV century



GOSPEL, XIV century
Illuminator – Sarkis Pidzak, see fig. 18
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 318, 48a)



GOSPEL, XIII century
Illuminator – Avetik
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 7644, 71v)

5. The Holy Trinity is represented with triangle-shaped lozenges around Christ inside the mandorla, which already represent this perception in some symbolic geometric insights.

These iconographic perceptions are characteristic to the Christian art in general and to the Byzantine art in particular. Reflecting on their symbolism Schiller writes that such combination of colors and lines in the mandorla signifies the revelation of the Trinity in the light of the Transfiguration²⁰.

As we can see in the miniature of the Gospel of Vasken I, God's hand stands not in the middle, but above the

prophets' heads. Two rays directly descend on Moses and Elijah; two more rays descend on Jesus. Three rays radiate from Jesus towards the disciples and one – towards Moses' nimbus.

It is worth mentioning that this idea was already expressed in the Armenian commentary literature as early as in the VII century. The work "On the mystery of Vardavar" (folk name of the feast of Transfiguration), which is traditionally ascribed to Movses Khorenatsi, now philologists ascribe not to Khorenatsi, but to Movses Kertogh, who lived in the VII century. In this work, it is written about the Transfiguration light: "One ray

20. Schiller, the above-mentioned work, p. 149:

of light with triple brightness, today on Mount Tabor the only Begotten radiated the entire light of Trinity through Himself²¹.

It is written in medieval commentaries that Christ's Transfiguration fulfilled the following words of the prophets Malachi, Habakkuk and Isaiah:

"But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings" (Mal. 4:2).

"And his brightness was as the light" (Hab. 3:4).

Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the LORD is risen upon thee (Isa. 60: 1):

MOUNT TABOR OF TRANSFIGURATION

The biblical text does not name the mountain where the Transfiguration took place. Matthew and Mark write "a high mountain", and Luke – just mountain. Some commentators, taking into consideration that the height of Hermon is 3.000 meters, as well as the fact that Jesus often passed by this mountain while moving from place to place, suppose that Transfiguration took place on Mount Hermon.

However, Church tradition says that it took place on Mount Tabor. As early as in the V century Yeghishe stated in his homily dedicated to the Transfiguration: "Mount Tabor rejoices today"²².

Having in mind the account that God appeared to Moses on Mount Sinai and Moses' face was covered with light, Moses

Kertogh wrote in the VII century: "Mount Tabor became a new Sinai, a sacred mountain and a luminous place where God lived kindled with fire and in a cloud"²³.

In accordance with Peter's words to make three tabernacles for Jesus, Moses and Elijah, Moses and Elijah are often represented in tabernacle-shaped outlines. Likewise, Mount Tabor is often depicted with three peaks, Christ is standing on the central high peak and the other two seem to bow down to Christ. In memory of these tabernacles, three chapels were erected on Mount Tabor already in the IV-V centuries²⁴.



GOSPEL, 1323, Gladzor
Illuminator – Toros Taronatsi
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 6289, 112v)

21. Armenian Classical Authors, vol. IV, VII cent., Antelias, Lebanon, 2005, p. 433 (in Armenian)
22. Literature of our holy father Yeghishe Vardapet, Venice, 1859, p. 213 (in Armenian)
23. Armenian Classical Authors, vol. IV, p. 432 (in Armenian)
24. Literature of our holy father Yeghishe Vardapet, Venice, 1859, p. 237 (in Armenian)

In the V century Yeghishe made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, saw these chapels and commemorated them in his homily dedicated to the Transfiguration, saying that in the place where the Lord had been transfigured, three churches were erected, which had their own priests. Those priests, staying away from physical desires, devotedly accomplished their ministry in the Church. According to Yeghishe, these tree chapels were erected in accordance with Peter's words to make three tabernacles.

According to medieval commentators, Christ's Transfiguration fulfilled the following words of Prophet David "Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name" (Psalms 89:12).

MOSES AND ELIJAH

The Evangelists write that Moses and Elijah appeared at the Transfiguration, but they do not describe how they looked like at that moment. In response to the question how the apostles could know that Moses and Elijah were

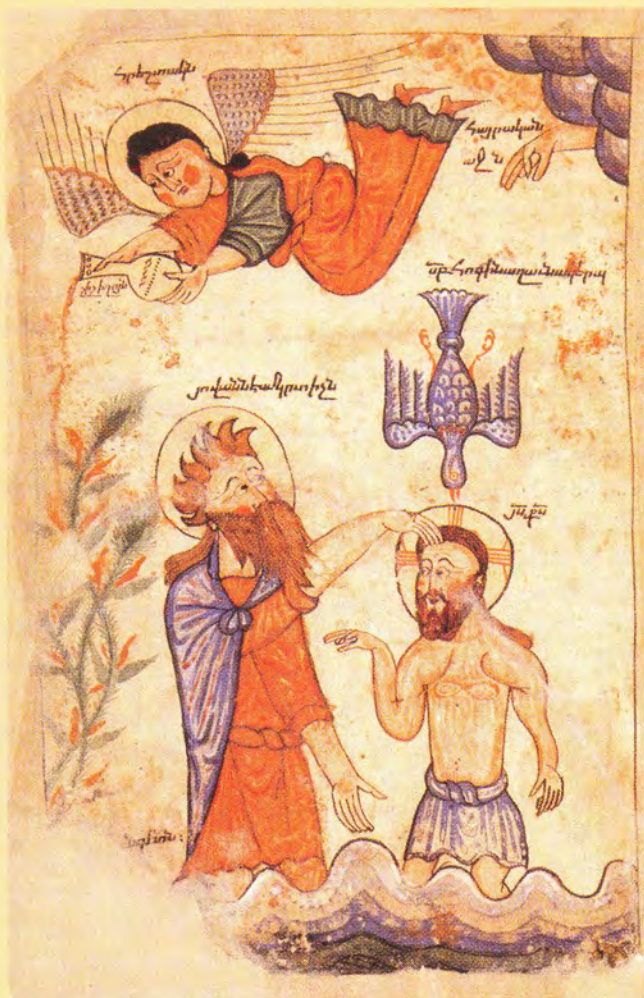
standing on either side of Jesus, medieval commentators state that they recognized them by their appearance. Miniaturists also represented Moses and Elijah according to the iconography based upon respective passages of

the Old Testament and their commentaries.

Hovhannes Yernkatsi, too, asking the question how the apostles could know that Moses and Elijah were speaking with Jesus, writes, "It was known that Elijah had been bearded and dressed in a sheepskin



GOSPEL, 1501, Village Aghverts, Tatev
Scribe – Hieromonk Hayrapet
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 7782, 4a)



GOSPEL, 1419, Tsipna Monastery
Scribe – Grigor Vardapet
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 3714, 5v)

mantle²⁵. With this definition, Yerznkatsi wanted to state that Elijah had rumpled hair, beard and sheepskin mantle.

Before going up into heaven by a chariot of fire Elijah left that mantle to his disciple Elisha, which symbolizes that the spirit of Elijah rested on Elisha (2 Kings 2:11-15).

The same way Grigor Tatevatsi writes that Elijah was recognized by his sheepskin clothes²⁶. According to this

and such commentaries, Elijah is depicted with rumpled hair, beard and sheepskin mantle peculiar to a hermit. Since John the Baptist was said to be Elijah, he was also represented with the same appearance of a hermit in baptism miniatures. About the parallel between Elijah and John, which found its reflection in their iconography as well, Hovhannes Yerznkatsi writes that dwelling in the desert John the Baptist lived the same life as Elijah and wore such a sheepskin mantle²⁷. According to the Bible, Elijah is always represented as an old man, sometimes with a book in his hand, which signifies that he was a prophet.

Though the Old Testament says that “Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died” (Deuteronomy 34:7), he is usually represented as a youngster. In miniatures where Moses is depicted as a youngster, his cheeks are accentuated with redness and as if, they radiate with brightness. The reason for this representation is the words that though he died when he was 120 years old, “his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated” (Deuteronomy 34:7). Yeghishe writes, “His old age did not abate the freshness of his face, nor diseases corrupted his body”²⁸. Grigor Tatevatsi writes that the apostles knew from the Old Testament books that Moses’ face had been covered with light, and when he appeared to the Lord with a luminous face, they recognized

25. Hovhannes Yerznkatsi, Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, p. 362 (in Armenian)

26. Grigor Tatevatsi, Book of Homilies, which is called Winter Volume, Constantinople, 1741, p. 483 (in Armenian)

27. Hovhannes Yerznkatsi, Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, p. 369 (in Armenian)

28. Literature of our holy father Yeghishe Vardapet, Venice, 1859, p. 234 (in Armenian)



GOSPEL, 1297, Ardjesh
Illuminator – Astvatsatur, see fig. 23
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 4867, 2v)

him by his face²⁹. These words of Grigor Tatevatsi are the generalization to the generally accepted iconographic canon of depicting Moses. About the fact that Moses was not bearded Grigor Tatevatsi writes. "Moses' face had lack of hairs"³⁰.

Moses is depicted bright and energetic, sometimes with his face covered with a veil, "And it came to pass, when Moses came down from mount Sinai the skin of his face shone while he talked with Him. And when the children of Israel saw the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid, he put a veil on his



GOSPEL, 1330
Illuminator – Deacon Kirakos
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 2929, 7a)

face. And every time Moses' face shone while he talked with the Lord" (Exodus 34:29-35). For this reason, in Transfiguration scene he is often depicted with two tables of the Ten Commandments or a book (which is their symbol) in his hand.

Grigor Tatevatsi writes about depicting the tables in his hand: "There were tables in Moses' hands, which contained God's commandments"³¹.

In miniatures, Moses is often represented not only with a book or tables of Commandments, but also with a scroll, as their symbol, on which it is written

29. Grigor Tatevatsi, Winter Volume, p. 483 (in Armenian)

30. Ibid., p. 494

31. Ibid., p. 483



GOSPEL, 1402, Khizan

Scribe, Illuminator – Priest Hovhannes, see fig. 19, 26
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 5562, 7a)



GOSPEL, 1430, Hosrov Monastery
Scribe, Illuminator – Hieromonk Vardan
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 4827, 3v)



GOSPEL, 1043, 1391, Aghtamar
Illuminator – Tserun
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 8772, 6v)



GOSPEL, 1331, Lesser Urs
Scribe – Presbyter Astvatsatur
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 4906, 2v)



GOSPEL, 1397, Khizan
Scribe – Restakes (Hrstakes)
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 7629, 3a)

Transfiguration

"Ten Commandments".

In another group of miniatures it is written on the tables in Moses' hands: "Hear, O Israel: The LORD our God is one LORD: And thou shalt love the LORD thy God with all thine heart" (Deuteronomy 6:4-5).

In a series of miniatures, in particular in those of the early period, Moses is depicted covered with a shroud symbolizing that he has come from the world of the dead.

N. Pokrovsky, referring to the following work of John Chrysostom "Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew", writes that this iconography is anchored on the tradition mentioned by Chrysostom. According to it, the angels took Moses out of the coffin and brought Elijah from heaven representing the worlds of the dead and the quick, which according to Chrysostom, signifies that Christ has power both over the life and over the death and that afterwards Moses should communicate the good news of the Savior's Advent to the dead, and Elijah – to the quick³².

In this same period, Ephrem the Syrian wrote in a similar way. Though he did not commemorate the account of taking Moses out of the coffin, he gave the same explanation as Chrysostom, saying that God was the creator of heaven and earth, the Lord of the quick and the dead. Therefore, He ordered and brought down Elijah from heaven and took Moses out of the tomb³³.

Elijah is said to have been brought from the world of the quick, because he



GOSPEL, 1294,
Monastery of Ter Husik's Son (Arkelan)
Illuminator – Khatcher
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 4814, 2v)

was taken from the desert to heaven by a chariot of fire, according to 2 Kings 2, and is alive there in his body.

We can find the spiritual-artistic wonderful explanation of Chrysostom about the revelation of Moses and Elijah in the following verses of Movses Kertogh, where he called Prophet Moses "prototype of sun's mirror" and "first exposure of unapproachable light", because prior to the Lord's Transfiguration on Mount Tabor Moses' face shone with divine light. Since this light did not radiate from the prophet, but it was the reflection of the divine light, therefore, Moses is compared with a mirror, which reflected

32. See N. Pokrovsky, Gospel in the Monuments of Iconography, p. 201, as well as John Chrysostom, Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew, Moscow, 1839, vol. II, p. 457 (Н. Покровский, Евангелие в памятниках иконографии, И. Златоуст, Беседы на Евангелию Матфея, Москва)

33. Literature of St. Ephrem, vol. IV, p. 63 (in Armenian)

back the light"³⁴.

Chrysostom's above-mentioned account is reflected in the following verses of Grigor Tatevatsi that since Moses had been raised from the dead and came out of the tomb, there was earth on him, so he was recognized at once, because no one else had come from there. And Elijah that had come down from heaven was recognized by the heavenly glow of his face³⁵.

Grigor Tatevatsi expands the explanation of the question why Moses and Elijah appeared at the Transfiguration. If the commentators of the early period stated that they had appeared so that Elijah could bring good news to the quick and Moses - to the dead, Grigor Tatevatsi included also disciples in this explanation, and giving another interpretation to Elijah's apparition wrote that Elijah had descended from heaven so that he could communicate good news about the Savoir to the angels, Moses - to the dead and the three apostles - to the quick³⁶.

There is also another explanation for Elijah's apparition: before going up to Mount Tabor and being transfigured, Jesus asked His disciples what people said who He was. And they said, "Some say that thou art John the Baptist: some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets" (Mt. 16:14). And as Ephrem the Syrian writes, Jesus took the disciples to the mountain to show that He was not Elijah, but He had power over Elijah³⁷.

Hovhannes Yerznkatsi also expressed the same idea³⁸.

The apparition of Moses and Elijah together has another mystery. Moses and Elijah symbolize the beginning and fulfillment of Israel: Moses as a legislator and founder, and Elijah, who will come in the fullness of times, according to the following words of Prophet Malachi: "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse. Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments" (Malachi 4:4-6).

Moses also signifies the law and Elijah - prophecies, and Christ brought them to show that He was the fulfillment of the law and prophecies.

And finally, their apparition has yet another meaning: both the body of Elijah and the body of Moses were unseen for people - Elijah was transferred to heaven and Moses was buried in a place shown by God and according to the Old Testament "No man knoweth of his sepulcher unto this day" (Deut. 34:6). And Jesus showed those hidden ones to His apostles revealing that there was nothing hidden for Him.

At the same time, Moses and Elijah are witnesses testifying about Christ's divinity. As the disciples recognized

34. Armenian Classical Authors, vol. IV, p. 432 (in Armenian)

35. Grigor Tatevatsi, Winter Volume, p. 483 (in Armenian)

36. Ibid., p. 489

37. Literature of St. Ephrem, vol. IV, p. 63 (in Armenian)

38. Hovhannes Yerznkatsi, Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, p. 360 (in Armenian)

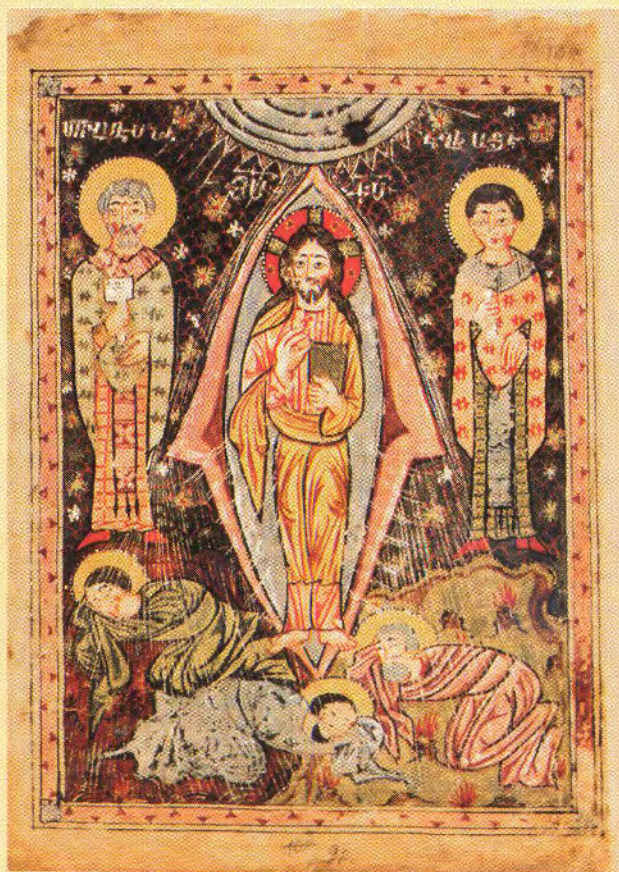
Transfiguration



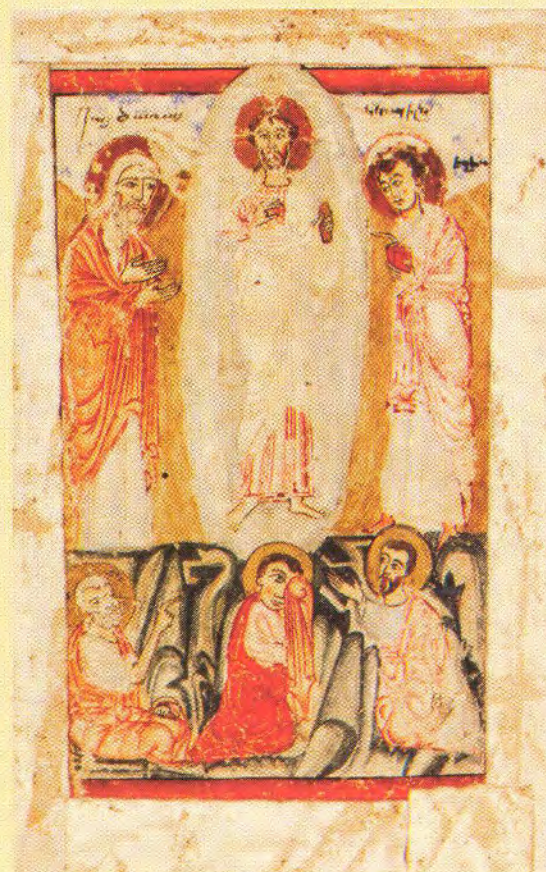
GOSPEL, XI century
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 974, 1v)



GOSPEL, 1057, Melitene
Scribe – Presbyter Thomas
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 3784, 7v)



GOSPEL, XIV century
Scribe, Illuminator – Priest Grigor (Tatevatsi)
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 6305, 108a)



GOSPEL, 1454, Ardjesh, Lim
Illuminator – Minas
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 6570, 5v)

them by their appearance and characteristics, likewise Moses and Elijah witnessed about Jesus' divinity asserting that He was the very same Lord whom they had seen face to face, one in the vision of the burning, but not consumed bush, the other in the whispering breeze (3 Kings 9:12)³⁹.

In a series of Armenian miniatures, especially those of the early period, not only Moses and Elijah are reversed, but also surprisingly, their appearances are interchanged. This iconographic tradition was so lively that Elijah was represented on the right side as a youngster not only in the XI century manuscripts N 974 and N 3784 (1057), but also in the XIV century manuscripts N 6305 and N 6570 (1454).

In all these miniatures, it is written

"Elijah" above his head and Moses' name above his head. As we have already mentioned, in a series of miniatures Moses is represented in a shroud symbolizing that he came from the world of the dead. In manuscript N 4818 copied in 1316, as a result of the reversal of Moses and Elijah, the latter is represented in a shroud and it is written above his head "Elijah in a shroud".

It is noteworthy that though this manuscript dates from the XIV century, it includes all the peculiarities of the iconography of the XI century and earlier period. This is one of the rare manu-

GOSPEL, 1316, Village Hazarakn (Berkri)
Scribe – Hakob Hovsian
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 4818, 3v)



39. See Matthews T.F. & A.K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography: The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel*, Washington, 1991.

scripts known to us, in which Christ is portrayed with a staff as a good shepherd. Moses and Elijah do not stand on either side of Jesus, but they stand on His left, and the apostles – on His right, yet they should stand on the mountain foot, bellow Christ, on the right and left sides and in the center. Here even the iconography of the mountain is not formed. It has one top and spreads down in an undulated way from right and left sides of Jesus. The fact that the three apostles cover their eyes with hands alludes to its ancientness, as it is in the manuscript written in 1038.

Here even the cloud and God's hand that descends from it are asymmetric, portrayed at the same distance from Jesus and Moses.

The reason for these iconographic peculiarities and asymmetries is not the lack of skillfulness, but they rather testify about a unique prototype of this manuscript, which is also asserted by other miniatures of the Lord in this Gospel, and preserve a series of surprising archaic iconographic aspects.

GOSPEL, 1315, Khordiants Monastery
Illuminator – Markare
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 2930, 6v)



THREE APOSTLES

Bellow Christ, on the mountain foot, the apostles are represented astonished and confused by the Transfiguration.

Matthew writes that at the Transfiguration, the apostles "fell on their face, and were sore afraid" and Mark writes, "They were sore afraid". However, Luke writes "there came a cloud, and overshadowed them: and they feared as they entered into the cloud".

In Christian East, according to the words of Mathew and Mark, the three apostles are represented equally scared and in a similar state. It has found its literary expression in the Armenian medieval literature.

Yeghishe writes in his homily dedicated to the Transfiguration that the apostles fell dismayed to the ground by the radiance of the divine light⁴⁰.

The same way it is expressed in an Armenian medieval works named "gandz": "They were shivering with fear of death, fell down and were looking at the ground"⁴¹.

The Byzantine tradition, however, represents them reacting differently to

40. Literature of our holy father Yeghishe Vardapet, p. 217 (in Armenian)

41. Matenadaran of Yerevan, manuscript N 424, 186b



TRANSFIGURATION,
Mosaic, XIV century,
Thessaloniki,
Church of Holy Apostles

the Transfiguration revealing differences of their behaviors by representing peculiarities of their nature and age experience.

Since the Armenian art equally had relations with the cultures of both Christian East and Byzantium, therefore these two iconographic versions were also reflected in Armenian manuscripts.

In her precious study dedicated to the Armenian miniatures of the XI century, Tatyana Izmailova, an expert of the Armenian art, indicates an eastern influence on two miniatures of manuscript N 974 and manuscript N 1041 of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, stating that two of the apostles, Peter and John, are portrayed with the same face. There is no difference between their behaviors, and being face to face they are as if communicating with each other with their gestures and mimicry. However, James is portrayed prostrated and leaned on two hands against the ground⁴².

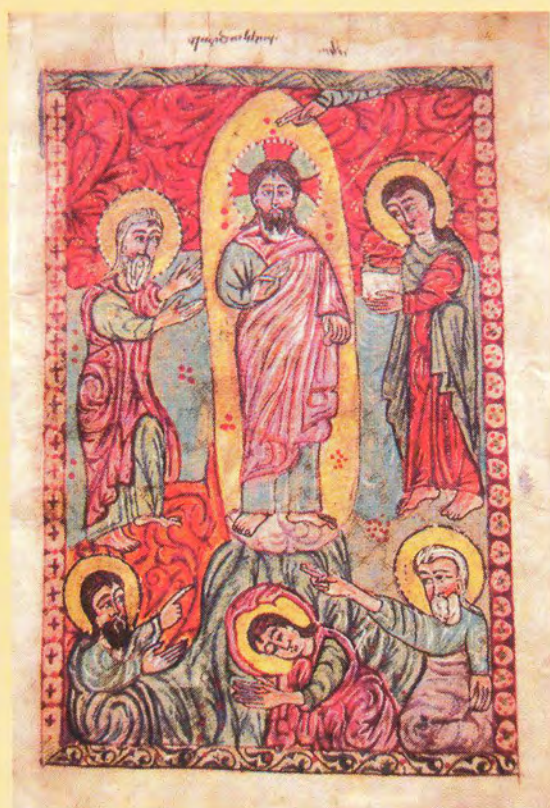
Portrayal of the three apostles in a similar way is more evidently expressed in the Gospel of Malatia written in 1057.

As a subsequent phase to the development of the apostles' iconography in the Transfiguration scene, Izmailova indicates the Gospel of Mughny.

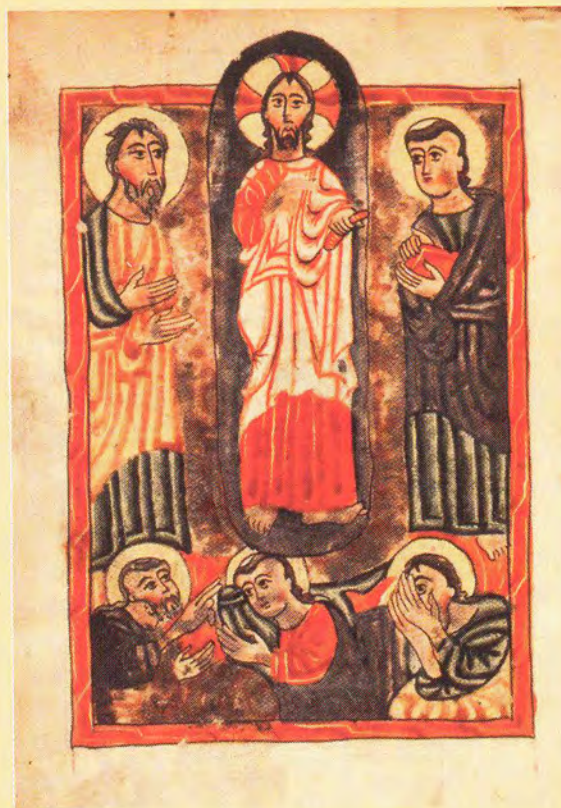
Beginning with the XI century, James is portrayed leaning on one hand against the ground

42. See T.A. Izmailova, *Armenian Miniature of the XI century*, Moscow, 1979, p. 77 (Т.А. Измайлова, *Армянская миниатюра XI века*, Москва)

Transfiguration



GOSPEL, 1478,
Village of Brnashen, Province of Mokats
(Manuscript library of Holy Etchmiadzin,
manuscript N 518 6a)



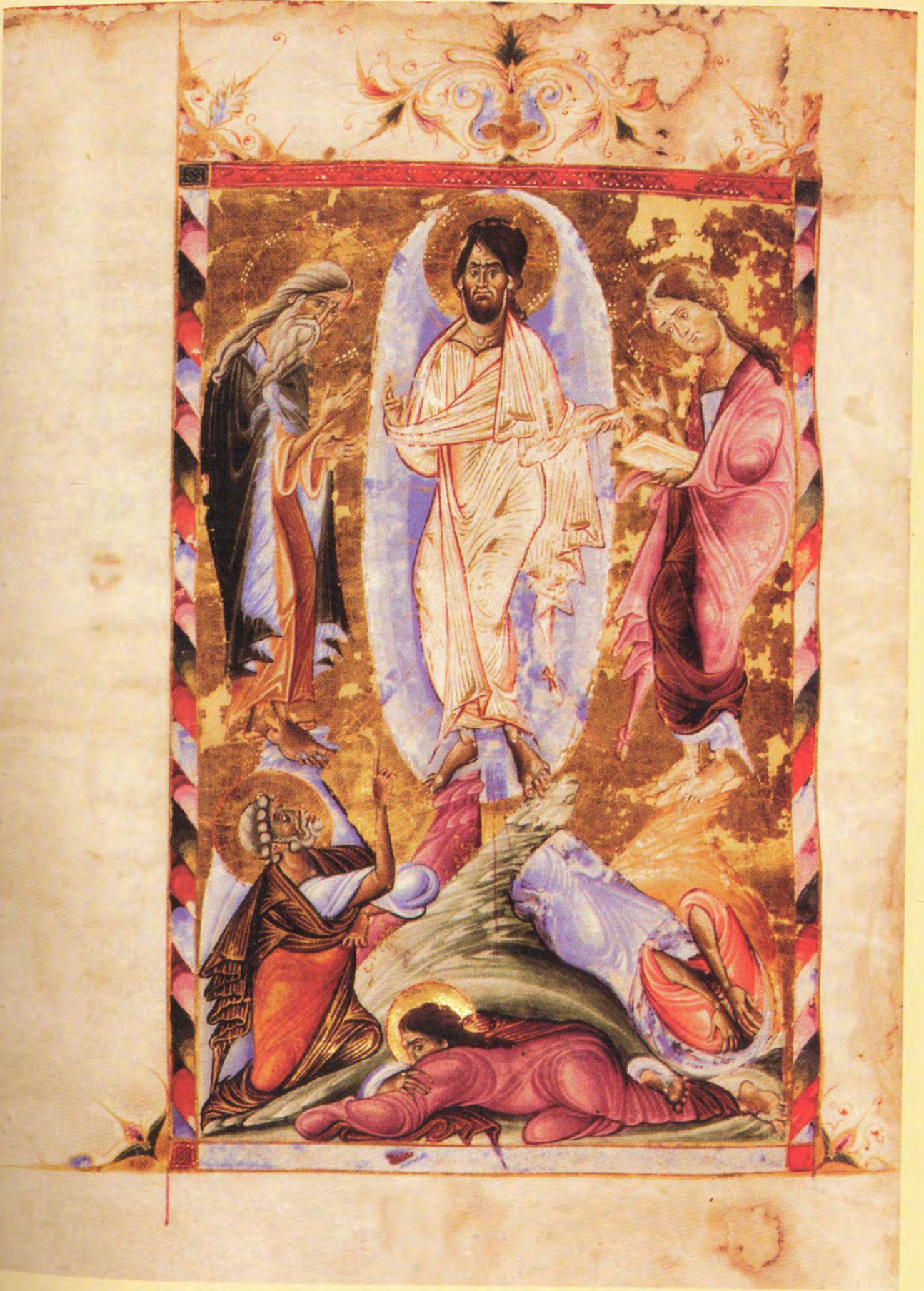
GOSPEL, 1507, Vandir Congregation
Scribe – Hieromonk Grigor
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 5215, 5v)



GOSPEL, 1356-1357, Sultania
Illuminator – Mekhitar Anetsi
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 7740, 5v)



GOSPEL, XV century
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 7625, 4a)



GOSPEL, 1287, Akner Monastery
Illuminator - Toros Rosslin, see fig. 37
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 187, 132v)

Transfiguration



GOSPEL, 1332, Surkhat
Scribe, Illuminator – Grigor Sukiasants
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 7664)



GOSPEL, 1520, Van
(Manuscript library of Holy Etchmiadzin,
manuscript N 27, 3b)



TRANSFIGURATION,
Icon, XVI century, 1st half,
Church of Aghios Sozomenos, Galatia



GOSPEL, 1563, Gandzasar
(Manuscript library of Holy Etchmiadzin,
manuscript N 463, 5v)



TRANSFIGURATION, Icon, 1544,
Monastery of St. Neophytes, Cyprus

and the other hand is laid over his eyes to cover them from the radiating light. Sometimes James is represented standing backward to the light and as if, he wants to go down the mountain without covering his eyes from the light. James is represented exactly this way in the Gospel of Mughny. He has raised his hand, but has not covered his eyes.

Referring to Peter's half-turned pose Izmailova indicates that it is the reflection of his previous archaic sitting pose.

The same refers to John. He bowed without prostrating and leaned his face on his hands⁴³.

In the XII-XIII centuries, however, the scene depicting the apostles was

clearly formed, where each of them, as we have mentioned before, is represented in a behavior peculiar to his age and temperament.

Peter, though astonished and astound by this unusual Transfiguration, did not lose his self-control as the rock of the fate, firm and solid, prostrated but gazing at Jesus that was talking with Moses and Elijah. As he was the eldest among the apostles, he is always portrayed with a white beard, usually covering his face with a hand, but his eyes stared at the Lord with surprising and admiring self-control.

Sensitive and zealous John was shocked by that event, fell to the

43. Ibid., p. 174



GOSPEL, XI century, 1679
Scribe – Hovhannes, Bishop Barsegh
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 7736, 15a)



GOSPEL, 1419, Tsipna Monastery

Scribe – Grigor Vardapet

(Matenadaran, manuscript N 3714, 5v)

ground and covered his eyes being not able to bear the blinding light. For stressing more the impression, he is often portrayed upside down, holding his head with his hands and covering his face.

Middle-aged James with his quiet temperament has an intermediate place between Peter and John. He is shocked by that event; he is prostrated and even seems that he will fall to the ground, but at the same time, he strives

to see what is going on there, on the mountain. He leaned on one hand against the ground and covered his eyes from the light with the other hand. This intermediate state is also expressed by closing one eye and looking with the other, which is a sign of both confusion and self-control⁴⁴.

If the upper part of the Transfiguration scene with God's hand, the Holy Spirit and Christ has general features with the scene of baptism, the lower part with confused apostles that leaned against the mountain slope reminds us about the scene in the Garden of Gethsemane, where the apostles were sleeping on the mountain slope. The apostles' behavior in falling asleep expresses these peculiarities related to their age and behavior often accompanied with exciting and beautiful examples taken from human life. In this regard, it is typical to represent John, who was the youngest among them, covered with a cloth, which signifies his young age and to some extent, helplessness in the face of the general representation of the other apostles. In the Transfiguration scene, his confusion is often expressed with such childish helplessness.

About the gathering of the prophets and apostles on Mount Tabor Ephrem the Syrian writes that Mount Tabor symbolizes the Church. On this mountain, Jesus united the two Testaments, which the Church adopted, teaching us that the Lord has granted us with these two Testaments⁴⁵.

44. See N. Pokrovsky, Gospel in the Monuments of Iconography, p. 202 (Н.Покровский, Евангелие въ памятниках иконографии)

45. Literature of St. Ephrem, vol. IV, p. 66 (in Armenian)

160



GLADZOR GOSPEL,
(Library of the University of California,
manuscript N 170/466/)

FROM TOROS ROSSLIN THROUGH TO RAPHAEL

Toros Rosslin's art (XIII century) became the compositional generalization of the input and artistic pinnacle of the Armenian miniature. This is also proved by his Transfiguration miniatures. The Transfiguration scene appears in three of the manuscripts illuminated by Rosslin and preserved to our days. The two miniatures to be represented bellow not only show his compositional skillfulness, but also his stylistic multiformity, when the same motif within the framework of the same iconographic canon, is represented with two different solutions of colors and figures.

According to the words of the Evangelists, in two miniatures, Christ is dressed in very white clothes and the radiating red color on it represents cloth plaits, to some extent, giving an impression of a marble statue.

In the Gospel of Lady Keran, Christ is portrayed in a gold mandorla, which symbolizes the divine light and glory. Rosslin also followed those iconographic types, in which a ray of divine light descends from heaven towards the mandorla signifying the inseparable and united Holy Trinity.

Two rays burst forth from the mandorla over Moses and Elijah, and three rays – bellow, over the apostles. The three rays symbolize the Trinity both in heaven and on the earth.

If the divine glory is expressed by gold light, then the sky – by blue color. The whole circle has blue bands signi-

fying the fulfillment of this heavenly mystery on the earth. However, the core blue descends through to the mountain, which is the place of man's encounter with God and where the heavenly blue ends and the earth starts.

As we have mentioned, according to the biblical words that the freshness of Moses' face was not abated, miniaturists portrayed Moses with red cheeks. However, Rosslin going from separate details to the generalization of the miniature represented Moses with a luminous face instead of portraying him with red cheeks.

In accordance with this generalization, the apostles' behaviors are not represented by their poses, confused faces, but by differences of their looks and features, who have almost the same poses. Their eyes become even more expressive influenced by the gold light spreading from the mandorla.

Sergey Averintsev, in his article entitled "Gold in the System of Symbols in the Early Byzantine Culture" writes about the divine light commemorated in the Bible and in different works of the ancient period through to the medieval hagiographic literature. He states that on one hand light is a clarity that opens the world for observing and recognition, and which contributes to the understanding of mysteries, in accordance with the following words addressed to Jesus' disciples, "Then Jesus said unto them, Yet a little while is the light with you. Walk while your have the



GOSPEL OF LADY KERAN, 1265, Hromkla
(Manuscript library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem
Manuscript N 1965, 140v)

light, lest darkness come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth. While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light" (John 12:35-36). On the other hand, light also inspires and astonishes, excites the soul and blinds the eyes, as it was the case with Moses, when the divine light appeared to him on Mount Sinai. "And the sight of the glory of the LORD was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel" (Exodus 24:17).

That radiance of the light is frightful, like fire and thunder, and can blind, as it blinded Saul, who was to become the apostle of the gentiles (Acts 22.11).

Averintsev describes that the awe and fear towards God, as well enjoyment do not oppose to, but they complete each other according to the following words of the psalm⁴⁶, "Serve the LORD with fear, and rejoice with trembling (Psalms 2:11).

In Rosslin's both miniatures, one can find the combined expression of admiration and astonishment on the apostles' faces.

In the Gospel of Malatia, Christ is already portrayed in a blue mandorla, and the heavenly space – in gold. If in the previous miniature, the blue color reached the mountain, here also the space going up to the mountain is

gold.

In the Gospel of Lady Keran, Christ looks at the observer of this miniature and thanks to it Christ's standing in the middle of the painting is rather stressed, not only in its compositional, but also in its notional sense.

The Evangelists write that at the Transfiguration Moses and Elijah were speaking with Christ. In order to relate Christ with Moses and Elijah who were standing on His either side and to represent their conversation, in medieval iconography Christ was portrayed as turned by three fourth to Moses and looking at Elijah.

As Sirarpy Ter-Nersissian mentions, this iconographic type was already obvious in the Transfiguration fresco of St. Catherine Monastery of Sinai, which however, is more outstandingly expressed in the Armenian art⁴⁷.

In the Armenian miniature, this iconographic type that emerged in the XI century, reached the climax of its expressiveness just in Rosslin's Transfiguration miniature in the Gospel of Malatia.

According to Irina Drambyan, the representation of their synchronous conversation by portraying Christ turned to Moses and looking at Elijah is more stressed thanks to the poses of the apostles that react to that con-

46. See S.S. Averintsev, *Gold in the System of Symbols in the Early Byzantine Culture* in the book "Byzantium. Southern Slavs and Ancient Russia, Western Europe, Moscow, 1973, p. 47 (C.C. Аверинцев, *Золото в системе символов ранневизантийской культуры* (Византия. Южные славяне и древняя Русь, Западная Европа, Москва)

47. See Der Nersessian S., *Miniature Painting*, p. 58



GOSPEL, 1268, Hromkla
Illuminator – Toros Rosslin
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 10675, 128v)

version⁴⁸.

In the Gospel of Malatia Jesus looks not only at Elijah, but also at Apostle Peter, in all likelihood expressing that scene of the Transfiguration, where the apostle told Jesus “Lord, it is good for us to be here”.

Rosslin expressed John's youngest age by portraying him lying with childish helplessness.

The second famous painter of the Armenian miniature of Cilicia is Sarkis Pidzak (XIV century). He has also represented the Transfiguration with gold

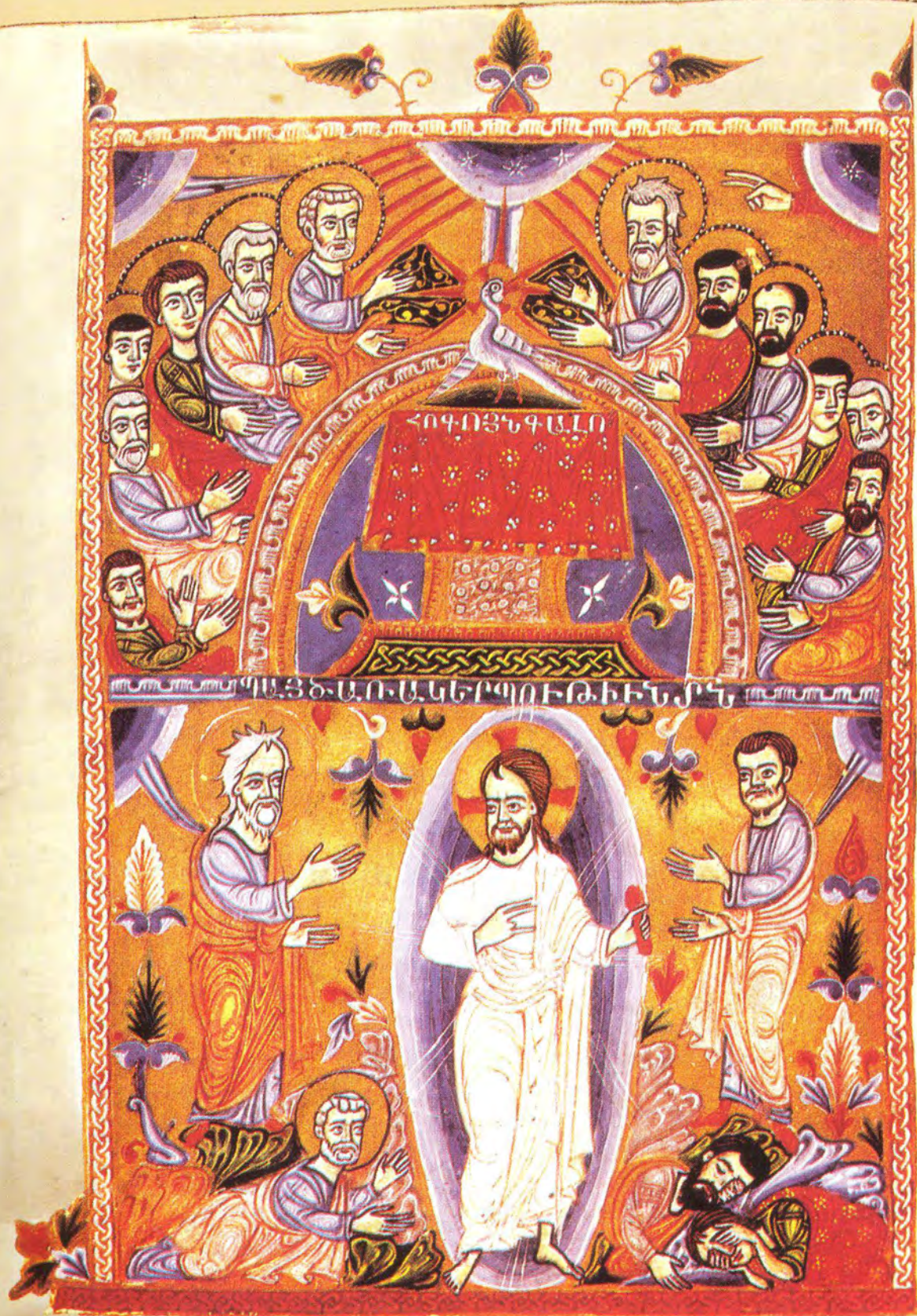
and blue colors.

Frequently, different scenes depicting the Lord are portrayed together, which mainly represent subsequent events, such as Annunciation-Nativity, Baptism-Transfiguration, Lazarus' resurrection and entry into Jerusalem.

The next couple of miniatures are formed on the basis of notional generality. According to this very principle, Sarkis Pidzak represented Pentecost and Transfiguration next to each other. Though Transfiguration should be followed by Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension and afterwards Pentecost, Pitsak represented Pentecost in the upper part of the painting, and Transfiguration – in the lower part.

This circumstance, in all likelihood,

48. See I.R. Drambyan, Toros Rosslin, Yerevan, 2000, p. 118 (И.Р. Драмбян, Торос Рослин, Ереван)



GOSPEL, 1336, Sis
Scribe, Illuminator – Priest Sarkis (Pidzak)
(Matenadaran, manuscript N 5786, 265v)

Transfiguration



Rafael, TRANSMFIGURATION

has the following two reasons:

The Christian Church was established by the descent of the Holy Spirit at the Pentecost, and in this scene of Pentecost the Upper Room was depicted as a church with an altar and it is written Pentecost on it. And it would not be respectable to depict the church in the lower part and Mount Tabor – in the upper part.

It is expedient, in regard to the general composition of this painting. At the Pentecost “suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and the Holy Spirit sat upon each of them” (Acts 2:2-3).

In a similar way, at the Transfiguration God's voice sounded from heaven and the Holy Spirit came as a cloud, and the light radiating from Christ spread towards Moses, Elijah and the apostles.

Sarkis Pidzak has represented this thematic generalization in an iconographic form. According to the generally accepted canon, on right and left sides of the Pentecost scene of this miniature the apostles stand, over whom tongues like as of fire are descending from the central upper part of the miniature, from a semi-circle symbolizing the heaven.

In the lower part of the central semi-circle, the dove-shaped Holy Spirit stands on the altar. The altar, symbolizing the Church in its turn, is a semi-circle that opens over the Transfiguration and descends towards



Christ. So, this light, through this vertical central axis, spreads from upwards to downwards, to the transfigured Christ, and in a similar way, in the upper part the Holy Spirit is descending over the apostles standing on right and left sides. In the lower part, the light radiating from Christ, with the same symmetry, spreads over Elijah and Apostle Peter standing bellow him on the left side and spreads over Moses and Apostles James and John - standing bellow him on the right side.

This long way to represent the iconographic canon within the framework of new artistic mentality and perception reached its unsurpassed culmination in Raphael's (1483-1520) famous work "Transfiguration". It was destined for the high altar of the

Church in Norbon, Italy, and being a Church icon, naturally, it should be created within the limits of traditional iconography.

This work of Raphael and the "Last Supper" fresco of Leonardo are incomparable examples of the iconographic canon, not in the pictorial sense, but in the sense of expressing its spiritual mystery with artistic generalized abstractness.

In Raphael's work, everything is both traditional and quite new. According to the generally accepted tradition, in its upper central part Christ is standing surrounded by divine light, which is portrayed not in the mandorla, but as a bright cloud, in accordance with the apostles' description. However, the main luminous part of the cloud symbolizing the pure divine light has a mandorla shape, too. This pure light spreads and gradually fades, combining with the earth, like in Rosslin's miniatures, when the light reached the top of the mountain. However, Christ is not standing on the top of the mountain, but is radiating light and hovering in the sky, as a "numinous apparition of a corporeally sensuous character", according to Schiller's definition⁴⁹.

Likewise, Alexander Altaev writes. "Christ is above, in wonderful bright clouds. There appear Christ's radiating face and white clothes in this sea of light. Light is radiating from His whole face. Being beyond the earth,

He has not lost His body, however, He has obtained immateriality, which conveys supernatural beauty to Him"⁵⁰.

With such an interpretation of Raphael's painting, both Resurrection and Ascension are represented in the Transfiguration scene, respectively through the light of resurrection and the hovering in the sky.

Jesus does not lean against the mountain in the Gospel of Keran, either. Here He seems to have already left the earth, which explains the special brightness of mandorla and the mysterious blue color surrounding it.

According to the generally accepted iconographical canon, Moses and Elijah should stand on right and left sides of Christ. Moses is holding the tables of law in his hand and Elijah is wearing his sheepskin mantle. Raphael even depicted the knots to tie the mantle. Moses and Elijah, though in the lower part, are also hovering in the sky symbolizing the fact that they, too, have been recently called by the Lord.

It is characteristic for the Transfiguration scene to have palm trees depicted on the top of Mount Tabor and other plants - on its slope, which symbolizes the regaining of paradisiacal graciousness through Transfiguration.

Raphael, by nature, remained loyal also to one more requirement of the canon by representing Transfiguration in the general context of the land-

49. Schiller G, *Iconography of Christian Art*, p. 152.

50. See A. Altaev, *Leonardo, Michelangelo, Rafael*; Minsk 1988, p. 472 (Алтаев Ал., Леонардо, Микеланджело, Рафаэль, Минск)

scape, in which two trees, like palm trees, rise on the mountaintop.

Representing Christ hovering in the sky Raphael in a similar way raised the three apostles by one level depicting them on the mountaintop.

Though the painter has not followed the generally accepted subsequence of the apostles, he has remained loyal to the principle to depict each of them in respective behavior. Here also the most sensitive is John standing on the right side of the painting. Peter, who is the eldest and has a firm posture, is standing in the center, and at last, confused and middle-aged James is standing on the left side.

On the left side of the painting, a little bit lower than the mountaintop, Raphael depicted two more figures. Though this addition has nothing to do with the generally accepted iconography, it is directly related with the feast of Transfiguration, because here Raphael represented SS. Felicissimus and Agapitus, whose memory the Western Church commemorates on August 6, on the feast of Transfiguration.

The Evangelists write that when Jesus came down the mountain, he saw the other nine apostles with a crowd. Matthew writes that "when they were come to the multitude, there came to him a certain man, kneeling down to him, and saying, Lord, have mercy on my son: for he is lunatic, and sore vexed: for oftentimes he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water. And I brought him to thy disciples, and they

could not cure him" (Matthew 17:14-16). And Mark represents the following way the supplication of the child's father, "Master, I have brought unto thee my son, which hath a dumb spirit; And wheresoever he taketh him, he teareth him: and he foameth, and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away: and I spake to thy disciples that they should cast him out; and they could not" (Mk. 9:17-18). Luke describes that account similarly (9:40).

Then the Evangelists write that "Jesus rebuked the devil; and he departed out of him: and the child was cured from that very hour".

Raphael combined this Gospel account with the Transfiguration. According to the generally accepted iconographical structure, Jesus, Moses and Elijah should be depicted in the upper field of the painting, but in Raphael's work the upper field of the painting is dedicated to the Transfiguration and the lower field – to the account of the lunatic child. So, the upper field signifies the divine and the lower field – the earthly spheres creating a stressed contrast. Above inaccessible mysteries and secrets are analyzed and below there appears the helplessness of the sick child's parents.

However, there are two subsequent accounts, where Christ is the central figure, but He is in the upper part and therefore the eyes and hands of the father, who is imploring for his child's health, of the apostles and other people are directed towards the Lord who is in heaven.



As Alexander Maykapar writes, this work of Raphael seems to be the pictorial reproduction of the Gospel account by Luke, in which lunatic's father asked Jesus for his child's healing⁵¹.

N. Pokrovsky writes about this creative motif of Raphael, which combined the account of the epileptic child's healing with the Transfiguration. He states that it is based on the contrast of the upper and lower parts of the painting: "Above, blinding splendor, glory, apparition of those who abide in heaven and con-

versation about highest mysteries; below, pain and suffering, worldly troubles and human helplessness in the face of that trouble. The observer first of all casts a glance to that part of the painting, then looks up and the feeling of human helplessness that arises from looking at that part of the painting, converts to perfect tranquility while contemplating His glory, who is able not only to cure all the physical and spiritual pains, but also to pull up the evil by the root"⁵².

This painting of Raphael caused

51. See A. Maykapar, *New Testament in the Art*, Moscow, 1998, p. 163 (А. Майкапар, *Новый завет в искусстве*, Москва)

52. See N. Pokrovsky, *Gospel in the Monuments of Iconography*, p. 204 (Н. Покровский, *Евангелие в памятниках иконографии*)

different interpretations contradicting each other. Its critics say that Raphael could not manage to create unity and harmony between upper and lower parts of the painting. They considered as deficiency this purposeful contrast between the heavenly and the earthly. As V. Grashchenkov writes, the upper and lower parts of the painting do not form a compositional integrity, and Raphael could not manage to represent in entirety his two types of composition about the ideal - the heavenly, and the earthly - historical⁵³.

However, at the end of the XVIII century Goethe, as if preventing all the further critics of this painting of Raphael, wrote, "How can one separate the upper and lower parts? The two are one: bellow, suffering, need, above effective power, succor. Each bearing on the other, both interacting with one another"⁵⁴.

600 years before Goethe's words, Vardapet Barsegh Jon of the Armenian Church in his commentary on the Gospel of Mark expressed the same idea in the interpretation of the account about the healing of the lunatic child: "Above, highest mysteries, bellow, troubles of life. Above, the Father's voice sounds and bellow, the Son persecutes devils"⁵⁵:

According to Raphael, one of the greatest titans of Renaissance, bellow there is suffering and need, above, in the luminous clouds of the sky stands

He, who is the hope of those, who are bellow, in pain.

It is noteworthy at the same time, that the reason for the contrast between two parts of the painting is the fact that Raphael could not complete the painting that had begun in 1517. After his death Giulio Romani and Penni, his two disciples and collaborators completed the painting. For this reason, differences of compositional styles and temperaments of the painters of the upper and lower parts of the painting are added to the contrast caused by the motif.

The painting, especially Jesus' image, to some extent, remained incomplete after being finished, and the reason for this incompleteness was not only the sudden death of the painter, but the fact that it also had its inner mystery. In a similar way, Leonardo's "Last Supper" remained incomplete, in which the figures of Jesus and Judas were not completed.

Perhaps, even such great figures are incapable or they considered themselves incapable to represent God's inaccessible mysteries in compositional complete forms.

According to the tradition, Raphael's coffin was put in front of the incomplete painting of Transfiguration. People hearing about Raphael's death, told that his second life was beginning with that death, and that life began surrounded by Transfiguration lights.

53. See V.N. Grashchenkov, *Raphael*; Moscow, 1975, p. 190, (В.Н. Гращенко, Рафаэль, Москва)

54. See Goethe, "Italian Journey", *Collected Works*, vol. 9, Moscow, 1980, p. 198 (Гете, Из „Итальянского путешествия“, Собрание сочинений, том девятый, Москва)

55. Vardapet Barsegh Jon, *Commentary on the Gospel of Mark*, Constantinople, 1826, p. 8 (in Armenian)

VARDAN GEVORG DEVRIKYAN

**TRANSFIGURATION
AND
THE FEAST OF VARDAVAR**

Translated by GAYANE ALEKSANYAN
Editor GAYANE POGHOSYAN
Designed by NARINE BAGHDASARYAN

**“FRIENDS OF MATENADARAN” BENEVOLENT FOUNDATION
MASHTOTS AVE 53, MATENADARAN
YEREVAN-09, ARMENIA
Tel/Fax: (374-10) 520-420
[http: www.matenadaran.am](http://www.matenadaran.am)
e-mail: friends@matenadaran.am**

The book has been published in “Tigran Mets” publishing house

TURNER – AIVAZOVSKY

An Auspicious Encounter

Khatchatur I. Pilikian

An abridged version of this paper was first read at the
Aivazovsky International Symposium
on July 23rd 1990, Theodosia, Crimea

PROLOGUE



Aivazovsky's *Self-portrait*. 1874
Oil, 74 x 58 cm.
Uffizzi Gallery, Florence.



Turner's *Self-portrait*. c.1798
Oil, 29 x 23 inches.
Tate gallery, London

Once upon a time there was Hovhanness Haivaz, an Armenian lad born in Theodosia, the “God-given” city built by the ancient Greeks on the shores of the black sea in Crimea. He had the gift of the muses. He soon began singing, playing the violin – oriental style—and drawing on the walls with charcoal.

Hovhanness became Ivan, and Haivaz stretched to Haivazovsky, Aivazian and finally was established as Aivazovsky.

Ivan Aivazovsky became the greatest marine painter of Imperial Russia. Early in his carrier, he was elected a member of five Academies of Fine Arts, including those of St. Petersburg (his Alma Mater). Rome, Florence, Stuttgart and Amsterdam. He was an Academician at 27, and Professor of Marine Painting at the Academy of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, at the age of 30.

He fell in love with an Italian diva, the ballerina Maria Taglioni. She wrote to him: “your marvellous talent makes me proud to be called an artist.” Lifelong friendship was sealed, although they never married. He was 25 and she 38.

Falling in love anew, at 31, he married Julia Graves, an English governess in St. Petersburg. They had four daughters. After twelve years of marriage, Julia left her husband. Twenty-two years later, Aivazovsky, at 65, married Anna Boornazian, a young Armenian widow from Theodosia. Anna stayed with him till the end.



Aivazovsky's sketch/impression of himself as a young man playing the violin-oriental style. 1887.



Aivazovsky. *Anna Bournazian*. 1882. Oil, 73 x 62 cm. Aivazovsky Gallery, Theodosia

Aivazovsky left nearly 6000 works – accounting for more than 100 exhibitions all over Europe, Russia, England, Netherlands and the United States of America.

A master painter for 65 years, Aivazovsky was celebrated as the “marine poet” of his time, the 19th century.

With his death in 1900 marine painting lost its last “poet”, and has yet to find the new. Until then, 20th century Western Art, having totally forgotten Aivazovsky, is resurrecting the other ‘poet of colours’ of the first half of the 19th century -- J. M. W. Turner. He is the new ‘prophet’.

Prophets are admired, for better or worse. They rarely admire others. That rarity is the microcosm of their “prophecy”, or indeed, their humanity.

And the ‘prophet’ Turner admired the “poet” Aivazovsky. He said it in Rome in 1842.

SIMILAR LEGEND

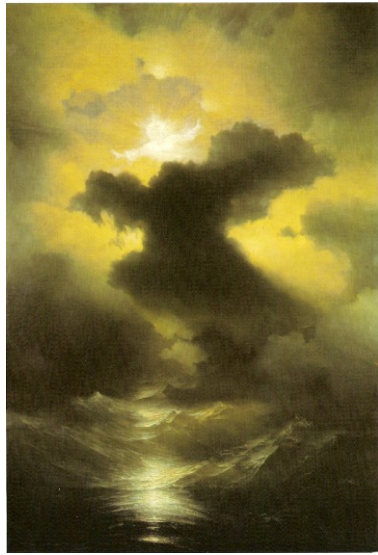
Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) was in his mid-fifties when he first met Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), in Vienna.

Haydn-Mozart mutual admiration is now a legend.

“Nobody can do everything like Joseph Haydn”, Mozart is reported to have said of his “dear friend and father.” In his turn, Joseph Haydn, whose fame then stretched throughout Europe, confessed that Mozart was “the greatest musical genius”. The professional appreciation was such that it paved the way for creative reciprocity, leaving its fascinating traits in music literature and performance practice.

A strikingly similar legend seems now possible to reconstruct in the domain of art history.

Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851) and Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovsky (1817-1900) met in Rome, in 1842. Turner had just seen, at an exhibition, some paintings by Aivazovsky – the talk of the town in those days. Recently, Pope Gregory XVI had purchased Aivazovsky’s painting, titled: “*Chaos – The Creation of the World*”, for the Vatican Gallery.



Aivazovsky's painting, *Chaos—The Creation of the World*. 1841.

Oil, 73 x 108 cm.
The Mekhitarian St. Ghazar=Lazar
Museum, Venice

Turner at 67, the acknowledged master of the day of landscapes and marine paintings, was literally overwhelmed. The art of the young marine painter Aivazovsky inspired the venerable master to write a poem, in Italian, the last two lines of which are intoned in a panegyric mood:

‘L’arte tuo ben’ e potente So good and potent is your art
Perche il genio t’inspiró!..’ That only genius could have inspired you

“OLD RUSSIA”

Perusing through the Aivazovsky literature at the British Library, I came across the entire Italian poem of Turner, published in the Russian periodical “*Ruskaya Starina*” = *Old Russia*, of 1878.

Eureka! Here it was at last. For many years only these two lines of the original Italian, mentioned above, were known to me, plus few more lines in Russian verse or prose, and an entire poem in an Armenian translation from a Russian rendering of the Italian poem. The Armenian translator was none other than the late Hovhanness Shiraz, one of the great Armenian poets of mid 20th century. The fascination and enthusiasm of H. Shiraz with the Russian version of the poem resulted in rendering his Armenian version in a flourish of expansive interpolations. Furthermore, H. Shiraz presented Turner as the “venerable English poet”, placing him alongside Lermontov, V. Hugo, Li Tai Po and Barashvili. The said Armenian poem of Hovhanness Shiraz was in turn translated into English by Hovhanness Pilikian to relocate the poem in Turner’s own native English. (See Appendix)

That was in 1978 when I had based my research and hypothesis on those scanty sources, albeit the only available ones appearing in the Aivazovsky literature after 1940s.

But now at last, I was able to read the entire poem in its original Italian which “*Ruskaya Starina*” had published among the autobiographical notes of Aivazovsky, in Russian, informing us, among others, the latter’s Roman sojourn of 1842. Surprisingly and curiously enough, to date no western scholar of Turner seems to have come across this unique document in verse. Furthermore, they all agreed that Turner did not visit Rome in 1842. Meanwhile the Russian scholars of Aivazovsky had merely dealt with the said poem as no more than a panegyric curiosity.

I have no hesitation in considering Turner’s Italian poem—published among Aivazovsky’s autobiographical data--as an important document that illustrates our understanding of the creative worlds and the consequent reciprocity of Aivazovsky and Turner.

Perhaps it is the only poem Turner wrote in Italian or any other language other than his native English. We know that Turner versified throughout his entire creative life. He accompanied his

sketches and paintings mostly with his own verses which he labelled more often than not as “Fallacies of Hope”.

CLAUDIAN AND FAUSTIAN “LEITMOTIVES”

I suggest that the significance of the poem in its art-historical context lies in its remarkable Claudian “leitmotiv”. Turner has ‘repainted’ in Italian words Aivazovsky’s most Claudian landscape, which, I suggest, is the one titled: *The Bay of Naples by Moonlight*, 92 x 141 cm. now at the Aivazovsky Gallery in Theodosia. Most strikingly, the formal composition of this painting is a mirror/reverse image of a Turner painting titled: *The Bay of Baiae*, of 1823, now at the Tate Gallery. Furthermore, the poem resonates the aura of the spell the venerable master was under, of that “noble moment” created by the “art divine” of the young master, not unlike the Faustian *Augenblick* = glimpse/moment, uttered by Goethe’s old philosopher in his now famous words:

“Verweile doch! Du bist so schön.” = Yet, stay/stop! You are so beautiful.

Whereas Goethe’s lofty, Faustian bliss is only envisaged in a future moment which might be won only by the “ultimate good”, Turner’s “sublime moment” is a felt reality “by art betrayed” but won, nevertheless. Even at 67, metaphysical bliss was beyond the reach of the sense-wrought artist, Turner, even though it touched the threshold of his colours. But that bliss was in abundance in the mature, disciplined will, classical skill and character of the art of the young Aivazovsky— an art luxuriating in romantic subject matters notwithstanding. That was, I believe, what fascinated and inspired Turner, the “magnificent giant of English painting” (Herbert Reed), to write a poem in praise of his young colleague, Aivazovsky.



Aivazovsky’s painting, *The Bay of Naples by Moonlight*.. 1842.
Aivazovsky’s most Claudian landscape (see text above)

Oil, 92 x 141 cm. now at
Aivazovsky Gallery, Theodosia.



Turner’s painting: *The Bay of Baiae, with Apollo and the Sibyl*..
Exh. BA 1823

“a full-blooded essay in the
mould of Claude”
(G. Reynolds, TURNER, 1976, p
119)

Oil, 57.5 x 93.5 inches, now at
the Tate Gallery, London

Turner acquainted himself with Goethe's (1749-1832) treatise on colour, "*Zur Farbenlehre*" (1810), which was translated into English by his friend and colleague Charles Eastlake in 1840. In 1843, one year after his "enchantment" in Rome with the "potent art" of Aivazovsky, Turner 'illustrated' Goethe's theory with his own colours and words. Two oil paintings, accompanied by verses of his omnipresent *Fallacies of Hope*, were the result of that endeavour. One was titled: *Shade and Darkness – The Evening of the Deluge*. This was to exemplify Goethe's so called "minus" colours of blues, purples and blue-greens which, according to Goethe, were associated with restlessness, anxiety and susceptibility. Turner's accompanying verses read thus:

***The moon put forth her sign of woe unheeded;
But disobedience slept; the darkening Deluge closed around;
And the last token came, the giant framework floated,
The roused birds forsook their nightly shelters screaming,
And the beasts waded to the ark.***

Turner's *Shade and Darkness –
The Evening of the Deluge*.
Oil, 30.5 x 30.5 inches. Exh. BA 1843.
Tate Gallery, London.



The other oil painting was titled: *Light and Colour (Goethe's Theory) – The Morning after the Deluge – Moses writing the Book of Genesis*. This painting was to exemplify Goethe's "plus" colours of reds, yellows and greens, which were supposed to produce feelings of happiness, joy and warmth. The accompanying verses of Turner read thus:

***The ark stood firm on Ararat, th'returning sun
Exhaled earth's humid bubbles, and emulous of light,
Reflected her lost forms, each in prismatic guise
Hope's harbinger, ephemeral as the summer fly
Which rises, flits, expands, and dies.***

Turner's *Light and Colour (Goethe's Theory) –
The Morning after the Deluge – Moses writing the Book of Genesis*.
Oil, 31 x 31 inches. Exh. BA 1843.
Tate Gallery, London



Turner knew his Bible well. His decision to choose Moses and not Noah the morning after the Deluge was the outburst of the artist's sensuality indulging in the eternal vortex of creation – the matrix of regeneration. Eventually the vortex as a structural, formal image had become Turner's pictorial obsession. Hence, letting Moses write the Book of Genesis, and not the Ten Commandments, meant, I believe, re-enacting the life cycle after the Deluge all over again.

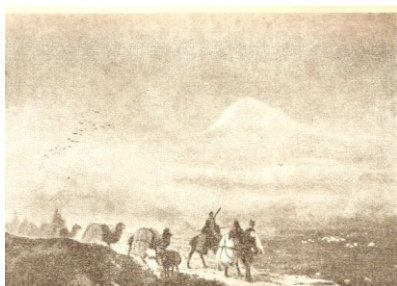
In fact, Turner did not forget also reminding us of the Creation myth's archaic symbol of a rod with the serpent twisted on it. The rigid divinity of the Patriarchal Commandments – epitome of divine finality once and for all – would have interrupted the vortex drive of that divine matrix of rebirth -- regeneration. Such was Turner, the sensual genius at his most poetic.

ARARAT – AIVAZOVSKY’S “ARMENIA”

Incidentally (or is it?), Turner’s choice of the Ararat theme to exemplify Goethe’s theory of colour came after his meeting with the Russian-Armenian painter, Ivan (Hovhanness) Aivazovsky (Aivazian) in Rome, in 1842.

Bearing in mind that Ararat is the perennial symbol of the land called Armenia, it would not be surprising to find Aivazovsky depicting the Ararat landscape. But he painted the landscape with the imposing mountain first in 1868, decades later than Turner’s reference to it in his verse accompanying *Light and Colour*. Incredible but true, depicting Ararat made Aivazovsky the first Armenian painter ever to do so. The awesome majesty and ‘sanctity’ of mount Ararat, graciously treasured in popular myth, had a foreboding, quasi-iconoclastic influence on Armenian painters. Aivazovsky broke that ‘spell’.

Indeed, Aivazovsky returned to paint the majestic two-summits mountain in 1882, titling it: *The Valley of Mount Ararat*. Moreover, he signed his name in Armenian, “*Aivazian, 1882*”, on the image of the rock lying at the bottom left corner of the painting, in addition to his usual signature in Russian, *Aivazovsky*, at the bottom right corner. In 1885, he signed another *Mount Ararat*, both in Armenian and Russian, on the bottom right corner of the unusually small oil painting measuring 23 x 34 cm,



Aivazovsky.---- *Ararat*.
1868



Aivazovsky---*The Valley of Mount Ararat*. 1882



Aivazovsky.---- *Mount Ararat*.
1885

But in 1887, Aivazovsky too, like Turner, painted mount Ararat’s biblical theme of ‘after the Deluge.’ He named it simply as *Noah Descending from Ararat*. As mentioned above, the subject matter in Turner’s painting of Ararat after the Deluge is swept up in the dynamic vortex of regeneration. In Aivazovsky, the vast emptiness of the world-universe after the Deluge, the majesty of mount Ararat and the chilling serenity of the disciplined descent of the survivors, all breathe Biblical inevitability. Moreover, in the Aivazovsky oil painting Noah’s group has chosen to bend the path of the caravan in a semicircle (the painter has modified the straight path of the caravan in his initial sketch.) The Patriarchal group is pushed further away from his followers, in an anticlockwise motion, towards the right, thus creating a guiding momentum for the bewildered survivors in their descent.

A journalist of the acclaimed Venice periodical “*Bazmavep*”, reported that in a Paris exhibition of Aivazovsky’s paintings, in 1889, the master himself stood aloof and afar, pointing to his large painting *Noah Descending from Ararat*, saying:

“Here it is, our Armenia.” (M. Sargsian, H. AIVAZOVSKI. “Knowledge” Publications, Yerevan 1967, p 32)

As for Aivazovsky’s painting titled *The World Deluge*, of 1864, there is a distinct and violent contrast of light and shade bisecting the world/canvass vertically, as if each trying to subdue the other half totally. Humans, whether drowned or still alive are all depicted as statuesque details, nay even as broken stone remnants of the massive earth/rocks defoliated by the flood. The whole world

is engulfed in a visually frozen battle/tension, a halted still of the natural tragic event – a Faustian *augenblick*, indeed, albeit not of bliss but of affliction.



Aivazovsky--- *The World Deluge*. 1864
Oil, 246 x 369 cm.
Russian Museum. St. Petersburg



Aivazovsky--- *Noah Descending from Ararat*. 1887
Oil, 128 x 218 cm.
Painting Gallery of Armenian. Yerevan

Nothing indeed could exemplify better the difference between the two painters as these paintings pertaining to the biblical events before and after the Deluge. Their formal and pictorial treatment of the same subject matter by both artists created the opposites in the classic-romantic dialectics of the spectrum of art.

KNOW THYSELF

Sir Kenneth Clark has pointed out that **“three-quarters of the paintings by Turner which we admire most were not exhibited in his lifetime; many of them were not put on stretchers or seen by another human eye till over fifty years after his death”** (*The Romantic Rebellion*, p 223). Sir Clark’s observation serves as a warning when we try to assess which works of Turner Aivazovsky knew and admired. We cannot yet tell that story in full. That Aivazovsky did admire Turner, even before he met the venerable master in Rome in 1842, is obvious from Aivazovsky’s autobiographical notes, which has served as a primary source for his biographers and catalogue compilers. Research will have to be done to recapture the essence of that mutual admiration.

Yet it seems obvious that the venerable English painter Turner, **“certainly the greatest of English Romantics and colourists”** (A. Finberg), was powerfully attracted not so much by Aivazovsky’s romantic subject matter, employed abundantly with heightened pictorial moods, as with the young artist’s attainment of classical visual discipline which moulded his youthful exuberance without containment.

I propose that Turner conceived of the Russian-Armenian painter Aivazovsky, as the ‘new’ Claude. Turner and many an artist before and after him, tried to emulate Claude Lorraine (1600-1682), the French-Italian master of 17th century classical landscape and seaport paintings. But Turner’s natural and powerful romanticism, I think, ‘failed’ his lifelong obsession to become a ‘new’ Claude, despite earning a reputation as the ‘British Claude’. That ‘failure’ was to become his strength especially after his encounter with Aivazovsky’s work. Unlike Turner, the essentially classicist Aivazovsky never entertained such an obsession but was able to become Claudian with a panache, whenever he chose to. Hence, I believe that Aivazovsky’s art helped Turner to abandon his Claudian obsession. As a result of which and especially after 1842, a ‘radical’ Turner emerged, tenaciously unbound.



Turner's ---- *The Dogana and, Santa Maria della Salute. Venice, 1843*
Oil on canvas, 62 x 93 cm.



Aivazovsky ----- *View of a Bay near Venice.*
ca. 1842
Oil on canvas, 75 x 119 cm.

Aivazovsky at 25 was Turner's 'Claudian Hope' incarnate. To emulate Claude after having experienced Aivazovsky's work would have been pointless exercise and truly a 'fallacious hope' for Turner at the age of 67. Thanks to that auspicious encounter, Turner relentlessly pursued his creative independence. A unique and essentially a revolutionary painter, Turner was no more in need of Ruskin's defence of his art of 1843 (*Modern Painters*). J. M. W. Turner had absorbed the Delphic Dictum. He knew himself. He became the Bard of Visual Culture for our own times and the millennium to come.

AN EPILOGUE

The 'benefit of doubt' is a helpful tool for research all right, but not an excuse for a-priori neglect. The most hardened misconception remains the one claiming that Turner did not visit Italy after 1840. Nevertheless, here are a few 'encouraging' hints from noted British scholars of Turner:

The editor of *Turner Society News*, Cecilia Powell recently wrote the following about Christine Bicknell's journal the latter jotted down on 24 June 1845:

"Christine Bicknell noted briefly 'Turner going to Venice'. This suggests that Turner's 1840 visit to Venice was perhaps not his last, as is usually supposed, but further evidence to confirm a later visit is not, as yet, forthcoming." (TSN 56, p 6)

In his *A Wonderful Range of Mind* (1987), John Gage questions the possibility of Turner's visits of Tyrol and North Italy in August/November 1843.

But Andrew Wilton is quite sure, in his *Turner Abroad* (1985, p 30), about Turner visiting Lake Como and Bolzano in August 1842.

Hence, there is no reason whatsoever not to regard Aivazovsky's autobiographical notes published in 1878 as one such further evidence of Turner visiting Italy after 1840, not unlike Bicknell's journal of 1845 referred to by C. Powell.

Furthermore, the Russian scholars of Aivazovsky, namely Kuzmin (1901), Skvortsov (1943), Barsamov (1955), Wagner (1871) and Novouspensky (1980), all do tell us that the author of the poem in Italian in praise of Aivazovsky was none other than J.M.W. Turner.

All the above notwithstanding, I think further research is needed to consider, among others, the following: Did Turner write the said poem first in English and then asked an Italian friend to translate his poem into Italian? It's worth mentioning, also, that Aivazovsky had his first London exhibition in 1843, hence the meeting might have even been then in London and not in Rome. But

Aivazovsky's autobiographical notes leave no doubt as to when, where and who was the original author of the poem in question—1842, Rome, Turner.

Delving into the intricacies of the so called 'late Turner', Prof. W. Vaughan argues that late Turner, or, as he calls it, 'private' Turner was bound through "associative Romantic Aesthetics" to the "superior taste" of the "superior observer" of the "aristocratic class" or the "nouveaux riches" in Britain (TSN 56, p 14)

Nevertheless, it is significantly better to point out that 'late' Turner manifests not so much a 'private' Turner but a 'primary' Turner. His visual Romanticism, naturally omnipresent in his oeuvre, was 'bound' in Claudian Classicist obsession, until early 1840's. The encounter with Aivazovsky's oeuvre made Turner 'unbound', reaffirming the time honoured, ageless and never fading or failing truth in life and in art –the Delphic dictum: **Gnothi Seauton = KNOW THYSELF.**

APPENDIX – THE 'TURNER POEM' IN "OLD RUSSIA" OF 1878

The original poem in Italian, said to be Turner's, as it appears in "*Ruskaya Starina*"=*Old Russia*, of 1878.

Come tenda che si lieva
E si ferma alla metà
Come duol che mezzo allieva
La speranza di piacer;
Si la notte il cielo abbruma
Della placida città
Ed il raggio della luna
Ne rischiera ogni sentier!
Dalla via ch'a Margellina
Sta sa dosso a cavalier,
Guarda tutta la marina
Ed un sogno ti parra:
Quelle case, quel Vulcano,
Taciturne quel pensier
Distuanno un senso arcano
Che anchó il di non cacciera!
Qella luna d'oro e argento
Sopra il mar' si specchia e stà,
Onde il mar' ch'un legger vento
Va incessando innanzi a té
Sembre un campo di scintille
Che la spuma accemde e va,
O metalliche faville
Sopra un manto d'un gran' rè...
Ma di giorno che raggiona
Quella luna è bassa ognor!
Somma artista, mi perdona
Se un artista s'ingannó!..
Nel delizio della mente
Mi sedusse il tuo lavor
L'arte tua ben' e potente
Perche il genio t'inspiró!..

An abridged English translation by Hovhannes Pilikian, in 1978, of the Armenian poem by Hovhannes Shiraz based on the Russian translation of the original Italian of 1878.

Like a curtain slowly drawn
It stops suddenly half open,
Or, like grief itself, filled with gentle hope,
It becomes lighter in the shore-less dark,
Thus the moon barely wanes
Winding her way above the storm-tossed sea.
Stand upon this hill and behold endlessly
This scene of a formidable sea,
And it will seem to thee a waking dream.
That secret mind flowing in thee
Which even the day cannot scatter,
The serenity of thinking and the beating of the heart
Will enchain thee in this vision;
This golden-silver moon
Standing lonely over the sea,
All curtain the grief of even the hopeless.
And it appears that through the tempest
Moves a light caressing wind,
While the sea swells up with a roar,
Sometimes, like a battlefield it looks to me
The tempestuous sea,
Where the moon itself is a brilliant golden crown
Of a great king.
But even that moon is always beneath thee
Oh Master most high, Oh forgive thou me
If even this master was frightened for a moment
Oh, noble moment, by art betrayed...
And how may one not delight in thee,
Oh thou young boy, but forgive thou me,
If I shall bend my white head
Before thy art divine
Thy bliss-wrought genius...

МУРАД АСРАТЯН
АРМЯНСКАЯ
АРХИТЕКТУРА
РАННЕГО
ХРИСТИАНСТВА



MURAD HASRATIAN
EARLY
CHRISTIAN
ARCHITECTURE
OF ARMENIA



ИНКОМБУК
МОСКВА
2000

Асратян М. М
А90. Армянская архитектура раннего христианства.— М.: Инкомбук,
2000.— 400с.

УДК7
ББК 85.113(8)

Редактор русского текста
А. Фролов

Дизайн
Р. Мнацакян, М. Сулейменов

Компьютерная верстка
М. Сулейменов

Корректор
О. Косова

Перевод на английский язык
Р. Ковалева

**Ответственный редактор
английского издания**
М. Тарвердова

Редакторы английского текста:
Г. Хмелев
Б. Денисов
Р. Назарова

Компьютерный набор
Н. Кулагина

В подготовке книги использованы материалы
Управления по охране Памятников истории и
культуры Республики Армения.

Translated from the Russian
by Raissa Kovalyova

English Edition Managing Editor
Margarita Tarverdova

Editors:
Gennady Khmelev
Boris Denisov
Raissa Nazarova

Design
R. Mnatsakian, M. Suleymenov

Text layout
M. Suleymenov

Computer operator
Nadezhda Kulagina

The materials for this book were provided to the author
by the Main Board for the Protection of Historical and
Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Armenia.

ISBN 5-88852-028-4

© ОАО «Закнефтегазстрой – Прометей», 2000
© ООО «Инкомбук», 2000
© Перевод на английский язык
ОАО «Издательская группа «Прогресс»,
Редакция литературы на иностранных языках, 2000

© Zakneftegazstroy-Prometey OJSC, 2000
© Incombook, 2000
© Translation into English
Progress Publishing Group Corporation,
Foreign Languages Department, 2000

МУРАД АСРАТЯН
АРМЯНСКАЯ
АРХИТЕКТУРА
РАННЕГО
ХРИСТИАНСТВА



MURAD HASRATIAN
EARLY
CHRISTIAN
ARCHITECTURE
OF ARMENIA



ИНКОМБУК
МОСКВА
2000

Асратян М. М
А90. Армянская архитектура раннего христианства.— М.: Инкомбук,
2000.— 400с.

УДК7
ББК 85.113(8)

Редактор русского текста
А. Фролов

Дизайн
Р. Мнацакян, М. Сулейменов

Компьютерная верстка
М. Сулейменов

Корректор
О. Косова

Перевод на английский язык
Р. Ковалева

**Ответственный редактор
английского издания**
М. Тарвердова

Редакторы английского текста:
Г. Хмелев
Б. Денисов
Р. Назарова

Компьютерный набор
Н. Кулагина

В подготовке книги использованы материалы
Управления по охране Памятников истории и
культуры Республики Армения.

Translated from the Russian
by Raissa Kovalyova

English Edition Managing Editor
Margarita Tarverdova

Editors:
Gennady Khmelev
Boris Denisov
Raissa Nazarova

Design
R. Mnatsakian, M. Suleymenov

Text layout
M. Suleymenov

Computer operator
Nadezhda Kulagina

The materials for this book were provided to the author
by the Main Board for the Protection of Historical and
Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Armenia.

ISBN 5-88852-028-4

© ОАО «Закнефтегазстрой – Прометей», 2000
© ООО «Инкомбук», 2000
© Перевод на английский язык
ОАО «Издательская группа «Прогресс»,
Редакция литературы на иностранных языках, 2000

© Zakneftegazstroy-Prometey OJSC, 2000
© Incombook, 2000
© Translation into English
Progress Publishing Group Corporation,
Foreign Languages Department, 2000

ANNOTATION

The period from the 4th to the 7th centuries was the most remarkable time in the history of Armenian architecture. It was marked by Armenia's adoption of Christianity in 301 as a state religion. These were the four centuries when original Armenian early Christian architecture was formed based on the ancient Armenian architectural traditions of the periods of the Van (Biainili, Ararat-Urartu), Eruanduni, Artashesyan (in cultural interrelations with the countries of the Hellenistic world) and Arshakuni kingdoms.

Building material played a crucial role in the development of Armenian architecture. The Armenian Highland has for millennia been famed for its rich resources of building stone: basalt, granite, marble, and, especially, many varieties of tuff, probably of all hues and colors imaginable. The majority of architectural buildings of the early Middle Ages, which have survived to this day after more than 16 centuries of exposure to natural and man-made forces, were constructed from local tuffs. The individuality of Armenian architecture, in many respects dictated by the specific natural conditions (varied terrain and climate, and high seismicity), lifestyles, and ancient folk traditions, can also be put to the unparalleled variety and remarkable aesthetical and mechanical properties of Armenia's building rocks.

The country's geographic position, situated between East and West, which predetermined Armenia's active role in world trade, also played an important part in the history of Armenian culture. Armenia's close economic and political contacts with the countries of the Ancient Orient and later with Hellenistic states led to mutual contacts in culture as well (N. Tokarsky), which beyond doubt considerably enriched the Armenian art of that period.

Armenia's close religious ties with Syria in the 4th and 5th centuries brought influence to bear on some compositional and decorative forms of Syrian architecture. However, the Syrian influence on Armenian architecture in that period is, as a rule, exaggerated. In all fairness, Armenian architects in the 4th and 5th centuries took a creative approach to making use of the best they found in the neighboring countries' architecture by adapting its forms and composition to the local conditions. A new stage in the history of Armenian architecture set in the beginning of the second half of the 6th century, which marked the establishment, in the 7th century, of an independent Armenian architectural school with its own artistic principles and types of building.

The Armenian church's independence and the fact that Armenia was the world's first country to embrace Christianity, remaining an island in a sea of pagan beliefs for the next two decades, was among the key factors in the formation of national Armenian ecclesiastical architecture. This accounts for the Armenian craftsmen seeking new architectural forms for the buildings of a new religion starting in the early 4th century. The Armenian church became autocephalous in 372. It disrupted relations with the Nestorian principles at the Ephesus Council in 431 and, finally, renounced the principles

of the Chalcedonian Assembly at the Dvin Council in 506. Those moves, confirmed at the second Dvin Council in 554, led to Armenia's rupture with the Byzantine Empire and its church.

The Armenian church's autochthonous character, of course, did not automatically or immediately lead to the same effect in church architecture. The rupture between the churches, however, had an enormous positive effect on Armenian architecture: at the end of the 6th century and through the 7th century there was a real leap in Armenian architecture, the like of which was unheard of in any other country of the Christian world of that period (A. Jacobson).

Not a single monumental building duplicating the classical compositions of Byzantine architecture was erected in Armenia in that period. The handling of exterior façades also differed radically: little importance was attached to them in the Constantinople school of Byzantine architecture, which regarded the interior scheme as what mattered most, while in Armenia façades played a very important part in building architecture and had their own artistic value.

Neighboring Georgia alone had something relatively close to Armenian architecture in church building typology and decor in the early Middle Ages. This closeness may be attributed to close political and church contacts between the two countries, direct creative contacts between their architects, similar natural conditions, building techniques, and building material (stone).

The stupendous upsurge in 6th and 7th century Armenian architecture had its roots in the preceding period of its history. At the close of the 5th century, as is evidenced by Tekhor, Armenia became one of the centers where the domed cross church building was elaborated on. The vaulted Armenian basilica served as a basis for its development.

Unlike its Western counterpart (with a wooden ceiling and closely spaced slender columns), its heavy pylons spaced almost equally from one another lengthwise and across gave it enough strength to support a dome without major alterations in design. This type of the church building was widespread in Armenia in the 7th century when it was brought to perfection.

The main trend in 6th and 7th century Armenian architecture sprang from the architects' desire to integrate to the greatest possible degree the church interior. It was revealed most strikingly in central domed edifices. This trend was first recognized already in the 4th and 5th centuries (in the four-apse Shahat Church, the dome square at Voghjaberd, and the Echmiadzin Cathedral). Having made their final option for domes only, Armenian architects were single-mindedly developing a range of tetraconchas beginning in the late 6th century. The central domed system so elaborately honed in Armenia was even more widespread here than in the Byzantine Empire and Syria. Armenian architects' diverse tetraconchas are uncommon and have an unmistakable identity, like a tetraconcha on a square base (the Mastara type) or a tetraconcha on a square base with four central pillars (the Echmiadzin and Bagharan

type), too important in composition to be confined within the bounds of national architecture, and also a tetraconcha with corner niches (worked on from a prototype in Mokhrenis).

Wherever an old central domed scheme was borrowed, it was interpreted in a special way by Armenian architects who never failed to take it many steps further toward an architectural and artistic wonder. The Zvartnots Cathedral, which represents an outstanding specimen of the 7th century Armenian architecture, is a brilliant illustration of this searching approach. They started out from the tetraconcha plan scheme with an annex, the churches in Apamea, Syria, in the first place. The architect of the Zvartnots Cathedral (Nerses III the Builder) had considerably worked out that composition: first, he changed the shape of the pillars, making them lighter; next, whereas the lower part of similar Syrian churches is mostly rectangular in plan, Zvartnots has a circular tier instead, in full harmony with the general centric scheme space. Finally, the pyramidshaped bulk of the building, with its three telescoping cylindrical components, is akin to Armenian classical architecture of the early Middle Ages in appearance and decor.

In their search for new forms of the domed cross system in the 7th century, Armenian architects produced a new variety of this type, churches with side exedras imparting the characteristics of a central domed composition to the basilica building (as in the Dvin and Thalin cathedrals).

In their desire to avoid dividing up the interior by aisles of dome-bearing pillars, Armenian architects created a domed hall composition typical of Armenia alone, with the Ptghni and Aruch cathedrals as its remarkable examples.

Speaking about any national architectural school in the Middle Ages, its typological identity should be regarded as the basic criterion: even a single new type of religious building was a great creative success for a given country's architects, particularly in early Christian Armenia, whose architects produced several new original compositions of monumental structures, making a valuable contribution to the treasure-trove of world architecture.

**“THE CONCERT PRELUDE” OF THE COMPOSER
ALEXANDER SPENDIARYAN AS A GENUINE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE CREATIVE ACTIVITIES**

(The article is dedicated to the 145th anniversary of the birth of the composer)

Sargsyan T. L.

Chief custodian of funds of Alexander Spendaryan House-museum

The role of the Armenian renowned composer, conductor and cultural figure Alexander A. Spendaryan (1871-1928) in the cause of founding and development of the Armenian symphonic music is undeniable. He was born and grown up far away from the Motherland, in the Crimea, and got his preliminary education in the classical gymnasium of Simferopol, after which he proceeded to study in the faculty of jurisprudence of the Moscow University.



**A. A. Spendaryan, the student
of the Moscow University, 1892**

Nevertheless, he loved the arts since his childhood. Spendaryan was preoccupied with the fine arts at first but showed great interest toward the music later on. Learning to play piano first and then violin as well, Spendaryan took first creative steps just in his school years. One of the compositions of his early period which deserves a mention is the romance “I am fascinated by your beauty”, written at age 16 and dedicated to his first love, Yelizaveta Arendt. However, the young Spendaryan was not even imagining during those years that someday he would indeed become a serious composer. Appearing as a first violin in the orchestra under the guidance of the famous conductor and pedagogue Nikolay Klenovski, he decided to be more seriously involved in music and took private classes from the violinist of the Bolshoi Theatre’s orchestra, Pekarski, intending to become a violinist. His first romances and songs were heartily performed by his best friend of youth, Varvara Apolonovna Eberlen, who desired to become a singer and attended private vocal classes. However, the acquaintance with the poet Alexander Tsaturyan, still young in those days, was crucial for the life of Spendaryan. Tsaturyan delivered his poem “Ah, Rose” to an evening party, which affected Spendaryan too much. Being fascinated and inspired by this beautiful poem, Spendaryan decided to turn it into romance.

The theatrical figure Mamikon Gevorgyan relates in his memoirs how this romance was written and how warmly it was accepted by the public when performed at the home of the Moscow University professor of jurisprudence, Nerses Nersesov, for the first time.

“The success was indescribable, M. Gevorgyan writes, everyone was in ecstatic mood, everybody felt that a new contribution is being made to the Armenian musical art, that a talented composer of an unusual strength is entering into the Armenian musical family”¹.



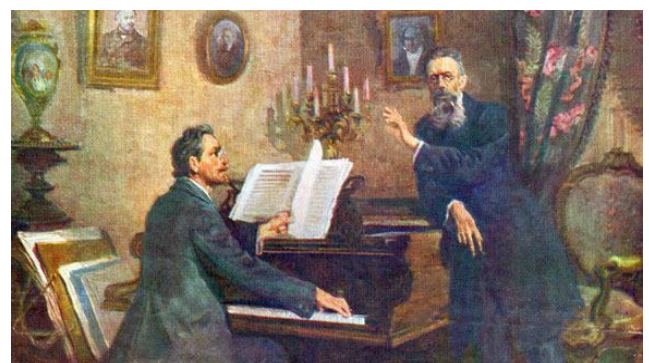
N. A. Rimski-Korsakov, 1900

Nonetheless, the opinion of importance for Spendiaryan was especially that of N. Klenovski who advised him to be seriously involved in the composing art after being familiarized with his compositions of that period [the romances “No questions for a long time” (1892), “Ah, Rose” (“Eastern Melody”) (1894), 2 waltzes for violin and “Scherzo” (1892-95)]. The aforementioned view was also supported by one of Spendiaryan’s fellows during his young years, the famous violinist and pedagogue of later times, the professor of the St. Petersburg conservatory Ivan (Hovhannes) Nalbandyan who writes in his memoirs that after listening to the first compositions of Spendiaryan, he was convinced that he would become a composer as a matter of course². Nevertheless, Spendiaryan needed the honest opinion of a composer namely, a serious and competent one, in order to be able both to believe in his potential and to make a decision. Nikolay Rimski-Korsakov was such a professional whose compositions fascinated and charmed young Spendiaryan.

Spendiaryan was nourishing a secret wish to be his pupil, which became a reality in 1896. Having been familiarized with the first compositions of Spendiaryan, the professor of the Petersburg’s conservatory, famous composer, conductor, pedagogue and cultural figure Nikolay Rimski-Korsakov agreed to give him private lessons on composition theory.

The creative and aesthetic visions of Spendiaryan were formed and developed in 1896-1900 in the Petersburg warm musical atmosphere under the influence of Rimski-Korsakov’s realistic school; certain principles and a taste took roots.

The serious symphonic compositions such as “Menuet” and “Concert Prelude” were created during those



“Young A. Spendiaryan with N. Rimski-Korsakov”
by S. Aslanyan

¹ Ժամանակակիցները Ալ. Սպենդիարյանի մասին (կազմ. Ալ. Թադևոսյան), Երևան, 1960, էջ 134:

² For the part of Nalbandyan’s memories under question see Սպենդիարովա Մ., Սպենդիարով, Երևան, 1966, էջ 32.

years. These compositions along with the romance «Eastern Melody» («Ah, Rose»), already beloved and popular, brought the author fame, heralding the entry of the composer Spendiarayan into the world of the professional composers' art.

Spendiarayan completed the symphonic composition “Concert Prelude” in Yalta in the autumn of 1900 when the private lessons from Rimski-Korsakov were also terminating. The fact that he was writing such a composition was known to many of his friends and close acquaintances. Levon Yeghiazaryan, a singer, musical critic and cultural figure, who had been in close relations with Spendiarayan since the 1890s, offered the latter in his letter from Paris, dated May 4, 1900, to perform the composition in Paris for the first time, making a promise of assistance for that arrangement³. But the young composer presented it first to the trial of his teacher, willing to get to know his opinion. Rimsky-Korsakov and his students, supporting «The Mighty Handful» (a group of prominent Russian composers active in Saint Petersburg), were often gathering in the house of the musical critic and publisher Mitrofan Petrovich Belyayev to discuss musicological problems or just to listen to a new composition of somebody from the group.



The members of these society called themselves the “Belyayev circle”; F. Akimenko, N. Amanin, S. Blumenfeld, V. Zolotaryov, I Krizhanovski, A. Lyadov, N. Cherepnin, V. Stasov, A. Borodino and others were among them. As the wife of the composer, Varvara Leonidovna Spendiariova recalled, the “Concert Prelude” of Spendiarova was sounded during a rehearsal of the Palace Orchestra for the first time just in the presence of the “Belyayev circle”'s members⁴. Rimsky-Korsakov liked it greatly and Spendiarayan decided to present officially the composition during a concert. The first live performance of the composition took place during a Russian symphonic concert under the guidance of the prominent conductor of the time, Nikolay Vladimirovich Galkin, in Pavlovsk,

in the great hall of Pavlov's station, on June 5, 1901.

³ Спендиарова М., Летопись жизни и творчества А. А. Спендиарова, Ереван, 1975, стр. 67.

⁴ See Սպենդիարյան Ա., op. cit., p. 78.

The work was warmly greeted by the audience; the press also reacted, though the opinions in papers were contradictory⁵. The boyhood friend of Spendaryan, George Melikentsev in his memoirs expressed his genuine thoughts on the composition and controversial treatment of the press in the following way, “Thus, the name of A. A. Spendaryan appeared on the poster of the Pavlovsk's symphonic evening for the first time on June 5, 1901. The Prelude had a great success in society; and the author came on stage repeatedly at the request of the audience. The press treated him not so favorably, publishing scathing remarks together with the positive reviews as was the critique of «Novoye Vremya» («The New Time»), the most common organ of those days”⁶ (Melikentsev probably means the article of Mikhayil Ivanov, published in N 9071 of «Новое время» on June 7, 1901).

The musical score of the composition together with the voices of the orchestra was first published in Petersburg by the Vasili Bessel publishing house in 1903 as op. 4⁷. «It is dedicated to my greatly esteemed teacher Nikolay Andreevich Rimski-Korsakov» is noted on the cover of the first edition⁸. The unanimous great interest expressed towards the “Concert Prelude” inspired the young author. He dedicated himself fully to the creative work, writing compositions of the symphonic genre over the years such as the symphonic poem «Three Palms», the symphonic series of «The Crimean Sketches» and the wonderful «Yerevan Etudes»⁹, as well as composing wonderful songs and romances, serious instrumental works. The opera «Almast», written on the basis of the poem “The Capture of Tmkaberd” by Hovhannes Tumanyan, is not only the masterpiece of Spendaryan's works but also one of the gems of the Armenian opera.

In the last years of his life (1924-28) Spendaryan lived and worked in the homeland, Armenia. He died on May 7, 1928, leaving glorious treasures of musical culture among which is the «Concert Prelude», occupying an honorable place, as well.

***Translated from Armenian
by V. M. Gharakhanyan***

⁵ See “Новости,” 08/06-1901, N 155, “Новое время,” 07/06-1901 N 9071.

⁶ See Ժամանակակիցները Ալ. Սպենդիարյանի մասին (կազմ. Ալ. Թադևոսյան), Երևան, 1960, էջ 44.

⁷ А. Спендиаров Концертная увертюра для большого симфонического оркестра, Москва, изд. В. Бесселя 1903 /op 4/.

⁸ After having learned that the composition is dedicated to him, N. Rimsky-Korsakov thanked Spendaryan through a letter. In the same letter he also expressed condolences on the death of Spendaryan's father (he died a few months before, on June 11, 1901). The original letter was not preserved, but M. Spendiarova has published the copy, maintained in her archives, in her book (see Спендиарова М. Летопись жизни и творчества А. А. Спендиарова, Ереван, изд. АН. Арм. ССР, 1975, стр.-75, 77).

⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bvf8A0ml_SI

HAMO BEKNAZARYAN'S *PEPO* IN THE UNITED STATES

Bakhchinyan A. H.

PhD in Philology



Hamo Beknazaryan
(1891-1965)

There were very few miracles in the history of Armenian cinema. One of them was that some films “broke away” from the Soviet iron curtain and had some international exposure.

The premiere of the first Armenian sound film, Hamo Beknazaryan's *Pepo*¹, on June 15, 1935, marked the beginning of its triumphal march - without hyperbole - through the movie theaters of the Soviet Union, as well of a number of countries. *Pepo* was based on the homonymous play written by Gabriel Sundukyan, a classic name of Armenian playwriting, in 1876.

It was the first Armenian language sound film created in Armenia². *“The film was a great success with the audience and was even acknowledged as the most outstanding work of Soviet cinema in the pre-war decade”*³.

This new Soviet film had a mature directing hand. Besides its Armenian ethnographic features and the social context, it was understandable and acceptable to the international audience; thus, it gained international recognition⁴ and came to represent Armenian culture abroad.

Pepo crossed the ocean almost immediately after its premiere, in the fall of 1935, and was featured in the big cities of the eastern and western coasts of the United States.

Armenian-Americans, understandably, greeted the talking film from the homeland with great enthusiasm. *Pepo* thrilled Rouben Mamoulian, the Armenian genius of Hollywood and Broadway of the era, and became a real discovery for him. His reasons were not purely personal; on the screen, Hamo Beknazaryan had authentically depicted Mamoulian's birthplace Tiflis and immortalized the Armenian Cathedral of the city, which would be destroyed by order of Soviet leader Lavrenti Beria just



Gabriel Sundukyan
(1825-1912)

¹ For the most current analysis of this film, see Գալստյան Ա., Հայացք մեր կինոյին, Երևան, 2011, էջ 22-29.

² Actually, the first Armenian talking film preceded *Pepo* by several months Armenian Rural Wedding by Jean Lubinac. It was shot in Paris by *Pathé-Nathan* studio in 1935. About this film, see Բախչինյան Ա., Հայերը համաշխարհային կինոյում, Երևան, 2004, էջ 615.

³ Egorova T., Soviet Film Music (Contemporary Music Studies), London, 1997, p. 54.

⁴ For instance, it was screened in Czechoslovakia with the title One Thousand Rubles for a Woman (see Դզունի Դ., Ուրվագիծ Հայաստանի կինեմատոգրաֆիայի պատմության, Երևան, 1961, էջ 92).

two years later. Mamouljian, rigorous and unbiased in his appreciation of arts, was already familiar with two productions of Armenkino, *Namus* (Honor, 1925) and *Yerkir Nairi* (Land of Nairi, 1930), both directed by Beknazaryan himself. Now he was able to watch a work that had been made on an appropriate level and represented the first significant expression of Armenian feature film cinematography.



Rouben Mamouljian
(1897-1987)

Mamouljian said in particular: *“My ideas on the role of sound film were more strengthened when one day, sitting at a corner of the movie theater; I watched the Armenian talking movie, Pepo. I watched it with astonishment and deep joy. Glory to the miracle of film, because here, in the heart of Hollywood, I was able to see the face of my country and hear its voice... It was incredible to see on the screen the scenes of my hometown Tiflis, to watch live and colorful characters skillfully composed by Sundukyan, and to hear the soft music of the Armenian language. The technical and artistic progress achieved by Pepo in comparison to Armenian films I had watched before surprised me and made me happy”*⁵.

It appears that Beknazaryan's masterpiece did not attract just Armenian-Americans who were thirsty for their language and culture. According to film historian Daniel Dznuni, the success of the film in the United States made it possible to record the songs of the movie in gramophone records, and Hrachia Nersisyan, who performed the role of Pepo, received letters from his New York friends, which described how the American ladies perform songs and dances of *Pepo* in various entertainment places and salons, especially the dance *Mirzayi* by Natel, a female character of the film⁶. Unfortunately, no trace either of those gramophone records or of the letters addressed to Nersisyan has surfaced so far.



A filming location of *Pepo*

The most valuable point in this context is that American film critics of the time left their opinions and references on the first Armenian sound film. For the time being, I have succeeded in finding three responses of the American press: one is positive, another one is not so positive, and the third one is negative. I will start from the latter, a review written by Marguerite Tazelaar, film critic of the *New York Herald Tribune*, and published on October 11, 1935⁷. This name is not unknown to American film criticism;

⁵ «Հայաստանի ծայնը», Մշակ, 24.04.1936:

⁶ See Dznuni, Urvagits, pp. 92-93.

⁷ The review was translated and published in the Armenian-American press: see Պեպոն ամերիկացի քննադատի ակնոցով. տաղտալի և անկատար, «Հայրենիք», հոկտեմբեր 15, 1935.

Tazelaar (1894-1970) was the author of many film reviews in the American press from the 1930s to the 1950s:



Pepo (Hrachia Nersisyan) and Kakuli (Davit Malyan)

"Pepo" - Cameo

"Pepo", Soviet Armenian film presented by Amkino, directed by Bek-Nazarov and based on the play by Gabriel Sundukyan.

Although this is an Armenian picture, made in Tiflis, with Armenian dialogues (it has English subtitles), it was produced by Armenkino, U.S.S.R., this year, and is released here through the usual Soviet channels and so it is surprising to find the work dull and incomplete.

Called a pictorial representation of Armenian customs and social life in Georgia, 1860, it has nothing of the satirical mood of the Soviets, unless you can call the broad, not very pointed caricature of the town's rich man satire, and it has no connected story nor is it interpreted intelligently.

It discusses through long and dreary reels the tragedy of a young woman whose fiancé refuses to marry her when he finds the conventional dowry is not forthcoming because the girl's mother has lost the receipt and the Shylock-merchant who holds the funds which the girl's father had left to his keeping will not part with the gold without the receipt.

Pepo is the girl's brother, who is supposed to represent a workman struggling against great odds in the blind hope that he and his family will not be crushed. The idea never gets across although the tedium does".

Tazelaar's views may be explained not only through her subjective perception and personal taste, but perhaps also through the fact that, as we will see in the next section, the film was not translated in its entirety and she probably felt bored due to her inability to fully understand the narration. Otherwise, the claims that the film lacks a consistent plot and that it does not reveal the idea that Pepo saves his family from collapse are highly debatable.

The second response (the "not-so-positive" one) was published in *Motion Picture Daily* (October-December, 1935). The anonymous author wrote an announcement about a new film screened in American movie theaters, with some assessments. The text is presented below:

"PEPO, a dialogue film in Armenian and Russian; directed by Bek-Nazarof; music by Khatchaturian; produced by Armenkino

Pepo

(Amkino)

Produced by Armenkino and designated as Soviet Armenia's first talking film, this picture, in the Armenian language, offers little or nothing for American audiences. Likely

enough it will be found of interest by those in this country to whom the language of the picture is native, but only to them.

The story of an Armenian worker, who struggles against the hardship imposed by the action of the affected and wealthy merchant, who steals the dowry he had saved for the possible marriage of his sister, it portrays the simple and naive lives of the country folk. Such sequences as the betrothal feast, the market place at Tiflis, Oriental songs and dances and the like, have some small interest in the fashion that a travel subject may have, but that is virtually all the film has to offer.

Occasional subtitle translations of dialogue are rather too occasional for complete understanding of the story. The film was adapted from the Armenian play by Sundukian.

No production code seal. Running time, 80 minutes. 'G.'

Finally, the positive review, which preceded the other two, was published in *The New York Times* on October 10, 1935. The film critic, H.T.S., whose identity is obscure, remains as objective and unprejudiced as possible in his assessments. The Armenian translation of the review was also published in the American-Armenian press at the time⁸:

"Movie Review

Pepo (1935)

At the Cameo Theatre.

H. T. S.

Published: October 10, 1935

The first talking picture turned out by the Armenian language sub-division of the Soviet film industry carries the simple title "Pepo", the name of the honest fisherman living in the Armenian quarter of Tiflis, the picturesque capital of Georgia, who is its central character.

Based on a classic Armenian comedy by Sundukyan, "Pepo", now at the Cameo Theatre, is the commonplace tale of a pretty girl whose mercenary fiancé deserts her when the wicked merchant who has been holding her 1,000-ruble dowry in trust refuses to hand it over because the receipt has been lost. Pepo, her brother, vainly demands payment until the missing paper has been discovered in true Hollywood style. Even then he overreaches himself by demanding justice in court instead of accepting the merchant's offer to pay, with indemnity.

Pepo's denunciation of a bribed judge gets him a jail sentence for contempt of court, but he has become a popular hero by his exposure of the rich crook, and through his cell window, he tells an admiring crowd how he is going to take vengeance when he is free again. The sorrowing sister becomes engaged to a friend of Pepo.

With the exception of the court scene and a couple of other brief episodes the comedy note predominates, even the villains being treated humorously. Dated about sixty-five years ago, the action is strictly in period. The acting of the unnamed principals is generally good, although at times slightly exaggerated, especially in the case of the

⁸ «Պեպո» հայկական ֆիլմը Նյու Յորքի մեջ հոկտեմբերի 9-ից սկսեալ կը ներկայացուի, «Հայրենիք», հոկտ. 12, 1935 թ.:

merchant, who reminds American audiences of the typical flashily dressed serio-comic city slicker of ancient melodrama.

The most interesting part of the picture is composed of fine views of street life and of the markets, reinforced by considerable Near Eastern dancing and music. Superimposed titles in English make clear the development of the story.

PEPO, a dialogue film in Armenian and Russian; directed by Bek-Nazarof; music by Khatchaturian; produced by Armenkino”.

As we can see, in one case the English subtitles did not satisfy the critic, in other case they “make clear the development of the story”. The author of *The New York Times* review pointed to one of the distinctly strong sides of *Pepo*: the active role of massive scenes and the street life, and the director’s finding of turning the environment into a performing character.

These three testimonies from the American press, regardless of their nature, are important as historical facts, which attest to the resonance of the 80-year-old Armenian movie in one of the main centers of international film industry.

... I was personally convinced of the fact that *Pepo*, as any high expression of art, has not lost its influence in the United States even today when in the fall of 2011 I organized the public screening of *Pepo* at the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor’s Armenian Studies Program, where I was a guest lecturer of the history of Armenian performing arts⁹. The audience, which also included non-Armenians, not only watched the film without feeling any tedium, but launched a lively discussion after the screening...

⁹ The VHS copy of the movie, by the way, was available at the University of Michigan Library film department.

THE ARMENIANS IN WORLD CHOREOGRAPHY

Bakhchinyan A. H.

PhD in Philology

The Armenians in World Choreography, Yerevan, "Hayastan", 2016, 376 pages (in Armenian).

The book presents information about more than 740 Armenian dance professionals-performers, choreographers, and teachers, as well as composers who have worked in about 40 countries, from the beginning of the 19th century till today.

The first chapters present the pre-history of Armenian stage dance and ballet, dating from the 19th century, when Armenians first encountered ballet art and performed choreographies.

The first Armenian-born person who worked in ballet was **Domenico Serpos** in the beginning of the 19th century. Serpos, the heir of the Armenian Seghbosyan family of Venice, staged several ballet performances in Italian theaters.

The first outstanding representative of the Armenian stage dance was **Armen Ohanian** (Sofia Pirbudaghian), who reached fame in 1910-1930 in Europe and America. Herdance was a kind of stylized fusion of modern and Oriental styles. In 1921, *Trdat the Great and Virgin Hripsime*, an extract from the first Armenian ballet was performed in Constantinople, as conducted by **Gerasim** and **Eugenie Aristakians**, the latter also known as a ballerina.

In former Soviet Russian ballet art, mainly in Moscow and Leningrad (Saint-Petersburg), a number of professionals of Armenian origin left their trace: dancers **Yevgeni Kacharov** (Kocharyan), **Nina Mirimanova** (Mirimanyan), father and daughter **Mikheyil** and **Xenia Ter-Stepanovs** (Ter-Stepanyans), brother and sister **Georgi** and **Yevgenia Farmanyants**, **Agnessa Balieva** (Balyan), **Yuliana Malkhasyants**, ballet masters **Gennadi Malkhasyants** and **Nikolay Margaryants**, etc. Armenian origin is ascribed also to the internationally acclaimed Russian ballerina and classical dance theorist, Agrippina Vaganova.

The Armenians have been the founders of stage dance and ballet art; namely, in several former Soviet Union Republics, as **Sergei Kevorkov** (Gevorgyan) in the Azerbaijan SSR and **Alexander Alexandrov** (Martirosyants) in the Kazakh SSR. The



Armen Ohanian
(Sofia Pirbudaghian)

great reformer of Uzbek female dance, dancer and singer **Tamara Khanum** (Petrosyan) was the first woman in the Uzbek SSR to perform publicly and without a veil. Her sister, **Gavhar Rahimova**, was one of the first professional dancers in Uzbekistan; the other sister - **Liza Khanum**, created dances for the Karakalpak nation.

Other Armenian-born ballet professionals in other former Soviet republics were **Helēna Tangijeva-Birzniece** (Tangiyan, Latvia), **Svetlana Balojan** (Estonia), **Sergey Sergeev** (Vardanbabyan) and **Valery Parseghov** (Parseghyan, Ukraine), **Viktor Sarkisyan** (Belarus), **Suren Gorski** (Ter-Ghevondyan, Georgia), **Lev Avakov-Leonov** (Avakyan) and **Rafael Grigoryan** (Azerbaijan, the latter moved to the USA later, and established a dance studio under his name), **Edisa Sarvazyan** (Turkmenistan), **Genrikh Golovyants** (Tajikistan), **Ashot Gevorgyan** (Uzbekistan), etc.



Leon Neshanian

Several Armenian ladies, who emigrated from Russia to the West, founded ballet schools, and taught in Russian ballet traditions. Among some memorable names are Madame **Rouzanne** (Sargisyan, the teacher of renowned choreographer Maurice Béjart) and her niece **Nora Kiss** (Adamyants) in France, **Seda Suny** (Mirzoyan) and **Olga Tarasova** (Torosyan) in the U.S.A. The last three were extraordinary teachers who always brought out the unique quality of each individual and many of their students became prominent dancers or soloists.

Since the 1920s hundreds of Armenians from Armenia and the Diaspora have appeared in the international choreography scene: ballet, folk

and pop dance. As the USA holds the largest Armenian community outside of Armenia, there has been a plethora of Armenian-born artists in various fields of American dance history. Among the most eminent names in the field of Spanish and flamenco dances in 1930-1940 are **Adrina Otero** (Panossian), renowned American ballet dancers **Leon Danielian** and **Tamara Toumanova** (Armenian on her mother's side), choreographers **Bob Avian** (Hamparian), **Samuel Kurkjian**, **Christopher Pilafian**, **Ruben Ter-Arutunian**, a designer of hundreds of ballet performances, who collaborated with the 20th century noble choreographer George Balanchine. Nowadays many Armenian-born dancers work in dance companies of many American states (**Aida Amirkhanian**, **Marc Harootian**, **Maral Yessayan**, etc).

During 1930-1960 dancers **Aimee Abrahamova** (Shahparonyan), **Grant Muradoff** (Muradyan), **Sirene Adjemova** (Adjemyan), **Alice Kavookjian**, **Monique Marmatcheva** (Bek-Marmarchyan) became famous in various fields of choreographic art in France. **Michel Hallet-Eghayan's** contemporary dance company deserves a special credit.



Rudolf Kharatian

The decline of ballet in Armenia over the last twenty-five years has forced many local dancers to work in ballet companies in Europe, the Americas and Asian countries. Famous ballet dancer and choreographer of Armenian ballet, **Rudolf Kharatian** worked for several years in the USA, where he created the *Arka Ballet* company and staged many outstanding performances. In the 21st century

dozens of alumni of *The Yerevan State Choreography College* attained high positions in the Western ballet scene. The number of professional male dancers is impressive.

Among them are **Arsen Serobian**, **Sayat Asatryan**, **Akop Akopian**, **Hagop Kharatian**, **Davit Karapetyan**, **Edgar Vardanyan**, **Edgar Nikolyan** (the USA), **Davit Galstyan**, **Petros Chrkhoian** (France), **Christian Ratevossian**, **Davit Vardanyan**, **Arshak Ghalumian**, **Arsen** and **Karen Azatyans** (Germany), **Serguei Endinian** (Netherlands), **Avetik Karapetyan** (Sweden), **Vahram Hambardzumian** (Argentina), **Azat Gharibyan** (Japan), **Vanush Babayan** (China). For instance, in the early 2000s there was not a single German ballet group without an artist from Armenia. **Tigran Mikayelyan**, **Arsen Mehrabian**, **Arman Grigoryan**, **Vahe Martirosyan** and **Artur Babajanyan**, outstanding dancers, working in Sweden, Germany and Switzerland, are members of *The Forceful Feelings Ballet Group* exhibiting the potential of Armenian dancers through contemporary dance...

Unlike the high caliber of Armenian male ballet dancers, the number of ballerinas is relatively small; specifically, **Gaiane Akopian** (the USA), **Sona Kharatian**, **Victoria Ananian** (Netherlands), **Tatiana** and **Mayda Kazarians** and **Lilit Hakobyan** (Germany).

Among other international ballet dancers of Armenian descent, it is worthy to mention the names of



Davit Galstyan

Gagik Ismailian (Portugal), **Albert Mirzoyan** (Austria), **Mikhyail Avakov** (France), **Ashen Ataljanc** (Yugoslavia), **Garri Sevoyan** (Ukraine), **Sona Vartanian**, **Max Ratevossian** (Canada), **Pablo Aharonian** (Chile), etc. Some dance teachers include **Alexander Agadjanov** (the United Kingdom), **Janna Muradyan** (in Ukraine, then in Japan), and ballet masters - **Rafajel Avnikjan** (Switzerland).

Interestingly, some Armenian-born dancers displayed outstanding skills in Spanish and flamenco dances: **Lutyž de Luz** (Chadinian, France), **Suren Yessayan** (Spain), **Lana Der Bedrossian** (Canada), and **Lori Baghdassarian** (Spain-France).

In 1920-1930 Armenian choreography teachers **Sarkis Djanbazian** and **Elena Avetisian** became the pioneers of ballet education in Iran. In 1923 **Lydia Arzumanian** had become the pioneer of ballet education in Constantinople; among her best pupils was **Evgenia Nanasova** (Nanasyan) who for a long time appeared on ballet stage there. Later **Ani Daba** (Odabashian) was one of the founders of a professional ballet school in Lebanon, while **Sonia Poladian** was one the first ballet professional ballerinas in Lebanon and **Sonia Sarkis** (Chamkertenian) - in Egypt. **Leon Neshanian** was a principal dancer with the Iranian National Ballet Company and the Iranian Folkloric Dance Mahalli ensemble in 1950-1960s. **Mihran Tomassian** leads "Bare feet" - one of Turkey's first contemporary dance ensembles, as well as **Levon Taberyan**, who makes modern ballet performances on Armenian subjects. In the Armenian Diaspora, dance groups usually maintain national and traditional folk dances, staged and stylized; yet, there are some groups, performing modern dance shows and contemporary dance - *The Djanbazian Dance Academy* in Los Angeles under the leadership of **Anna Djanbazian**, and *The Araçnort* (Leader) dance company under the leadership of **Natalin Boz Yilmaz**.



Serguei Endinian



Akob and Gaiane Hakopian

over the world. In 1900, an Armenian dancer **Ziba** (Victoria Khachikian), participated in the *World's Fair (Exposition Universelle)* in Paris.

There are also many Armenians in the folk and pop dance scenes: **Mihran Kirakosian** and salsa dancer **Jerry Bakhchian** (USA), **Aram Arzumanyan** and Katarina Darbinyan (France), **Karina Bagmadjian** (Russia), **Varda** (Vardanush Martirosyan (Ukraine), etc.

The last chapter of the book presents Armenian representatives of Middle Eastern dance, more popularly known as Oriental or belly dance, from all



Sarkis Djanbazian

Many Armenian Diaspora dancers were also involved in Oriental dances as renowned performers and teachers: **Hermin** (Sanossian) and **Safinaz** (Tsovinar Grigoryan) (Egypt), **Aïché Nana** (Italy), **Karine Paronyanc** (Latvia), **Shahrazad** (Madeleine Iskandarian) (Brazil), **Anahid Sofian**, **Aziza Al Tawil** (Mahdessian), **Shamira** (Shahinian), **Anna Pipoyan**, **Torkom Movsesiyan** (the USA) and many others.

Contribution of Armenia to the world dance scene continues...

PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE

THE POSSIBILITY OF CLARIFICATION OF THE PERIOD OF SOME PHONETICAL CHANGES IN THE ARMENIAN LANGUAGE BY MEANS OF THE VAN (ARARAT-URARTU) CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

Ayvazyan S. R.

Researcher in Linguistics

The language of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van (Biainian/Urartian) was the official written language of the Van Kingdom (Urartu). According to our opinion, the Armenian language is the basis of it¹ and it contains a great number of Armenian word roots, morphemes (either native or of unknown origin) and Armenian names. The cuneiform inscriptions of Van date back to the 9-7th centuries B.C.; namely, they are older by 1000-1300 years compared with the first written texts of the Old Armenian language (Grabar). Needless to say, they may contain properties, inherent to the Armenian phonetic system of the time in question. Consequently, the comparison of the sounds of the Old Armenian language (further: OArm.) with those of the Urartian (further Ur.) becomes important, making possible to clarify the period of some historical phonetic changes of Armenian and to explain the status of the Armenian's appropriate sounds more than 1000 years earlier of those evidenced in *Grabar*.

Unfortunately, the polyvalence typical to the cuneiform system, especially the alternation of consonants of the same set (d/t/t, g/k/q, p/b, š/s etc.) and the limited ability of the sounds' representation [the Urartian cuneiform system differentiates just 24 phonemes (signs) - 4 vowels, 18 consonants, and 2 semi vowels] makes difficult the general picture of the phonetic comparison of OArm. and Ur. For instance, if we take the correspondence: the cuneiform *abeli-* (syllabically: a-bi/é-li/e-) "to add, to join" - OArm. *awel-* (*աւել-*) "id", it doesn't follow that OArm. *awel-* would sound exactly in the period of the Van Kingdom, as it had been written in Ur. inscriptions (**abel*). In fact, the cuneiform *b* might be pronounced as /b/ (or /b^h/) and /v/w/. If we take into consideration the fact that *b* in cuneiform inscriptions almost always alternates with *p*, it could be pronounced as /p/ and /p'/. Moreover, characters *b* and *p* may also represent another phoneme, having none of the respective symbols and having close sounding - /f/, for instance. Hence, it's unclear how the *abel-* must be transcribed phonetically - /*abel-*/, /*awel-*/ or otherwise. Therefore, the fixing of many possible phonetic changes of Armenian or their absence in the Urartian texts oftentimes becomes impossible with the direct methods in practice.

¹ See in detail Ayvazyan S., *Urartian-Armenian: Lexicon and Comparative-Historical Grammar*, Yerevan, 2011: About this also see Զահուկյան Գ., Ուրարտական արձանագրությունների ներածական բանաձևերի հնարավոր հայկական բնույթի մասին, ՊԲՀ, 2000, 1, էջ 124-129: Սարգսյան Վ., Ուրարտական քաղաքակրթությունը և բասկերի նախահայրենիքի հարցը, Երևան, 1998 etc.

Nevertheless, the comparison of indigenous words and morphemes of OArm. and their Proto-Indo-European prototypes with the parallel forms in the Urartian texts gives an opportunity to get the correspondences of PIE **restored (hypothetical) phoneme** → **Urartian symbol** → **OArm. (letter) phoneme**. Their juxtaposing with the material from the collation of the Armenian's loanwords and the words of unknown origin evidenced in the Urartian texts, makes possible to get all the necessary essentials for some clarifications in the matter we are interested in².

Let's examine some of the instances, where the phonetic differences in both OArm. and Ur. texts are clearly seen.

1. Word comparisons where we have the symbols *u/w* in Ur. vs *g* in OArm, deriving from the PIE **u* in the word-initial position, which shows that the sound change **u > q* of Armenian either was not implemented still in the period of the Van kingdom or was in a transitional state, when the PIE **u* in the mentioned position is rendered with the symbols *u/w* in the Urartian inscriptions. Let's consider the following examples: a) the Ur. *wal=d-* "to overcome, to win, to surpass, to overthrow (the enemy's chariots) etc." [translates Akkadian *le'u* "to overcome; to win (also in the legal dispute); to surpass; to have advantage" in the bilingual inscription of Topuzava] - OArm. *gəl-t-or-em* (*qł-un-np-lul*), *gəl-em* (*qł-lul*), *gəl-ec'-owc'-an-em* (*qł-łg-nłg-włn-lul*), "to roll; to bend, to incline", "to win over (also - in dispute), to surpass, to excel, etc." < PIE **uēl-*, **uəl-*³, 2) Ur. *Uelekuni* (syllabically: *Ú-e-li/e-ku-ni*) "the name of a region on the coast of Lake Sevan", corresponds apparently to the OArm. toponym *Gela(r)k'uni* (*Գեղա(ր)քունի*)⁴; Ur. *Waša* (syllabically: *Wa-š/za-*) "the toponym which corresponds to the historical district of Aragacotn"⁵ - OArm. **Ara-gaca > Aragac-ay* (**Urw-qawδw > Urwqawδ, -ay*)⁶ and so on.

2. Word comparisons where there are the symbols *p/b* in Ur. vs OArm *h/ø*, deriving from the PIE **p* in word-initial position; hence, one has to suppose that the sound change of Armenian **p > h/ø* either was not implemented still in the period of the Van Kingdom or was in a transitional state, when PIE **p* in the mentioned position is reflected in the symbols of *p/b* in Ur. inscriptions. Let us see the following examples: a) the Ur. (preposition) *pare* "till, to, toward(s)", *par-* "to take/lead away, to drive away/off" - OArm. (preposition) *ar* (*un*) "at; with regard to; towards; next to; etc.", *heř-ac'-ow'-an-em*, *heř-an-am* (*hłn-wg-nłg-włn-lul*, *hłn-włn-wul*) "to remove; to keep off", "to go away/far, to depart, etc." < PIE **pors* (**per-*) "to pass"; b) *bedi* "the side, the rear (behind), together",

² See Այվազյան Ս., Ուրարտերեն-հայերեն. բառապաշար և պատմահամեմատական քերականություն, Երևան, 2008 (hereinafter: ՈՒՀ), էջ 26-37, 354-365; Ibid, Ուրարտերեն, Երևան, 2013, էջ 24-27, 118 etc.

³ See Այվազյան Ս., ՈՒՀ, էջ 52, 105-107 etc.

⁴ See Ղափանցյան Գ., Նոր Բայազետի սեպագիր արձանագրությունը, Երևան, 1930, էջ 1-34; Арутюнян Н., Корпус урартских клинообразных надписей (hereinafter: КУКН), Ереван, 2001, стр. 527 etc.

⁵ About the stationing of this province see Арутюнян Н., Топономика Урарту, Ереван, 1985, стр. 13-14; КУКН, стр. 499-500 of the same author.

⁶ See Այվազյան Ս., Վանի թագավորության սեպագիր արձանագրությունները, I, Երևան, 2004, էջ 75; ՈՒՀ, էջ 36 of the same author etc.

bed- “to turn back, to give back, to return”, *bedu=iaše* “on the way back/on coming back” or “then/hereafter” - OArm. *het*, *-oy* (*hēun*, *-n*), “a footstep, a trace”, *heti* (*hēunh*) (preposition), “behind, backward”, “together, along with”; (*y*)*et* (*(j)hēun*), “back, backward, after”, (adverb) *yetoy* (*jhēun*) “then, afterwards, hereafter” and so on (the primary meaning is “foot, trace”) < **ped* “foot”, and also probably c) Ur. *pile* “canal, brook” - OArm. *het* (*hēn*) “flood, running water” < **pel-* (**pēl-*) “to pour, fill”⁷. It is also possible the comparison of the latter with the Armenian word *pet* (*yēn*) “hole, cave”⁸.

Some researchers sometimes are making incorrect and contradictory conclusions, confusing the writing (graphic renderings) with the phonemes. For instance, touching in the context of the mentioned Armenian-Urartian correspondences: Ur. *paḫi/a=ne* “cattle” - OArm. *pakhrē* (*ywḫpḫ*) “id”, Ur. *par-*, “to drive (cattle), to take (captives)” - OArm. *heṛ-ac'-owc'-an-em* (*hēn-wg-nīg-wūn-lu*) < PIE. **per-*, Ur. *pile* (canal), (Hurrian *pala* “canal”) - OArm. *pet* (*yēn*) < **bel* or *het-em* (*hēn-lu*) < **pel* (**pēl*) and so forth), they remark that the word-initial character *p* testified in the Urartian texts could neither disappear nor become *h* on one occasion and to be kept on the other⁹. Whereas, as it has been mentioned, under the Ur. sign *p*, on one hand, the voiceless stop /p/ might be disguised, and aspirate /p'/ or the fricative /f/ on the other. It's not by chance that the word-initial *p* is marked (in our works) with the conventional symbol φ ¹⁰ in one case, and with the /p/ or /p'/ in another. As concerns the PIE **p* > OArm. *h/ø* development, then it is obvious that it did not take place instantly, but it was a long-lasting process with interjacent stages¹¹. Consequently, PIE **p* could be just in similar interim position during the Urartian period, e.g. having been sounded as /f/¹², and naturally being subjected to further change (f > h/ø) in contrast to /p/, either originated of PIE **b* or passed to OArm. from the foreign loans. Accordingly, it is possible to restore the following order for the abovementioned development – PIE **p* > Ancient Arm. /f/ (it is rendered with the symbols *p/b* in the Urartian cuneiform writing) > OArm. *h/ø*.

Concerning the reflection of the intervocalic or pre-consonant *w/v* (*u/ū*) (< PIE **p*) OArm. phoneme in the Urartian inscriptions, it is marked with the symbols *u/w* on the one hand as is Ur. *eue/ewe* “and” - OArm. *ew* (*ēl*) “id” < PIE **epi*, Ur. *ṭuaraṣinei ḫubi* “the lowland/valley of ṭuaraṣine” - OArm. *tuar-ac'a-tap* (*uṇuwp-wδu-uṇuḫ*), “id” (it is

⁷ See in detail Այվազյան Ս., ՈՒՀ, էջ 50-51, 95-96; Ուրարտերեն, Երևան, 2013, էջ 84-85, 99-100 of the same author etc.

⁸ See Ղափանցյան Գ., Ուրարտուի պատմություն, Երևան, 1940, էջ 39; Джаукян Г., Урартский и индоевропейские языки, Ереван, 1963, стр. 101 etc.

⁹ See Աղաբեկյան Մ., Հայ-ուրարտական ստուգաբանական դիտարկումներ, ՊԲՀ, 2013, 1, էջ 170-171.

¹⁰ See Այվազյան Ս., ՈՒՀ, էջ 36, 50-51, 95-96 etc.

¹¹ See Զահուկյան Գ., Հայոց լեզվի պատմություն. նախագրային շրջան, Երևան, 1987, էջ 227, 346 etc.

¹² G. Jahukyan proposes such an interim state; Ibid.

composed of OArm. word root *towar* (*տոար*) “cattle” < *dīr̥yo) and with the *b* on the other, as is Ur. *aršibi* - OArm. *arcowi*, *-ciw* (*արծնի, -ծի*) “eagle” < PIE *ǵʰīpi-ǵo. If the etymology of the mentioned Armenian words is correct then it is necessary to presume that the given development of OArm. either was over already or was in the phase of completion; anyhow, the PIE *p was sounding close to /w/ in the Uartian period. And the presence of the Uartian writing *aršibi* instead of the expected **aršiwī* or **aršui* is explained easily by the possibility of reflecting the sound /w/ with the signs *b/p* in the Uartian texts, which is typical of other cuneiform languages, as well.

The picture is different in the case of PIE *b^h in the same position for which we have only Ur. *b* in two available evidence, but not *u/w* such as Ur. *abeli*- “to add” – OArm. *y-awel-em* (*յ-աւել-էմ*) “id”, *aweli* (*աւելի*) “more” < *obhel; Ur. *qaburza* “bridge” – OArm. *kamowrj, i-a* < *kawurja (*կաւմնրջ, ի-ա* < *կաւմնրջա) “id” < *g^uobhur-ǵā (compare the Greek γέφυρα, an Armenian-Greek correspondence).

The picture is mixed both in toponyms and the words of unknown origin; for instance, Ur. *Abuni* - OArm. *Hawuni-k'* (*Հաւունի-ք*), Ur. *Zabaḫae* - OArm. *jawakh-k'* (*Ջաւախ-ք*), Gen. *jawakha-c'* (*Ջաւախա-ց*), Ur. *Er(e)bune* - OArm. *Erewan* (*Երեւան*), Ur. *Abeliane* - OArm. *Abelean-k'* (*Աբէլէան-ք*), Ur. *babane* “mountain” - OArm. *babay* (*բաբայ*) “hill” and so on. Such a state of affairs is conditioned apparently by the aforementioned peculiarities of cuneiforms, being typical almost to every cuneiform language. Even if are known the borrowing language and the parallel evidence there, no precision is observed in that matter. For example, the parallel form of the mentioned Ur. word *babane*, “mountain”, is evidenced both as either *pabni* or *wawan* in the Hurrian texts (syllabically: *pa-ab-ni*, *wa-wa-n-*), and [pbn] in the Ugaritic quasi-alphabetic cuneiform.

We have the symbol *b* in the Uartian inscriptions in a regular manner against PIE *b^h such as: a) PIE *bher- “to bring, to bear” - Ur. (-)ber, “to bring, to come” - OArm. *ber-em* (*բէր-էմ*) “to bring”, b) PIE *bhag-to, “a portion” - Ur. *baqtu* «destiny» - OArm. *bakht-oy* (*բախտ-ոյ*) “id” (through Iranian intermediation; the indigenous form is **puḫun, -ny* (*bakt-oy*) < *bhag-to, which is testified in the Uartian texts), c) PIE *bhā “to speak” - Ur. *ba-u-* “a word, an order, a thing” - OArm. *ba-n*, *ba-y* (*բա-ն, բա-յ*) “word, thing”; d) PIE *bhḡh “high, top”- Ur. *barzu/i=dibidu(ne)* “a name of a certain worship building” - OArm. *barj, -ow/i* (*բարձ, -նի*) “high, top; great”, *barjunk'* (*բարձունք*) “altars, sanctuary, shrines” («բարձիւնք, տաճարք, սէղանք»)¹³.

Also, let's consider briefly the matter of Uartian as an ergative language since this fact is being accented frequently in the special literature to exclude the Armenian nature of Uartian¹⁴. Nevertheless, such an argument is obsolete apparently. First, let us say that one-fourth (a quarter) of the world's languages has an ergative structure according

¹³ For such a meaning of the OArm. word *barjunk'* (*բարձունք*), see Ամալյան Հ., Բաղդիր Շալոյց, Երևան, 1975, էջ 52.

¹⁴ See Աղաբեկյան Մ., op. cit., pp. 176-177.

to the contemporary studies, including the Indo-European languages, too (Hittite, Luwian, many Iranian languages, Hindi and so forth)¹⁵. Moreover, the facts prove that numerous languages of our region had an ergative characteristic regardless of their origin¹⁶. And the transition from the ergative structure to the nominative one and vice versa is not just an exceptional phenomenon, but another way round exactly¹⁷. As regards Ur. specifically (and the Hurrian, as well), their ergative structure is an outcome of the active construction of the early Proto-Indo-European language, according to some researchers¹⁸. Therefore, the fact of Ur, having an ergative structure, can't be a circumstantial factor in the claim of denying its Armenian nature.

***Translated from Armenian
by V. M. Gharakhanyan***

¹⁵ See in detail R.Dixon, *Ergativity*, 1998 (first published 1994), Cambridge, pp. 2-5, 14. Also see B.Comrie. *The languages of the Soviet Union*, 1981, Cambridge, pp. 173-4, 177, 181; J.Payne. *The decay of ergativity in Pamir languages*, *Lingua*, 51/2-3, 1980, pp. 147-186; V.Miltner. *Ergative Constructions in Indo-Aryan*, *Archiv Orientalni*, 59, 1991, pp. 225-33; Y.Kachru. *Ergativity, subjecthood and topicality in Hindi-Urdu*, *Lingua*, 71, 1987, pp. 223-38; A.Garrett. *The origin of NP split ergativity*, *Language*, 66, 1990, pp. 261-96; A.Korn. *The Ergative System in Balochi from a Typological Perspective*, *Iranian Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 1/1, 2009, pp. 43-75 etc.

¹⁶ See R.Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3: He writes barely, "...It seems that in this part of the world (he means Asia Minor, Armenian Highland, Caucasus, Mesopotamia and the adjacent territories), at that time, there was a 'linguistic area', consisting of a number of language isolates and small subgroups, not known to be genetically related, all of which showed some ergative characteristics".

¹⁷ See of the matter in question in detail R. Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-206.

¹⁸ See A.Fournet, A.Bomhard. *The Indo-European Elements in Hurrian*, La Garenne Colombes/Charleston, 2010 (e-publication), pp. 154-155.

Armenian Philology in the Modern Era

From Manuscript to Digital Text

Edited by

Valentina Calzolari

With the Collaboration of

Michael E. Stone



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

The Archaeology of the Armenian Manuscript: Codicology, Paleography, and Beyond

Dickran Kouymjian

The term “archaeology of the book” has become a catch phrase to describe the study of manuscripts as physical objects independent of their texts. It encompasses a number of sub-disciplines: codicology, paleography, binding technique, but also writing surface and method of illustration. Codicology includes ruling, the number of text columns, quire size, recalls (custodes), aspects of parchment and paper, and so forth. The major handbooks on Armenian paleography by Yakob Tašean, Garegin Yovsēp'ean, Ašot Abrahamyan, and our own *Album of Armenian Paleography* did not treat such matters. Fortunately, Armenian manuscript catalogues, beginning with Tašean's model-setting massive 1895 volume of the Vienna Mekhitarist collection and continuing with those of Venice, Jerusalem, and Yerevan of the past century, have consistently included much of the information mentioned above. In the last 25 years specialized studies moved Armenian codicology forward, particularly Sylvie Merian's work on Armenian binding technique, my own on the decoration of bindings, Thomas Mathews' study of miniature painting pigments, and the work of Michael Stone, Henning Lehmann, and myself on Armenian script analysis in the *Album of Armenian Paleography*. The compilers of the master catalogues of the Matenadaran, seven volumes (1984, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2012) covering nos. 2400 of the 11,077 manuscripts¹ in the collection, have carefully noted among other things quire organization and watermarked paper as has Raymond Kévorkian in the recent catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Nira and Michael Stone have given extensive information of this type in their *Catalogue of the Additional Armenian Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin*.² The Matenadaran and Antelias catalogues have also systematically provided reproductions of the script for every manuscript and so has the BnF catalogue, but selectively.

The majority of the 31,000 Armenian manuscripts have found their way into a catalogue; Bernard Coulié's *Répertoire* with its three supplements, a work

1 A third volume was published of the résumé catalogue of all manuscripts in the Matenadaran after a long hiatus, volumes I and II having appeared in 1965 and 1970 covering MSS 1–10408: Malxasean & Tēr-Stepanean 2007, MSS 10409–11077.

2 Stone & Stone 2012.

sponsored by our Association, is an excellent guide to them.³ A masterlist of Armenian manuscripts, a project initiated by Michael Stone and Bernard Coulie, waits to be completed, but even more pressing is the continued publication of the Master Catalogue of the Matenadaran collection. More discouraging, despite the heroic work of the late Fr. Sahak Čemčemean, who prepared volumes 4–8 (1993–1998) of the Venice catalogue, more than 2,000 manuscripts in the collection wait publication with no one available to do the work. Nevertheless, with well over 20,000 manuscripts already listed in published catalogues, including the majority of manuscripts from the second largest collection at the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem,⁴ serious work on Armenian codicology can move forward.

1 From Roll to Codex

The early history of the Armenian codex, that is the manuscript with folded pages, is obscure and may remain so. Our oldest dated manuscripts are the Venice Mlk'ē Gospels of 862 and the Łazarean Gospels of 887 in the Matenadaran. Claims that certain not-specifically-dated manuscripts in the Matenadaran are even earlier are not convincing, though some of the 3,000 fragments, mostly recycled as guard leaves, are credibly earlier.⁵ Many of these fragments have been studied philologically, but few codicologically. The Armenian case is remarkable because we know with certainty that the first manuscripts were produced between 404–6, but is confounding due to the hiatus of 450 years between the invention of the alphabet and the first surviving dated codices. We are certain that hundreds of texts were copied and recopied thousands of times in scores of *scriptoria* in this “empty” period simply because those texts

3 Coulie 1992; *idem* 1995; *idem* 2000; *idem* 2004. Though I have embraced Coulie's figure of 31,000 Armenian codices, I have pointed out in a recent study based on a statistical analysis of a select group of manuscripts that we must add 8 to 12 % to the number of individually bound codices to account for volumes that contain more than one complete manuscript, thus, the figure should be between 32,000 and 34,000 individual manuscript: see Kouymjian 2012, 19. A much older study pointed out the value of statistical analyses of the data contained in published manuscript catalogues, see Kouymjian 1984; both articles are available at <http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/faculty/kouymjian/articles/index.htm>.

4 Polarean 1966–1991, MSS 1–2573.

5 Reservation on the antiquity of these fragments has also recently been expressed, Mouraviev 2010, Annex VI: “45–52. Calligraphie libraire antérieure au XI^e siècle?”, 164–184. However, recent palimpsest studies, especially that of Gippert 2010, reveal clearly underwriting before the ninth century.

have survived to our day through such transmission. It is hard to imagine that the technique of producing books remained static for four and a half centuries. What was the evolutionary process in the structure of the Armenian codex and the changes in such things as the script form and size? We do not know.

All Armenian manuscripts are parchment or paper codices, except for phylactery rolls (*hmayil*) from later centuries. The unique Armeno-Greek papyrus, to be discussed shortly, is an anomalous object. The philologist Charles Mercier, following an accepted notion borrowed from Latin paleography, wondered whether the evolution from an upright *erkat'agir* to a slanted one might be due to the passage from the papyrus roll to the codex.⁶ In neighboring Georgia codices of papyrus interleaved with parchment survive from the tenth century.⁷ Did Mesrop and his group first use rolls before codices? There are no Armenian papyrus manuscripts and no mention of any in the sources. Nevertheless, the large number of clay seals, seemingly originally attached to rolls of papyrus or parchment, found at Artaxata suggests a familiarity with this form.⁸

The codex triumphed over the roll in the fourth century. Therefore, it is likely that when Maštoc' devised an alphabet in the fifth century, Armenians used the codex right from the start without a transition from the roll.⁹ If Mesrop worked in the royal chancellery he would have been familiar with the writing culture on rolls, because archives were conservative institutions. The memory of the roll passed into the medieval period, because in some Armenian Gospel portraits of the Evangelists as scribes, they are seen copying an exemplar of a roll instead of the expected codex. This feature was probably borrowed from Byzantine manuscripts, which used the author portraits of classical texts as models for the Evangelists, and these pre-Christian texts were indeed written on papyrus rolls. The first Armenian appearance of this anachronism is in the early eleventh-century Trebizond Gospels, which was strongly influenced by Byzantine iconography with both Mark and Luke copying codices from rolls

6 Mercier 1978–1979, 51–58, especially 52 and 57: "... passage de la droite à la penchée. On a avancé que ce passage aurait accompagné l'emploi du codex au lieu du volumen".

7 These manuscripts were probably produced on Mt. Athos.

8 Thousands of clay seals were found in two "archives" at Artashat in a first-century context. These must have been attached to written documents, either papyrus or parchment, of which there is no trace. See the articles by Khachatrian 1996, and Manoukian 1996.

9 Tašean 1898, 93, had confirmed this notion a hundred years ago: "there is no trace that it (the papyrus) was ever used as a medium for writing among the Armenians".

on their lecterns.¹⁰ Yet, the tradition of the roll survives well into the Cilician period and curiously is also found among provincial manuscripts that owe nothing to the Byzantine tradition in either style or iconography.¹¹

2 Codicology: Structure of Manuscripts – Size, Support, Quires

Size. The earliest manuscripts were very large. Those of the ninth and tenth centuries, mostly Gospels, are on average 34×27 cm (by comparison, an A4 sheet is 29×21 cm.). Eleventh-century manuscripts remain quite large, 31×24 , until the last two decades when they drop in size to less than A4. There are also in the eleventh century at least two very small manuscripts, both now in Venice, signaling a future trend: a Gospel of 1001, 18×14 cm, and one of the tiniest books, a Gospel of St. John dated 1073, measuring just 6.4×4.7 cm, much smaller than a credit card. Afterward, the size drops dramatically: twelfth-century manuscripts are about 28% smaller, 23×16 cm, than eleventh century ones and more than a third smaller than those of the ninth-tenth centuries. In part this is explained by the text and the writing surface; Gospels and Bibles and other liturgical texts were always larger, and parchment manuscripts were a bit bigger than paper ones so with the increase both of the variety of texts and the use of paper, overall size was reduced. Furthermore, the twelfth century was a difficult moment for Armenia, kingless and under Seljuk occupation, yet, the next century was the high point in Armenian book culture. Manuscript production had increased in quantity and dramatically improved in quality; paper had become the dominant medium, and though manuscripts were smaller in size than in the ninth to the eleventh centuries, 28×18 cm, they were nearly 20% larger than those of the twelfth century. Nevertheless the trend was moving toward a smaller, more conveniently manipulated book, as was the case in Byzantium and Europe where manuscripts became more portable as a larger public became literate. Eventually there was a size standardization from the

10 Venice, Mekhitarist Library, V1400, St. Mark, fol. 101v, St. Luke fol. 299v; color ills., Kouymjian IAA, http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/iaa_miniatures/manuscript.aspx?ms=V1400G.

11 For instance, four Evangelists pictured together in an Armenian Gospel of 1224 hold rolls where one would expect codices: Halle University Library, Arm. MS no. 1, fol. 4v, Kouymjian 2011, 134, fig. 24.

fourteenth through the nineteenth centuries, roughly 20 × 14 cm, about half the size of the earliest manuscripts, two-thirds the size of an A4 sheet.¹²

Support. So too in time there was a major shift in the writing surface. Virtually all Armenian manuscripts to the twelfth century were made of parchment, even though the oldest paper manuscript dates to 971 or 981.¹³ The oldest Koranic manuscript on paper was copied just nine years earlier in 972, while in the West, although the oldest manuscript on paper is from the early eleventh century, its use only became widespread in the thirteenth century.¹⁴ In Armenia, however, already by the twelfth century, the majority of manuscripts, about 56%, were made from paper, no doubt supplied from such centers as Baghdad, where paper manufacture, assimilated after the Arab campaign in Central Asia around 751, was flourishing.¹⁵ By the fourteenth century, two-thirds of all Armenian codices were of paper and in the next century nearly 80%. From about 1500 on paper was the exclusive medium for manuscripts and the rare exception was for Gospels or Bibles. This respect for tradition is a common phenomenon; when papyrus gave way completely to parchment after the Arab conquest of Egypt, it was still used for papal, imperial, and private

12 These figures are based on a random sampling of 282 dated manuscripts from various libraries with the following results:

Century	Nr. dated MSS sampled	Height	Width
9–10th	12	34.4	26.7
11th	08	31.3	24.1
12th	18	22.6	16.2
13th	60	26.0	19.0
14th	39	20.2	14.2
15th	23	23.1	16.2
16th	35	18.7	13.5
17th	32	18.3	13.2
18th	37	22.3	14.9
19th	18	19.6	14.4

For more details see Kouymjian 2007b, 42.

13 Erevan, M2679, formerly Ējmiacin 102, a religious *Miscellany*; it is dated 971 or 981 depending on the reading of the second digit of the colophon; Stone, Kouymjian, Lehmann 2002, Nr. 11. For a tenth-century manuscript it is one of the smallest, 28 × 19 cm.

14 The oldest known paper document made in the West is the Missal of Silos in the Monastery of Santo Domingo of Silos near Burgas date usually to the eleventh century; its paper was probably produced in Muslim Spain. By the mid-thirteenth century paper was being manufactured in Italy.

15 Bloom 2001, 42–45 for details; for the early history of the use of paper in the Near East before the late tenth century, see 47–89.

documents until the tenth century. Jewish usage is still to write the Pentateuch and the Book of Esther for ritual use on parchment scrolls. This is a striking case of conservatism both of morphology and of material. It is worth remembering that parchment is said to have been invented in Pergamum in the second century B.C. and that the word derives from the name of the city. It enabled the development of the large codex, though the earliest codices are single quires of papyrus tied often at the top, inner corner (see above for very late usage in Georgia). Paper was cheaper and strong enough to make large codices.

Quires. The codex is made up of folded pages called bifolia, each comprising two folios or four pages. The structural use of quires or gatherings is clear to anyone who has tried to fold in half ever increasing numbers of sheets of paper; after a certain quantity not only is it difficult to fold the bundle, but the inside sheets have a tendency to get pushed out; the pack is not neat. By keeping the number of folded sheets or bi-folios between four and eight, depending on the thickness of the paper or parchment, folding was made easy. Diagrams illustrating this quire structure are now standard in monographs on individual manuscripts.¹⁶ Nearly all Armenian manuscripts to the mid-thirteenth century were made of 8-folio quires, even though almost all manuscripts have some inconsistent gatherings of random sizes from one to seven bi-folios. In the last years of the twelfth and the first of the thirteenth century one encounters 10-folio quires, but these never became popular. In Cilicia starting early in the thirteenth century, the 12-folio quire took hold and became the standard for Armenian books until the end of the scribal tradition.

To insure that the lines of text are uniformly rendered, Armenian manuscripts are consistently ruled with a dry point, and in later centuries in ink. The process of pricking or punching holes along the margins of folios as guide lines for ruling has been well described by Sylvie Merian in the catalogue for the exhibit *Treasures from Heaven*¹⁷ and need not be repeated here. There has been no comparative study of either ruling or pricking, however, among Armenian manuscripts.

3 Paleography

In the recently published *Album of Armenian Paleography* we tried to present an up-to-date study-manual of the discipline. In a long chapter, I tried to

¹⁶ Mathews and Sanjian 1991, 32–42.

¹⁷ Merian, Mathews, Orna 1994, esp. 125–128.

cover in elaborate detail almost everything important on the development of Armenian manuscript writing.¹⁸

Nevertheless, there are still questions and problems confronting Armenian paleography. First there is the terminology used to describe the various scripts: *erkat'agir*, *bolorgir*, *nōtrgir*, *štagir*.

The name *erkat'agir*, iron letter or letters, has perplexed almost all paleographers. In its most majestic form, the script is found in all early Gospel books; it is a grand script in all capitals similar to the imposing uncials of early Latin manuscripts. The *Nor baṛgirk'* of 1836–7 defines *erkat'agir* as “written with an iron stylus” with the derivative meanings “old manuscript”, “capital letter”.¹⁹ The dictionary attributes its earliest use to Mxit'ar Aparanc'i, known as Fra Mxit'arič', a Unitore father who wrote in the early fifteenth century.²⁰ A much older reference, however, is found in a short marginal colophon in a Gospel manuscript, generally dated to the tenth century, in the Mekhitarist library of Venice.²¹ “This *erkat'agir* is not good, do not blame me. In the y[ear] 360 (= 911)]”.²² To explain the sense of iron letters, two theories have been proposed: the use of an iron stylus to write the letters or the use of iron oxide in the characteristic brownish ink of early manuscripts. Neither of these explanations is satisfactory. The preferred writing instrument for papyrus – the earliest light-weight writing surface – was a split reed from Egypt, the *calamus*, Armenian *kalam*. Even before the Arabs conquered Egypt, cutting off the unique source

18 Kouymjian 2002, 5–75.

19 *NBHL* 1836–7, I, 686b; Bedrossian 1985, 166, gives “written with a style (read stylus) or large needle, capital; capital letter”, Ciaciak 1837, 470: “written with an iron pen [on?] paper, parchment, or, written with capital letters, *scritto colle lettere majuscole*; the oldest text or manuscripts written with capital letters, *códice scritto a caráatteri majúscoli; lèttéra majúscola*”.

20 *NBHL* 1836–7, 588; the full quotation is given more clearly under the definition for (*grč'agir*): “Written with a pen (*grič'*), especially *boloragir* or *nōtragir*. The entire Psalter is not uniform; in order to be clear *erkat'agir* and (also) (*grč'agir* = *boloragir*), and other means. Histories of parchment and of paper, *erkat'agir* and *grč'agir*”. It has been suggested that *grč'agir* in this period is synonymous with *bolorgir*. Bedrossian 1985, gives the meaning, “written, manuscript” for *grč'agir*. Malxasyan 1955–1956, vol. 1, 587, raises doubt about the meaning: “1. written with an iron pen (?), manuscript written with *erkat'agir*. 2. the old form of Armenian letters”.

21 Venice, MS 123, fol. 4; cf. Kouymjian 2002, 67. Sargisean 1914, 544, the author is not sure what the four letters of the second marginal notation on the same page mean, but if *թ* equals the traditional symbol of “in the year”, then the following letters represent the date, namely 911; cf. Mat'evosyan 1988, no. 64, 50. Yovsēp'ean 1951, does not include this colophon in his collection.

22 *Ays erkat'agirs čē atēk, mi meladrēk'. I T' [uakanin] YK. (= 911).*

of papyrus, the Byzantines and Europeans had already turned to parchment as the favored material for book manuscripts and adopted the *penna*, the feather pen, for writing on it. Metal styluses were used in antiquity, but for durable materials such as clay tablets or waxed boards, the precursors of the codex. As for ferrous inks, many early Armenian manuscripts employed brown ink containing an iron oxide, rather than the black ink of Indian or Chinese origin. But the same brown ink is found in *bolorgir* manuscripts, so a thesis based on ink seems less convincing than the metal stylus theory.

How then do we explain the name iron letters? If the tenth century mention of *erkat'agir* in the Venice Gospels refers to the type of script used, we may associate it with two biblical passages in which the term iron is used in conjunction with writing or engraving. In both, the expression is, *grč'aw erkat'eaw*, "written with a stylus of iron". They are Job 19:23–24 ("Oh that my words . . . were graven with an iron pen in lead or on the stone as eternal witness")²³ and Jeremiah 17:1 ("The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond: it is graven upon the tablet of their heart, and upon the horns of your altars").²⁴ In both passages an iron stylus is used on hard surfaces. Movsēs Xorenac'i, *History* (I, 16) also describes engraving on the rock of the Van fortress by Semiramis: "And over the entire surface of the rock. Smoothing it like wax with a stylus, she inscribed many texts".²⁵ The term *erkat'agir*, therefore, probably refers rather to writing made by instruments of iron, that is lapidary inscriptions, the letters of which were in form the same as the majuscule used for Gospels, thus associating the "iron letters" with the Old Testament tradition of writing the holy text with a stylus of iron. If the term originated with the scribes of early Gospel manuscripts, one could speculate that the initial meaning of *erkat'agir* was simply the equivalent of "scriptural writing".

*Bolorgir*²⁶ or minuscule, the ancestor of modern Armenian type fonts, dominated scribal hands from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and continued on into the nineteenth. Its use for short phrases and colophons and even

23 Zōhrapean 1984 (1805), 482.

24 Zōhrapean 1984 (1805), 567.

25 Thomson 1978, 101; Movsēs Xorenac'i 1991, 54, "On each side of the stone, rather like leveling wax with a stylus, many letters were written on it".

26 The anonymous BnF manuscript of 1730 uses the term *boloragir* in parallel with *erkat'agir*, so too do some late eighteenth, early nineteenth century scholars; for a detailed discussion see Kouymjian 2002, 69–73.

for copying an entire manuscript is attested as early as the tenth century.²⁷ But it appears even earlier, or at least some of the *bolorgir* letter forms are found in the sixth or early seventh century Armenian papyrus and certain inscriptions and graffiti from the same paleo-Christian period.²⁸ Like medieval Latin and Greek minuscule, *bolorgir* uses majuscule or *erkat'agir* for capitals, creating for some letters quite different shapes for upper and lower case. Most authorities argue that the spread of *bolorgir* was due to time and economics: it saved valuable parchment because many more words could be copied on a page and conserved time because letters could be formed with fewer pen strokes than the three, four, or even five needed for *erkat'agir*.²⁹

The earliest reference I could find for *bolorgir* dates to the late twelfth century. Mxit'ar the scribe, probably writing in Greater Armenia, asks in a colophon: "... remember, in your holy prayers, Mxit'ar the drawer of this *bolorgir* and our parents...".³⁰ What is interesting about the reference is not just that it is centuries older than those quoted in earlier literature, but that it is from a manuscript written in transitional or mixed *erkat'agir-bolorgir* script, which for Mxit'ar was *bolorgir*.

Because *bolorgir* is angular with few letters that can be described as rounded, the term has troubled specialists, perhaps in part because they have interpreted its meaning as "rounded letters". In the earliest seventeenth-century Western sources the Latin equivalents have been *orbicularis* (Rivola, Galano) and *rotunda* (Schröder). This may have had the sense of lower-case, the Latin *rotunda* for minuscule rather than a description of the shape of the letters. In Armenian, *bolor* does not only mean "round" or "rounded"; it has an older and stronger sense of "all" or "whole", that is "complete". Thus, scribes when using the term may have just as well meant "whole script", one with both

27 The oldest paper manuscript, M2679, a *Miscellany* of 971 or 981 is a mixed *erkat'agir, bolorgir* script. See above note 13 for a general discussion.

28 Mouraviev 2010, collected in Annex VI; on the papyrus see below.

29 Mercier 1978–9, 53: "Is it not also possible that *bolorgir*, used at first informally, was elevated to formal status because of considerations of time and expense?"

30 Yovsēp'ean 1951, 661–662, no. 299, from a manuscript of Commentaries formerly in the collection of the Monastery of the Holy Cross (Surb Nšan) of Sebastia, Gušakean 1961, 101; cf. Mat'evosyan 1988, 326, no. 338.

upper and lower case letters, like a standard minuscule and unlike majuscule or *erkat'agir*, which had no real capital letters, rather it used the same letters just written bigger.

The other major paleographical problem can be popularly stated as: what letters did Mesrop Maštoc' use? Most scholars hold that Mesrop invented and used a large, upright rounded majuscule, similar to that found in early lapidary inscriptions, and thus call it Mesropian *erkat'agir*. It is further argued that this script eventually went through various changes – slanted, angular, small *erkat'agir* – and eventually evolved into *bolorgir*, and in time into *nōtrgir* and *štagir*. Doubt about such a theory started quite early; Tašean himself, the pioneer of the scientific study of Armenian paleography, hesitated and Garo Łafadaryan in 1939 even maintained that *bolorgir* already existed in the time of Mesrop.³¹

It was also once believed that minuscule gradually developed from earlier Latin and Greek formal majuscule found in inscriptions and the oldest manuscripts. But the late nineteenth-century discovery in Egypt of thousands of Greek and Roman papyri forced scholars to abandon this notion. The roots of Greek cursive of the ninth century can be traced back to the informal cursive of pre-Christian papyri. Latin minuscule is evident already in third-century papyri.³² Is it possible that along with majuscule *erkat'agir* some form of an informal cursive script, which later developed into *bolorgir*, was available in the fifth century?³³

Uncial was used in the West for more formal writing: Gospels, important religious works, and luxury manuscripts. The data gathered for the *Album of Armenian Paleography* point to a similar pattern. The earliest *bolorgir* manuscripts appear chronologically anomalous until one notes that they are philosophical or less formal texts rather than Gospels.

Examination of pre-Christian Latin papyri shows the origins of Caroline script (similar to Armenian *bolorgir*) in earlier cursive minuscule found in them. The invention of the Armenian alphabet in the early fifth century

31 Details in Kouymjian 2002, 70–71.

32 Bischoff 1985, 70.

33 Mercier 1978–9, 57, seemed inclined toward such an hypothesis: “Si, dès le 10^e s., on trouve capitale et minuscule, on n'en peut conclure que ces deux écritures ont toujours coexisté . . .”. On the other hand, there are 500 years between the invention of the Armenian alphabet and the tenth century, plenty of time for an evolution to *bolorgir*.

precludes any pre-Christian antecedents.³⁴ Both Greek and Syriac,³⁵ the languages which most influenced Maštoc' in creating the Armenian alphabet, used cursive and majuscule in that period. It is difficult to imagine that Mesrop and his pupils, as they translated the Bible, a task that took decades, would have used the laborious original *erkat'agir* for drafts as they went along. The use of the faster-to-write intermediate *erkat'agir* seems more than probable, yet it was not a minuscule script, nor cursive. Unfortunately, except for the papyrus, no written documents in Armenian except codex manuscripts have survived before the thirteenth century.³⁶

Deciding between a theory of evolution of *bolorgir* versus the notion that *erkat'agir* and more cursive scripts co-existed from the fifth century will not be easy.³⁷ The development and use of later cursive scripts, *nōtrgir* and the modern every day script with attached letters, *štagir* are discussed in detail in the *Album of Armenian Paleography*.³⁸

3.1 Armeno-Greek Papyrus

The Armeno-Greek papyrus, once thought lost but rediscovered in the Bibliothèque nationale de France during research for the *Album of Armenian Paleography*, is a key document for the study of the evolution of Armenian writing.³⁹ It was brought to Paris from Egypt in the late nineteenth century; it provoked Tašean in the 1890s to write his study of Armenian paleography, even though he and subsequent scholars relied on a photograph of only a part of one side of the papyrus. Since the text is entirely in Greek, but written with the letters of Mesrop, it has been suggested that its author was either an Armenian merchant or an Armenian soldier in the Byzantine army trying to learn Greek. Its Greek contents have been thoroughly analyzed and published by James Clackson.⁴⁰ Whether it is of the early seventh, the sixth or even the fifth

34 Indeed, we have no Armenian manuscript writing of a certain date before the ninth century, though some scholars claim that an undated manuscript (M11056) is older and some fragments in Erevan are from the fifth century.

35 Here the reference is probably to Estrangelo, used for lapidary inscriptions, which Kaplan 2008, refers to as monumental Syriac in her doctoral dissertation.

36 The earliest Armenian chancellery documents are from the Cilician court (thirteenth century) and by then minuscule *bolorgir* was already the standard bookhand.

37 Łafadaryan 1939, believed a minuscule script existed from Maštoc's time not in the form of *bolorgir*, but as *nōtrgir* or notary script; see his conclusions, p. 71.

38 Kouymjian 2002, 73–75.

39 Kouymjian 2002, 59–65, for its importance to Armenian paleography and how I stumbled upon the papyrus in the BnF and references to my earlier articles of 1996, 1997, 1998.

40 Clackson 2000.

century, it is the oldest surviving, extensive, non-lapidary Armenian writing. Most of the letters have the form of angular or slanted *erkat'agir* with some letters looking more like *bolorgir* and others even like *štagir* with attached letters. The overall look is of a cursive script, unlike our earliest dated manuscripts all of which are copied centuries after the papyrus, thus, one can argue that the forms in the papyrus ante-date those of the Mesropian *erkat'agir* of the early Gospels, or stated differently, was this the kind of script used in Mesrop's time?

4 Binding

Binding structure has been very well studied by Sylvie Merian: the use of grecale, the v-shaped notches used for sewing bifolios and consolidating quires, the distinctive Armenian headband sewing, the method of attaching the book block to wooden boards, the use of textile linings or *doublures* to cover the board attachments (but not their artistic analysis).⁴¹

My own interest has been in the decoration of the leather through the study of inscribed and dated bindings⁴² and the localization and analysis of the New Julfa school of binding motifs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴³ However, no serious attempt has been made to present the basic decorative features of earlier bindings. The traditional motifs of these bindings are fashioned almost exclusively of tooled rope work or guilloche bands. I have classified them into three groups, each within an outer frame of braiding: 1) a braided cross on a stepped pedestal, 2) a rectangle filled with braided tooling, and 3) an intricate geometric rosette.⁴⁴

The majority of early Armenian manuscripts are Gospels. Their decoration follows a rather consistent program. On the upper cover is a stepped or Calvary cross and on the lower a braided rectangle. (The geometric design is usually employed on other religious texts: hymnals, miscellaneous collections, even Bibles.) Later, among the hundreds of silver bindings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a Crucifixion, that is Christ on the cross, replaced the plain cross of leather bindings and the Resurrection, the rectangle on the lower cover, thus dispelling the mystery by equating it with the Resurrection. In some

41 In particular her doctoral dissertation, Merian 1993; see also Merian, Mathews, Orna 1994, 130–134.

42 Kouymjian 1992, 403–412; *idem* 1993, 101–109, pls. 1–5; *idem* 1998, 259–274; *idem* 2007a, 236–247.

43 Kouymjian 1997, 13–36.

44 See now, Kouymjian 2008b, 169, fig. 7.

bindings, however, the Virgin appears on the lower cover. Their binders either moved away from the earlier tradition, or simply failed to understand it.⁴⁵

The cross in general, especially the braided cross on a pedestal, had a very prominent place in early Armenian gospel illumination. A full page cross often appears either at the beginning of the initial illuminated quire of Gospels or at the end before the text proper. It is tempting to seek the source in Armenian *xač'k'ars*. The stone cross is a symbol of the Crucifixion but does not show it. Furthermore, while all stone crosses depict the "living cross", characterized by branches or leaves growing out of their bases, none of the braided crosses, whether painted or on leather, are flowering. The style of those on tooled Gospel bindings comes from a source other than *xač'k'ars*. Still the use of this powerful motif of Christ's sacrifice on the very book that recounts His Passion and on *xač'k'ars* of the dead whose souls will also be resurrected, explains its long persistence.

As far as I know the braided rectangle, almost exclusively found on the lower panel of leather Gospel bindings, was first explained in a footnote I wrote some years ago.⁴⁶ Recently I devoted a monograph to the subject.⁴⁷ If the Crucifixion is represented by a cross on the upper cover of Armenian bindings, then logically on the lower cover there should be the Resurrection, or some symbol for it. On silver bindings the predominant image on the upper face is the Crucifixion, a real Crucifixion with Christ on the cross. The majority of these bindings portray the Resurrection on the underside. What relationship does the rectangle on the lower cover of leather Armenian Gospels (the device is unknown on silver covers) have with any of the standard iconographies of the Resurrection? One thinks immediately of the doors of Hell knocked down and trampled upon by Christ in the Anastasis or Descent into Hell.⁴⁸ The rectangle represents the door to Satan's domain opened by redemption through the Savior. But the Byzantine Anastasis, was essentially a foreign intrusion in Armenian iconography when Armenian nobility and clergy had close relations with the Greeks. Thus, choosing such an important symbol from a non-indigenous iconographic source seems improbable. Another element, however, from the iconography of Resurrection presents a better explanation. It is

45 Kouymjian 2008a, 212–214.

46 Kouymjian 1998, 262, n. 1: "Je pense que ce rectangle symbolise la Résurrection comme la croix symbolise la Crucifixion. J'espère préparer, dans un proche avenir, une étude sur ce sujet".

47 Kouymjian 2008a, illustrated with examples from paleo-Christian models, *xač'k'ars*, and of course binding covers.

48 Abundant discussion of the iconography of this seen can be found in Kartsonis 1986.

also a door or rather a stone slab, the one used to close the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea in which Christ was buried. It is often depicted in paleo-Christian representations of the Resurrection showing the Holy Women at the Empty Tomb. In Armenian painting the door appears only rarely in the scene and was not retained as an important element in the rendering of the Women at the Empty Tomb, reducing greatly the possibility that the binding rectangle was borrowed from earlier and now lost Armenian Gospel miniatures. On the other hand, if the rectangle represents the tomb itself, open and empty, then it fits perfectly with that feature seen in earliest Armenian miniatures of the eleventh century. One often reads in the more provincial manuscripts the word *geretzmann*, “the Tomb”, written within the rectangle as witnessed in two miniatures of the eleventh century from Melitene.⁴⁹

If this hypothesis is correct and the rectangle served as the inanimate symbol for the Resurrection as the cross was the inanimate symbol of the Crucifixion, then later when the Anastasis was accepted as the image of Resurrection in certain Armenian Gospels, the doors, in this case of Hell, would have only reinforced the perception of the already existing rectangular device. In later centuries, the rectangle must have lost its meaning to the binders, because in some codices, the rectangle was used on the upper cover or on both covers and even on non-Gospel manuscripts.

When the meaning of the rectangle became obscure, some binders simply replaced it with a visually clearer and more easily understood image of the Resurrection to match what by then had become a very iconic Crucifixion in place of the barren braided cross.⁵⁰

If the above is not a correct interpretation of this enduring rectangular shape, then there is no other option except to follow earlier scholars and pass on the motif in silence.

49 For example the Gospel of 1045, Erevan, Matenadaran, M3723, f. 3; Izmailova 1979, 80, fig. 39, with other eleventh century examples, *passim*; details given in Kouymjian 2008a, 213. See now Kouymjian 2014, 85-86 and Fig. 6, available at <http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/faculty/kouymjian/articles/index.htm>.

50 This phenomenon is particularly evident in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century silver bindings of Armenian manuscripts, Kouymjian 2008a, pl. 4. Gospel manuscript of 1769, Antelias, Cilician Museum, no. 50. The most common substitute for the rectangle on the lower cover of silver bindings, the Virgin and Child, must have represented to those responsible for this arrangement the Incarnation, thus the reverse pair, Incarnation and Resurrection, which on some bindings, for instance in the collection of the Cilician Museum in Antelias, shows the Madonna and Child on the upper cover and the Crucifixion on the lower in proper chronological sequence.

Bibliography

- Bedrossian, M. 1985. *New Dictionary Armenian-English*, Venice: San Lazzaro, 1879, reprint Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
- Bischoff, B. 1985. *Paléographie de l'Antiquité romaine et du Moyen Âge occidental*, translated by H. Atsma & J. Vezin, Paris: Picard.
- Bloom, J.M. 2001. *Paper before Print. The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Ciakciak, E. 1837. *Dizionario Armeno-Italiano*, Venezia: Tipografia Mechitaristica di San Lazzaro.
- Clackson, J.P.T. 2000. "A Greek Papyrus in Armenian Script", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 129, 223–258.
- Coulie, B. 1992. *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits arméniens*, Turnhout: Brepols.
- Coulie, B. 1995. "Supplément I", *Le Muséon* 108, 115–130.
- Coulie, B. 2000. "Supplément II", *Le Muséon* 113, 149–176.
- Coulie, B. 2004. "Supplément III", *Le Muséon* 117, 473–496.
- Dashian, J. (Tašean, Y.) 1895. *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' Matenadaranin Mxit'areanc' i Vienna / Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitharisten-Bibliothek zu Wien* (Mayr C'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' hratarakeal i Mxit'arean Miabanut'enē, i Awstria 2/Haupt-Catalog der armenischen Handschriften herausgegeben von der Wiener Mechitharisten-Congregation, Bd. I. Die armenische Handschriften in Österreich, 2), Wien: Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerei.
- Galano, C. 1645. *Grammaticae et Linguae Logicae Institutiones Linguae Literalis Armenicae*, Romae: Propaganda Fide.
- Gippert, J. 2010. The Armenian Layer, vol. 3 of Gippert, J., Schulze, W., Aleksidze, Z. & Mahé, J.-P., *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mount Sinai* (Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi: Series Ibero-Caucasica, 2/3), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Gušakean, T'. 1961. "C'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' S. Nšani vanuc' i Sebastia" [Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts in the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Sebastia], *Handēs amšoreay* (1929), 349–359, reprinted in T'. Gušakean, *Katalog der armenischen Handschriften des Klosters sourb Neschan in Sebaste* (in Armenian with German title), Vienna: Mxit'arean tparan.
- IAA. See *Sigla* in the present volume.
- Izmailova, T. 1979. *Armjanskaya miniatiura XI veka* [The Armenian Miniature of the XIth Century], Moskva: Iskusstvo.
- Kaplan, A. 2008. *Paléographie syriaque. Le développement d'une méthode d'expertise sur la base des manuscrits syriaques de la British Library (Ve–Xe s.)* (unpublished PhD thesis, Université Catholique de Louvain).

- Kartsonis, A.D. 1986. *Anastasis, The Making of an Image*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Khachatrian, Z. 1996. "The Archives of Sealings Found at Artashat (Artaxata)", in M.-F. Boussac & A. Invernizzi (eds), *Archives et Sceaux du monde hellénistique. Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, Supplement 29, Paris: Broccard, 365–370.
- Kouymjian, D. 1984. "Dated Armenian Manuscripts as a Statistical Tool for Armenian History", in T. Samuelian & M. Stone (eds), *Medieval Armenian Culture* (UPATS, 6), Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 425–439 (<http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/faculty/kouymjian/articles/index.htm>).
- Kouymjian, D. 1992. "Dated Armenian Manuscript Bindings from the Mekhitarist Library, Venice", *Atti del Quinto Simposio Internazionale di Arte Armena – 1988*, Venezia: San Lazzaro, 403–412.
- Kouymjian, D. 1993. "Inscribed Armenian Manuscript Bindings: A Preliminary General Survey", in H.J. Lehmann & J.J.S. Weitenberg (eds), *Armenian Texts, Tasks and Tools*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 101–109, pl. 1–5.
- Kouymjian, D. 1997. "The New Julfa Style of Armenian Manuscript Binding", *JSAS* 8, 13–36.
- Kouymjian, D. 1998. "Les reliures de manuscrits arméniens à inscriptions", *Recherches de codicologie comparée. La composition du codex au Moyen Âge, en Orient et en Occident*, in Ph. Hoffman (ed.), Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 259–274.
- Kouymjian, D. 2002. "History of Armenian Paleography", in Stone, Kouymjian & Lehmann, 5–75.
- Kouymjian, D. 2007a. "Les reliures à inscriptions des manuscrits arméniens", in C. Mutafian (dir.), *Arménie: la magie de l'écrit* (La Vieille Charité, Marseille, 27 avril–22 juillet), Paris & Marseille: Somogy & Maison arménienne de la jeunesse et de la culture, 236–247.
- Kouymjian, D. 2007b. "La structure et l'illustration des manuscrits arméniens", in V. Calzolari (dir.), *Illuminations d'Arménie. Arts du livre et de la pierre dans l'Arménie ancienne et médiévale* (Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny-Genève, 15 septembre–30 décembre 2007) Genève: Fondation Martin Bodmer.
- Kouymjian, D. 2008a. "The Decoration of Medieval Armenian Manuscript Bindings", in G. Lanoë (ed.), *La reliure médiévale: pour une description normalisée. Actes du colloque international (Paris, 22–24 mai 2003) organisé par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (CNRS)*, Turnhout: Brepols, 209–218.
- Kouymjian, D. 2008b. "Post-Byzantine Armenian Bookbinding and Its Relationship to the Greek Tradition", in N. Tsironis (ed.), *Vivlioamphiasts 3. The Book in Byzantium: Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Bookbinding* (Proceedings of an International Conference Athens, Greece, October 13–16, 2005), Athens: Foinikas Publications,

- 163–176. (<http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/faculty/kouymjian/articles/index.htm>).
- Kouymjian, D. 2011. “L’art de l’enluminure / The Art of Miniature Painting”, in D. Kouymjian & C. Mutaſian (eds), *Artsakh Karabagh. Jardin des arts et des traditions arméniens / Garden of Armenian Arts and Traditions*, Paris: Somogy, 104–137. (<http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/faculty/kouymjian/articles/index.htm>).
- Kouymjian, D. 2012. “Notes on Armenian Codicology. Part 1: Statistics Based on Surveys of Armenian Manuscripts”, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter* 4, 18–23 (<http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/faculty/kouymjian/articles/index.htm>).
- Kouymjian, D. 2003. “The Melitene Group of Armenian Miniature Painting in the Eleventh Century”, in R. Hovannisian (ed), *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia, Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces*, Costa Mesa: Mazda, 79–115 (<http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/faculty/kouymjian/articles/index.htm>).
- Łafadaryan, G. 1939. *Haykakan gri skzbnakan tesaknerə, hnagrakan-banasirakan usumnasirut’yun* [The Original Types of Armenian Letters. Paleographic-Philological Study], Erevan (repr. 1953).
- Malxasyan, A. & Tēr-Stepanyan, A. 2007. *C’uc’ak jeragrac’ Maštoc’i anuan Matenadaran* [Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Mashtots Matenadaran], vol. 3, Erevan: Erevani Hamalsarani Hratarakč’ut’yun (in Arm. with title pages in English and Russian).
- Malxasyanc’, S. 1955–1956. *Hayerēn bac’atrankan baſaran* [Descriptive Dictionary of Armenian], 4 vol., Erevan: 1944–1945, reprint Bēyrout’: Sevan.
- Manoukian, H. 1996. “Les empreintes d’Artachate (antique Artaxata)”, in Marie-Françoise Boussac & Antonio Invernizzi (eds), *Archives et Sceaux du monde hellénistique. Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, Supplement 29, Paris: Broccard, 371–373.
- Mat’evosyan, A. 1988. *Hayeren jerageri hišatakaranner (V–XII dd.)* [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, Vth–XIIth Centuries], Erevan: Matenadaran.
- Mathews, Th.F. & Sanjian, A.K. 1991. *Armenian Gospel Iconography. The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel*, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- Mercier, Ch. 1978–9. “Notes de paléographie arménienne”, *REArm* 13, 51–58.
- Merian, S. 1993. *The Structure of Armenian Bookbinding and Its Relation to Near Eastern Bookmaking Traditions* (unpublished PhD thesis, Columbia University).
- Merian, S.L., Mathews, Th.F. & Orna, M.V. 1994. “The Making of an Armenian Manuscript”, in Th.F. Mathews & R.W. Wieck (eds), *Treasures in Heaven. Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York: Pierpont Morgan Library.
- Mouraviev, S. 2010. *Erkat’aguir ou Comment naquit l’alphabet arménien*, Annexe VI: “Ébauche de paléographie arménienne des V^e–VII^e siècles”, Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag.

- Movsēs Xorenac'i. 1991. *Patmut'wn Hayoc'* [History of the Armenians], critical text, M. Abelean & S. Yartut'wnean, facsimile of the Tiflis edition of 1913, Erevan: HH GAA Gitut'yun Hratarakč'ut'yun.
- NBHL. See *Sigla* in the present volume.
- Polarean (Bogharian), N. 1966–91. *Mayr c'uc'ak je'ragrac' Srboc' Yakobeanc'* [Master Catalogue of Manuscripts of Saint James], 11 vols., Erusālēm: Tparan Srboc' Yakobeanc'.
- Rivola, F. 1624. *Grammaticae Armenae Libri Quattuor*, Mediolani: ex typographia Collegii Ambrosiani.
- Sargsean, B. 1914. *Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn je'ragrac' matenadaranin Mxitareanc' i Venetik* [Master Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice], vol. 1, i Venetik: S. Łazar.
- Schröder, J.J. 1711. *Thesaurus Linguae Armenicae, antiquae et hodiernae*, Amsterdam: [Vanandec'i].
- Stone, M.E., Kouymjian, D. & Lehmann, H.J. 2002. *Album of Armenian Paleography*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press (Armenian trans., Erevan, 2006).
- Stone, M.E. & Stone, N. 2012. *Catalogue of the Additional Armenian Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (HUAS, 12), Leuven: Peeters.
- Tašean, Y.: see Dashian, J.
- Thomson, R.W. 1978. *Moses Khorenats'i. History of the Armenians*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Yovsēp'ean, G. 1951. *Yišatakarank' je'ragrac'* [Colophons of Manuscripts (From the Fifth to the Eighteenth Century)], vol. 1: *E. daric' minč'ew 1250 t'*. [From the Fifth Century to 1250], Ant'īlias: Tparan Kat'olikosut'ean Hayoc' Meci Tann Kilikioy.
- Zōhrapean, Y. 1984. *Astuacašunč' matean hin ew nor ktakaranac'* [Bible Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments]. A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1805 Venetian Edition with an Introduction by C. Cox (Classical Armenian Text Reprint Series), Delmar, NY: Caravan Books.

The “Encyclical letter” by Nerses the Graceful as a source for studying the history of everyday life and social relations in the 12th century.

Armine Melkonyan

In the 11th century an Armenian powerful state was formed in Cilicia¹ becoming the political, religious and cultural center of the Armenians during the 11th up to 14th centuries. Close political and economic ties with the crusaders were established, promoting to the deepening of Armenian-European relations². From the other hand Byzantine Emperors were striving to restore Church Unity hoping to obtain political unity and thereby to strengthen the position of the Empire³.

Nerses the Graceful, the Catholicos of the Armenians in Cilicia, was one of the most prominent figures of the ecclesiastical and political life of the 12th century. He was born in about 1101 and descended from the Pahlavuni patrician family. Nerses received his education in Karmir Vank (Red monastery) located on one of the famous Black Mountain in Cilicia. At the age of 16 he was ordained a priest. From 1166 until his death 1173 he was the Catholicos of the Armenians. Nerses the Graceful is notable for his literary legacy and ecumenical activity. He has various writings: Letters, Theological, Liturgical, Pedagogical works, Commentaries, Poems, Prayers and Hymns⁴. He started to participate actively in the ecumenical events when he was a bishop, assisting his elder brother Grigoris Pahlavuni the Catholicos of the Armenians. In 1165-1173 Nerses the Graceful, Patriarch of Constantinople Michael III and Emperor Manuel I Comnenus undertook an effort towards restoration of the Church unity⁵.

¹ Cilicia is a South coastal region of Asia Minor, having a multi-ethnic population from the ancient times.

² Ter-Petrossian L., The crusaders and the Armenians, vol 1, A study and translations, Erevan 2005, vol 2, Historico-Political study, Erevan 2007.

³ Armenian Church is one of the Non-Calcedonian churches (see Sarkissian K., The council of Chalcedon and the Armenian church, Canada, 2006).

⁴ See Thomson R.W. A Bibliography of Classical Armenian literature to 1500 AD, Brepols – Turnhout, 1995, pp. 178-184.

⁵ Aram I, St. Nerses the Gracious and Church Unity: Armeno-Greek Church Relations (1165-1173), Lebanon, Antelias, 2010, Zekiyan B. L. “St. Nerses Shnorhali en dialogue avec les Grecs: Un prophète de l’oecuménisme au XII^e siècle”, In memoriam Haig Berberian 1986, 861-883, P. Dzolikian, “Deux évêques arméniens du XII^e siècle apologistes de l’Union. Nerses Shnorhali”, POC II (1961), 36-43.

The “Encyclical letter”⁶ is dated to 1166. Nerses wrote it three months later after becoming a catholicos. The whole title of this treatise is “The Encyclical letter by Lord Nerses, Catholicos of the Armenians to the entire Armenian nation, whose welfare was entrusted to him by the Lord”. Taking into consideration the use of the pronoun *him* I am disposed to think that this is not the original title and was probably edited by another author or perhaps a scribe. However, it exists in the oldest manuscripts reached us from the 13th century.

As a multidimensional work the “Encyclical” has often been referred by the Armenian as well as foreign scholars to elucidate divers issues mainly regarding Canon law and social-economic relationships in the Middle ages. This report intends to analyze questions concerning different aspects of everyday life and social relations, traditions and emotions of the people reflected in the “Encyclical”. We aim at examining this treatise as a letter in its entirety, presenting not only the important historical and cultural data but also focusing on the author’s sentiments and attitude to different phenomenon regarding his addressee’s life.

The “Encyclical” is an open letter addressed to the different classes of Armenian nation. It consists of a long preface and 9 chapters addressed to 1. Monks, 2. Abbots, 3. Bishops, 4. Priests, 5. Princes, 6. Soldiers, 7. Tradesmen and Craftsmen, 8. Farmers, 9. Women. Actually it is a moral-sententious letter aiming to regulate the internal life of the society, relations between groups and classes, to promote people’s consolidation around the Church, cleanliness of their life and habits. The author strives to educate his addressees according to Christian faith and morality.

The letter opens with greetings of peace and love to all the Armenians in Armenia, to those who have emigrated to the West, and those in the various countries among foreign nations⁷. Nerses divides people according to their residence, social class and profession, and lastly to sex and age “those who live in the cities, castles, villages and farms, to all bishops and priests, monks and laity, to lords and servants, to the armed forces, cavalry and infantry, to

⁶ There are Latin (Sancti Nersesis Clajensis Armeniorum Catholici opera nunc primum ex Armenio in Latinum conversa notisque illustrata, studio et Labore D. Josephi Cappelletti, Venetiis, typis PP. Mekhitaristarum, in insula S. Lazari, vol. I, 1833, pp. 92-172) modern Western Armenian (translated by A. Danielean, Antelias, 1977), Eastern Armenian (translated by Aramyan M., Khachatryan T., Stamboltsyan S., Yerevan, 1991), English (St. Nerses Shnorhali, General Epistle, Translation and Introduction by Fr. Arakel Aljalian, St. Nersses Armenian Seminary New Rochelle, New York 10804, 1996), French (Nérsès Chnorhali, Lettres aux Arméniens, Traduction de l’Arménien classique, introduction et notes par mère Mariam Vanérian, pp. 322-414) translation of this work. For this report I have used the Ancient Armenian original text (Nerses Shnorhali, “Encyclical letter” (critical edition), prepared by E. M. Baghdasaryan, Erevan, 1995, pp. 53-162. hereafter Nerses Shnorhali, “Encyclical letter”)

⁷ Nerses Shnorhali, “Encyclical letter”, pp. 53-73.

governors and officers, landlords and farmers, merchants and craftsmen... to men and women, children, youths, adults and elders". This passage itself is an important evidence of the social classes in the Middle ages. But at the same time it seems that the author aimed to indicate the equality of different social groups and wished to embrace everybody in his letter. In the prologue we find a very sincere and emotional monologue. Nerses shares his feelings and preoccupations with his addressees asking to pray for him. He tells how he denied and avoided from the post of Catholicos, but the assembly of bishops and his elder brother, the former catholicos, forcedly ordained him. Becoming the spiritual leader, shepherd of the nation, he realizes himself responsible for each member of his herd. It seems that he is anxious because of the difficult times, when people have walked so far away from God and divine rules. And he avows: "My eyes knew no sleep and my eyelids no rest... But I understand that God is not remissive to sluggish and careless shepherds... As far as I can't perform personally my duties towards each of you because of scarcity of time and space, instead of speaking I'm talking to you by writing". One can say that the addressee of this letter is general, a whole nation, but at the same time it is so personal, referring to each member of the society.

The first chapter deals with the clergy, who live in the monasteries⁸. The most fascinating information concerning the everyday life of the monastic institutions is that from the second half of the 12th century a part of the monks begin actively to make agriculture, accumulating a large financial and material resources. Some of them even left the monastery residing in the cities and villages among the laypeople, in order to spend their earnings for their personal goals. It seems that Nerses the Graceful is very concerned about this new habit developing in monasteries, because this question, which occupies several pages, is examined in detail from moral and religious viewpoints. He gives the example of the early period of Christian Church, when wealthy men were donating their property and inheritance to the poor, then entered the monastery. Whereas in his time the poor were coming to the monastery and after gaining some property leaving it. Monks became not only good growers, but merchants as well. They were competing with each other for more spacious and fertile soil. Instead of learning the art of virtue, the unversed members were striving to learn the technique of gardening from their skilled brothers. "Imagine they know everything about the agriculture",- wonders Nerses, but at the same time explains in detail the process of the agricultural work and it seems that he himself is

⁸ Ibid., pp. 74-96.

so much interested in it. When the monks meet each other they do not ask about their spiritual life, about the health of souls, nor about the battle against demons, nor about peace, but ask. “My brother, how is the fertility of your harvest this year. Is it more or less?” And the other monk complains that some of the plants have been scorched or damaged by worms, or lost their blossoms, others are burned by the sun, and clusters of grapes dried out. Then the first shows the ways how to bud and remedy the damaged plants. In this letter the technique of cultivation is presented, and also the preservation and enhancement of yield in case of bad weather. Nerses describes, that the monks work day and night with the purpose of getting much more fruit and multiplying the quantity of wine. Here we receive another interesting information: besides horticulture wine had been prepared in the monasteries as well. However, Nerses the Graceful does not forbid to make agriculture in the monasteries but simply urges not to regard it as a primary occupation and advises to donate a part of their crop and wine to the poor.

The following two chapters, concerning the abbots and bishops are shorter than the first, mostly containing moral exhortations⁹. Nerses briefly touches upon above-mentioned issue about the monks. Here he adds that in many monasteries monks were receiving donations from ordinary people to give a Mass in memory of their deceased relatives.

In the letter to bishops there are interesting reflections on the mission of bishops, how and for what purpose the the bishopric had been established by Jesus Christ and his disciples. Nerses cites passages about the bishops from the apostle Paul’s Letters and explains them. This part in the letter is interesting in terms of style. Nerses has created a commentary on the letters by Paul and inserted it in his own letter. He regrets that some of the abbots as well as bishops receive their positions bribing secular authorities, which means that these authorities had a great influence on the inner life of the Church.

The letter addressing the priests is mostly equipped with episodes of everyday life¹⁰. The author describes that some priests were tending to refuse their priest vestments and to make church liturgies having everyday clothes on and while approaching the altar wearing dirty shoes. Explaining that the priests of the Old Testament are the archetype of the priesthood of New Testament, Nerses indicates that the priestly vestments are not senseless and the priests don’t have right to celebrate the Divine Liturgy, read the Gospel, to take the Cross or approach the

⁹ Nerses Shnorhali, “Encyclical letter”, pp. 96-117.

¹⁰ Nerses Shnorhali, “Encyclical letter”, pp. 118-141.

other holy objects without their ritual clothes. According to the letter, some priests, particularly those in the cities had a secular lifestyle. They were active in horse accustom, riding, hunting and even were bearing arms. Besides the religious responsibilities some of them were engaged in secular affairs as well as collecting taxes, becoming town or village trustees and governors, which is not at all acceptable by the catholicos. Nerses highlights that the priests must be literate and well educated. They had to read correctly religious books and to have musical knowledge at least before being ordained. But now he complains, that there are illiterate priests, who even don't know the Psalter by heart.

The next question is related to Baptism. Nerses criticizes that some priests were adding ridiculous sayings and jokes during this sacraments. It would be interesting to know what kind of jokes they were, but the author does not inform more about this.

He gives more information about the wedding rituals, while describing the order of marriage. The guests and participants of the Wedding were moving from the house to the Church to the sounds of joyous songs and musical instruments. According to the author this custom was not only for providing a cheerful mood, but grace to the music heard everywhere, the eyes and ears of everybody even of those who are not direct participants become the witnesses of this event. In all probability musicians continued to play around the Church even during the Marriage sacrament. That's why the catholicos strongly orders that the singers must be silent until the newly-married couple leave the Church, in order not to mix the divine music to the secular. The preferable time for the Marriage sacrament was from the morning up to the noon. The priest who made the church order took part in the Wedding party, whom Nerses orders not to stay until the end of it but leave when the food is gone and the third cup is drunk. Nerses forbids the priests to make covert marriages, to marry those who have been kidnapped, as well as those who have illegally left his or her spouse. Marriage of relatives whose blood relationship is close was not allowed: they must be a full four degrees removed from each other.

In the following chapters Nerses the Graceful writes to the secular people starting from the wordly princes¹¹. He commends not to behave unjustly toward the obedient, applying high and burdensome taxes, but to take from each according to their abilities. He suggests to limit their employees working hours and give them enough food during the work. According to the letter servants as well as soldiers were free workers having a fixed stipend. Servants had given an

¹¹ Nerses Shnorhali, "Encyclical letter", pp. 142-152.

oath of loyalty before starting the work. At the same time they had a right to retire, which was often prevented by the seigneurs. In this case servant had to escape avoiding from the prison, punishment or being plundered by the householders. Nerses marks that leaving secretly they factually break their vows and recommends not to keep them violently but let work as long as they wish. Thus they will never run away, but will ask to leave the work openly. “If you owe something, reward them. Seeing your good attitude, they will desire to continue to work and in the case of leaving they will return to you”,- says Nerses, who acts as a protector of ordinary people rights, which is a very interesting phenomenon for the 12th century.

There is a separate passage about the soldiers¹², according to which Christian soldiers could also serve non-Christians. Nerses calls them to serve selflessly and without guile, as their Christian owners.

The chapter titled “To the city dwellers” is devoted to tradesmen and craftsmen¹³. Already the title gives rise to think that the last were the main part of the population in the cities. Nerses describes the “streets of trade”, in other words markets, typical for medieval cities. They were special lines of craftsmen and tradesmen arranged according to the appropriate profession. He marks that the tradesmen and craftsmen were often duffing the weight and measures of the seller, deceiving the naive customers, particularly peasants and unversed people. He tells that the tradesmen lent money to poor peasants for paying taxes, requiring high percentage. Nerses exhorts to exempt them from percents taking back only the sum they have given.

The last chapter of the “Encyclical letter” is addressed to women¹⁴. The catholicos exhorts them to adorn themselves with modesty and propriety rather than with gold and silver, not to change the colour of their faces with different remedies, stumbling young men. He orders to beware of different sorts of divination, as well as from sects. Specifying these two points Nerses continues, that there are many questions he would like to discuss and recommends women to learn from the priests and bishops what is missing in his letter.

In the “Encyclical” there is no separate chapter regarding children, but the author touches upon them in the various passages. For example in the penultimate chapter, titled “To the farmers and the whole nation” Nerses calls all the believers to nurture their children in the love and fear of

¹² Nerses Shnorhali, “Encyclical letter”, pp. 153-155.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 156-157.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 161-162.

God. He advises to teach them prayers since childhood, but never blasphemies, because the edification of parents is imposed as an indelible memory in the minds of the children. It is particularly fascinating the issue of baptism of foreign children according to the armenian rituals, which is discussed in the letter to priests. The author remarks that this phenomenon is not new and comes from ancient times. Who were the mentioned foreigners and why had they baptized their children in the Armenian Church?. This question still lacks a scholarly research. Anyway, one can think, that they were not christians having into account the fact that the author calls their faith a “pagan faith”. It seems that this habit was not welcomed by Nerses. He notes, that many of those baptized children go back to their faith when grow up. Nevertheless, the catholicos does not forbid this practice. In the same letter he doesn’t let the priests to marry children for any reason and indicates that the minimum age for men must be upon the completion of 15 years and for women 12 years. Nerses gives a particular importance to the circumstance, that the man should be older than the woman, because God created Adam first and only then Eve.

The “Encyclical letter”, as we have seen, is an appreciable source for studying diverse aspects of people’s lifestyle and customs, social-economic, international relations and not only in the framework of Armenian history and culture. This composition is notable for its artistic value as a literary prose. It is equipped with artistic colors and impressive images, where the actors are not only individuals, but groups and classes. His style of writing is so living and imposing that in the process of reading you feel yourself an addressee or it seems that you watch a fascinating film about the daily life of the 12th century people.

I would like to conclude my speech citing the last phrase of the “Encyclical letter”:

“And we ask the Lord to remove from you a stony heart, to edify you with a heart of flesh, to be fertile soil and bring to harvest the seeds of our words in your souls, and produce a three-fold harvest. For this with joyful and happy faces we shall say on the day of judgment before the just Judge: “Here I am and the children You gave me”. And may we be ranked with those at the right hand in eternal life together with you with Jesus Christ our Lord, who is blessed for ever. Amen”

In the divers editions and studies this passage particularly the first sentence, has always been considered as a part of the chapter addressing women, but I suppose that this is the ending phrase, the closure of the entire letter.

Bibliography

1. Alishan, Gh., Shnorhali and His time, Venice St. Lazar Press, 1873 (in armenian):
2. Arakelyan, B., Cities and crafts in Armenia, 9th -13th centuries, vol. 1, Yerevan, 1958, Vol. 2, Yerevan 1964 (in armenian).
3. Aram I, St. Nerses the Gracious and Church Unity: Armeno-Greek Church Relations (1165-1173), Lebanon, Antelias, 2010, 256 p.
4. Boase, T.S.R., The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1978.
5. Dzolikian, P., "Deux évêque arménien du XII e siècle apologistes de l'Union. Nerses Schenorhali", POC II (1961), 36-43.
6. Hayrapetian, S., History of Ancient and Medieval Armenian Literature, Los Angeles, 1986.
7. Nersetis, Clajensis Armeniorum Catholici opera nunc primum ex Armenio in Latinum conversa notisque illustrata, studio et Labore D. Josephi Cappelletti, Venetiis, typis PP. Mekhitaristarum, in insula S. Lazari, vol. I, 1833.
8. Nerses Shnorhali, Western Armenian translation by A. Danielean, Antelias, 1977.
9. Nerses Shnorhali, "Encyclical letter", Eastern Armenian translation by Aramyan M., Khachatryan T., Stamboltsyan S., Yerevan, 1991, (in arm.).
10. Nerses Shnorhali, "Encyclical letter" (critical edition), prepared by E. M. Baghdasaryan, Erevan, 1995 (in ancient armenian).
11. Nerses, Shnorhali, General Epistle, Translation and Introduction by Fr. Arakel Aljalian, St. Nersses Armenian Seminary New Rochelle, New York 10804, 1996.
12. Nersès Chnorhali, Lettres aux Arméniens, Truduction de l'Arménien classique, introduction et notes par mère Mariam Vanérian, 2009.
13. Sarkissian, K., The council of Chalcedon and the Armenian church, Canada, 2006.
14. Ter-Petrossian L., The crusaders and the Armenians, vol 1, A study and translations, Erevan 2005, vol 2, Historico-Political study, Erevan 2007 (in arm.).
15. Theorianus, Disputatio cum Armeniorum Catholico, PG 133, 120-212; Disputatio secunda cum Nersete Patriarcha Generali Armeniorum, PG 133, 212-297.
16. Thomson, R.W. A Bibliography of Classical Armenian literature to1500 AD, Brepols – Turnhout, 1995, pp. 178-184.
17. Zekian, B. L. "St. Nerses Snorhali en dialogue avec les Grecs: Un prophète de l'oecuménisme au XIIIe siècle", In memoriam Haig Berberian 1986, 861-883.

Armine Melkonyan, PhD in History, Researcher, codicologist at Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts "Matenadaran", Yerevan, Armenia. Her research interests include the history of theological thought, Armenian Medieval Theological Literature, the Impact of philosophy in theology.

DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

**COLLECTION OF PAPERS RELATING TO THE ARMENIAN DISTRICT OF
NAKHIJEVAN (1918-1920) FROM THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ARMENIA**

Makhmourian G. G.

Doctor of Sciences (History)

The district of Nakhijevan was a *gavar* (district) of the Vaspurakan province in ancient and medieval times. In its turn, the 8th province of Great Armenia, Vaspurakan had a territory of 40.870 sq km. It stretched from the district of Rshtunik on the south-west of Van Lake to Goghtan and Nakhijevan districts, on the east. The district of Nakhijevan entered annals, written by the historians of the 5th century Movses Khorenatsi, Pavstos Buzand and others¹. “Ashkharhatsuyts,” i. e. the Geographic Atlas by Movses Khorenatsi and continued by his successor, geographer and mathematician of the 7th century Anania Shirakatsi evokes a particular interest in its capacity of a geographic source on our issue².

One of the most prominent centers of Vaspurakan and Nakhijevan in particular, called Jugha, is mentioned in documents № 11, 19, 24, 29, 32, 35, 38, 42-43 under a modern name of *Julfa*. It had been a town on the left bank of Araxes, similarly referred to in the “History of Armenia” by Movses Khorenatsi. It had been a centre of crafts since Ancient period. Trade in silk cloth, rugs, spices, jewellery and gems, weapons and wool, carried on with many countries of East and West flourished here³. Jugha as a town of up to 40,000 residents, had eastern and western fortress walls, as well as lodgings on the right bank of Araxes, linked to a downtown by a big bridge. There were 7 churches, beautiful houses, caravansaries, inns and a covered market in the city. There was also an old Armenian cemetery with its famous 10,000 carved cross-stones (khachkars), that had been erected in the 10th-17th centuries as memorial steles on three hills to the south-west of the Jugha dwelling zone.

However, brutal raids of Tamerlane and Turkoman nomads in 14th-15th centuries; then subsequent wars between Ottoman Turkey and Persia caused a grievous exodus of the population from Jugha. In the most tragic year of 1604, by an order of shah Abbas I of Persia, all Jugha had been razed to the ground and burned. Its whole

¹ Մովսէս Խորենացի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց: Աշխատ. Մ. Աբեղեան, Ս. Հարութիւնեան: Երևան, 1991, էջ 83, 112, 180, 296; Փաւստոս Բուզանդ, Հայոց պատմութիւն: Թարգմ. Ս. Մալխասյանց: Երևան, 1987, էջ 267; Երեմյան Ս. Տ., Հայաստանը ըստ “Աշխարհացոյր”-ի, Երևան, 1963, էջ 72, 109-110: As Pavstos Buzand testifies, there were 18,000 houses in its centre at those times (էջ 267).

² Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Հայաստանի քաղաքական պատմությունը և Հայ Առաքելական եկեղեցին (VI-VII դդ.), Երևան, 2000, էջ 37; Մուշեղյան Ա., Մովսէս Խորենացու դարը, Երևան, 2007, էջ 111, 124:

³ Մովսէս Խորենացի, նշվ. աշխ., էջ 83; cf Аракел Даврижеци, Книга историй. Пер. Л. А. Ханларян. Москва, 1973, стр. 52-53, 55, 73-78, 401; Քյուրտյան Հ., Ջուղայեցի խոջայ Նազար և իւր գերդաստանը, Բոստոն, 1943; Մ. Ա. Ավետիսյան, Նախիջևանի պատմության վավերագրեր (1889-1920թթ.), Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների, 1996, 3, էջ 186; Այվազյան Ա. Ա., Նախիջևան, Երևան, 1995, էջ 124, 127:

population along with 300.000 more Armenians from other parts of Armenia was forcibly relocated into Iran, suffering great losses. They would henceforth develop trade and economy of Iran. Nearly 20,000 of the indigenous inhabitants of Old Jugha were settled in Isfahan where they built their quarter and called it *Nor (New) Jugha*. On May 31, 1667, merchants of New Jugha had been the first in Russian history to conclude an agreement with the Russian court on establishment of “Jugha Company.” A team of 40 negotiators had achieved a right of the transit trade between Europe and Asia, from Astrakhan up to Archangelsk. Later on, at the end of the 19th century nearly 500 persons could return home. The ruins of Old Jugha remain west of the 1919 Julfa – key railway and highway junction in 30 kilometers north-east of the district centre.

In December of 1989, later in 1998, 2002 and on December 10-14 of 2005 thugs of contemporary Azerbaijan by the sanctions of their criminal government had exploited bulldozers, then army with artillery and savagely destroyed the old Armenian cemetery, a memorial under the auspices of UNESCO - the last groups of 3,700 khachkars and monuments, built in the 10th-17th centuries. Thus, they demolished and leveled the Armenian historical monument, striving to erase every evidence of the Armenian civilization at Nakhijevan⁴.

Nakhijevan (Nakhichevan) in its quality of national-administrative unit of the Modern History was included in Russia in accordance with the Turkmenchay Treaty of 1828. In common with the *Erevan khanate* (both established in 1747), it formed the Armenian Province (Oblast, from March 21, 1828). When this Province was abolished, Nakhijevan together with Erevan had successively entered on April 10, 1840, into Georgia-Imeretia, and from December 14, 1846, into the Tiflis Governorate. However, the Russian Tsar Government had never subordinated it to the Caspian Province, Shemakha, to Baku or Elizavetpol Governorates. Moreover, when the Erevan Governorate had been created on June 9, 1849, it embraced the whole territory of the Armenian Province, i. e. Erevan and Nakhijevan, in common with the main portion of the Alexandropol uezd (district). During the next administrative reform of December 9, 1867, Nakhijevan uezd, combined with Sharur-Daralagyaz (Vayots Dzor), had remained a component of Erevan Governorate as usual. At a time of final legal definition of the inner borders in 1874, Nakhijevan was again recognized as one among seven Districts of the Erevan Governorate⁵.

As far as demography is concerned, after all previous devastations and an influx of alien tribes, in 1916 native Armenians made 41,2 per cent of the Nakhijevan population or 54,000 dwellers compared to 131,000 of the whole bulk⁶. When we calculate

⁴ Հակոբյան Թ. Խ., Մելիք-Բախշյան Ս. Տ., Բարսեղյան Հ. Խ., Հայաստանի և հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան, հատ. 4, Երևան, 1998, էջ 427; the Annihilation of the Armenian Cemetery in Jugha, RAA Research on Armenian Architecture, Beirut, 2006.

⁵ Ավդալբեգյան Խ. Հ., Հոդային հարցը Արևելյան Հայաստանում (1801-1917 թթ.), Երևան, 1959, էջ 6-10; Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, 8 հատ.: Հատ. V, Երևան, 1974, էջ 13, 204-210, 219; Հատ. VI, 1981, էջ 15-16:

⁶ Նախիջևան-Շարուրը 1918-1921 թթ: Փաստաթղթեր և նյութեր: Խմբ. Վ. Ն. Ղազարյան: Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների, Երևան, 1993, 1-2, էջ 25 (following: Նախիջևան-Շարուրը); Այվազյան Ա. Ա., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 7; Հոհրաբյան Է. Ա., Ազգամիջյան կոիվները Երևանի նահանգում 1918թ., Երևան, 2000, էջ 77:

population figures including Sharur, they are correspondingly equal to 83,000 and total 211,000.

Nakhijevan had encountered two Russian revolutions of 1917 in the same status of District. However, after the October revolution the Russian Caucasus Front of the World War I had begun to disintegrate in December of the same 1917. In January of 1918 the Ottoman troops violated the Erzinka (Erzinjan) Truce and took an offensive. When the Armenian National Council in Tiflis tried to arrange the national self-defense, Tatar and Kurdish inhabitants of the Governorate undertook a sabotage of this militant program. They demolished the railways, telephone and telegraph lines, plundered individuals on the roads, attacked Armenian villages not only in Vayots Dzor (Sharur-Daralagyaz) and Nakhijevan, but even in the closest vicinity of Erevan. Besides, the Muslim National Councils of Sharur and Elizavetpol carried out murderous raids to loot trains with weapons and with retreating Russian soldiers near Bash Norashen, Shahtakht⁷, Elizavetpol. As a counteract, Armenians had raised their local squads of Militia.

In February of 1918 the local Muslim leaders had invited the Armenian National Council of Nakhijevan to join it with Persia. After refusal they requested to proclaim independence of uezd. The Armenians' response did not change. Nevertheless, on February 22, 1918, the Muslim National Council had arranged a gathering in the main city and proclaimed this land "independent khanate"⁸. The Tatar ringleaders at Gandzak and Tiflis had made up their minds to the similar step only under the open pressure of Turkish official ultimatum, presented on May 26, 1918. And as far as the Ottoman Army actively struggled for a march onto Baku via Nakhijevan railway, the February resolution on an "independent khanate" evidently served Turkey. In March of 1918 the Muslim population had commenced a siege of all Armenian villages in the district; and embittered opposition lasted till the Treaty of Batum, signed on June 4, 1918. Conditions of the latter envisaged huge territorial augmentation of Turkey, including almost all Nakhijevan uezd without its Ordubad (ancient Vordvat) subdistrict. The latter had been reserved for artificially formed second "Azerbaijan" in eastern Transcaucasia.

Striving to rescue Nakhijevan, Armenian national hero Andranik Ozanian had sent there his Special Striking Detachment of 1.400 men⁹, which had escorted and guarded some 20,000 compatriot refugees. On June 7, 1918, he had began his march into Persia and Nakhijevan¹⁰. Such a move did considerably increase fighting efficiency and

⁷ It's another outstanding historical centre of Nakhijevan: the Arkashat (Arshat) city had been founded in III century BC and served as a residence of Armenian kings. Tombs and cuneiforms of the Van kingdom (the 9th-7th cc. BC) had been also discovered on its territory. See: Այվազյան Ա. Ա., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 157-159:

⁸ Սիմոնյան Հ. Ռ., Անդրանիկի ժամանակը, 2 գրքով, գիրք Բ, Երևան, 1996, էջ 201; Զոհրաբյան Ա., Ազգամիջյան կոիվները Երևանի նահանգում, էջ 79:

⁹ Քաջունի Ե., Հայկական Առանձին Հարուածող զորամասը: Ժեներալ Անդրանիկ: Պոսթոն, 1921, էջ 10: Less than 1,500 organized and skilful fighters under able command were enough to protect the lives of 20,000 and later on of 35,000 peaceful civilians.

¹⁰ National Archives of Armenia, Yerevan, fund 370, reg. 1, file 38, f. 26 (following: NAA) ; G. Korganoff, Participation des Arméniens a la Guerre mondiale sur le front du Caucase (1914-1918). Paris, 1927, p. 162. Only 19 documents of

improve the demographic situation of this district. Then, on July 13 he had convened a conference with the Armenian National Council in the Aprakounis monastery of St. Karapet¹¹. Next day they published an Order № 1, issued by Andranik. In compliance with common resolution A. Ozanian 1) placed his Detachment under the command of the central Russian Government. 2) Taking as a basis the Brest Litovsk Treaty, Nakhijevan had been announced an inalienable part of Russia. 3) Population should disarm without ethnic distinction. 4) A martial law under the command of Andranik had been introduced in the district. By a telegram to an Extraordinary Commissar for the Caucasus affairs S. Shahumian at Baku, A. Ozanian promised the Bolshevik authorities at Moscow to prevent invasion of the Turkish Army into Nakhijevan and expected further instructions (documents № 1-2)¹².

On July 16 the Striking Detachment had successfully disarmed the village of Yaiji, and the Muslim Council had immediately flung to the Ottoman troops that recently entered into the District, for help. Two Ottoman regiments had approached the city of Nakhijevan on July 18-19. After two-days combat they had captured it and hoisted their flag. Julfa had fallen the very same evening, too. On July 20 the Striking Detachment of Andranik had withdrawn Goghtan with 35,000 Armenian refugees; and those villages, which did not resist, had suffered massacres with most cruel tortures. On August 8, 1918, the Ottoman Army had entered Ordubad. During the same month it had completely banished the Armenian population from the district. As a result, out of 38,500 exiled residents of Nakhijevan up to 15,000 souls had not survived till the Spring of 1919¹³.

Besides, the gravest occupation of this land didn't finish with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War. Disinclined to fulfill the Mudros Armistice, 100 activists had gathered on January 17-18, 1919, at Kars to announce the "South-Western Caucasus Republic" – an "autonomous unit" with the Ottoman flag and coat of arms, and with Turkish as its State language. The new occurrence strived to encompass all area from Batum to Nakhijevan and was ready to exterminate all Armenians within its "frontiers."

The British did not agree. They began to enforce their garrison. Then G. T.

this collection (№ 7, 10, 12, 14-15, 18, 22-24, 26-27, 30-34, 36 and 40-41) had been composed in English. It was an honour, profound responsibility and pleasure to translate all the others from Armenian, Russian and (№ 3, 9, 11, 17, 19) from French.

¹¹ Founded in 1381, this Monastery had been established on the basis of Medieval University, functionate in 1369-1391. The Aprakounis University, opened by Maghakia Ghrimetsi in the St. Gevorg Church, is associated with the names of tripple-glorious men of science and illuminators of the 14th century Hovan Vorotnetsi and Grigor of Tatev. Just in this place died in 1386 and had been buried Hovan - adherent of Aristotle, who believed that general depends and consists of unities, equal in their characteristics; the Nature has its outset but is endless.

¹² NAA, fund 370, reg. 1, file 41, f. 5-6; reg. 2, file 15, f. 2-3; Андраник Озанян. Документы и материалы. Сост. А. О. Арутюнян и др. Ереван, 1991, стр. 288-289; Քաջունի Ե., օր. cit., pp. 68-69; Նախիջևան-Շարուրը, էջ 41-45; Ա. Չելեպյան, Հորավար Անդրանիկ, Երևան, 1990, էջ 475-476, 515; Սիմոնյան Հ. Ռ., օր. cit., pp. 262-263, 265:

¹³ NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 212, f. 89; Եփրիկյան Ա., Փաստաթղթեր Շարուր-Նախիջևանի հայ գաղթականների խնամքի մասին, Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների, 2009, 2, էջ 57-58:

Forestier-Walker had meddled in the armistice, concluded between the regular Armenian Army¹⁴ and the 10,000 Muslim force of Sharur-Nakhijevan, which tried to prevent a return of people their homes. Officers of the British Mission had established on January 26, 1919, a Military Governorship under Captain F. E. Laughton. Three days later the first British company entered Nakhijevan. By February 8, troops of the Republic of Armenia (RA) had been withdrawn to *Davalu* (Ararat) and Kamarlu - ancient city of Artashat¹⁵. Taken as a whole, the British had quartered up to 800 servicemen in this district.

With the aim to replace their occupation with the Tatar resistance, a representative of Baku Samed bey and Turkish Colonel Halil had arrived at Nakhijevan on March 15, 1919. So, the Governor F. Laughton, had soon lodged the Tiflis Headquarters complaints of their disobedience and had been replaced by Colonel J. C. Simpson. Then, on April 2-3, the Allied Command handed the RA the railway stretched to Julfa. The British supervisors at Tiflis had sent maps to Paris, with clear assertion, that Sharur and Nakhijevan were parts of Armenia. On April 4, 1919, General K. M. Davie had been assigned to serve in Yerevan as Commander-in-Chief of the 27th Division, Southern Command, with Yerevan and Nakhijevan under his jurisdiction. He had been instructed, that "Nakhichevan Area will be handed over for the Armenian Government for administration pending the settlement by the Peace Conference"¹⁶.

To comply with a resolution, General Davie and D. Kanayan had signed on May 3, 1919, an Order on establishment of the Armenian administration in Nakhijevan District with Gevorg Petros Varshamian as its new Governor (documents № 4-5). The latter one, accompanied by the Prime Minister of the RA A. Khatisian and K. M. Davie, had arrived on the spot on May 14. He was also enforced by 2,000 Armenian infantrymen under Major General G. H. Shelkovnikian¹⁷, with 4 field cannons and 4 cavalry squadrons. The British troops had been placed in Davalu, Sadarak, Yaidji and Djagri, with 2 Rajput Companies in the main city of the region.

On July 20-25 the Tatars, guided by the Turkish officers, initiated fierce fighting in Nakhijevan (documents № 17, 19). The Army of the RA retreated (documents № 13, 16-17), while the Tatar-Turkish bandits had demolished 45 villages and killed 10-12,000 people¹⁸. The American Relief officers, who fled from the area on July 28, testified to the multitude of mutilated corpses in Araxes at the bridge of Jugha (document № 24). American establishments and warehouses had been robbed and destroyed. The Armenian administration no more existed. In the August of 1919 S. bey Jamalinskiy had assumed a post of the Nakhijevan Governor General, while Halil bey became the

¹⁴ NAA, fund 200, reg. 2, file 120, f. 1.

¹⁵ Now it is in the Ararat Region (Marz) of the Republic of Armenia.

¹⁶ Hovannisian R., The Republic of Armenia. Vol. I The First Year, 1918-1919. Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1971, p. 215.

¹⁷ Grigoriy Harutyun Shelkovnikian. He had been a Military Governor of Nakhijevan from June 14, 1919: NAA, fund 199, reg. 1, file 43, f. 130. In respect to the A. Khatisian's sojourn in Nakhijevan see also: Ջոհրաբյան Է. Ա., Նախիջևանյան հիմնահարցը և Հայաստանի "դաշնակիցները" (1918թ. դեկտեմբեր - 1920թ. ապրիլ), Երևան, 2002, էջ 99-100:

¹⁸ See also: "Слово," Тифлис, 30. 10. 1919; Ջոհրաբյան Է. Ա., Նախիջևանյան հիմնահարցը, էջ 152-156, 166-168:

Commander-in-Chief of Tatar troops. The latter had asked for new officers from Erzerum¹⁹.

That was the general situation, when the Allied High Commissioner in Armenia W. N. Haskell had began to negotiate an American General Governorship in the injured region. On October 6 the Minister for Foreign Affairs M. Jafarov had written him from Baku that the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan would not resist. Then, an Acting High Commissioner J. Rhea reached Yerevan and on behalf of W. Haskell had promulgated here on October 23, 1919 the program declaration "On creation of American Governorship Sharur-Nakhijevan" (document № 29). Its text informed that the Governments of Armenia and Azerbaijan had "loyally agreed to support" new foreign administration²⁰.

Five American officers, led by J. Rhea and E. Daley, had come to the District center from Yerevan on October 24; they were met by the flags of Turkey and Azerbaijan. Halil bey declared he would not submit, so Daley could accommodate only as a representative of the Paris peace conference. The very same evening visitors had made their declaration on American Governorship public and without any success requested to publish it for the members of the Muslim council. Next day, on October 25, it was promulgated in the Council itself; and met with a sharp rebuff. Thus, on October 29 Rhea left Daley on the spot to coordinate relief and safeguard public morals. One of the officers, Lieutenant Colonel J. E. Shelley had been quartered at Davalu as an Armistice observer. Later, on November 25, 1919, only two days after the non-aggression pact between two countries had been signed, 4,000 Tatars from Nakhijevan had assaulted villages at Sisian, but were routed. Then, 20,000 Armenians at Goghtan had been victimized by Tatars in December. The Dasht²¹ (Lower Agulis) was plundered on December 17-18 and completely wiped out on December 24-25. More important Upper Agulis went to the same doom on the 25th instant.

During February and March of 1920, 200 askyars²² from Bayazet (ancient Daroynk of Western Armenia) arrived in Nakhijevan. Later they quartered in all key points from Jugha to Davalu seven regular Turkish battalions. First Lieutenant Naji had been appointed commander at Sharur, Edib had become commandant of Ordubad; Lieutenant Osman Nuri had been responsible for Nakhijevan. All local bands were subordinated to Halil bey, who had been later substituted for by Major Ali Demir.²³ Prompt Azerbaijan's sovietization at the end of April stimulated close Soviet-Turkish alliance and the Ottoman ex-General Nuri pasha Jelal²⁴ very soon had entered

¹⁹ In detail: K. Karabekir, *Istiklâl Harbimiz*, Istanbul, 1960, s. 328-330.

²⁰ NAA, fund k. 1021, reg. 2, file 964, f. 129.

²¹ The Dasht means Field. Concerning the quantity of victims see: NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 458, f. 16, 26.

²² Turkish regular soldiers.

²³ Hovannisian R., *The Republic of Armenia. Vol. III From London to Sèvres, February-August, 1920*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1996, pp. 291, 307-308.

²⁴ Nuri was a commander of the Army of Islam who had seized Baku in September, 1918, and transferred it to the newly independent Azerbaijan.

Nakhijevan, escorted by a several thousand unit of Musavat forces. In May Chief of Staff of the Turkish 11th Division had visited this district, too. He expressed his pleasure with a situation²⁵. The 11th Red Army had been also ordered on May 11, 1920, to occupy Nakhijevan-Ordubad. Two weeks later its commanders had complained of the Muslim resistance all along the railway and applied for permission to repressions.

When a delegation of Levon Shant entered into negotiations at Moscow, Bolsheviks immediately recognized Sharur-Nakhijevan under the jurisdiction of the RA. As a consequence, commander of the Turkish 11th Division had dispatched into the region four infantry battalions, artillery and officers. On July 11, 1920, 20 companies of infantry, 7 squadrons of cavalry, guns and machine-gun entered into fight with the Kamarlu detachment under Major General G. Shelkovnikian. Next morning the soldiers under his command began their successful counter strike. Unable to resist, the Kemalist Headquarters at Erzerum had to invite the Russian Red Army to join its forces in the valley of Araxes, and to save “red Nakhijevan” from the “Dashnak²⁶ offensive.” On July 14, 1920, the men of Kamarlu detachment passed into Sharur. They won their war against the regular Turkish regiments, which ran away together with the Muslim population. A new wave of the Turk-Tatar fugitives had reached a bridge at Shahtakht, where the panic masses crossed the river to escape into Persia. The local Muslim council asked the Army of the Republic of Armenia for the truce and negotiations.

On July 16, 1920, the troops under Shelkovnikian halted. On July 20 the Muslim National council had recognized Sharur-Nachijevan an integral part of the RA, provided it to enjoy full autonomy in its internal life. However, it did not agree to all peace terms. That's why Armenians resumed their advance. On July 25 they had liberated Shahtakht (Arkashat) and their armored train stayed only 6,5 km far from the main center of the District. The Muslim national council had transformed into a revolutionary committee (revkom), which had appealed to Soviet Azerbaijan and the Red Army to occupy this land. The “revkom” had simultaneously applied to the Armenian armed forces with an offer to organize a peaceful surrender of Nakhijevan.

After the second round of talks in Yerevan the revkom had departed once again and had not returned. On the contrary, it dispatched its own ultimatum. Now its leaders enjoyed the situation, because companies of the 11th Red Army had already reached the Nakhijevan highway near the city. Regarding the Turkish Staff at Bayazet, it also recalled 3 battalions into area. However, the Yerevan Government had begun its Armenian-Soviet talks in Tiflis, where A. Jamalian with A. Babalyan had accepted a military occupation of all transitional districts by the Red Army. They agreed to consider the whole area as disputable in the text of Agreement, signed on August 10, 1920. Instead of this trade-off, the RA would retain its troops on their positions in Shahtakht and Khok; it could also operate the railway up to Julfa²⁷.

²⁵ Veyssel Ünüvar, *Istiklâl harbinde Bolşeviklerle sekiz ay, 1920-1921*, İstanbul, 1948, s. 8-10, 17.

²⁶ Dashnaktsutyun or the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, was a ruling party at the Republic of Armenia.

²⁷ NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 529, f. 66; file 581, f. 262; file 588, f. 173; Нагорный Карабах в 1918-1923 гг. Сб. док. и мат. под ред. В. А. Микаеляна. Ереван, 1992, стр. 574-575.

It was only on October 24, when amidst the disastrous Turkish-Armenian war the Armenian side came to terms with the Soviet power. Three signed documents of October 28, 1920, had provided a basis for a mutual project of the Peace Treaty. This final projected Peace Treaty read, that the RSFSR with Soviet Azerbaijan recognized the immovable right of Armenia to Nakhijevan and ought to remove all troops from there. All boundary disputes between Armenia and Azerbaijan would be resolved by them, subject to the Russian intermediation or referendum²⁸. This understanding thwarted Kemalist plans; so on November 12-17 Turkish troops, enforced by the local gangs, had effectively attacked the RA regiments in Nakhijevan. In the heat of these battles, on November 15, H. Ohanjanian's Government had surrendered.

Thus, the final Alexandropol Treaty of December 2, 1920, had stipulated that governance structure at Sharur-Nakhijevan would be defined with no Armenian involvement, by the referendum. Till this referendum, a Muslim administration would enjoy the Turkey's protection. The clause 12 fixed a duty-free transit in Transcaucasia together with freedom of transport by highways and railroad under the Kemalists supervision.

However, an Agreement between the RA and the RSFSR, concluded half a day earlier, and exactly on December 2, 1920, recognized all uezds (districts) of the Erevan Governorship, including Nakhijevan, to be an incontestable integral part of the Socialist Republic of Armenia. In summary, it's difficult to disagree with a conclusion of the experienced and competent specialist of this sphere in the American historiography, that the Turkish policy in general, and toward the Nakhijevan issue in particular, "ripped the last shred of hope from the Armenian delegation and showed that its calculation regarding the limits of Turkish expansion and domination has been entirely wrong"²⁹.

№ 1

an Order № 1 To the district of Nakhijevan by Major General Andranik confirmed as a statement by conference of the plenipotentiaries of the Nakhijevan Armenian National Council in the person of its chairman K. Aghayan, principal of the district diocese D. Th. Syon; and of the Council's Military Agency in the persons of chief of Staff E. Kharazian, plenipotentiary of the ANC in Goghtan A. Melik-Mousian, commander of the Meghri Company A. Martirosian, and Commander of the Special Striking Detachment

Major General A. Ozanian

Aprakounis, July 14, 1918 (confirmed on July 13)

NAA, fund 370, reg.1, file 41, f. 5; in Armenian: Ե. Քաջունի, Հայկական Առանձին Հարուածող Զօրամասը: Ժեներալ Անդրանիկ: Պոսթոն, Ազգ, 1921, էջ 68-69; also

Նախիջևան-Շարուրը 1918-1921 թթ.: Փաստաթղթեր և նյութեր: Երևան, ՀՀ Արխիվային գործի վարչություն, "Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների", 1993, № 1-2, էջ 42-43

²⁸ NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 2, f. 30; file 628, f. 4; Hovannisian R., The Republic of Armenia, vol. IV, pp. 228-229.

²⁹ Hovannisian R., op. cit., p. 372.

§ 1 Since this data on, I pass together with my Detachment into complete subordination and at a disposal of the Central Government of the Russian republic.

§ 2 In accordance with the Brest Litovsk peace Treaty, the district of Nakhijevan is an inalienable part of the Russian republic.

§ 3 I announce a martial law in the district.

§ 4 All population of the district is to be disarmed immediately, without ethnic distinction.

§ 5 Those who do not recognize the rule of the republican government or assist its enemies, should be considered traitors of Russia and put beyond the law; they will suffer harsh punishment.

§ 6 All kinds of weapons, outfit and all object of army's logistical supply in general, in possession of private persons or public organizations, must be handed immediately at the disposal of military authorities during two days after the issuing of this order.

The genuine text is signed by Major General Andranik.

True copy: Aide-de-camp Lieutenant Melikyants.

№ 2

telegram from Commander of the Special Striking Detachment
Major General A. Ozanian - to the Extraordinary Commissar of the
Soviet Russia for Caucasian affairs S. Shahumian (Baku)
№ 57, sent by Kh. Bonapartian

v. Kznout, July 14, 1918, 16:35

NAA, fund 370, reg. 2, file 15, f. 2-3; Ս. Գ. Շահումյան, Երկերի լիակատար ժողովածու 5 հատ., հ. 5, Երևան, Հայաստան, 1978, էջ 372; Նախիջևան-Շարուրը 1918-1921թթ.:

Փաստաթղթեր և նյութեր: Երևան, ՀՀ Արխիվային գործի վարչություն,

“Բանքեր Հայաստանի արխիվների”, 1993, № 1-2, էջ 41

Unconditionally obeying the Brest Litovsk Treaty, I proclaim the Nakhijevan District, where I stay now with my Detachment, to be an indivisible part of the Russian Republic.

I request to inform all concerned, that from today I am with my Detachment at a disposal of the Russian central Government and obey its orders. I will strive to prevent invasion of the Turkish troops into the Nakhijevan district. Wait for your reply and instructions.

Major General Andranik.

№ 3

report by the chief of the French military mission in the Republic of Armenia
Captain A. Poidebard - to the chief of the French military mission to the Caucasus

Colonel P.-A. Chardigny (Tiflis)

№ P/220, strictly confidential

Yerevan, April 30, 1919

fund 275, reg. 5, file 101, folios 38-39

2. What kind of frontiers will Nakhijevan get in future?

...Nakhijevan: It has always been decided that Nakhijevan will be given to Armenians. We will attempt to reestablish Armenian administration without making war on Tatars by employment of Armenian troops; to achieve this end, the English Army should be sufficiently strong to impose our decision upon Tatars. On May 3 General [D. Kanayan] will confer with General K. Davie concerning Nakhijevan; as a result appropriate actions will be decided. ...

№ 4

order of Acting Minister of Interior of the Republic of Armenia

S. Manasyan - to the Governor of Nakhijevan district

G. P. Varshamian (Erevan) № 145

Yerevan, May 3, 1919

fund 201, reg. 2, file 82, f. 1 and 2

Gevorg Petros Varshamian is appointed Governor of Nakhijevan district since this date. ...

№ 5

an Order by the General Officer Commanding, Southern Command of the British 27th Division, Brigadier General K. M. Davie, chief of the Erevan Detachment D. Kanayan -

“An Order to Population of the Nakhijevan District” (Nakhijevan)³⁰

Yerevan, May 3, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 212, f. 194

An Order to Population of the Nakhijevan District

The World War is finished. Suffering and torture of all peoples must come to an end with its expiry. We all must come our own homes, must return to peaceful labor and energetic work. Ordeals of nations have finished. The time of peaceful coexistence without nationality and creed discrimination has come again for all, be it Armenian or Kurd, Tatar or Russian, whether Greek or Yezidi; all should equally cherish their old, native fields. All must pursue an object to restore former coexistence and honestly earn the staff of life again.

I have entered in the Nakhijevan district on orders from my Government and from

³⁰ Published in: Նախիջևան-Շարուրը, էջ 102-104. Excerpts from the English translation, made in 1919, are kept in: United States National Archives, Washington D. C., Record Group 256 Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, class 184.021/document 15 (following: US NA, RG), and cited at: R. Hovannisian, The Republic of Armenia, vol. I, p. 243.

the Allies.

I address you, my faithful troops! You are representatives of our Government and execute its will. You must honestly and devotedly protect life and property of all citizens of our Republic without distinction of nationality. This is to be your task from this time onward. You should piously and rigorously obey this order.

Every officer, soldier or militiaman who violates this order or affords to misuse authority or weapon for private, mercenary ends or would wish to incite one part of the population against the other, - would be shot by myself.

The dwellers must inform local commanders of all lawless actions committed by militia and the armed forces. The commanders are instructed to implement the most severe punishments against those who break our laws and good neighborhood relations.

I instruct you to establish in all detached columns courts martial for prompt punishment of all flagrant crimes, which could hinder a maintenance of the peaceful life.

And I warn all commanders of marching columns that all disturbances and every offence in their locality I'll ascribe to their culpable omission in implementation of laws and will of our Government. Remember, that our State is called the Republic of Armenia, that is, a republic of all nations who live in Armenia.

The main goal of our Government consists in creation of free life for all nations of our Republic.

Our peoples are equal, be it Christian or Moslem. Whoever breaches the law, would be punished alike.

I address you as well, inhabitants of Nakhijevan district.

I have come with my troops in this district by order of my Government and of the Allies to return home peasants, deprived of abode, both Armenian and Moslem.

Age-old neighbors must return to friendly intercourse again.

All acres, no matter who had seized them on the whole territory of our Republic, must be restored to their original masters.

I will take the most drastic measures, up to the death penalty, against every citizen, be Armenian or Turk, who would dare to resist to nondelayed fulfillment of this most legitimate demand of the whole working people.

Villages and townships which resist will be declared beyond the law and subjected to fire and sword.

Everybody, who cherishes his hearth, is obliged to restrain those evil-minded persons, which would violate my order owing to desire for enrichment at the expense of peaceful working people.

I announce and order to all inhabitants that Transcaucasian bones³¹ are compulsory for all citizens of the Republic.

³¹ Emergency paper money that served as regional means of payment, compulsory for all citizens of the Republic of Armenia.

I instruct commanders of the detachments to inspire with ideas of our Government and to do their possible for establishment everywhere order and peaceful life. While evil-minded persons must be exposed to severest punishments.

Help needy people to the best of your ability and as far as possible, whatever nationality they are.

Everything indispensable to the Army should be bought for cash down.

The original signed by: English General K. M. Davie.

Commander of the Erevan Detachment Dro [Kanayan]

True: Chief of Staff of the Erevan Detachment, Captain Mouradian.

№ 6

telegram from Secretary General of the Armenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs A. Ter-Hakobian - to the diplomatic representative of the Republic of Armenia in Georgia L. Evanghoulian (Tiflis)
№ 1488, cipher

Yerevan, May 3, 1919 (received May 5)

fund 200, reg.1, file 175, pt. 3, f. 297

The conversation with General G. Milne had produced the following outcome: ...3) occupation of Nakhijevan begins tomorrow, ...5) rail communication will be arranged.

№ 7

letter from Commander of the British Forces in Transcaucasia Major General G. N. Cory - to the Prime Minister of the RA H. Kajaznuni (Erevan)³²
№ 13112

Tiflis, May 31, 1919

fund 199, reg. 1, file 32, pt. 2, f. 171

Your Excellency,

1. In accordance with the policy of which Your Excellency is already aware, I have to inform you, that the British Troops, which are at present at Nakhichevan and along the railway, will be withdrawn in the course of the next few days. From what I saw, I feel convinced that peace and security will continue in that district under your administration. ...

№ 8

letter from Acting Prime Minister of the RA A. Khatisian - to the president of the Republic delegation at the Peace conference A. Aharonian (Paris)
№ 2168

Yerevan, June 2, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 193, pt. 4, f. 277-277 rev.

There are Turkish-Tatar disturbances in Sharur, Nakhijevan and Kars. Foreign

³² Published in: Нагорный Карабах, стр. 230.

agitators sped up their work with withdrawal of British troops. There is struggle against Armenian Government. The British Command was pled to return its armed forces in the noted districts till the Armenian administration is firmly set up there. Please support by your demarches this measure of restoration of the detachments. ...

№ 9

letter from Minister for Foreign Affairs of the RA A. Khatisian -
to the Senior British commander in Transcaucasia Major General
G. N. Cory (Tiflis)

Yerevan, June 18, 1919

fund 200, reg. 2, file 120, f. 6

The Government of the Republic of Armenia has charged me to beg Your Excellency to seek... VI) a dispatch of 2 detachments of men from the British Army to Kars and Nakhijevan. ...

The Government of the Republic of Armenia draws attention of Your Excellency to the following facts: the Ottoman Empire sends its agents all around Armenia on a mission to instigate population; and that complicates the task of the Armenian troops to maintain order in the country, since they are obliged to prevent a formation of any seats of mutiny, aimed against the power of the Republic of Armenia.

№ 10

letter from Senior British commander in Transcaucasia Major General
G. N. Cory – to the Prime Minister of the RA H. Kajaznuni (Erevan)

Tiflis, June 19, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 309, f.156-157

...It is well known that some time ago... Your Government was invited to undertake the responsibility for the Province of Nakhitchewan. ...

№ 11

communiqué of the Armenian Press bureau at Paris (Paris)

№ 65

Paris, July 22, 1919

fund 430, reg. 1, file 433, f. 12-13

...One regiment has departed for Julfa³³ to replace the British troops. It's a security that prevails in Nakhijevan. ...

№ 12

telegram from chief of the Caucasus party of the American Field Mission to
South Russia B. B. Moore - to the US diplomatic mission at Paris (Pàris)

Tiflis, July 22, 1919

³³ Old Jugha.

Great Britain, Foreign Office Archives, Public Record Office, class 608 Peace Conference, 1919-1920: Correspondence/vol.78, file 342/1/6/doc.16807

...Armed Tartars and Kurds have already crossed along southern frontier of Armenia from Olti to Nakhitchewan and hostilities are occurring. On east: Tartars have risen from Nakhichevan northward to vicinity of Erivan. Proof exists that Azerbaijan Government financed, clothed and officered movement in connection with Turkey.

№ 13

telegram from Chief of General Staff of the Ministry of War of the RA
Colonel M. I. Zinkevich – to the Minister of Military Affairs of the RA
Major General C. Araratian (Erevan)

№ 2

Vedi, July 23, 1919 (received July 24)

fund 199, reg. 1, file 9, f. 91-91 rev.

According to report by the commander of the armored train № 2 Lieutenant³⁴ Gasparyants, a battle which began yesterday at Sharur, had been waged all night long, off and on; then it recommenced this morning. Our pickets had withdrawn from the railway near Nerkin Norashen³⁵. The armored train, its first wagon had fallen down into the destroyed bridge, 4 versts³⁶ South-East of Gayli Drounk³⁷ (Volchyi Vorota), had been left by the crew. Wrecked portion of the train with its locomotive driver went South. Lieutenant Gasparyants is slightly wounded; he is at Kamarlu³⁸ now. Station for pack animals has got into the hands of Tatars. They are led by Turkish Colonel Halil at Sharur. Both sides of Gayli Drounk are occupied by Tatars. Height 4108, which is to the East of Sadarak³⁹, has been captured by Tatars; however, height 3142 to the West of Sadarak is taken by us. Everything is quiet near Vedi⁴⁰. We are driving to Shirazlu⁴¹. M. I. Zinkevich.

№ 14

telegram from vice-consul at Tiflis H. A. Doolittle, chief of the US military mission to the Caucasus B. B. Moore, American military observer in Turkey

³⁴ Poruchik in the Russian tsarist Army.

³⁵ Inscribed as Bash Norashen. Until 1905 it had 100 Armenian and 25 Tatar houses, the Russian primary school, telegraph-office, police station. The population had been engaged in gardening, cultivated cotton and rice. Almost all Armenian families had been annihilated during the interethnic warfare of 1905.

³⁶ Equal to 6,4 km.

³⁷ Fixed as Volchyi Vorota (Wolf Gates) in the text. It's a mountain pass between Mt. Dahna and Mt. Patvar 8 km south of Sadarak.

³⁸ Artashat.

³⁹ In 1906 this village accommodated more than 4,000 dwellers. It had its secondary school, library and a distillery for primary take up of wine.

⁴⁰ It's inscribed in the text as beuk Vedi.

⁴¹ A village of Vosketap now, situated 7 km south-west of Vedi.

H. Shekerjian, chief of the American Committee for Relief in the Near East
 E. Yarrow, chief of the American Relief Administration Major J. C. Green –
 to the chief of the American diplomatic mission at Paris F. L. Polk (Paris);
 the US Secretary of States R. Lansing (Washington)⁴²

№ 3513, urgent

Tiflis, July 23, 1919 (received August 5)

(received at the State Department August 7)

US NA, RG 256, 184.021/126/Encl. 2

...Following message joint telegram of Conference of consulate at Tiflis, military attaché B. Moore, military observer in Turkey H. Shekerjian, ACRNE E. Yarrow and ARA J. Green. Please send immediately to Department of State, Major R. Tyler, Directory of Military Intelligence Bureau, Washington, MID, Paris, H. Morgenthau and H. Hoover:

...(B) Armenia surrounded on the west by hostile Turks, on the south by hostile armed Tartar forces under Turkish direction, on the east by hostile Azerbaidjan organization directing Tartar activities and cooperating with the Turks emulated north by the unfriendly Georgian Republic. Turks and Tartars becoming daily more aggressive, Turks openly violating terms of the armistice and covertly defying British. Massacres have taken place on several occasions in various localities during the last six weeks. Armed conflicts of importance are still occurring. ...Nakhichevan, officially assigned by the British to Armenian administration but occupied by hostile Turks and Tartars although north of Turkish frontier. Railroad between Erevan and Nakhichevan cut. ...

(C) American Relief organizations prevented by the Turks and Tartars from carrying out relief work in several districts where starvation of the Armenians continues. Relief work on necessary scale cannot be undertaken until order is assured. ...

(E) Armenian Government has been successfully attempting constructive work but all energies are now necessarily absorbed in the struggle for self preservation. British forces already withdrawn from Armenia except the above political officers and the Armenian Government and people feel that they have been deserted by the Allies. Rumored withdrawal of British forces from Caucasus encouraging Moslems in their plans to make the most of expected confusion. British forces now in the Caucasus inadequate to maintain order even in those districts which they are with difficulty occupying. ...

№ 15

telegram from vice-consul at Tiflis H. A. Doolittle - to the American
 diplomatic mission at Paris, F. L. Polk (Paris)⁴³

⁴² Reposited in: M820/Reel 230/vol. 204/mr 2. See also T1192/Reel 1/mr 49. Published in: Армения в документах Государственного департамента США 1917-1920 гг. Сост. и пер. с англ. Г. Г. Махмуриян, Ереван, 2012, стр. 166-168 (following: Армения в документах).

Tiflis, July 24, 1919

remitted by telegram № 3521 from F. L. Polk - the US Secretary of States
R. Lansing (Washington)

Paris, August 6, 1919

US NA, RG 256, 184.021/126/Encl. 1

Vice Consul J. Randolph after visiting personally every part of Armenia reports:

Need of mandatory or immediate action by Allied Powers most urgent. Railways disorganized from lack of engines, rolling stock and repair shops retained by Georgia and Azerbaijan and especially from lack of fuel for engines, oil being obtained only from Baku in Azerbaijan and now obtained by Armenia only occasionally and with great difficulty owing to warlike conditions existing between these two small countries. Owing to lack of seed and refusal of Turks and Tartars to sell them seed, Armenian people have this season almost no crops except very little self sown grain insufficient for more than a few months. This coming winter there will be no food any more than brought in from abroad. Unless prevented the Turks apparently intend the total extinction of Armenian race. Turkish emissaries inspire the warlike attitude of Azerbaijan and are arousing the Tartars of the districts south-east of Erivan along the Persian border where Tartar forces have been massing for sometime, the purpose being, according to information received by Armenian Government, to totally wipe out or drive away Christian population and by means of a broad Mohammedan belt to connect up Turkey and Azerbaijan⁴⁴. On July 22nd report reached Erivan that Nakhichevan and two other places south-east of Erivan were surrounded by these Tartars. According to the reports massacre had begun in one of these three places. No later news obtainable in Erivan for all telegraphic communication is out off near the scene of fighting. Armenian soldiers lack shoes, uniforms and even clothing as well as munitions and in opinion of Armenian officials and French, American and British officers in Erivan their successful opposition to the well equipped Tartars and Turks improbable without at least moral support or Allied troops whose presence would show Tartars and Turks that Armenia has not been abandoned by the Allies, an impression Turkish emissaries are spreading. American flour and relief workers have saved lives of thousands but owing to lack of crops and absolute inability of refugees to return to their homes⁴⁵ relief work must be continued for another year otherwise the majority of the Armenians who have so far survived will die of starvation.

...American storage depot of relief food and also fifteen cars American milk and flour en route to Nakhichevan, as well as American citizens, relief workers are in cut off

⁴³ See also: US NA, RG 59 General Records of the Department of State, class 860J.01/doc. 30 in: M820/Reel 230/vol. 204/mr 2.

⁴⁴ Pan-Turkish plan of genocide aimed at a formation of vast, artificially monoethnic areas and transportation routes.

⁴⁵ As a result of Turkish invasion in 1918, 100,000 local Armenians temporarily fled from Sharur-Nakhijevan; and at least 350-400,000 Western Armenians reached the borders of the Republic as refugees from Eghern - the Armenian Genocide.

district south-east of Erivan and their fate is unknown.

Note. This confirms absolutely reports reaching me from other sources and calls attention to the importance of at once taking actual military measures to remedy a pitiable situation and show our ability and intention to rescue a friendly nation from extermination.

Please repeat to Secretary of State and to H. Hoover. H. A. Doolittle.

№ 16

operations' summary by the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armenian Army, acting Chief of Staff Captain M. R. Medvedev, acting Chief of operation section at the General Staff, Ministry of War of the RA, Lieutenant Aharonian⁴⁶ - to the Prime Minister of the RA

A. Khatisian (Erevan)

incoming № 359

Yerevan, July 24, 1919

fund 199, reg. 1, file 9, f. 94-94 rev.

...Erevan Battle group.

Nakhijevan Detachment. In view of damage of bridges, our armoured train № 2 has suffered a wreck: one of its wagons had fallen down and was left at the spot. The other piece of the train has fought its way to Khanukhlar. Tatars had approached our positions at the Vedi⁴⁷ sector, but had been repelled by our fire. A height near Sadarak is occupied by not more than 500 Tatars who have hand grenades. Both sides of Gayli-Drounk⁴⁸ are taken up by Tatars. Sources say that Tatar forces are under command of Turkish Colonel Halil bey. ...

№ 17

telegram from Commander-in-Chief of the British Army of the Black Sea

General G. F. Milne - to the Director of British Military Intelligence

in the Transcaucasia Brigadier General W. H. Beach (Tiflis)

Constantinople, July 28, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 212, pt. 2, f. 139-140

...G. N. Cory informs that Nahijevan city is surrounded by Tatars. Their total force is estimated to be 10,000 men in the district of Sharur; they are under command of Turkish Officers. Halil bey invites Armenians to cease hostilities, provided the districts of Sharur and Nakhijevan would be placed under the Tatar domination. Since Armenians lack ammunition they abandoned hope to hold these districts. Armenian troops beat off the enemy during their withdrawal up to Kamarlu⁴⁹. It's a general opinion

⁴⁶ Poruchik of the Russian prerevolutionary Army.

⁴⁷ Inscribed as Beuk Vedi.

⁴⁸ Fixed in its Russian version as Volchyi Vorota - Wolf Gates.

⁴⁹ Artashat.

that massacres in Sharur and Nakhijevan are imminent. ...

I instructed G. Cory to convey Armenians that in compliance with my orders, they should retake this territories implementing only peaceful means, when they settle their matters with Tatars; and that the greater portion of unrest had been for certain stirred up by their recourse to force. They should by no means pose a threat to the Turkish frontier; and in no case reckon on assistance of the British troops. It befits only them to conclude friendly agreements with Kurds and Tatars. Territory which they can't control, they should abandon; and G.Cory should attempt to conclude a truce with this aim. I gave G. Cory orders that the British troops should not be used to bump off the conflict.

№ 18

telegram from the American diplomatic mission at Paris, F. L. Polk -
to the US Secretary of State R. Lansing (Washington)

№ 3576

Paris, August 4, 1919 (received August 9)

US NA, RG 59, 860J.01/36, T1192/Reel 1/mr 49

...Following additional information received by H. Hoover from J. C. Green Tiflis August 2nd. "Doctor C. Ussher returned stating his plans repatriation Armenia, refugees met with approval yourself and Peace Conference. ...

Turks and Tartars advance towards Erivan. Strong evidence to show Enver bey behind movement. Captain Barton and several ACRNE cut off in Nakhichevan region. Massacres have taken place in Azerbaijan and more are expected, perpetrators unpunished. British have done nothing except send eighty men to Erivan as guards and warn Azerbaijan Government to cease massacres and military operations against Armenians, stating that orders from above prevent interference in internal affairs of Caucasus. American, French and many high British officers outspoken in condemnation of policy which make us passive witnesses of last acts of Armenia tragedies. Useless to attempt relieve measures unless they are coordinate with military measures. ...Consul B. B. Moore and E. Yarrow. ...

№ 19

letter from chairmen of the delegation of integral Armenia at Paris
Boghos Nubar, A. Aharonian - to the President of the Peace conference
G. Clemenceau (Paris)

№ 451

Paris, August 6, 1919

fund 200, reg.1, file 193, pt. 2, f. 528-531, 533-535

Tatars have organized on the territory of the Republic of Armenia in the districts Nakhijevan and Sharur a detachment of 6,000 men. In the first days of July this detachment under the command of Halil bey, Turkish officers and 30 officers from

Azerbaijan, have occupied Vedi⁵⁰. Armenians have lost in the battle 26 officers and 200 privates.

Instigated by shura⁵¹, Moslems who are situated within the confines of Armenia, had rioted on July 21. Mutiny spreads out along the railway from Julfa to Kamarlu⁵². ...Nearly 15,000 Armenian residents in Nakhijevan have remained in Tatars hand.

Azerbaijan had arranged via Maku its relations with shura of Erzerum, as well as with Nakhijevan and Sharur, where the rebellion had been inspired for means, received from Azerbaijan. Government of the Republic of Armenia has established these facts, proved by irrefutable documents, which were submitted to the British Colonel J. C. Plowden in Erevan.

Among other records at the Government's disposal we hold the following telegram, sent by Diplomatic Representative at Erevan M.-khan Tekinskiy to the Minister for Foreign Affairs M. Jafarov:

"The Government of Azerbaijan acquires semi regular forces of all arms of service on the territory of the Republic of Armenia; they amount to 6,000 men with artillery and machine-guns. ...At a moment of military operations I shall bring this number up to 10,000."

№ 20

a statement of the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the RA A. Khatisian, certified by secretary for general matters
A. Ter-Hakobian - to the President of the Paris Peace conference
G. Clemenceau (Paris)⁵³

Yerevan, August 28, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 50, f. 121-124, 153-155

Mister President!

...At the time, when Kurd-Tatar hordes ruined and exterminated Armenian villages in Karabakh⁵⁴, the Government of Azerbaijan quietly prepared Tatar uprising against the Armenian Government, which has broken out at Nakhijevan and Sharur districts in August. ...

№ 21

order of Minister of Interior of the RA A. Gyulkhandanian - to the

⁵⁰ Inscribed as Beuk Vedi.

⁵¹ I. e. by their Council. The first of them was established at Kars in November, 1918, by the commander of the Ottoman 9th Army, then chief of the special assault force in this area Yakub Shevki papsha, who pursued clearly defined political objects. The "Moslem National" Councils, by their full definition, indicate very vague ethnic content based at the first place on religious affiliation. Being Turkic-speaking, Transcaucasian Tatars did not merged with Persians; and being Shiah they not dissolve completely in the Ottoman mass.

⁵² Artashat.

⁵³ Published in: Нагорный Карабах, стр. 332-334; the citation at стр. 334.

⁵⁴ Artsakh.

Governor of Nakhijevan district G. P. Varshamian (Nakhijevan)

№ 344

Yerevan, September 9, 1919

fund 201, reg. 2, file 82, f. 3

Governor of Nakhijevan G. P. Varshamian is discharged from the post he occupied and he is expelled from the service entirely. ...

№ 22

"Report concerning the middle, higher initial and initial schools in Armenia," prepared by the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts of the RA N. Aghbalian - to the Prime Minister of the RA A. Khatisian, for J. Harbord mission (Erevan)⁵⁵

Yerevan, September 27, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 498, f. 68-69B

When mentioning *Armenia*⁵⁶, one must understand a territory which includes: Kazakh, Pambak-Lori, Alexandropol, Kars, Echmiadzin, Surmalu, Erivan, Sharur-Daralagiaz, Nakhichevan & Zangezur.

№ 23

telegram from the Allied High Commissioner in Armenia Colonel W. N. Haskell - to the US Peace delegation; to the Department of State of the USA; to the headquarters of the Near East Relief (Paris, Washington, New York)

Tiflis, September 27, 1919 (received at Paris October 1)

fund 200, reg. 1, file 366, f. 1-2; US NA, RG 59, 860J.48/1/f. 89, T1192/Reel 7/mr 36

The following cable just received from W. Haskell "Tiflis, 27th September, 1919.

Have just completed inspection Armenia. ...Tartars aided and assisted by Turks have compelled Armenian population to abandon Igdir and are pressing Kars and Erivan. This situation largely increases number of refugees and makes shipments from Kuban uncertain. ...Railroad through Nakhichevan to Persia has been interrupted some time and will remain so until conditions improve; only dependable source of supply under these conditions United States or other outside sources. ...Estimate we need 7.000 tons wheat flour or equivalent monthly beginning December 1st. ...

№ 24

hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate - on the Senate Joint resolution "Maintenance of Peace in Armenia" (Washington)

⁵⁵ I. e.: On high, junior high and primary schools. Published in: Армения в документах, стр. 244-245.

⁵⁶ The Republic of Armenia was represented here without Artsakh (Karabakh) and contested Akhalkalak, as far as their schools were not financed from Erevan.

№ 106

Washington, September 30, 1919

Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

United States Senate. 66th Congress. 1st Session on S.J.R. 106 A Joint

Resolution for the Maintenance of Peace in Armenia. Printed for the use of

Committee on Foreign Relations. Wash., GPO, 1919, p. 33-44.

...Here is another telegram which comes from Constantinople. This is a report from Mr. F. Tredwell Smith, who was on the American Persian Relief Commission. ...He was at Constantinople on the 19th instant [September], coming from Erivan, Urmia, Nakhichevan, and Tabriz:

"The American commissioner at Constantinople telegraphs the Department under date September 20 stating that Mr. F. Tredwell Smith, who is with the American Persian Relief Commission, passed through Constantinople on the 19th instant, crossing for the second time the Tartar lines from Nakhichevan to Tabriz, he found that the atmosphere was altogether changed. He found that a Britisher's life was no longer safe, because there were no British troops. He also found that the Americans, too, were in danger. On July 20 the Tartars commenced battle on the Armenians at Nakhichevan and, at the end of a three-day battle they drove out the British along with the American relief workers and started a massacre of Armenian women, children, and men at Nakhichevan. The number of victims is estimated between 6,000 and 12,000. Americans testified to Mr. F. T. Smith that when they crossed into Persia at the Julfa⁵⁷ Bridge the river was full of headless, mutilated bodies. When Mr. F. T. Smith returned along this river into Russia human bodies were still seen along the river banks.

Halil bey, who was formerly the commander of the Turkish troops on the eastern front, is now the commander of the Tartars and is bringing in Ottoman Turks from Bayazed via Maku over the narrow-gauge railway in order to attack Erivan. It appears that nothing but Allied forces can stop the fall of that city. ... No American has been safe in Urmia since the tragic events which took place in May and June last. ... In the district of Nakhichevan the life of any Britishers is completely tyrannized, and the British consul residing at Tabriz will not permit any Britisher to enter that country. Should Americans, by attempting to arrange peace without being supported by force, anger the Tartars, then Americans also would be in the same position as the British. Allied forces would at once receive respect from the Tartars. The commissioner at Constantinople summarizes Mr. F. T. Smith's conclusions in the following manner:

First. In order to protect southern Caucasia⁵⁸ and to prevent the otherwise inevitable massacre of noncombatant Armenians as Tartars advance, Allied troops are urgently needed in that country.

Second. There is very serious danger for Erivan.

Third. Ottoman Turkish troops are constantly arriving to increase the Tartars.

⁵⁷ Old Jugha.

⁵⁸ It means here and a few lines below the territories of Eastern Armenia, and Georgia.

Fourth. Any Tartar success in South Caucasia will render north-western Persia unsafe for westerners.

Fifth. During the months of May, June and July; in other words, long after the conclusion of the Armistice, these occurred outrages affecting citizens and allies of the Allied Powers and which required prompt attention.

№ 25

application for retirement by the Governor of the Nakhijevan province G. P. Varshamian - to the Minister of Interior of the RA
A. Gyulxhandanian (Erevan)
incoming № 321

Yerevan, September 30, 1919 (received October 1 and 10)
fund 201, reg. 2, file 82, f. 4

Considering liquidation of the Nakhijevan province ended, I beg to accept my retirement. G. Varshamian

Erevan, September 31, 1919 ...

№ 26

telegram from chief of the American military mission to Armenia
Major General J. G. Harbord - to the Prime Minister of Azerbaijan
N. Usubbekov (Baku)⁵⁹

Tiflis, October 6, 1919

US NA, RG 256, 184.021/309, M820/Reel 232/mr 4

...Just prior to my departure for Paris Colonel W. N. Haskell informed me of your agreement to establishment a neutral zone in Nakhichevan District. Congratulate you on such a wise decision, which will make very favorable impression.

№ 27

diary of overland party of the American military mission to Armenia⁶⁰

Batum, September 27 - October 8, 1919

US NA, RG 256, 184.021/323, M820/Reel 232/mr 4

...9-30-1919: At Erivan. Many visits paid and received. State banquet at which all officials of the Armenian Republic were present, was given in the evening. General J. Harbord met all American Relief Workers in the city. General G. Moseley and Captain G. Villaret went on short side trip to Nakhichevan and will return tomorrow evening. Car set out to pick up General F. McCoy and Colonel E. Bowditch out returned late without these officers, having been unable to proceed further than a few miles owing to terrible condition of road. Professor Hussein Bey and Captain D. Loring went on to Tiflis by train to make arrangements for the housing of the party while in Tiflis.

10-1-1919: - At Erivan. Conferences and meetings occupied the entire day. In

⁵⁹ Армения в документах, стр. 260.

⁶⁰ Армения в документах, стр. 268-279.

afternoon General J. Harbord had tea with the Prime Minister A. Khatisyan. General McCoy and Colonel Bowditch returned about midnight as also General G. Moseley and captain Villaret. ...

№ 28

order of Minister of Interior of the RA A. Gyulkhandanian - to the
Governor of the Nakhijevan province G. P. Varshamian (Erevan)
№ 409

Yerevan, October 11, 1919

fund 201, reg. 2, file 82, f. 5

According to his application, Governor of Nakhijevan George Petros Varshamians is discharged from the post he occupied and he is expelled from the service entirely. ...

№ 29

declaration by W. N. Haskell, the Allied High Commissioner in Armenia,
Colonel of General Staff, the US Army - On creation of American
Governorship Sharur-Nakhijevan

Nakhijevan, October 23, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 212, f. 186-188

Declaration

Whereas peace, personal safety and security of property in Sharur and Nakhijevan districts are violated by armed clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis,⁶¹ prompted by claims of Armenia and Azerbaijan to this territory; and

Whereas this issue of rights of Armenia and Azerbaijan to Sharur and Nakhijevan districts has not been solved as yet by the Peace conference; and

Whereas the Governments of Armenia and Azerbaijan are not capable of reaching an amicable settlement in regard to possession of this territory; and

Whereas Armenia and Azerbaijan have expressed their desire to preserve peace on this territory and have loyally agreed to support administration of the American Governor in the contested districts of Sharur and Nakhijevan, title

I, William N. Haskell, by consent and assistance of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Governments, also by virtue of the power, vested in me by the Peace conference, as a High Commissioner of the United States of the North America, France, the Great Britain and Italy, now enjoin the following:

1. Districts of Sharur and Nakhijevan form a zone of the Allied administration under the authority of American Governor.

⁶¹ Since the American Governor might rule in Nakhijevan, W. Haskell used two words: "Tatar" and "Azerbaijani," as interchangeable terms. They were applied to Moslem population, who fought under the Turkish command and proclaimed their adherence to Baku, not to Persia. Neither Colonel J. Rhea or officials in Yerevan, nor his future opponents in the District center meant at a moment the inhabitants of genuine Azerbaijan in the north-west of Iran. However, the designation of Moslem National Council of Nakhijevan itself demonstrated the very vague condition of the "Tatar-Azerbaijani ethnicity," as far as the religious affiliation alone, without language, common economy and culture, without general institutions and ruling bodies doesn't produce an ethnic unit yet.

2. Colonel Edmund L. Daley, Corps of Engineers, Army of the United States of the North America, thus is appointed Governor of this zone.

3. A central Council is setting up, it would be attached to the administration and should consist of Armenians and Tatars, proportionally to the size of each nationality within zone. Members of this Council will be appointed by Governor pending a schedule of elections.

4. The Governments of Azerbaijan and Armenia will immediately withdraw the troops, which could be present within limits of the zone.

5. All the executives and persons who can incite local population, will be withdrawn immediately.

6. Thus a general amnesty is granted for all crimes that were committed previously to publication of this declaration against some individuals of one or another Government in frontiers of the zone.

7. Local administration of the zone can be preserved in its previous composition, otherwise the Governor can designate new executive officers; he will also prescribe a day for elections of local administration as soon as it will appear to be possible. The Governor will, at any case, have unrestricted right to remove every functionary from his post within borders of the zone, for his inability, bribery, and on another similar grounds.

8. The railways and telegraph that are also situated in the limits of the zone, will be immediately repaired. The railway will be placed under the Governor's control [and] will be exploited in coupling with the Armenian railway system. It will serve the whole population without distinction.

9. Reconstruction of the railway segment from Baku till Julfa in the limits of the zone will be regulated by a special Commission, which will be gathered in conformity with agreements to be reached between the Armenian and Azerbaijani Republics directly.

10. Administrative expenses of this zone will be covered through local taxation.

11. Freedom of faith and speech are declared within borders of the zone.

12. Population of sectors in this zone will not be disarmed, with the exception of those individuals, who cannot be permitted to bear arms by Governor's judgement.

13. All people are invited to obey and conform to demands of this declaration, as well as loyally support and assist operation of American Governor, pending the final settlement of the Peace conference regarding possession of these regions.

Given and published in Nakhijevan on the day of October twenty-three, in the year one thousand nine hundred nineteen.

William Haskell, Colonel of General Staff of the United States Army, the Allied High Commissioner

Official: J. Rhea, Colonel of General Staff of the United States Army, Chief of Staff.

№ 30

letter from British High Commissioner in Transcaucasia J. O. Wardrop -

to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign affairs G. N. Curzon (London)⁶²

№ 59 confidential

Tiflis, October 23, 1919 (received November 22)

FO 608/79, 342/1/12/21114/Encl, p. 607-609

I have the honour to report as follows on my recent journey in Armenia: -

4. ...In the evening I was entertained at a dinner where Mr. A. Khatisian made a speech of welcome very carefully worded, to avoid hurting the susceptibilities of the other foreigners present, including representatives of America, France, Italy, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Denikin's army, etc. ...

Among the guests was Colonel E. Daly, who has since been appointed American Governor-General of Nakhichevan. ...

№ 31

letter from diplomatic representative of the RA in Georgia

L. Evaghoulia - to the Allied acting High Commissioner in

Caucasus Colonel J. C. Rhea (Tiflis)

№ 3653

Tiflis, November 5, 1919

US NA, RG 59, 860J.01/180/Encl. 5; T1192/Reel 2/mr 38

...General Review of Azerbaidjan from September 28 to October 13, 1919.

In addition to our former review concerning Azerbaidjan, we state again that Azerbaidjan is still continuing to get ready for military actions.

The military operations in Zangezur of which we reported in our last review have two purposes in view:

1. the joining of Azerbaidjan with Sharur and Nakhitchewan and
2. the joining with Turkey and Turkish troops, which are concentrated at the frontier of 1914. ...

From Baku the volunteers are going to Dagestan. The Turkish Officers are registering them. The Turkish Officers have their own staff, which is situated in the Nikolaevskaya str., in a house belonging to the Municipality, next the Parliament.

According to certain informations we state, once more, that several pashas are residing now in Baku: Enver, Nuri; Enver is living there under the name of Mustafa-Mirza-Ali. ...

№ 32

letter from Allied acting High Commissioner in Armenia Colonel

J. C. Rhea - to the US High Commissioner at Constantinople

Rear Admiral M. L. Bristol (Constantinople)

Tiflis, December 1, 1919

US NA, RG 59, 860J.01/180/Encl. 1, T1192/Reel 2/mr 38

⁶² G. N. Curzon had received this letter as already Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

...Dear Sir: In reply to your message on November 25th to Lieut. Com. Bryan, asking my comments on Dispatch № 314 on November 20th, forwarding a communication addresses to you by the Minister President of Azerbaidjan, which has sent from Baku on November 17th. On November 19th, the Armenian Government, having obtained a copy of this message, addressed me the following telegram which, as you will see, contradicts Mr. N. Ussubbekoff's message in every particular. ...

The situation in Zangezur and the Karabakh may be summed up as follows:

...Nuri pasha and a staff arrived in Shusha⁶³ on October 16, 1919, and is believed to have directed the planning of operations against the Karabakh. Seven thousand Azerbaidjan troops were at first ordered to proceed to Shusha, via Evlakh, but the regular force operating against the Karabakh consisted finally of one Tartar infantry regiment, 8000 men; 1 field piece; and 4 howitzers. In addition, Dr. Kh. Sultanov's brother was reported to be in command of 4000 Kurd irregulars and 300 Tartars from Nakhichevan, concentrated in the Zabugh defile.

The purpose of the attack was 1) to join Sharur and Nakhichevan to Azerbaidjan, by clearing the Armenians from the Karabakh region separating the two; 2) to constitute a bridge between Azerbaidjan and Turkey through Sharur and Nakhichevan, without having to pass through Persia and thus to be able to obtain arms, ammunition and officers from Turkey; 3) to complete the construction of the Baku-Djulfra railroad, would put Baku into direct touch with Turkey. Enver pasha and Eyub bey, as well as Nuri pasha, were supposed to be backing the movement. The arms and ammunition were reported to have been sold to the Azerbaidjan, in part at least, by Italians.

The attack on the Karabakh was planned to be made in force, from three directions: ...3) north, up to the valley of the Megri river⁶⁴. The troops for the latter and the more serious attack were to come from Nakhichevan. ... About the [Commander of the] third force, from Nakhichevan, little information has been obtainable. It is not unlikely that this is the force mentioned in one of the inclosures to my letter of November 14th as encamped in Maku, and that it is commanded by regular Turkish officers. ...

The Minister President of Armenia, on November 12th, appealed to the Acting High Commissioner of the four Powers to halt the Azerbaidjanian attack. Mr. J. Wardrop, the Special Commissioner of Great Britain, offered to join in a common action to stop hostilities. Identical telegrams were accordingly sent by the Acting Allied High

⁶³ Shushi - the administrative, cultural and industrial centre of Artsakh. Archaeological excavations within the Fortress of Shushi, dated back to the beginning of the I millenium BC, availability of khachkars dated by the 12th-13th centuries at the Armenian-Greek cemetery, close to its eastern wall; a structure of the nearest Fort situated opposite to the village of Shosh; as well as the Karkar Fortress of the 12th-14th centuries in its eastern canyon, all these artefacts refute a version of the alleged foundation of Shushi and its fortifications only in the 1750s. (See: Պետրոսյան Հ., Սաֆարյան Վ., Միջնադարյան Շուշին ըստ հնագիտական հետազոտությունների, Շուշին հայոց քաղաքակրթության օրրան, Երևան, 2007, էջ 269-270, 272.)

⁶⁴ 36-kilometres long, the left tributary of the Arax flows into the latter very nearly and south of Meghri city. The whole basin of the river is 274 sq. km.

Commissioner and Mr. J. Wardrop to the Minister President of Armenia and the Minister President of Azerbaidjian. On November 14th, the Minister President of Armenia telegraphed that members of a delegation of Armenians, expecting to attend a conference in Baku with Azerbaidjan delegates, looking to the peaceful solution of international disputes, had left for Tiflis, and begged the Allied High Commissioner to take decisive steps to arrest the advance of Azerbaidjan troops in Zangezur and Daralagiaz.

On November 16th, Major Parker C. Kalloch, G.S., whom I sent to Baku to endeavor to stop hostilities, telegraphed that he had reached an agreement with Minister President Ussubbekoff by which all operations in Zangezur were halted. I at once telegraphed both Minister Presidents suggesting that they meet in my office in Tiflis on November 20th to try to effect a peaceable solution of the questions which had led to actual war. This invitation was accepted. After three days' negotiations, during which I was accepted as arbiter of questions to which the Ministers themselves could reach no solution, a complete understanding was reached. It is embodied in the agreement appended, which was signed in the presence of the Acting Minister President Eugene Gegekory, of Georgia, and myself.

№ 33

letter from Minister for Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister of the RA
A. Khatisian - to the representative of the Allied High Commissioner
in Erevan Colonel C. Telford (Erevan)
№ 5359

Yerevan, December 11, 1919

fund 200, reg. 1, file 362, f. 164

...The report of Major D. McDonald, who visited the localities where the events took place, made in your and Minister of Finance S. Araratian's presence, fully confirms the justifiableness of the Armenian Policy.

I am taking the liberty to draw your attention to the circumstance that one of the peculiarities of the Azerbaidjan's policy and of the general attitude assumed by the Moslem rioters, is the ever constant criminal tendency to make the public opinion believe, every time when their joint endeavours to invade any part of the Armenian territory suffer a full ruin, that the self-defence of the Armenian population is indubitable advance.

The Moslem villages enumerated in your letter were occupied in view of the extreme necessity. These responsory war-actions were undertaken in order to repulse the effort of the Sharur-Nakhichevan district's moslems to swoop by an armed force numbering over 2.000 infantry and 500 mounted men with 2 cannons and 18 mashine-guns, the whole district of Daralagiaz or, in any case, to annihilate the possibility of the mutual connection between the district of Daralagiaz and Zangezur and to cut off finally the latter from the administrative center of the Republic. The independent efforts to

advance did not emerge at all on the part of the Armenian population.

Hereby, I have the honor to assure you that, nevertheless, on account of those occurrences most severe investigation is now proceeding and that the governmental order declaring the cessation of arms is confirmed anew. ...

№ 34

letter from Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the RA
A. Khatisian - to the Allied High Commissioner in Armenia Colonel
W. N. Haskell (Tiflis)

Yerevan, December 18, 1919

fund 275, reg. 5, file 101, f. 97-98C

On the 24th of April 1919, the Representative of the British Commandership in Erivan K. M. Davy informed by the letter the Armenian Government of the decision taken by the High British Commandership in Transcaucasia to give up the detection of the Armenian Government the whole districts of Sharur and Nakhichevan, proposing to introduce in the latters the Armenian Army and to establish an Armenian administration.

After the occupation of the named districts by the Armenian troops and the introduction therein of the Armenian administration, the Government of Azerbaidjan, in connection and compatibly with Turkey began to organize feverishly by means of numerous agents of both of them a rising of the local Moslem population, calling it upon unsubmission and unacknowledgment of the Armenian Government's power, subsidizing for that purpose the local Moslems with money and indispensable military provisions, including machine guns and cannons.

In consequence of that criminal agitation, led by Azerbaidjan, in the beginning of the last August in the districts of Sharur and Nakhichevan burst out a rising of the Moslems, which obliged the Government of Armenia, due to lack of military provisions, to remove from the named districts the Armenian troops.

Arriving about that time to Transcaucasia and intending to stop further bloodshed, Your Excellency proposed both to the Government of Armenia and Azerbaidjan to solve the conflict by establishment temporarily in the districts of Sharoor and Nakhitchewan an American General-Governorship, till the final resolution of the question by the Peace Conference.

According to Your desires and wanting ourselves to put an end to the further bloodshed, the Armenian Government expressed thereupon its consent to Your Excellency's proposal and in expectance of the American General-Governorship, having to be instituted in the nearest future, as it was promised by You, stopped the foregoing military operations against the revolted Moslems of the named regions.

Meantime the Government of Azerbaidjan which has also accepted Your Excellency's proposition, availing itself of the American General-Governorship being not yet settled till now, continues to lead in the mentioned districts a policy of usurpation by organizing... Azerbaidjan boundary defense in the districts of Sharur and Nakhichevan, which really constitute the inalienable parts of the Republic of Armenia and are predestinated by You to pass under the American General-Governorship.

At the same time the Azerbaidjan Diplomatic Mission in Erivan with analogical to the one enclosed hereby certificates for free passage through the named territory, in which the territory in question constituting a part of the American General-Governorship, is looked upon as belonging to Azerbaidjan.

The Government of Armenia, responsible before its Parliament and people, cannot leave without response such an evident violation by Azerbaidjan of the vital rights and interests of the Republic of Armenia. The profound recognition of that responsibility obliges me to request You again, in the name of my Government, the quickest realisation of the scheme, sketched by You and accepted both by the Governments of the two Republics about the establishment in the Sharur and Nakhichevan districts of the American General-Governorship; the further delaying of it, sharply threatening the interests of Armenia, will oblige the Government of Armenia to undertake by all owned and accessible means the defense of its rights and interests in the revolted regions of Sharur and Nakhichevan, which being influenced by the Azerbaijan secret persuasion and intrigues, refuse to acknowledge the agreement concerning the institution in the named regions of the American General-Governorship. ...

P. Isakulian, Chief of Political Section. A. Pahlavuni, Secretary.

№ 35

report by the Bishop of Erevan Khoren Mouradbegian - to the Catholicos of all Armenians Gevorg V Tphghisetsi, Surenyants (Etchmiadzin)⁶⁵

Yerevan, December 30 (17), 1919

fund 57, reg. 5, file 205, f. 3-7

On December 9 (22) the Council of Ministers had held its session at 1 o'clock in the afternoon under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Khatisian, with my participation, as well as of the members of Dashnaktsutun Bureau.

During the assembly we have discussed a number of important questions, namely:

...The British. British representative had proposed to admit British officers in the Armenian Army as instructors. This offer had not been accepted at the previous session. Four members of the sitting were of the opinion that it could be unfavorable, since the British policy was well-known and such a move could be unpleasant for Americans. The other four members supposed that we could accept this proposal, taking in to account, that if Americans leave us, we would not remain alone. This matter had been discussed with W. Haskell and the latter had advised to agree. He had said our neighbors would be affected by the fact that our Army contains the British. The latter offer to engage such close persons, as W. H. Beach, C. E. Temperley, J. C. Plowden, A. Charles. ...

The British are very worried about the fact, that Erevan-Julfa⁶⁶ line is not opened

⁶⁵ Published in: Վավերագրեր հայ եկեղեցու պատմության: Գիրք Բ, Խորեն Ա Մուրադբեկյան կաթողիկոս ամենայն հայոց (հոգևոր գործունեությունը 1901-1938թթ.): Կազմ. Ս. Բեհբուդյան, Երևան, 1996, էջ 76-80:

⁶⁶ Old Jugha.

up today. They blame for it W. Haskell who is a representative of the Conference and discredits England by his weakness. The British had demanded 500 men to settle the situation in Sharur-Nakhichevan and 50 men for Shahtakht⁶⁷ district; so that a route from Maku and Turkey into Sharur would be shut once and for all. What is the aim of the British, no one knows. ...

№ 36

letter from chief of the Armenian diplomatic mission to Persia

H. Arghoutian - for the US plenipotentiary at Persia J. L. Caeduree (Teheran)

Teheran, February 29, 1920

(received at the US legate office in Teheran March 2)

remitted for the US Secretary of State B. Colby (Washington)

sent from Teheran, March 4, 1920 (received in Washington May 18)

US NA, RG 59, 760J.90c/2/Encl., T1193/Reel 2/mr 35

...Excellency: -

After the massacres of Agoulis and its environments, the Turko-Azerbaijan forces prepare themselves for provoking the new difficulties in Transcaucasia. ...

At Nakhichevan, Khalil bey organizes armed forces, at Jibrail, the famous Khalil pasha, at the head of an army of 1.500 soldiers, prepares for a new attack on Zangezur.

In communicating these verified instructions, I have the honor to request your Excellency to be kind enough to transmit them to your Government, requesting to take all the necessary measures in order to avoid certain grave movements in the future.

...H. Arghoutian. ...

№ 37

telegram from Armenian National council of Zangezur -

for the Parliament of the Republic of Armenia (Erevan)⁶⁸

Goris, March 13, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 475, f. 156 rev.

According to the information, we have just received, Turkish askers, led by Turkish officers, in common with Ordubad and Nakhichevan Tatars, led by Azerbaijani officers, launch a general offensive against Armenian villages of Goghtan with the purpose to annihilating and conquest them. Armenian peasants wage mortal intensive combat with treacherous and unpunished enemy. ... Demand from the Allies to impact Azerbaijan and Turkish officers. Require counteraction. Your advices force us to restrain unrest by the great efforts.

№ 38

summary by the intelligence department at the Staff of the

Commander-in-Chief of the Armenian Army - Chief of Staff of the

Commander-in-Chief of the Armenian Army A. Vekilov, General

Quartermaster S. Pritomanov⁶⁹ (Erevan)

⁶⁷ Arkashat.

⁶⁸ Published in: Նախիջևան-Շարուրը, էջ 205:

secret

Yerevan, April 4, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 427, pt. 1, f. 174-174 rev., 179-179 rev.

...II. District of Sharur-Nakhijevan and Kamarlu.

Regarding consolidation of the Azerbaijan's power in Nakhijevan and as a consequence of the Halil pasha arrival there with Turkish officers, askers and artillery, what was noted in the previous essay; a danger of active hostilities instigated by the Azerbaijan chieftains has arisen now. These misgivings were confirmed by information from our Intelligence concerning coordinated offensive of Turkey and Azerbaijan in the Kars province, Zangezur and Nakhijevan, planned to be held in the Spring (the main direction would be Julfa and Zod, with the plot to cut Zangezur off Armenia). Reinforcement of Beuk Vedi district and ceaseless agitation in Zangibasar⁷⁰ made us to be equally on the lookout for regions of Kamarlu⁷¹ and even Erevan. There was an instruction sent from Baku via Erevan⁷² to Nakhijevan on March 25 to support Azerbaijan's campaign in Karabakh by its decisive military actions.

However, a certain frontier incident had taken place at the slopes of Mt. Yerakh (Bozburun)⁷³ even at an earlier time, on March 19. It revealed Tatar plans prematurely. An Officer, who commanded frontier post on the Mt. Yerakh, had recaptured a flock of sheep from Beuk Vedi Tatars; they grazed it too close to our positions. A detachment of about 1.000 men, which had been trained apparently for another goal, had immediately moved from Beuk Vedi with intent to rescue the sheep. As a result, days of March 19, 25 and 31 had been spent in the grave warfare on the Mt. Yerakh. The number of Tatar men had grown several times; and the Mount had thrice passed from one hand into another; it remained ours only thanks to timely arrived reinforcements. These engagements cost Tatars serious losses; they failed to break through to Zangibasar; and implementation of this plan had been postponed, at least, for a time being.

From the very beginning of occurrences at Yeraskh, dwellers of Zangibasar, agitated by propaganda, had rejected even nominal recognition of our government; they had moved their families out to Sharur, fled to arms and began temporize until outcome of Yerakh fighting. It is only an outcome of the battle, favorable to us, that prevented action of Zangibasar. ...

V. Deduction.

It is solely the recent defeat that deprives Moslems in Nakhijevan, Sharur and Igdir of the possibility to support actively the Government of Azerbaijan in its efforts to break

⁶⁹ Possibly, V. Pritomanov.

⁷⁰ Town and a settlement of Masis in contemporary Ararat region (Marz).

⁷¹ Artashat.

⁷² It was intercepted and deciphered by the Armenian counterintelligence; the data was later transferred to Paris, London, Washington and published by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs. See: A Page on Activities of the Government and Representatives of Azerbaijan within the Armenia - NAA, fund 200, reg. 1, file 427, pt. I, f. 203-214.

⁷³ It's a south-western spur of the Geghama mountains, 1419 meters high, situated north-west of Vedi. Had been mentioned subsequently in the text as Bozburun.

through the native Armenian lands to unite with Turkey. ...

№ 39

reference by information department of the Armenian Ministry
of Foreign Affairs “Karabakh and Zangezur” - for the US Consul
at Tiflis C. K. Moser (Tiflis)

Yerevan, sine data, after April 22, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 427, pt. 2, f. 234-239 rev.

Rebels of Sharur-Nakhijevan and Beuk Vedi had always regarded Tatar population of the districts Vedi and Zangibasar as a vanguard of all insurgent movement. Turkey and Azerbaijan think of these districts similarly. By February 20 the secretary of the Azerbaijan mission in Erevan had already telegraphed to the Azerbaijani Minister of Interior as follows: “Inhabitants of Nakhichevan write that if dwellers of Zangibasar gave up, we would lose a lot in political, moral, and material sense.

If the Government values preservation of (Sharur-Nakhijevan) region at its hold, it should send money and men without delay.” ...

Belligerent actions of Tatars, including attacks against Armenians, their murder, captivity etc. had begun with the coming of warm weather.

Regular military operations had began from March 19.

According to the information from the Headquarters, up to 5.000 Tatar men had launched an offensive from the village Beuk Vedi against the left flank of our Kamarlu detachment at the Mt. Yerakh⁷⁴ on March 19, about 16 o'clock.

Bearing in mind suddenness of such an assault, the Tatars had successively driven our units at the mountain back, so that they retreated toward Aghdamlar and Dargalu villages⁷⁵. On March 20 the Tatars made an advance to the Nakhijevan highway, as well as on the cabin between Yuva village and double-track section of Shirazlu⁷⁶. However, they were met by a counterattack of our troops supported by fire of armored train, had been repulsed and fell back upon their positions.

Two officers were killed, 100 privates killed and wounded during the two-days fight.

As the Headquarters communicate, regular military operations of both sides had continued afterwards, too. Tatar columns advanced against other positions, but were dispersed by our fire. We observed Tatar congestions by March 24 and their attempt to cross the Arax river by boats near village Ali Mamed. This attempt had been liquidated by the gunfire. By the same day we had noticed the digging of trenches in Igdir district,

⁷⁴ Noted in the text as Bozburun.

⁷⁵ Both villages were Armenian. First of them had been ruined and not restored. The second is called Aygezard now. It had been founded in 1828 by 353 settlers from Khoy and Salmast. In 1919, 1350 peasants had lived in this village.

⁷⁶ It's called Vosketap now. The village is situated 7 km. South-west of Vedi, on the highway Yerevan-Nakhijevan. At the end of 19th century it had 451 residents, in 1989 - 3836, including 2230 Armenian settlers from Azerbaijan SSR, who escaped pogroms and murder caused by their national belonging.

east of the Mt. Dalich.

Next days the enemy had undertaken an offensive against Igdir, but had been defeated by our troops and retreated. Our units had been exchanging shots with the enemy in other districts. ...

№ 40

telegram from chairman of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia J. W. Gerard - for the US President T. W. Wilson (Washington)

New York, May 19, 1920

for the US Secretary of State B. Colby (Washington)

Washington, secretary of the President, May 20, 1920

US NA, RG 59, 760J.90c/7, T1193/Reel 2/mr 35

I have just received the following cablegram from President [A. Aharonian], Delegation Armenian Republic, in Paris:

"No accord with Moscow. Azerbaijan pretending to be Bolshevik. Enver Halil pasha head movement, begun violent campaign against Armenian Republic. Turkish Kurdish hordes advancing from Persia towards Nakhichevan, Erivan. Received no military aid hitherto. Our republic enclosed within iron ring without arms and munitions will collapse if great American Republic fails to intervene at once. Urgently essential to send ships to Batum. Erevan line open continue revictuallizing population provisions nearing exhaustion." James W. Gerard. ...

№ 41

letter from US Ambassador in France H. C. Wallace - for the US Secretary of State B. Colby (Washington)

urgent

Paris, May 20, 1920 (received May 21)

US NA, RG 59, 760J.90c/4; T1193/Reel 2/mr 35

A. Aharonian, President of the Armenian peace delegation called upon me to request that the United States assist his country in their present desperate situation. He urged that I transmit as soon as possible the appeal set forth in the following letter addressed to me.

"For more than a year we have continuously been calling the attention of the Supreme Council to the fact that Turkish nationalism, allied to the Tartar Azerbaijan, is trying to depopulate Armenia of its Armenian inhabitants with the object of replacing them by Turco Tartars.

We asked [the Allies] to interfere either by sending military assistance or by furnishing arms and munitions to the Armenian Republic to organize the defense of our people. ...

Our Government telegraphs us as follows: ...

The Turco-Tartars well armed, and encouraged by the inaction of the Allies have devastated and drenched in blood the Armenian provinces of Karabakh, Zangezur,

Gokcha, Agulis and Nakhichevan. Everywhere the Armenians are resisting desperately, receiving no help from their great Allies, not a cartridge no a sou.

Our sole help rests in the great American Republic which for more than a year has with so much generosity revictualled our people confronted with this imminent peril. It is to America, her President, and her Senate that we address a testimonial of appeal for help and protection.

It is most urgently necessary 1) to free communication over the railway line of Batum to Erevan 2) to furnish the small Armenian Republic with some supplies of arms, munitions and money 3) to continue the revictualing of Armenia 4) to hasten the delimitation of the frontier of the Armenian state.

Abandoned by all after so many sacrifices and horrors the martyrs home has entrusted its fate to the great American nation.” H. C. Wallace

№ 42

conditions of recognition of the Republic of Armenia's Government power
by the Muslim population of Nakhijevan district
handed by the Minister of Military Affairs of the Republic of Armenia
R. Ter-Manisian and Assistant Minister Major General
H. Hakhverdian (Erevan)⁷⁷

Yerevan, July 18 and 27, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 484, f. 26-26 rev.

1. The National committee of Nakhijevan announces on behalf of all population of Nakhijevan and Sharur districts, that these districts are integral part of the Republic of Armenia and that all their dwellers recognize themselves as citizens of the Republic of Armenia.

2. The National committee of Nakhijevan, as well as residents of this district bind themselves not to admit Turks and refugees from Vedi-Basar, Zangibasar, Sharur and propagandists from Azerbaijan to their places.

3. Administration of the Nakhijevan district is appointed mainly of Muslims, except Goghtan, where the administration is assigned of Armenians.

4. Population of the aforesaid district is granted a right of complete self-government in religious and cultural questions.

5. Population of the aforesaid district can possess its special court of justice, coming from shariah, and can be tried in this court by consent of both sides, according to their own rules and customs.

6. 300 horses with saddles, each at a price of 50,000 rubles, and 200 heads of draught animals, each for 30,000 rubles, must be sold to the Government of the Republic of Armenia during two weeks. 300,000 poods of wheat must be handed over to the Government of the Republic of Armenia during a month; 150,000 poods of them

⁷⁷ Published in: Нагорный Карабах, стр. 575-576; Նախիջևան-Շարուրը, էջ 257-258. More rigorous terms and vast citations see in: R. Hovannisian, The Republic of Armenia, vol. III, p. 314.

will be delivered free of charge and 150,000 poods by payment at a price 2,000 rubles per pood.

7. Protection of the railway from Julfa until Shahtakht⁷⁸ is arranged by the National committee at the expense of Republic. And the Committee in common with population of the nearest to a damage district is responsible for any damages of the railway in this district.

8. Population of the said district binds himself to hold elections into the Parliament, local zemstvo and municipal bodies of self-government during a month.

9. All government issue, seized in 1919, must be returned. Besides, each household will hand over one rifle, making at least 10,000 rifles in total, with 100 bullets for each; as well as cannons and machine-guns in common with other military equipment of every kind. Delivery will commence in 24 hours after accepting these conditions. It will be ended during 10 days; furthermore, all military units must hand over their weapons the very first day.

10. In the event of not accepting all these conditions during 24 hours after departure of the delegation from the station of Shahtakht, the Command of the Republic of Armenia declines any responsibility.

11. We announce full amnesty of all persons, who are involved in anti-state crimes.

12. Government of the Republic renders the National committee all possible assistance at a fulfillment of these conditions.

13. After the delivery of weapons by population personal safety and protection of property must be ensured by the Government of Republic.

14. According to the instructions by the Government of Republic and the National committee, two hostages must be chosen from each village and five of them selected from each town. They will live freely in Erevan and Alexandropol, until all the aforesaid conditions are met. Besides, one of them will be provided for at Government's expense.

15. The Tatars must repair at their account a stretch of the railway south of Shahtakht station, damaged by themselves, and they will transfer all railway property to the Ministry of Railways of the Republic of Armenia.

Copy of these conditions is received for transfer to the National Committee of Nakhijevan.

№ 43

Agreement between the Republic of Armenia and Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (Tiflis)⁷⁹

Tiflis, August 10, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 529, f. 70-70 rev.; file 588, f. 173-173 rev.

⁷⁸ Arkashat.

⁷⁹ Published in: Великая Октябрьская социалистическая революция и победа Советской власти в Армении. Сб. док., сост. Мнацаканян А. Н., Ереван, 1957, стр. 384-385 (following: Великая Октябрьская); Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների, 1967, 3, էջ 46-47; & 1989, 1, էջ 122-123; Нагорный Карабах, стр. 574-575.

2. ...Troops of the RSFSR occupy dispute regions: Karabagh, Zangezur, Nakhijevan, except the strip of land, shaped by this agreement for the station of the Republic of Armenia's forces. ...

5. Pending the conclusion of a Treaty between RSFSR and the Republic of Armenia, operation of the railway section Shahtakht-Julfa is granted to the Railway Administration of Armenia; provided, however, that it can't be used for military purposes.

№ 44

Protocol of the Final resolution by the peace delegations of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and the Republic of Armenia (Erevan)⁸⁰

Yerevan, October 28, 1920

fund 200, reg. 1, file 12, f. 29; file 628, f. 1 - 2 rev.

I. Government of RSFSR on one side and a Government of the Republic of Armenia on another side, commit themselves to sign a draft of the Peace Treaty, attached hereby, provided:

1) That the Governments of the RSFSR and AzSSR recognize an inviolable right of the Republic of Armenia to the territories of the disputed regions – namely of Nakhijevan and Zangezur uezds - and will withdraw from the confines of these Districts all military detachments, which are under command of the RSFSR and AzSSR.

№ 45

Agreement between Plenipotentiary of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and Government of the Republic of Armenia (Erevan)⁸¹

Yerevan, December 2, 1920

Ключников Я. В., Сабанин А. В. Международная политика новейшего времени в договорах,

нотах и декларациях, часть III, вып. I. М., Наркоминдел, 1928, с. 75-76

Clause 3 The Russian Soviet Government recognizes to be incontestably entering the composition of the territory of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia the Erivan Governorship, ...a part of the Kars Oblast, ...Zangezur uezd, ...a part of the Kazakh uezd, .. and those parts of the Tiflis Governorship, that were a possession of Armenia until October 23, 1920. ...

⁸⁰ Published in: Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների, 1967, 3, էջ 71-72; Нагорный Карабах, стр. 597-598.

⁸¹ Published in: Великая Октябрьская, стр. 441-442.

Story of the Massacre Told by an Eye-Witness

**Armenians Shot Down by American Missionary's Side
While Begging Official to Protect Them—"Adana
Was a Hell"—Military Commander a Craven.**

Adana, Asiatic Turkey, via Constantinople. — The Rev. Herbert Adams Gibbons, of Hartford, Conn., a missionary of the American Board of Foreign Missions stationed here and at Tarsus, was an eyewitness of the scenes of terror and destruction at the centre of the Moslem uprising. He gives the following story of massacre, rapine and incendiarism:

"The entire vilayet of Adana has been visited during the last five days with a terrible massacre of Armenians, the worst ever known in the history of the district. The terror has been universal, and the Government is powerless to check the disorders. Adana, the capital of the province, has been the storm centre.

"Conditions have been unsettled for some time past, and there has been animosity between Turks and Armenians, owing to the political activity of the latter and their open purchasing of arms.

"Early last Wednesday morning, while I was in the market, I noticed that the Armenians were closing their shops and hurrying to their homes. An Armenian and a Turk had been killed during the night, and the corpses were paraded through their respective quarters. The sight of the dead inflamed the inhabitants, and crowds at once began to gather in the streets armed with sticks, axes and knives. A few young Armenians assembled in the centre of the covered market and began firing revolver shots into the air. By 11 o'clock in the morning the crowd had begun the looting of shops.

Military Commander in Seclusion.

"The military commander of Adana was by my side in the market when the firing commenced. He had not the courage to endeavor to disperse the mob; he returned to his residence and did not venture out for two days.

"William Chambers, Field Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, and myself proceeded to the Konak and found a howling mob demanding arms with which to kill the Glacours. We then went to the telegraph office to summon the British Consul. On the steps of the building we saw three Armenians who had been killed. Their bodies had been mutilated. While we were in the telegraph office a mob burst into the room where we were and killed two Armenians before our eyes. The unfortunates were supplicating the protection of the Vail when they were struck down.

"We managed to make our way into the next room, where we made representations to the Vail. This official said he could do nothing. He was afraid for his own life, and he made no attempt to protect us. Somehow we managed to get to the interior of the Konak, where we remained at the side of the Government officials for the next forty-eight hours.

"That afternoon the situation grew distinctly worse. The Armenians withdrew to their quarter of Adana, which is situated on a hill, and converted the houses that held advantageous positions into fortresses. Here the fighting went on for two days, during which the Armenians succeeded in beating off their Turkish assailants.

British Woman Cares For Wounded.

"Wednesday evening Major Daugherty-Wylle, the British Vice-Consul at Mersina, arrived at Adana and established headquarters in the house of the dragoman of a wealthy Greek resident, where many refugees had been received. The wife of the British Vice-Consul, who was brought into Adana under fire on Thursday, tended personally to many wounded women and children.

"Adana was a hell. The bazaars were looted and set on fire. There was continuous and unceasing shooting and killing in every part of the town, and fires raged in many quarters.

"Moslems from the neighborhood began pouring into the city, and notwithstanding our protests, the Vail distributed arms to these men, alleging that they were Turkish reserves.

"Major Daugherty-Wylle, at the head of troops which he compelled the Vail to supply, went to the railroad station of the town and was successful in preventing the villagers from coming into Adana. Later, while the Major was attempting to pacify the town he was shot and disabled.

"Missionaries of the Central Turkey Mission had assembled for a district conference in the centre of Adana on the day of the outbreak. They received and protected hundreds of refugees in the American Seminary for Girls, and courageously endeavored to pacify the warring elements.

Missionaries Treacherously Killed.

"On Thursday Daniel Miner Rogers and Henry Maurer, American missionaries, were killed under treacherous circumstances.

"On Friday the Armenians yielded, since when there has been little murdering.

"Adana is in a pitiable condition. The town has been pillaged and destroyed, and there are thousands of homeless people here without means of livelihood. It is impossible to estimate the number of killed. The corpses lie scattered through the streets. Friday, when I went out, I had to pick my way between the dead

to avoid stepping on them. Saturday morning I counted a dozen cartloads of Armenian bodies in one-half hour being carried to the river and thrown into the water. In the Turkish cemeteries graves are being dug wholesale.

"The condition of the refugees is most pitiable and heartrending. Not only are there orphans and widows beyond number, but a great many, even the babies, are suffering from severe wounds.

"The situation in Adana itself is unspeakable. On Friday afternoon 250 so-called 'Turkish reserves, without officers, seized a train at Adana and compelled the engineer to convey them to Tarsus, where they took part in the complete destruction of the Armenian quarter of that town, which is the best part of Tarsus. Their work of looting was thorough and rapid. It is said that they spread with kerosene and fired the great historic Armenian Church at Tarsus, the most important building in the city. They demolished marble statues and shattered important historic tablets. Everything portable was carried away, but the church itself resisted their attempts to burn it. Fortunately few persons were killed here. This was owing to the proximity of the American College, where 4000 destitute and homeless persons had sought and found shelter."

Man Beaten to Death.

Thomas Brown, sixty-six, was found beaten to death at his home in President street, Brooklyn, N. Y. His son Edward, seemingly insane, was accused of the murder.

Edgefield advertiser,
May 05, 1909.S.C

REPORT CHRISTIANS IN PERIL IN TURKEY

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PETROGRAD, Nov. 11, (Dispatch to The London Morning Post.)-- Refugees who have arrived here from Constantinople report that the state of things there and in Turkey generally appalling.

Brigandage, murder, and atrocities are committed. Armenians being the chief-victims, but all Christians and foreigners are in great danger. One refugee, a Greek tells me he ran away to escape forced military service, leaving his wife and mother behind. According to his account Turkish authorities are forcing every man possible into the rank of the army.

The fighting on Saturday Sunday at Koprikos was not renewed on Monday, but the day was spent in a vigorous artillery duel, apparently without result. In the meantime Russian columns are marching up in two directions to reinforce each other for an attack on Erzerum.

Several strategic points of the utmost importance are already in the hands of the Russians.

New York Times
November 12, 1914

CHRISTIANS IN GREAT PERIL

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATHENS, Jan. 12 (Dispatch to The London Morning Post.)--- It is asserted in well-informed circles that the Turks for the present have abandoned their advance against Egypt.

In Constantinople anxiety regarding the possible forcing of the Dardanells continues.

It is evident that the situation of the Christian is extremely precarious even in the large cities, and Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior, has stated to the Councillor of the Greek Patriarchate that in Turkey henceforth there will be room only for Turks. While he was profuse in assurances to the Greek Minister regarding the cessation of anti-Greek persecutions, no real amelioration of the situation is perceptible.

The Turks are again fortifying the Tchatalja lines.

New York Times
January 13, 1915

APPEAL TO TURKEY TO STOP MASSACRES

***Ambassador Morgenthau In-
structed to Make Representa-
tions on Request of Russia.***

WASHINGTON, April 27.—An appeal for relief of Armenian Christians in Turkey, following reported massacres and threatened further outrages, was made to the Turkish Government today by the United States.

Acting upon the request of the Russian Government, submitted through Ambassador Bakhmeteff, Secretary Bryan cabled to Ambassador Morgenthau at Constantinople to make representations to the Turkish authorities asking that steps be taken for the protection of imperiled Armenians and to prevent the recurrence of religious outbreaks.

Ambassador Bakhmeteff called at the State Department late today with a dispatch from his Government, which included an appeal to the President of the United States for aid, forwarded through the Russian Government from the Catholics of the Armenian Church at Etchmiadzin, in the Caucasus.

"The request from the head of the Armenian Church to this Government, forwarded through the Russian Ambassador," said Secretary Bryan, "is the first official notice the department has received of the reported Armenian massacres. Our action was taken as a matter of humanity."

The Russian Embassy today gave out a translation of a recent speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Duma, in which the presence of Russian troops in Persia was explained. The Foreign Minister said:

"The presence of our troops in Persian territory by no means involves a violation of Persian neutrality. Our detachments were sent to that country some years ago for the definite purpose of establishing and maintaining order in districts contiguous to our possessions, of high economic importance to us, also to prevent the seizure of some of these districts by the Turks, who openly strove to create for themselves there, especially in the district of Urumiah, a convenient base for military operations against the Caucasus. The Persian Government, not having the actual power to maintain its neutrality, met the Turkish violation of the latter with protests, which, however, had no results."

The New York Times

Published: April 28, 1915

Copyright © The New York Times

TURKEY BARS RED CROSS

Will Not Permit America to Aid Armenian Sufferers

The Turkish government has informed the State Department at Washington that the Red Cross will not be permitted to send surgeons and nurses to the aid of the Armenian people of the Turkish empire. Not only are American Red Cross surgeons, nurses, and agents barred from Turkey, but also all other foreigners, foreigners in this instance undoubtedly meaning the nationals of neutral countries.

The State Department informed Ernest T. Bicknell and Miss Mabel Boardman of the executive staff of the American Red Cross of Turkey's decision, and Miss Boardman communicated the information to Dr. M. Simbad Gabriel of 410 West Twenty-third Street, this city, the President of the Armenian General Progressive Association in this country .

A few weeks ago Dr. Gabriel wrote to Miss Boardman concerning the atrocities committed against the Armenians by the Turks. He asked the American Red Cross to send physicians and nurses to Turkey to aid the sufferers. In his letter Dr. Gabriel said:

"A hundred American Red Cross nurses and physicians can work miracles there not only by the bread and medicine they will give but by virtue of their personal presence. " He also suggested that Armenians in this country might raise \$50,000 to be expended by the Red Cross.

Informing Dr. Gabriel of the inability to send Red Cross aid, Miss Boardman, writing from Washington under date of Oct. 16 said:

"Your letter of Sept. 21 arrived during my absence from Washington. On my return I made inquiries regarding the possibility of the American Red Cross sending surgeons and nurses for the aid of the Armenians if the Armenians in America raised funds for this purpose. Mr. Bicknell took the matter up with the State Department, and on inquiry we found that the Turkish government had declined to allow any foreign personnel to undertake this work. Therefore it would be impossible for us to do so, even if the money were secured, greatly to our regret.

"We find it also difficult at present, almost impossible, in fact, to send supplies to Turkey, everything is in such a fearful condition in Europe. We have notified those that desire to send contributions for Armenian relief that we would transmit them through the American Ambassador at Constantinople, as this seems to be the only method at present of aiding the Armenian population. We can only hope that this situation will before long come to an end. It is growing daily so much worse that it seems as if it could not last long."

"The letter from the Miss Boardman," Dr. Gabriel said yesterday, "speaks for itself, and I think in the eyes of all prejudiced persons it will prove convincing evidence of the truthfulness of the terrible stories that are coming out of Turkey regarding the persecution, murder, and torturing of the Armenian people. Perhaps the President might make it personal request of the authorities at Constantinople that the American Red

Cross be permitted to undertake this mission of mercy in behalf of a people who are the victims of the greatest and most systematic series of massacres recorded in history."

New York Times

April 29, 1915

SAINT PAUL PIONEER PRESS AND SAINT PAUL DISPATCH,

SUNDAY, MAY 16, 1915.

SEEKS AID FOR ARMENIANS

**New York Man Attempting to Form
Branch in St. Paul of a National- al
Association.**

To help the families of about 30,000 Armenians massacred recently by Turks and other sufferers in Armenia on account of the general European warfare, a national relief association is being o[r]ganized in the United States.

Howard C. Ives of New York was in St. Paul last week and enlisted the support of a number of men, whose names are to be announced as soon as the organization work throughout the country is completed.

ARMENIANS MASSACRED

**Six Thousand Killed by Turks and
Kurds at Van.**

LONDON, May 17.—Six thousand Armenians have been massacred at Van, in Armenia, Asiatic Turkey, according to a dispatch received in official quarters in London to-day from the Russian consul at Urumiah, Persia.

This message is dated May 15. It adds that the Armenians are defending themselves to the utmost against the Turks and Kurds arrayed against them, but that help is urgently needed.

ALLIES TO PUNISH TURKS WHO MURDER

Notify Porte That Government Heads Must Answer for Armenian Massacres.

LONDON, May 23.—A joint official statement by Great Britain, France, and Russia, issued tonight, says:

"For the past month Kurds and the Turkish population of Armenia have been engaged in massacring Armenians with the connivance and help of the Ottoman authorities. Such massacres took place about the middle of April at Erzerum, Dertshau, Moush, Zeitun, and in all Cilicia.

"The inhabitants of about a hundred villages near Van were all assassinated. In the town itself the Armenian quarter is besieged by Kurds. At the same time the Ottoman Government at Constantinople is raging against the inoffensive Armenian population.

"In the face of these fresh crimes committed by Turkey, the allied Governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold all members of the Government, as well as such of their agents as are implicated, personally responsible for such massacres."

MASSACRES BY WHOLESALE.

Turks and Kurds Have Killed Thousands Since the War Began.

One of the first sparks fanned into flame in the East by the European War was that of the old hatred between the Armenian Christians in Asiatic Turkey and Persia and the Mohammedan Turks and Kurds.

By the middle of February reports of the slaughter of Armenians began to come to America, and the days of 1895-6, when to be an Armenian Christian was to be in constant danger, were recalled.

The New York Times

Published: May 24, 1915

Copyright © The New York Times

BRYCE ASKS US TO AID ARMENIA

**Says That All the Christians in
Trebizond, Numbering 10,000,
Were Drowned.**

WOMEN SEIZED FOR HAREMS

**Only Power That Can Stop the Mas-
sacres Is Germany, and We
Might Persuade Her to Act.**

LONDON, Sept. 20.—Viscount Bryce, formerly Ambassador to the United States, has sent to The Associated Press a plea that America try to stop the slaughter of Armenians. He says:

"The civilized world, especially America, ought to know what horrors have been passing in Asiatic Turkey during the last few months, for if anything can stop the destroying hand of the Turkish Government it will be an expression of the opinion of neutral nations, chiefly the judgment of humane America.

"Soon after war broke out between Turkey and the Allies, the Turkish Government formed, and since has been carrying out with relentless cruelty, a plan for extirpating Christianity by killing off Christians of the Armenian race. Accounts from different sources agree that over the whole of Eastern and Northern Asia Minor and Armenia the Christian population is being deliberately exterminated, the men of military age being killed and the younger women seized for Turkish harems, compelled to become Mohammedans, and kept, with the children, in virtual slavery. The rest of the inhabitants, old women, men, and children, have been driven under convoy of Turkish soldiers into unhealthy parts of Asia Minor, some to the deserts between Syria and the Euphrates. Many die or are murdered en route, and all perish sooner or later.

"In Trebizond City, where the Armenians numbered over 10,000, orders came from Constantinople to seize all Armenians. Troops hunted them, drove them to the shore, took them to sea, threw them overboard, and drowned them all—men, women, and children. This was seen and described by the Italian Consul.

"Some in the country escaped by professing to accept Islam, and a quarter of a million escaped over the Russian frontier, but perhaps half a million were slaughtered or deported, and those deported are fast dying from ill-treatment, disease, or starvation. The roads and the hillsides are strewn with corpses of innocent peasants.

"We can all try to send aid to the miserable refugees now in Russian territory, but what man can stop the massacres? Not the allied powers at war with Turkey. Only one power can take action for that purpose. It is Germany. Would not the expression of American public opinion, voicing the conscience of neutral nations, lead Germany to check the Turkish Government?"

The New York Times

Published: September 21, 1915

Copyright © The New York Times

AMERICANS WILLING TO ASSIST ARMENIANS

Washington, Sept. 24.—Several American philanthropists have signified a willingness to provide funds for bringing to this country persecuted Armenians in the Far East who desire to emigrate, according to information that has reached the state department from the American board of foreign missions. No names have been disclosed. What the attitude of the Turkish government might be toward such a movement has not been learned.

Ambassador Morgenthau today was instructed to investigate rumors that American missionaries had been killed in recent Turkish military operations against the Armenians.

SLAY ALL ARMENIANS IN CITY OF KERASUNT

***Turks Wipe Out Entire Popu-
lation in Town on the
Black Sea.***

LONDON, Tuesday, Oct. 26.—A dispatch to The Daily Mail from Odessa says:

“The Turks have massacred the entire Armenian population of Kerasunt, on the Black Sea.”

Kerasunt is a seaport in Asiatic Turkey, about seventy miles west of Trezbizond. It is situated on a rocky promontory, with a spacious bay on the east side. The heights surrounding are covered with luxurious vegetation. The population of Karasunt is about 24,000.

The New York Times

Published: October 26, 1915

Copyright © The New York Times

DEBT OF CIVILIZATION TO ARMENIA

HORRORS THAT ARE TURKEY

Convincing Revelations of the Terrors of Massacre in the Land of the Sultan Made by a Bryn Mawr Girl

The earliest national Christian church in the world was organized by the Armenians after Gregory the Illuminator converted the Armenian King, Tiridates III, to Christianity in the year 285. The Persians attempted to extirpate the Armenian Christians, but failed. When the Mohammedans conquered that part of the world they in turn attacked the Christians and they have continued to persecute them for a thousand years. The massacres that have taken place since the present war began are the most extensive and horrible in the whole history of this faithful people. Renunciation of their faith would bring them immunity, but with a devotion that should cause every Christian in the western world to blush with shame they have clung to the belief of their fathers and have been true to the God of their ancestors. The civilized powers, after the massacres of 1895 and 1896, induced the Turkish Sultan to sign his name to a piece of paper agreeing to protect his Christian Armenian subjects. But it was only a scrap of paper. Thousands of Armenians were massacred in 1903, only eight years ago.



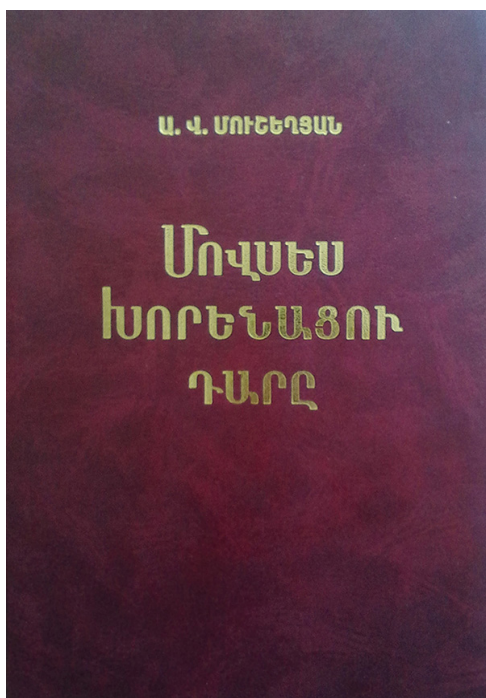
MRS. GIBBONS
and the baby born during an
Armenian massacre.

But Turkey is so far away that massacre there touches us little more than massacre a thousand years ago. It has remained for a Bryn Mawr graduate to bring home to America what it all means. Mrs. Helen Davenport Gibbons went to Tarsus with her husband, Herbert Adams Gibbons, in 1908, to spend a year teaching in St. Paul's College. She wrote letters to her mother, telling her of her experiences. They have been put into a book, beginning with the display of interest which a young American bride feels in the far-off strange land—the scenery, the customs of the people, the management of a missionary college, the camels, the pottery and all the delightful things that appeal to the romance in one. Then suggestions of trouble begin to creep in. The students act "Hamlet" with its king-murdering scene and the officials present who never heard of Shakespeare think it is a political play prepared to stir up the people to slay the Sultan. She goes driving next day and stones are thrown at her. Her husband goes to Adana and a massacre begins there before he can get back home. The massacre starts in Tarsus. The missionary compound is filled with nearly 5600 refugees. Armenian women, fleeing in terror to the college, are taken

with labor pains in the street and are brought in with their new-born babies. Mrs. Gibbons herself is about to become a mother, and her own baby is born before order is restored. She makes us understand what massacre means to an American girl who escapes with her life and thus helps us to understand what it must mean to the women of the country to whom worse things than death happen at the hands of the Kurds if they do not find a place of safety. No one can read what she has written without feeling that the Christian owes a debt to the Armenians which it has not even begun to pay.

THE RED RUGS OF TARSUS. By Helen Davenport Gibbons. \$1.25. New York: The Century Company.

BOOKS AND BOOK REVIEWS



THE EPOCH OF MOVSES KHORENATSI

By: **Musheghyan A. V.**

Doctor of Sciences (Philology)

Yerevan, 2007, 410 pages.

Summary

The monograph is devoted to the life and the epoch of the founder of the Armenian historiography Movses Khorenatsi and his “History of Armenia”. To think that Movses Khorenatsi is an author of the 7th-9th centuries means to remove him to a period and an environment which are much more incoherent to his Weltanschauung, geographical notions, political and religious perceptions, and unique language and style, than a number of more or less serious anachronisms, which are completely rejected in this book. Movses Khorenatsi is undoubtedly an author of the 5th century and his classical “History of Armenia” is a product of that exceptionally fateful period of the historical biography of the Armenian people.

<http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/348.pdf>

ՆՈՐԱՅՐ ԴԱՆԻԵԼՅԱՆ

ՄՈՎՍԵՍ ԽՈՐԵՆԱՏՈՒ
«ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՆԱՅՈՑ»-Ի
ՊԱՏՄԱՆՈՎԵՎՈՐ ՆԱՄԱԿԱՐԳԸ
ԵՎ ԱՍՏՎԱԾԱՇՈՒՆՉԸ

HISTORICAL–SPIRITUAL SYSTEM OF MOVSES KHORENATSI'S «THE HISTORY OF ARMENIA» AND THE BIBLE

By: **Danielyan N. E**

PhD in History

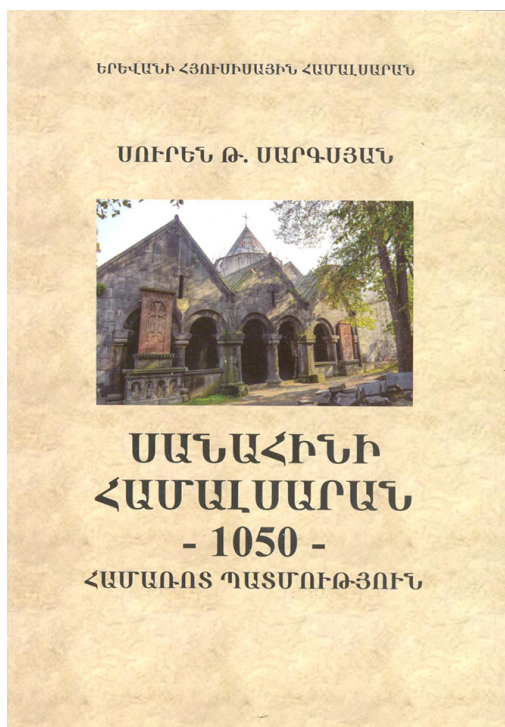
*Arch. Mesrob Ashjian Book Series 72, Yerevan,
2011, 223 pages*

After the proclamation of Christianity as the state religion (301 AD) in Armenia the Bible was preached in churches orally. Since the invention of the Armenian alphabet (405 AD) by Mesrop Mashtots the Bible being translated in written form appeared to be at the centre of the attention

of the Armenian historians and especially Movses Khorenatsi (the 5th century AD) in historical spiritual questions.

Movses Khorenatsi in his work “The History of Armenia” widely used citations from the Bible (Old and New Testaments) as was accepted in the early Middle Ages. At the same time he mentions “old histories” which he used for his work to give a full picture of ancient history of the nations which had not been mentioned in the Bible. The ideological basis of Movses Khorenatsi’s “The History of Armenia” constitutes the concept of the freedom of the Fatherland and Faith as a fundamental precondition of its national existence. Movses Khorenatsi exposed the pivot of the development of the history of Armenia, from ancient to early medieval times, determined by millennia-old national values.

<http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/360.pdf>



THE UNIVERSITY OF SANAHIN – 1050. A BRIEF HISTORY

By: **Sargsyan S. T.**

Doctor of Sciences (History)

"Lusakn" Publishing House, Yerevan, 2016, 160 pp.

The University of Sanahin (founded in 966 AD in the Sanahin monastery, 130 years earlier than the famous Oxford University) is one of the oldest educational institutions of the world, a great historical value that can be of honor and arouse pride. Several manuscripts about Sanahin have survived up to our days; extracts from the writings of Armenian historians such as Mattheos Urhayetsi, Kirakos. Gandzaketsi, Stepanos

Taronetsi - Asoghik, Samuel Anetsi, Stepanos Orbelyan and others; as well as inscriptions on the walls of the church and adjacent buildings. Sanahin still stands like a brave hero; it announces to the world that Armenians have always created, educated and spread enlightenment.

<http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/387.pdf>



MINAS AVETISYAN (1928-1975)

By: **Sh. Khachatryan**

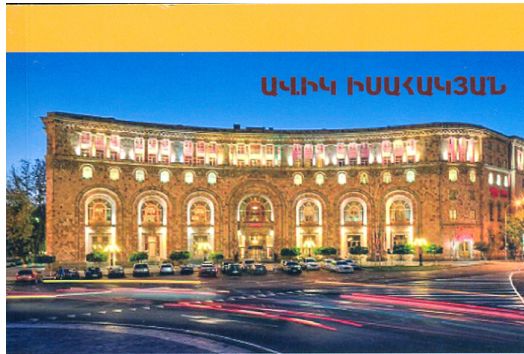
Summary

Minas Avetisyan well known for the originality of his artistic language was always in friendly relationship with Martiros Sarian, the great painter of the 20th century whose sparkling colors reflect the idea of eternity. In the 1960s Minas became the symbol of the Armenian modern painting rebirth.

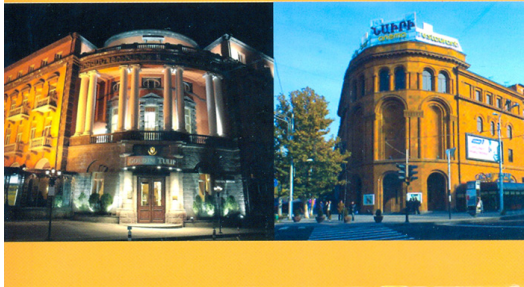
The sonorous universe of Minas' colors is penetrated by either the cheerfulness of

his mountainous native land or emotions full of sadness, dramatic, even tragic of his life period. Minas painted about five hundred paintings and graphical works, decorated twelve opera performances and created great sized wall paintings of a total surface of five hundred square meters, which was considered to be something new in Armenian art. One of these splendid works, which escaped damages during the earthquake of 1988, was taken off from the wall and transferred to the hall of the Yerevan airport. Seeing the works blossoming like spring by Minas in the Museum of Modern Art in Yerevan, French painter Jean Lurçat said: ...This master of the brush may compete with the best French painters".

<http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/347.pdf>



ԵՐԵՎԱՆԸ ԵՐԱՋՈՒՄ ԵՎ ԱՐԹՄՆԻ
ԵՐԿՈՒ ԴԱՐԻ ՄԻՋԵՎ



YEREVAN IN A DREAM AND AWAKE BETWEEN TWO CENTURIES. Book I

By: **Isahakyan A. V.**

Doctor of Sciences (Philology)

*Yerevan, 2014, "GASPRINT" PUBLISHING
HOUSE, 509 pages*

The book consists of two parts the titles of which in some sense reveal the essence of what it implies.

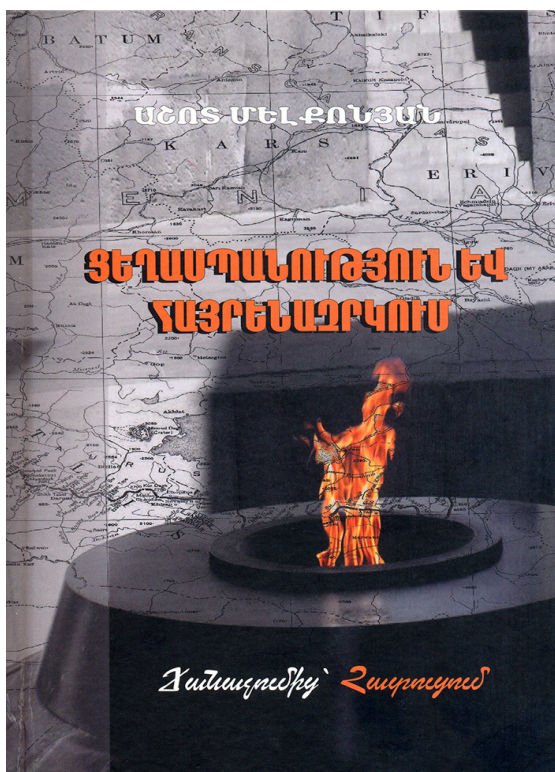
The first part, "Yerevan in a dream and awake", represents the author's memoirs and essays - real and sometimes touching the illusory – about the Armenian capital city of the second half of the 20th c. and the beginning of the 21st c.,

about its famous and unknown, but unique personalities.

The second part, "Between two centuries", represents the author's literary-and-artistic contemplations about the mentioned period and the renowned figures of the Armenian culture.

The heroes of the book are time, that was immortalized by the renowned figures of the Armenian art and literature, and Yerevan the nostalgic love toward which the author would like to grow into an efficient and conscious love for the benefit of its future.

<http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/353.pdf>



GENOCIDE AND PATRICIDE: FROM RECOGNITION TO REPARATION

By: Melkonyan A. A.

Academician of NAS RA

The book presents articles and interviews in different languages of the author (as published, as well as unpublished ones) on the issue of the Armenian Genocide highlighting the importance of the adoption of international legal framework in order to eliminate the consequences of Genocide and to define the concept of Patricide in international law, as well as to form the Pan-Armenian an State conception in this question.

<http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/390.pdf>



THE PROBLEM OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INFLUENTIAL ACTORS OF WORLD POLITICS AND TURKEY

By: **Marukyan A. Ts.**

PhD in History

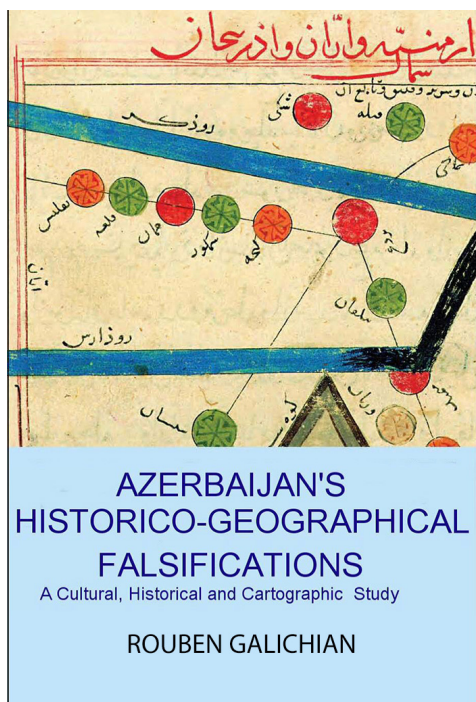
«Tin» Publishing House, 2015. - 92 pages.

The monograph deals with the current state of the influential and leading countries' relations, namely those of Russia, the United States and the European Union with Turkey. The problem of Armenian Genocide is discussed within the context of present contradictions and interests in

Russia-Turkey, the USA-Turkey and the EU-Turkey relations.

Several proposals and recommendations have been made both to the Foreign Ministry of Armenia and to the Armenian Lobby in Diaspora concerning the possibilities of making use of contradictions between the mentioned powers of the world politics and Turkey with the view of establishing an appropriate tendency in Moscow, Washington and Brussel to overcome the consequences of the Armenian Genocide. The book is intended for those who are interested in the history of the Armenian Genocide and, in panicular, on the issues of claims, as well as for students and wide circle of readers.

<http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/346.pdf>



AZERBAIJAN'S HISTORICO-GEOGRAPHICAL FALSIFICATIONS

By: **Galichian R.**
Honorary Doctor

A Cultural, Historical and Cartographic Study

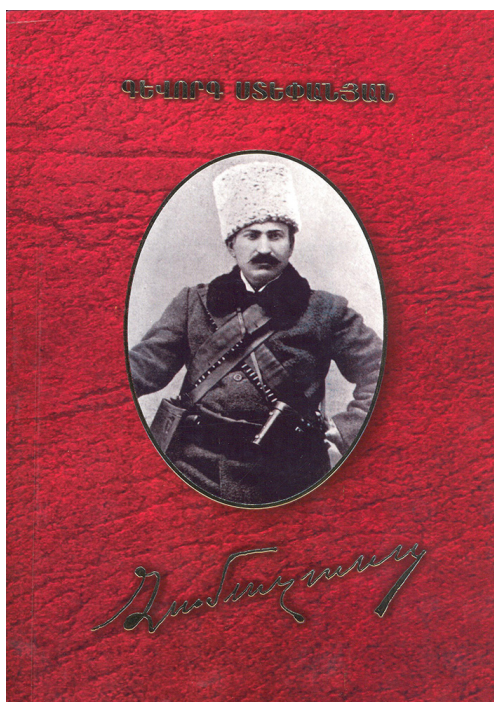
Electronic edition

Most of the territory of today's artificially formed Republic of Azerbaijan until the 10th to 12th centuries in Graeco-Roman and Armenian sources was named Aluank/Albania (on the left bank of the Kura River), in Arabic - Arran or Aran. This has no relationship to the European country of Albania. In

this work whenever the name Albania is mentioned, it refers to Caucasian Albania. In the mid 1918 the name "Azerbaijan" was given to an artificially formed "state" on the left bank of the Kura and in cis-Caspian region, in the eastern Transcaucasus, taking the name from the Iranian province of Azerbaijan (ancient Atropatene, according to Graeco-Roman sources-Atropatakan in Armenian), in the north-west of Iran, to the south-east of Lake Urmia. This anomaly has given rise to a double meaning for the same name. In this book the name of the artificially formed state is referred to as the "Republic of Azerbaijan", or in some cases simply "Azerbaijan", while the Iranian province is called Iranian Azerbaijan. The territory of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan includes the lands of historical Albania, which lay in the triangle formed by the course of the River Kura (the left bank), the western shores of the Caspian Sea and the mountains of the Great Caucasus Range. Here, in ancient times according to Strabo, lived 26 Albanian tribes. The western and southern neighbours of the Caucasian Albania at the time were the four provinces of Siunik, Utik, Artsakh and Paytakaran of Great Armenia on the right bank of the Kura.

In addition to detailing the officially-sponsored invention of modern Azerbaijani national identity, this book also looks at the various methodologies employed by Azerbaijani historians and geographers for their falsification of the documented pasts of Armenia and Iranian Azerbaijan.

<http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/357.pdf>



HAMAZASP SRVANDZTYANTS

By: **Stepanyan G. S.**

Doctor of Sciences (History)

"Lusakn", Yerevan, 2016, 1087pp.

Armenian national liberation movement “gave birth” to a great number of heroes who created the glorious history of our nation with their struggle and selfless devotion. One of them is Hamazasp Srvandztiants, a great patriot who came to continue the work of the founders of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party. At the dramatic moments of the beginning of the 20th-century Armenian history, he harnessed himself to his nation’s struggle for survival without hesitation, with an infinite sense of responsibility. Heroism was typical to the human essence of Hamazasp. He lived a short, but prolific and turbulent life full of endless struggle for his Homeland, getting hardened as a noble military figure of immense will-power. Hamazasp's life was an endless chain of struggle, he sought to use his strength and energy in such a way that he could bring the most benefit to his Fatherland. Hamazasp’s unyielding will and the noblest image were created in this atmosphere. His life is closely connected with the most fatal events of our history.

<http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/358.pdf>



A WINDOW TO ETERNITY

Edit Print” Publishing House, 2013, 321 pages.

Book review by: **Dolukhanyan A. G.**,
Corresponding member of NAS RA

The new miscellanea, prepared and published by Gayane Harutyunyan, is dedicated to the memory of Zhora (Gevorg) Harutyunyan, a talented writer and playwright. There are many people who have written about both the theatrical works of Zhora Harutyunyan and the movies, filmed by his scenarios. It provides rich materials with its content for the future specialists in drama study and historians of literature.

<http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/338.pdf>