

# FUNDAMENTAL ARMENOLOGY

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# HISTORY

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**THE PROSPECTS OF THE GENERATION CHANGES IN THE DIASPORA  
IN THE CONTEXT OF STRATEGIC INTERESTS OF ARMENIA.  
“PRESERVING ARMENIANNES” WITHOUT “LAND-PRESERVATION” IS  
MEANINGLESS**

**Avakian Knarik**  
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***The Prospects of the Generation Changes in the Diaspora***

The Armenians (at first, mainly Western Armenians, and, later, Eastern Armenians, as well) miraculously survived after the Armenian Genocide, scattered all over the world (forming today's Diaspora) and taken refuge along with their generations, in the subsequent years, in various foreign countries have faced, as a result of historical-political, social-economic and other circumstances, an everyday strategical problem of losing their national genetic fund, being doomed to a gradual assimilation and disappearance.

In the history of mankind, the generation change is a process occurring practically once in every 20-25 years. Consequently, the classical Armenian Diaspora, as a collective body deprived of its native land and spread all over the world as a result of the Armenian Genocide, has already stepped into its 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> generation, which, particularly in the **Western countries** and mostly as a consequence of foreign marriages, is being regenerated into mixed-race and therefore periodically transforming, of diversely-layered identity, foreign language speaking, alienated community with its symbolic Armenian affiliation, often with an uncertain or merely algebraic perception (by 2/4, by 3/4, by 3/5, by 4/5 Armenian, etc.).

In foreign countries, the ***mixed marriages*** are, unfortunately, unavoidable and neither the all-powerful Church, the most national parties, the national schools, nor the press and the family are able to put a stop to them. As the Armenian writer and public man Levon Shant has defined, “The mixed marriage family is a Babylon”<sup>1</sup>. And today the predominant part of Armenian Diaspora is actually living and functioning in that Babylon, basically not wanting to realize, that it is gradually being and will forever be cut from its national roots and Motherland.

At present, in the mass media of Armenian Diaspor, functioning in the global environment, that subject is not being broached, not being alarmed, being not desirable, on the contrary, the daily intra-communal problems are neglected, instead, it has become preferable to make partial allusions to the inner-Armenian developments mainly from the point of view of Western states. All these, undoubtedly, pursue the object of

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<sup>1</sup> Works of Levon Shant, vol.5, Beirut, 1948, p. 52 (in Arm.).

cooling and blunting the patriotic feelings of the Armenians living in foreign countries toward the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Mountainous Karabagh (Artsakh), to ideologically separate the Diaspora from the Mother-country, consequently, to avert and to rule out the only means of saving the Diaspora from the impending danger of assimilation, that is – the possible repatriation, as well as the Motherland-constructing efforts, aimed at the rebuilding and development of Armenia and Artsakh.

As a consequence of all that, the Armenian people still maintaining their Armenianness under the “influence” of the exclusively Muslim environment in the Near and Middle Eastern countries, upon emigration to the mainly “Christian” and mostly “liberal” reality of the West, having numerous and diverse options and getting more or less in contact with the national organizations (if, truly, the generations are still getting in contact; that depends upon the religious-theological diversity, the socio-cultural environment, the all-smoothing globalization, the personal factor, etc.), will, for a certain time, be able to maintain the elements of their national identity and national self-consciousness, however, the successive generation changes and the hetero-ethnic marriages, mostly the symbolic knowledge of the mother tongue or its total loss, have gradually transformed, are now transforming and will continue to transform the Armenians of the West from conscious into **“symbolic,” emotional Armenians<sup>2</sup>**, and, subsequently also, into an “assimilated, all-smoothing” collective body.

By the way, the same “all-smoothing” and “symbolizing” unavoidable course is expected, in the course of time, for the Armenians **emigrated from the newly-independent Armenia**, who still live in foreign countries in the initial period of “romanticism,” to be involved in communal life or to create their own communal environment (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generations), that is to say, keeping in touch, to some extent, with the already existing national structures, or establishing new, especially Eastern Armenian ones, or, under the conditions of an exclusively Armenian-spirited domestic surroundings, they can make the coming generations maintain their Armenian identity.

Unfortunately, the change into a “symbolic” Armenian and subsequently the gradual loss of the national identity, constitute an inseparable, inevitable and compulsory process tested in all the periods of history for the assimilation and disappearance of the Armenian Diaspora, which is dependent only on time; the degree of the generation and the level of mixed marriages. And that the result, the assimilation, is equally irreversible for all, is an irrefutable fact. [See Tables 1, 2]

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<sup>2</sup> Bakalian A., *Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenian*. New Brunswick, London, 1993, pp. 393-396.

**The general picture of the evolution of mixed marriages  
among the succeeding generations of the Armenians of Diaspora  
rescued from the Armenian Genocide  
(personal observations)**

Table 1

<b>The generations in the Armenian communities of the <i>Western countries</i></b>	<b>Intra-national marriages</b>	<b>Mixed marriages</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> generation	100%	0%
2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	80%	20%
3 <sup>rd</sup> generation (foreign language speaking, symbolizing)	50%	50%
4 <sup>th</sup> generation (foreign language speaking, symbolizing)	30%	70%
5 <sup>th</sup> generation (alienated, symbolized)	15%	85%

Table 2

<b>The generations in the Armenian communities of the <i>Eastern countries</i></b>	<b>Intra- national marriages</b>	<b>Mixed marriages</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> generation	100%	0%
2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	100%	0%
3 <sup>rd</sup> generation (awakening: 1960/1975s, ASALA)	95%	5%
4 <sup>th</sup> generation	90%	10%
5 <sup>th</sup> generation	85%	15%

According to general calculations, if, following the Armenian Genocide, the process of transformation into “symbolic” Armenians among those scattered all over the world and mostly in the Western countries was perceptible beginning, in the majority of cases, from the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation, then, that threshold, among the Armenians emigrated from the newly-independent Armenia, has a tendency to be reduced.

Thus, *the slight delay* of the “symbolization” process of the generations of the classical Armenian Diaspora in the Western countries was the result of several circumstances. First, in spite of the fact of the Armenian Genocide perpetrated in the Ottoman Empire, the forcible seizure of the cradle and the scattering of the Armenians all over the world, the immaculate perception and the endeavor for the maintenance and

transmission of memories of the seized Motherland and of their home were still preserved in their consciousness. The delay of assimilation was also the result of the tireless and conscious efforts for the maintenance of the national identity exerted by the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generations of the Armenians, who had persisted and tried, and are still trying (but inevitable yielded, in the course of time, and are gradually yielding) to confront the new environment and customs. And finally, on pan-national turning point occasions (e.g., 1965 - remembrance of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, 1988 - Karabagh movement, 1988 - Spitak earthquake, etc.) - on the whole, by the manifestation of solidarity around the Motherland. The above-cited factors have, from time to time, imparted a somewhat sobering, additional charge to the efforts aimed at the maintenance of the national identity in the Diaspora, creating favorable conditions for the reevaluation of the identity, comparatively extending the maintenance of national values.

Simultaneously, from the quantitative and qualitative points of view, the periodic emigrations continuing, from time to time, from the Middle Eastern countries, as well as from the Armenian SSR and subsequently from the Republic of Armenia to the foreign countries, have played and are playing today a significant role in externally “refreshing” the Armenian Diaspora, while in reality – sacrificing new strata of Armenians to the all-assimilating “melting pot.”

Whereas, in the case of Armenians from the Armenia, emigrated to foreign countries, the *comparatively swift process* of “symbolization” can be explained by a number of circumstances. First, it was the result of the serious historical-political events started simultaneously in mid-1980s on the whole territory of the USSR and, particularly in Armenia, of the collapse of the socio-economic situation, as well as of the radical and turning-point modifications of the moral-spiritual-conscious life of the society. The uncertainty and the atmosphere of collusion of public processes, resulting from the anarchy, following the change of the centralized state system, as well as the unavoidable, often artificially created difficulties of the war imposed by the predatory Azerbaijan, the feelings of absence of social prospects have eventually initiated the idea of emigration also among certain Eastern-Armenian community groups. Naturally, among the various strata of Armenians, deprived of the basic means of living and emigrated because of despair or in order to have a more comfortable life or for other purposes, as well as among those, who took flight as a consequence of fraudulent actions, a distorted perception of the newly-independent Armenia has been developed, which has led to a lesser assiduousness for the maintenance of identity in foreign lands and to a tendency to be rapidly integrated to the new environment. And finally, the circumstance of being generally unfamiliar with the customs of the foreign land and with

the classical Armenian Diaspora, in particular, with the linguistic-thinking, socio-cultural, tradition-customary factors and a number of other circumstances play a decisive role.

Consequently, for the former Armenian from Armenia, who in the course of time has experienced a cultural shock and disappointment, has regretted to have emigrated, being confronted every day with the fact of assimilation and gradually becoming self-conscious and not completely altered from the point of view of national, familial, cultural and other values, as well as for the still Armenian-preserved Armenians of Middle East “thanks to” Muslim environment, the possible early return to the Homeland (a fact, which we are witnessing more frequently during the past years concurrently with the gradual stabilization of the political and economic life in Armenia, also as a result of the destructive wars, prevailing in the above-cited regions), can be more realistic and prospective from the standpoint of the maintenance of the family and the generation, as well as of the socio-economic and strategical interests of Armenia. Our past experience demonstrates that at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century our compatriots and the greater part of their generations, unwillingly scattered all over the world, found themselves in the same situation. Roaming in the foreign lands and although, on the whole, constantly cherishing the hope to visit someday the Motherland and to be of some assistance to it, they have missed the opportunity, owing to historical-political and other circumstances, and their generations were condemned to assimilation.

***The process of “preserving Armenianness” in the Diaspora in the context of the strategic interests of the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Mountainous Karabagh***

Starting from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and connected with the gradually depending discrepancies between the USSR and the West, the partial freezing of the relations between Armenia and the Diaspora, for decades on end the inculcation of the ideology of “homelessness” (“without a homeland”)<sup>3</sup>, along with the slackening of the consciousness of the native land due to the generation changes render the whole process of preserving Armenianness in the Diaspora emotional and symbolic, aimless and immaterial, depriving it of its ideological and practical realistic sense, that is - patriotic, land-preserving and Motherland-constructing Armenia-centered basis.

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<sup>3</sup> The name was put into circulation in 1930s by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF - Dashnaktsoutyun) ideologists for the creation of “homeless” state abroad; later, in 1948, it was used by the American National Committee to Aid Homeless Armenians (ANCHA). For more details, See: Avagyan K., The Prospects of preserving Armeniannes in the Diaspora. Who and why oppose to repatriation and nation-collecting, New «Gladzor», Yerevan, 2013, pp. 287-300 (in Arm.).



*The perception of  
preserving “homeless” Armenianness - “A Dashnakounid Motherland in Zululand” (1946)  
according to the repatriate writer and publicist, public figure and caricaturist from Egypt,  
Garnik Svazlian (Pahak)*

And since **“preserving Armenianness”** in the Diaspora is, as a general rule, aimless, that is to say, it has no purposeful, realistic or practical patriotic foundation, in the given case, it is not **Armenia-centered**, on the contrary, it is **“homeless,”** therefore, many representatives of the young generation, who have attended a one-day or an everyday Armenian school (with the main foreign educational system) mainly at the instigation of their parent(s) and have paid their “duty” with regard to their nation “at the price of great sacrifices” (financial, at the expense of their rest and leisure time), on the whole, feel themselves free of their national (ethnic) commitments and can permit themselves to manage the rest of their lives according to the corresponding environment, in which they live (foreign higher education, foreign working place, mixed marriage, etc.). Until the births of mixed-race children, resulting from mixed marriages, or even the births of the children, resulting from intra-national marriages, come to persuade them that “they have nothing to do” for the nation, in reality, for Armenia and for its strategic interests. They consider attending an Armenian school, church and clubs and getting involved in communal activities as a self-consolation and merely as **an institutional Armenian-preservation** in foreign lands, thus, they believe that their duty toward the nation has been accomplished. Consequently, they are not ready and prepared, after some time (especially, following the independence of Armenia) to be repatriated, to live and work in the Motherland, to defend and flourish the native land and, therefore, they are under no obligation. Hence, to be a global citizen is the most

convenient ideological cover for the one-time “Armenian-preserved” group of Armenians, which the latter are easily choosing as their identity.

So that, considering the facts from the standpoint of time and space and also taking into account the individual exceptions, the gradually “symbolizing” Armenians, particularly of the Western countries, are practically becoming for Armenia, for the real strategic interests of the Motherland and for those issuing from the problem-arousing region an “amorphous” or even “questionable” collective body, always subject, ready and obliged to serve the political interests and doctrines of the countries they live in, arousing certain problems to the interests of the national security of Armenia, in some cases, also to the interests of its strategic partner-country, Russia; a circumstance, which the citizens of the Republic of Armenia have frequently witnessed, and are done by some compatriots of the foreign countries enrolled in public-political and other spheres. Taking into consideration the exceptions, it should be noted that this occurrence is distinctive also to the predominant part of Armenians, who have not yet contracted a mixed marriage, living both in the Western and Eastern countries, keeping mainly in touch with national structures, being so-called “Armenian-preserved” (Diasporan Armenian or a former Armenia-inhabitant), since, first and foremost, they are the citizens of their countries, getting there education, work and salary, with the corresponding rights and obligations.

A simple fact is self-explanatory: it concerns the “Armenian-preservedness” of our compatriots transformed into the Diaspora following the Armenian Genocide, that is, the inefficiency of the work accomplished by the political-communal structures with regard to the pan-national priorities. During the past century, compared to the Caucasian (1914-1916) and the Cilician (1916-1918) voluntary movements, the physical involvement of our Diasporan compatriots at the end of the same century, in the years of the Karabagh movement (1988-1994), in the efforts of the liberation of our native territories, was reduced a thousandfold<sup>4</sup>.

Thus, if at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 5.000 Armenians, from the USA alone, were enrolled in the volunteer movement for the liberation of Cilicia,<sup>5</sup> then at the end of the century, in the years of the Karabagh movement (1988-1994), were enlisted as volunteers and have taken part in the military operations on non-continual service - 11<sup>6</sup>, on continual service - 3<sup>7</sup> Armenian-Americans.

It is incomparable also the general participation of the Armenians of Diaspora enrolled as volunteers for the liberation of the native cradle in years of the Karabagh movement with the total number of the Armenians of Diaspora involved in the

<sup>4</sup> Avagyan K., The idea of preserving homeland and “Homeless” Armeniannes in the Armenian community of the USA, «Lraber hasarakakan gitutyunneri», 2014/2, pp. 41-57.

<sup>5</sup> Avagyan K., Cilician Armenians in the USA and their contribution to Motherland. American Armenians and “Eastern-Armenian Legion”, «Hask». Armenological yearly, New Period, year 10, 2007-2008, Antilias - Lebanon, 2009, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> Liberation war of Karabagh. 1988-1994. Encyclopaedia (Editor-in-chief H. Ayzvazyan), Yerevan, «Armenian Encyclopaedia» publishing house, 2004, p. 536.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, pp. 265-266, 481, 659.

Caucasian volunteer movement, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the years of World War I. Thus, if during World War I about 3.000 Armenians had arrived in the Caucasus from the USA, Europe and from other parts of the world (Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, Egypt, Persia, etc.),<sup>8</sup> then during the Karabagh war, the total number of Diasporan volunteers, having continually taken part in the military operations, did not exceed two dozens, while those having a non-continual participation were 120 in number. According to the official data, the “Special Battalion of Shoushi,” which was created on September 1, 1992, on the basis of the volunteer detachments of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF - Dashnaktsoutyun) party formed earlier, was periodically replenished with 118 Diasporan volunteers, 64 among them being essentially from the foreign countries (Lebanon - 23, USA - 11, Iran - 9, Canada - 7, France - 7, Syria - 6, Italy - 1) and 54 - from the former territories of the USSR (Georgia - 51 [45 from Javakhk], Russia - 3)<sup>9</sup>.

Many of the Diasporan volunteers were basically the former members of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA, 1975) or reasonable and devoted Armenian youth, filled with the hope of righteous historical retribution or the vengeance for the restoration of trampled national dignity, who, being mainly a generation tempered in the Middle Eastern wars of 1970s, as well as re-emigrants to the USA or elsewhere from the Middle Eastern countries or their children, kept still within themselves the historical memory of the heroic traditions of the Armenian volunteer movements in World War I and the sacred dream to see Armenia liberated and united.

The participation in and the assistance of the Armenians of Diaspora to the war of liberation of Artsakh could be on a much larger scale if, besides the devoted individuals, the political organizations of the Diaspora, too, who are obliged to rally the Armenian people around the national super-problems, would organize their community after the example of the Armenian volunteers of the Caucasian and Cilician (*Armenian Legion*) movements at the beginning of the past century and would favor the efforts of Mother Armenia to liberate a fragment of the 9/10 of historic Armenia found in captivity.

The volunteers of Armenian nationality, arrived from foreign countries and particularly from the USA, have expressed their indignation concerning this matter. These volunteers were, as a consequence of the deprivation of the Western Armenians of their Motherland (Armenian Genocide, 1915-1923), the representatives of mainly the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation of the Armenians turned into the Diaspora and, from the point of view of the preservation of fundamental elements of national identity under the conditions of the Western globalizing reality, the representatives of the last borderline generation [See Table 1].

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<sup>8</sup> Kirakosyan J., *World War I and Western Armenians. 1914-1916*, Yerevan, 1965, p. 187 (in Arm.); Lazyan G., *Armenia and Armenian National Committee* (Հայ դատ) according to treaties, Cairo, 1942, p. 81 (in Arm.).

<sup>9</sup> *Liberation war of Karabagh. 1988-1994. Encyclopaedia*, p. 536.

Thus, the legendary model of the valiant and devoted volunteer and commander, **Monte (Avo) Melkonian**<sup>10</sup> (1957, Visalia, near Fresno, CA - 1993, Merzili, near Aghdam, RMK), who was enlisted in 1990 in the defensive forces of Artsakh, considered the liberation of the native land a sacred duty for every Armenian. He has said: *"It is normal that the Armenian comes to defend his Motherland. It is absolutely normal. It is everybody's right and also the duty. And it is surprising that a greater number of Armenians haven't come to do the same thing. That is the only surprising thing. It is not surprising, that one comes to defend his country, it is surprising that one doesn't come to do it. Well... I would very much like that more people came both from Armenia and from the Diaspora to defend their country. That is to say, the real Armenian patriots should be here today, in Artsakh,"*<sup>11</sup> since, *"If we lose Artsakh, we shall turn over the last page of the history of the Armenian people..."*<sup>12</sup>

Typical are also the accusing words of the former ARF party member, the commander **Garo Kahkejian**<sup>13</sup> (1962, Aleppo - 1993, Martakert Region, RMK) (the hero guided by the motto: "My party is my country") to the party having a century-old history: *"You taught us; we are the soldiers you have trained. Why don't you let us go to Karabagh? Is it possible that the oath of the Dashnaks of Karabagh is different from ours? I am also a Dashnak soldier. You taught us the Dashnak revolutionary songs, you told us – you will become Andranik, you will become Gevorg Chavoush; serve your*

<sup>10</sup> It should be reminded that under the leadership of the Armenian-American Monte (Avo) Melkonian only victories, and not a single defeat, were recorded. In 1991, he had founded "The Patriotic Detachment" and in 1992 he was entrusted the duty of the Chief of the Staff of the Martouni Region (Artsakh), and was the Commander of the defensive region. When he was in office, the region was the best defended and the most efficient from the military point of view. M. Melkonian participated in the self-defensive battles of Idjevan and Jambarak (Republic of Armenia), in the battles of the Shahoumian Region (Erkedj, Bouzloukh, Manashid, Karachinar), the liberating battles of Martakert, Martouni (Republic of Mountainous Karabagh). In September, 1992, in the months of March, May, June, 1993, the Regions of Martouni (occupied villages), Karvajar, Aghdam, etc. were liberated by the Armenian battalion under the leadership of M. Melkonian. For his unexampled exploits in the liberation of Artsakh, he was posthumously honored with the titles of "National Hero of Armenia," "National Hero of Artsakh," "Lieutenant-Colonel of the Army of the Republic of Armenia" (1994), as well as he was awarded the medals "Motherland" (RA), "Golden Eagle" (RMK), "Military Cross" of the 1<sup>st</sup> degree. "Don't drink to my health, but – continue my task," said Monte. [Liberation war of Karabagh. 1988-1994. Encyclopaedia, p. 481: Monte Melkonian, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monte\\_Melkonian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monte_Melkonian). Today is the birthday of Monte, November 25, 2013, <http://www.kentron.tv/index.php/am/news/item/2421-news-2511>].

<sup>11</sup> Today is the birthday of Monte, November 25, 2013, <http://www.kentron.tv/index.php/am/news/item/2421-news-2511>.

<sup>12</sup> Monte Melkonian (Avo) (November 25, 1957 - June 12, 1993), Aphorisms, <http://monte-melkonyan.do.am/index/0-23> (in Arm.).

<sup>13</sup> It should be reminded that under the heroically sacrificed commander, the Fresno-based Garo Kahkejian (White Bear) has formed and directed, in 1991, in Yerevan, the "Detachment of Crusaders," which recorded undeniable successes in the Karabagh war; until 1993, he has taken part in the self-defensive and liberating battles of the Ararat and Tavoush regions (RA), Askeran, Martakert, Lachin, Kelbadjar, Shahoumian, Shoushi Regions, Berdadzor sub-region (RMK), he has successfully realized reconnaissance tasks, he has transferred from the foreign countries to Artsakh a large quantity of humanitarian aid and medicine. [Liberation war of Karabagh. 1988-1994. Encyclopaedia, Liberation war of Karabagh. 1988-1994. Encyclopaedia, pp. 265-266, 659: Garo Kahkejian, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Garo\\_Kahkejian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Garo_Kahkejian)].

*nation! The day has come, the time has arrived, and now you tell me: "Don't go!" I cannot understand that..."*<sup>14</sup>

It was already hard for numerous Diasporan volunteers, who had passed through the crucible of the Karabagh war and were tempered with the afflictions and victories of the nation to return back to the foreign world, consequently, many of them knowingly settled in the Motherland with the intention of contributing to the welfare of the country in peaceful conditions.

Thus, the Armenian-American from Los Angeles **Shahé Ajemian** (1962, Beirut), who fought selflessly in the Karabagh war as the Deputy-Commander of the "Detachment of Crusaders,"<sup>15</sup> said about his decision to settle in Armenia: *"I could definitely settle here only in 1999, when I realized, that I had left my heart in Armenia and I am no longer able to adapt myself to the American psychology and people. ...I can no longer imagine myself without Armenia, my last minute will also be spent here. ...I am not disappointed, it is not easy to break my feelings toward my Motherland"*.<sup>16</sup>

### ***The Land-Preservation of the Motherland in the Context of Preserving Armenianness of the Diaspora***

Under the new geopolitical conditions created after World War I, the national-public life of the Armenians dispersed in different countries has proceeded in a violent struggle between two opposite ideological-political fronts, which was intensified following World War II.

If, in the past, the positive Armenian-Russian relations were directly proportional to the positive Diaspora-Armenia relations, then in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the sweeping political and social-economic processes, taking place in Russia and Armenia (the October Revolution in 1917, the sovietization of Armenia in November 29, 2000, World War II in 1939-1945, the repatriation in 1921-1936, 1946-1949, 1962-1982, the Cold War starting from 1946, the collapse of the USSR and the independence of Armenia in 1991, the post-Soviet crisis, the emigration, globalization, etc.), have created a political barrier between the relations of Armenia (consequently also of Russia) and some Diasporan organizations. As a result of that situation, the one-time friendly and realistic collaboration between the Diaspora and Armenia has been converted into an activity depending on international policy, causing considerable damage to the national strategic interests.

<sup>14</sup> Petrosyan A., Armenians of Diaspora on the Battlefield. The division of Crusaders, Yerevan, 2000, pp. 72-73 (in Arm.).

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Shahe Ajemyan, vice-commander of the detachment «Crusaders», n.1, «Zinuzh», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X4mjxfqxpU>. Dedicated to Shahe Ajemyan, vice-commander of the division «Crusaders» on the occasion of his 50th birthday, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kae4hgzellQ>.

<sup>16</sup> Shahe A. Ajemian. 2014, February 23, <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=420364954776280&set=a.10541196271659.10922.100004083370590&type=1&theater>. Personal Interview with the Assistant Commander of the "Detachment of Crusaders" Shahé Ajemian. 2014, July 17.

Thus, during the past century, the attitude of the Armenians of Diaspora, in particular, of the Armenian-Americans, with regard to the USSR, consequently also toward Armenia, has been bifurcated according to the course dictated, in international relations, by the Western countries, especially the USA.

Although there is today an Armenian Diaspora in the world numbering more than 10 million people, and despite the fact that after 1985 the liberalization processes occurring in the Soviet Union and, subsequently, the creation, in 1991, of the free and independent Republic of Armenia, as well as the liberation of the Mountainous Karabagh Republic, should have raise a wave of enthusiasm among the Diasporan national circles (who had, for decades on end, lost interest in the “Red Motherland”<sup>17</sup>, and had made tireless efforts with the dream of restoring the Armenian statehood and of having a “Free, Independent and United Armenia”), nonetheless, based on *biased ideas* and *preconceived circumstances*, all-community, coordinated, Land-preserving, that is - **Repatriation** and **Motherland-constructing** activities were not realized.

The diminution in the endeavor of Land-preserving among the Diasporan compatriots is the result of both objective and subjective circumstances. First, in a foreign environment, the idea of the cradle is *objectively* inclined to slackening concurrently with the generation change, especially, if the ideological basis of the national education of the communal structures is not realistic. In the given case, the Armenian-maintaining efforts of a considerable section of the Armenian Diaspora, following the Armenian Genocide, in the adoptive countries have assumed an emotional, symbolic, “homeless” character, since as a result of historico-political circumstances, the Motherland-deprived collective body did not have, for decades on end, a definite realistic - Land-preserving, ideological basis, despite the actual existence of Soviet Armenia, as the Mother Country. On the contrary, in some cases, based on *subjective* geopolitical motives, in the foreign countries attempts were made to oppose the realistic, Armenia-centered ideology to passive nation-preservation, whose advocates had put into circulation, still in the beginning of 1920s, the so-called “moral state,” “homeless state,” “spiritual motherland” conceptions, trying to prove that “it is not solely the Motherland that will become the basis of the completion, preservation and legal existence of any collective body,” the role of the Motherland can be assumed by “the nationality, which will gather around itself all those, who have the feeling of affiliation to the same nation.” Hence, “...their principal concern should be to group every Armenian community into one distinctive national unit and to endow it, according to the modern state laws and perceptions, with the necessary rights to conduct its intracommunal national-cultural affairs”<sup>18</sup>. Furthermore, every Armenian member of the foreign community should accomplish his duties with regard to the host

<sup>17</sup> It concerns Soviet Armenia (1920-1991) included in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

<sup>18</sup> The viewpoints of the editor of the Cairo-based newspaper “Housaber”, ARF member Vahan Navasardyan See in: Topuzyan H., The History of the Armenian colony of Egypt (1805-1952), Yerevan, 1978, p. 250 (in Arm.).

country “without giving a national (Armenian) shape to any of his steps and without linking his struggle with the fate of the Motherland (Armenia)”<sup>19</sup>.

The efforts of the ideologists and realizers of the idea of creating a “homeless state” abroad gained a greater momentum at the end of World War II and in the subsequent years with a view to keeping the Armenians away from their Homeland, which they had lost as a result of the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923) and had taken refuge on a piece of land 1/10 the area of their Historic Motherland, formed by the sovietization of Armenia, concurrently with the deepening of the USSR-Western states ideological-strategic and historical-political confrontation and the following Cold War.

In this manner, paying tribute to the Western - anti-Soviet, and after the collapse of the USSR - anti-Russian propaganda has, naturally, created favorable conditions among the predominant part of our Diasporan compatriots for the formation and the inculcation of “homeless” - segmental, local or selective identity.

As a consequence of all that, a definite segment of the gradually globalizing Armenian Diaspora (party member, ecclesiastical, pedagogue, journalist, sympathizer, etc.) with all its strata (emigrated before and after the Armenian Genocide, former repatriate emigrants, emigrants from independent Armenia) and generations (Armenian, of Armenian origin) is not willing to get involved in the Land-preserving efforts of Armenia and, in some cases, this group of Armenian people becomes opposed to the interests of Armenia and to the interest of its strategic partner countries, instead, they become the servitors of the state structures of the countries they live in, as well as of the international overstate organizations<sup>20</sup>.

All this became possible also following the collapse of the USSR, in the former Soviet countries (including Armenia); the false alternative “Western values” were introduced internationally from abroad under the name of “democracy,” “openness” and “human rights” in almost all the spheres of life (political, economic, spiritual, scientific, educational, cultural, etc.), simultaneously, consistently, in a disguised and explicit manner.

All this was rendered possible also as a result of anti-Soviet (anti-Russian) propaganda, carried on, for decades on end, by some Diasporan structures abroad with a view to separating the Diaspora from Armenia, who, under the patronage and the close collaboration with foreign structures, conduct a consistent splitting activity<sup>21</sup>, peculiar intra-national “Cold War” struggle, something, which continues also to date.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 249-250.

<sup>20</sup> Avagyan K., The Prospects of preserving Armenianness in the Diaspora. Who and why oppose to repatriation and nation-collection, New «Gladzor», p. 287-300.

<sup>21</sup> It concerns the inception of the ideology of the creation of a “homeless” state, from the 1930s, the “Cold War” started in 1946, as well as the creation, in 1948, of the American National Committee to Aid Homeless Armenians (ANCHA) in the USA, by means of which 4,500 Armenian expatriates were transferred and settled on the American land [Barsumian N., Stowaway to Heaven, Ohio, 1961, p. 151], the schism of the Armenian Apostolic Church, provoked by the murder in the USA, in 1933, of the spiritual leader, the primate Archbishop Leon Tourian, and later, by the creation in Antilias (Lebanon), in 1956, of the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, subsequently also in the

Or, under the conditions of the prolonged and disastrous war in Syria, appeals were<sup>22</sup> made to restore and reconstruct even the ruined national structures, with a tendency to often overestimate, from the valuation point of view, the adopted land (the “Syrian motherland”) compared to the Motherland Armenia.

Even in that case, when Kuwait offered a considerable sum, 100,000 US dollars, through the Committee for Islamic Charity to Syrian-Armenians, who had found shelter in Armenia<sup>23</sup>, the political-party segmental ideology, unfortunately, nowadays again, tries to keep the diverse sections of the Diasporan society away from the Motherland, preferring to support the refugee Armenians to settle abroad<sup>24</sup>, offering the Armenians of foreign countries the option to (re)construct “motherlands” in alien lands, which is a meaningless activity, devoid of prospects, whereas the Motherland - the Republic of Armenia and Karabagh need the unbargainable assistance of their sons.

Unfortunately, the situation is the same also in other communities, where under the conditions of the development and expansion of similar or other events (which cannot be excluded in the course of time), the return to the Motherland remains bargainable, preference being given mainly to emigration to foreign lands (we have examples of Armenians departed and departing from Iraq, Egypt and Syria), whereas the free and independent Motherland (which is on its way to become united as well, following the liberation of Artsakh)<sup>25</sup> is being regarded as a springboard or a transit place.

That is to say, an attempt is gradually being made, based on political subjective motives, to ignore and to even bury in oblivion the fact about how and under what

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1960-1970s, by the reinstatement of the ANCHA activities 18,500 Armenians from the Middle Eastern countries, as well as from Soviet Armenia emigrated to the USA [Pirumyan R., Avagyan K., United States of America, «Armenian Diaspora. Encyclopaedia», Yerevan, 2003, p. 37], etc.).

<sup>22</sup> Toward Reconstruction. The Appeal of Aram I to the Armenian People from Troubled Aleppo. January 9, 2017, <http://asbarez.com/arm/272583/> (in Arm.).

<sup>23</sup> Kuwait to allocate \$ 100,000 to Syrian Armenians in Armenia. 2012, November 29, <http://news.am/eng/news/130510.html>.

<sup>24</sup> Thus, on November 11, 2012, the US government, responding to the appeal of four prominent Armenian-American lawyers, has reconsidered the former resolution of the Homeland Security Department of the US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) to grant the Armenian-Syrians merely a “Temporary Protected Status” (TPS) and has permitted to issue for them “Visa Waivers” [US Government responds to Prominent Armenian-American lawyers call upon US Government to issue visa-waivers for Syrian-Armenians. Center for Armenian Remembrance. Press Release. 2012, November 12, <http://www.centerarnews.com/>]. Before long, their innumerable friends and relatives from the USA and elsewhere expressed their readiness to assist the US government to ensure facilities to the Syrian-Armenians for their entry to the USA. Whereas, the Armenians of Diaspora should have displayed unanimity in order that the transfer and the accommodation of our compatriots from war-ruined Syria would have been realized in the Republics of Armenia and Mountainous Karabagh, concurrently with the activities of the local authorities, and not in the USA, as well as a substantial material aid should have been offered to our Diasporan compatriots to ensure their transportation to the Motherland, their lodging and their employment.

<sup>25</sup> “Free, Independent and United Armenia” - the credo of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF – Dashnaktsoutyoun), proclaimed in 1919. See: Independent and united Armenia, [https://hy.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent\\_and\\_united\\_Armenia](https://hy.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent_and_united_Armenia).

historical-political circumstances (Genocide, Patriocide: Motherland-deprivation) have the ancestors of our Diasporan compatriots found themselves in foreign lands. After all, as the ideologist of Repatriation and Motherland-construction, Garnik Svazlian has written: “We were not scattered all over the world in order to have a Diaspora, but violence and persecution have compelled us to be dispersed”<sup>26</sup>.

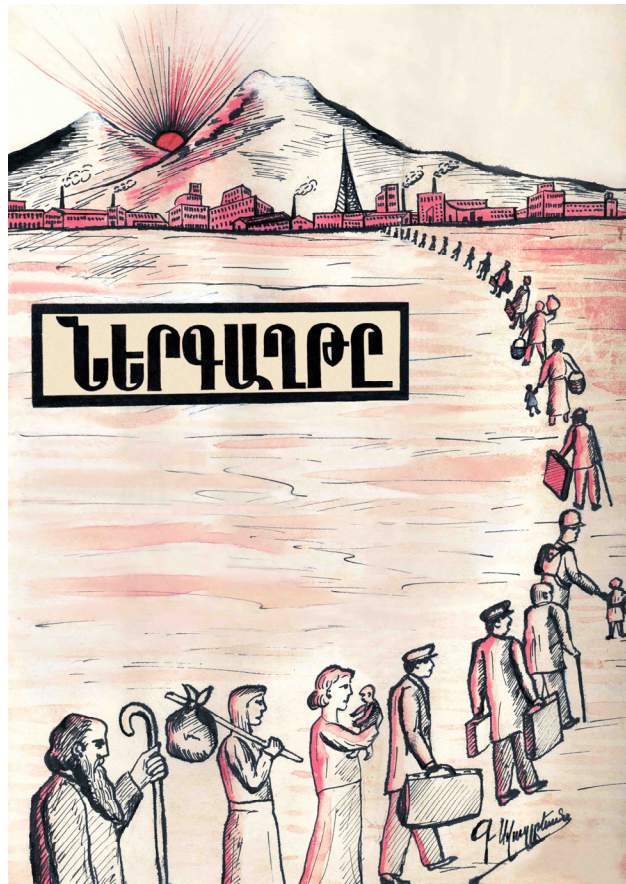
Undoubtedly, the expansionist-globalist interests of the West (i.e. USA, partly Europe) have perpetually been and continue to be opposed to the political interests of the region (Middle East, Russia and other countries, except Turkey and Israel), also Armenia. Consequently, the relations between the Diaspora and Armenia have always been and continue to be anchored in that political priorities, with all the sequels, resulting from them. That is why, the change in the political systems in Armenia, from the Soviet to the independent social system, did not bring about a substantial and turning point modification in the pan-national attitude of our Diasporan compatriots with regard to the Motherland and remained politicized. On the contrary, if in the days of the Soviet social system it was evident which fragment of the Diaspora was oriented toward Armenia (Democratic Liberal Party - Ramkavar, the Social Democratic Hnchak Party, the neutrals, etc.), and which are not (the Armenian Revolutionary Federation - Dashnaktsoutyun), then, under the conditions of independent Armenia, the political bodies and the communal structures, functioning under their patronage (with a few exceptions), are almost homogeneously, unanimously, speaking in one voice, if not to say – are collectively “positioned” toward the problems of Armenia. Those positions are, moreover, not always in agreement with the priorities of the economic, political, strategical interests of Armenia and of its strategic partner countries.

Under similar conditions, it is senseless to consider the efficiency of realizing a target-aimed and practical **“Armenian-preservation”** in the Diaspora and of “keeping the Diaspora itself” under the pretext of keeping alive the Armenian Case, a viewpoint, which is periodically announced in the Diaspora. The struggle for the Armenian Case, continuing already for a whole century, was converted into a never-ending, time-consuming and extremely expensive end in itself a lobbystic activity (which, at best, is aimed at the acknowledgment of the fact of the Armenian Genocide by this and that country or, nowadays, by the facts of the independence of Mountainous Karabagh), which, after all, leads to undesirable results for the national demand issues from the political and legal points of view, since it depends on the subjective attitude of the “political expediency” of the international structures and, consequently, it contradicts their general geopolitical projects<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Svazlyan G., The sense of immigration and its value for my country, Yerevan, 1965, p. 76.

<sup>27</sup> Instead, on February 17, 2008, the fact of the Albanian authorities of Kosovo to win independence from Serbia, without a prolonged lobbystic activity, was immediately recognized by the USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, as well as 64 UN member states. While the UN Security Council members, Russia and China, on the contrary, showed their solidarity with Serbia. [Saryan S., On the Kosovo problem, 24.09.2010, <[http://www.noravank.am/arm/articles/detail.php?ELEMENT\\_ID=5041](http://www.noravank.am/arm/articles/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=5041)>] That bargain became possible since the

And since **patriotism** should be at the basis of the realistic **Armenian-preservation**, consequently, it is necessary also to unreservedly assist, in practice, the only Motherland, with **mass Repatriation** and with **sizable Motherland-construction**.



*The perception of  
“Land-preservation” - “The Repatriation” (1943)<sup>28</sup> to the Motherland  
according to the repatriate writer and publicist, public figure and caricaturist from Egypt,  
Garnik Svazlian (Pahak)*

creation and the protection of an independent administrative unit by the Albanian Muslims within Serbia, having a mainly Christian population, formed a pivotal part of the “geopolitical expediency” of international organizations, by banishing the Christians from the territories of strategic importance.

<sup>28</sup> This drawing is the staging advertisement of Garnik Svazlian’s drama “The Repatriation” (Alexandria, 1936), which was put on the stage in various communities of the world (Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and elsewhere), in 1940s, raising an inspiring wave of repatriation in the circles of the Armenians of Diaspora [Topuzyan H., Svazlyan Garnik Markos, «Armenian Soviet Encyclopaedia», vol. XI, Yerevan, 1985, p. 88 (in Arm.). For more detailed information about him see Avagyan K., Preconditions of the organization and process of immigration (1947-1948 թթ.). Lessons of immigration ideology of Egyptian Armenian Garnik Svazlyan «1946-1948 Repatriation and its lessons. Problems of repatriation today», Pan-Armenian conference (December 12-14, 2008, Tsachkadzor), Yerevan, 2009, p. 120-140] (in Arm.). Starting from 1994, the drama “The Repatriation” was repeatedly put on the stage also in Yerevan and in various regions of Armenia with a view to prevent the started emigration [Danielyan M., To be consolidated in the Motherland, «Republic of Armenia», newspaper, 26 November, 1999, № 231 (2445), p. 7. Martirosyan Hr., Spectacle as an- alarm, «Noratert» newspaper, Yerevan, December 10, 1999, № 123, p. 13]. This drawing was also put into circulation by various authors; in addition, it was reproduced on the cover of the book (Stepanyan A., The XX century immigration in the context of Armenian identity, Yerevan, 2010 [In Arm.]).

We believe that the only fixed goal of real **Armenian-preservation** should always be to ideologically, physically and materially **prepare** the Diasporan generations and to **guide** them exclusively to the Republic of Armenia, now also – to Karabagh (Artsakh), to an **unbargainable mass Repatriation and Home-coming**, as well as to **Motherland-construction and rebuilding**, to continue and to expand, with a profound ideological conviction, the **implementation of target-aimed extensive strategic investments** (in economy, housebuilding and other spheres) in the interests of the development and progress of the country.

At the same time, it is necessary for the generations of the Armenians of Diaspora to exert efforts to comprehend the Motherland and its people, who are enduring the unspeakable everyday external and internal hardships of the unfinished war with Azerbaijan, to get accustomed, to adapt themselves to the native environment (as the Armenians of foreign countries, in the whole, are integrated into the foreign, heterolingual, heterodox and even heteroethnic various communities and even in the countries having uncommon customs, and as the Armenians, living in the Motherland, on the whole, are welcoming and mixing with the newcomers, often creating quite privileged conditions for the repatriates).

Taking into account the invariable geopolitical tendencies toward the strategic peculiarities of the region, as well as the global developments taking place on the international arena, following World Wars I and II and especially after the collapse of the USSR, Russia's factor has always been and continues to be, as a fundamental and decisive condition, at the center of relations between our compatriots of the Diaspora, who have become the citizens of the world, as well as certain national structures, cooperating with international organizations and Armenia, while the Russian orientation of Armenia has become the main constant reason of discord, speculations and plots.

Consequently, Russia's constant political and military successes recorded in the international sphere, its continually rising authority as a supporter of civilization and peace, the Armenian-Russian developing and intensifying trade-economical, military and political cooperation can have also a favorable influence on the Armenian Diasporan circles for the reconsideration of the hardened views shaped thus far with regard to the native land – Armenia and its strategic ally, Russia, to the restoration and reinforcement of confidence and, generally speaking, to the revision and revaluation of the political views of the Armenians of Diaspora themselves, in the interests of Russia, Armenia, the Caucasus and for the security of the whole region.

Consequently, it is possible, under the precarious, unpromising, highly dangerous conditions of the Middle East, as well as the Western countries, under the increasingly dreadful geopolitical conditions threatening the mankind and civilization, 100 years after the Armenian Genocide, once again under the menace of assimilation and physical annihilation in alien lands, to prepare the Armenians to make, from the ideological and moral-psychological viewpoint, a transition from a century-old passive, futile, vagrant, "homeless" *unwise Armenian-preservation to a practical Land-preservation*, "To the

Motherland” (“Depi Yerkir” - in Arm.) **Repatriation** and **Homeland-building**. Repatriation, which implies that the Diaspora should ideologically, physically and materially direct the Armenians to an unbargainable massive Homecoming, to the Republic of Armenia and to Artsakh, the Republic of Mountainous Karabakh, which was liberated at the price of the blood shed by the heroes.

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

Whereas, real and practical **Armenian-preservation** is **Land-preservation**, which is ***the basis and the condition of eternity of nation-preservation***, while ***preserving Armenianness without Land-preservation is meaningless***.

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

## THE FORMATION OF THE ARMENIAN AMIRA CLASS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

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A new class of Armenian elite came out in Constantinople Armenian millet in the middle of the XVIII century as a result of social and economic changes which took place in the Ottoman Empire. The new elite also adopted a new name or a title - *amiras*. The problem of the elite formation was first viewed by H. G. Marmryan, who studying the Armenian sources and finding no information about it called the problem “a Gordius’ knot”<sup>1</sup>. The reason for the mystery is the fact that the scholars were looking for its roots in the Armenian reality, while we think that the problem should be considered on the basis of social changes which took place at the time in the Ottoman Empire, since those processes, though in small, were revealed in the Armenian colony, too. Of course, the Armenians being under Muslim rule could not have the same privileges as the Muslims, but the subject of our study concerns not the whole community but its elite, who for some social economic reasons were able to get some prerogatives.

At the very beginning of the book and also in his other works H. G. Marmryan points out that the title *amira* doesn’t appear in the manuscripts and other sources before 1750; primarily the distinguished Armenians were called *chelepi*, *khoja* or *agha*<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, the author uses the title *amira* for all rich Armenians including *chelepis*, *khojas* and *aghas*, breaking the principle of historicism that is one cannot use a term before its introduction.

Studying the primary sources and earlier researchers’ works concerning the subject, we should point out that all of them considered the problem in the context of the Armenian reality. We tried to enlarge the circle and consider the issue in comparison with the Ottoman reality.

The *ayans*’ prestige in the empire has increased in the middle of the XVIII century. The urban authorities, mainly Muslims, but also sometimes Christians who were called *chorbaji*, enlarged their sphere of influence. They also succeeded in confrontation with the metropolitan aristocracy for redistribution of the feudal rent<sup>3</sup>. Of course, when we speak about “redistribution of the feudal rent” for Armenian millet we mean only the fact that the distinguished Armenians controlled the patriarchs’ financial and other affairs. That tendency comes from the last quarter of the previous century, when we see ordinary priests (e. g. Karapet Kesaratsi, 1676-79, 1680-81, 1681-84, 1686-87, 1688-89 etc.) or even a craftsman (Sargis IV Ekmekji, 1679-1680) at the patriarch’s post. The latter first became an acting patriarch, then taking holy orders was elected to the post,

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<sup>1</sup> Marmryan H.G., Private history of Armenian rich people, 1400-1900, Constantinople, 1909, p. 14 (in Arm.).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer M., The Ottoman Empire (features of structural crisis in the XVIII century), Moscow, 1991, p. 124 (in Russian).

too<sup>4</sup>. But the amiras' rise undoubtedly means their confrontation with the metropolitan elite. That means achieving some influence in the capital and undertaking the rule over the millet from chelepis. It was a new elite, though based on old relationship.

The fact that there were also non-Muslims among the ayans is pointed out by K. Karpat. Speaking about the origin of the ayans the Turkish historian writes: "It seems that there were two sources for the rise of the ayans. First, there were the old communal leaders known as ayans or *esraf* among Muslims, and *chorbaji* among the non-Muslims, or *multezims* in Egypt.... Second, there were enterprising individuals, rising from every social stratum, including peasants and rank-and-file soldiers who achieved every social preeminence by taking advantage of the opportunities in land administration and tax collection..... Many of the ayans, however, functioned without the government's *berat* in open defiance of the established traditions of authority"<sup>5</sup>.

Indeed, when speaking about amiras we should certainly point out that they were the second group mentioned by K. Karpat, and called themselves amiras only within the millet and by traditional law, without any *berats* (certificates). It should be mentioned also that some of the ayans getting higher posts moved to the capital and took their *sarafs* with them. It means that amiras' appearing in the capital is anyway connected with the ayans' rise and took place at the same time. Settling down and becoming firmly established in the capital city they helped their compatriots in many problems<sup>6</sup>.

The ayans' stratum had another feature: in the social hierarchy it had an intermediate position between the ruling class and the people. At the one hand they had the features of the metropolitan patricians, at the other hand they were feudal elders. We can say the same about amiras: being bankers, merchants and craftsmen they paid taxes, but at the same time they tried to rule the Armenian patriarch and the colony.

As to merchant amiras, this part of the elite rose in towns due to the same economic power as the community leaders, the only difference was the fact that the merchants' function was to sell agricultural products and industrial materials produced by ayans<sup>7</sup>. And under the Ottoman rule there were no conditions for the development of capitalist relations. The merchants could not think of better thing than investing money in usury. As to amiras, among them were merchants who were somehow connected with the court, mainly as providers of some particular goods. For instance, Deovlet Keoche oghlu provided Huseyn Pasha (the chief navy admiral) with 5-6 hundred of a kind of cloth necessary for the royal ships and the palace at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>. Earlier Yaghup agha Hovhannisyan and Seghbestros Manuelyan

<sup>4</sup> Perperyan H., Materials for the History of Armenians of Constantinople, Vienna, 1905, pp. 69-82 (in Arm.).

<sup>5</sup> Karpat K., The Stages of Ottoman History. In: The Ottoman State and its Place in World History, Leiden, 1974, p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> Marmryan H.G., Old days and Armenian rich people of that period, Venice, 1901, p. 24 (in Arm.), Todorov N., The Balkan town in the XV-XIX centuries, Socio-economic and demographic development, Moscow, 1976, p. 70 (in Russian).

<sup>7</sup> Karpat K., Millets and Nationality, in: Christians and Jewish in the Ottoman Empire, In The Functioning Role of a Plural Society (ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis), New York, London, p. 153.

<sup>8</sup> Poghosyan H.E., Keochean family, Venice, 1961, p. 25 (in Arm.).

(Yerevanents) provided the court with *beyaz* (thick cotton cloth) and were called *bazergyans bashi*. The amiras differed from their predecessor *chelepis* and *khojas* for having some post in the court. They also have higher official status. The two of the people mentioned above, though they didn't have the title of *amira*, had influence equal with the formers.

In the Ottoman Empire, as well as in other medieval eastern tyrannies wealth did not guarantee high social position. Only some post in the Ottoman administration gives such position<sup>9</sup>. In the same way the Armenians used the title of *amira* for honoring those who were considered *millet* chiefs and who were somehow awarded by the Ottoman government.

Another group of the amiras of Constantinople represented the craftsmen's elite, the rare personalities, who were rather skilled at their trade and managed to gain authority in the colony. The rise of this group of amiras took place at the same time as the *kyahyas'* influence rise in *esnaf*. They were rather powerful not only in *esnaf* but also in the *millet*<sup>10</sup>. Comparing these processes with those in Egypt we see that the *kyahyas'* and *igibashis'* influence was not only social-economic but also political<sup>11</sup>.

And finally a large group of amiras came out of commercial-usurious elite. Apart from the *esnaf* – member merchants, there was a group of influential Armenians, who were engaged in transit or intermediary trade and had some privileges having *berats* and not being *esnaf* members. They paid the same 3% tax as foreign merchants. There were considerable number of eastern Armenians among them but they could not be isolated from Constantinople Armenians' colonial life. In the XVII century and even later they interfered in the elections and also influenced the solution of the colony's problems<sup>12</sup>. Using their connections the luckiest of them managed to obtain the privilege to provide the Ottoman army with food and other goods as well as the exclusive right to sell particular things<sup>13</sup>. This group of merchants was formerly called *khojas*. *ekmekchibashis* (bread providers) and *bazergyans* (cloth providers) were among them.

There is a tendency among Armenian historians to indentify amiras with *sarafs*<sup>14</sup>, while it is obvious that not all bankers were called amiras. The reason for that is the abstract from D. Urquhart's work, where he spoke about *sarafs*, who are identified with amiras in the historiography. But D. Urquhart wrote about *sarafs*, particularly about

<sup>9</sup> Meyer M., *The Ottoman Empire*, p.121-122.

<sup>10</sup> Kharatyan A., *The Armenian craftsmen and merchants of Constantinople (XV-XVIIIc.)*, *Patmabanasirakan handes*, 1998/3, p. 54 (in Arm.).

<sup>11</sup> Gibb H.A.R. & H.Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, v.1, Oxford, 1951, p. 294.

<sup>12</sup> Kharatyan A., *Armenian colony of Constantinople in the XV-XVII centuries*, Yerevan, 2007, p. 272 (in Arm.).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Leo, *Armenian printing. Armenians in the new history. Historical-literary overview*, vol. 1, Tiflis, 1904, p. 240 (in Arm.).

pasha's sarafs<sup>15</sup>, but not amiras. Undoubtedly, the functions of saraf amiras and pashas' sarafs did not differ much, but amiras represented the new elite, who were connected with the new Ottoman social strata and the court. Besides, the sources show that at least in the first half of the XIX century it were craftsmen amiras (the Tatyans, Palyans, Tyuzyans) and some personalities (Harutyun amira Pezchyan, Mkrdich amira Chezayirlyan) who were more influential both in the Ottoman and Armenian reality. They were also connected with manufactory development of the empire and its Europeanization.

We would also like to draw attention on another fact. The historians often speak about amira families and dynasties. The tradition of passing the post to a son after the father's death in the Ottoman Empire was normal in the observed period, but it was not obligatory. The same is true about the title amira. An amira's son was not always called amira. The title was given to those, who besides taking his father's place at the post also had a significant influence in colony's affairs. It is common among craftsmen amiras. And as to saraf amiras, they dealt with the concrete official being his banker and loaner, therefore his post could hardly be hereditary. Certainly, there were families who had the title for three (the Meserlyans, Tatyans, Khorasanyans) or two (the Yerkanyans, Chezairlyans, Palyans) generations, but there are also amiras, whose sons didn't have that title (e.g. Margar amira Martirosyan's son Martiros, though a very famous merchant, didn't have the title of amira)<sup>16</sup>. But two or three families can't symbolize the whole class. Thus, it would be more reasonable to speak about amira's families meaning the given amira and his ancestors who also successfully served to the Ottoman Empire. As to dynasties, we think that especially sarafs and merchants could help their relations to rise but it doesn't mean that the whole dynasty had the title.

The titles were given to celebrities by traditional law. It was just an honorable name, not hereditary one. The son got it only when after getting the high royal post, he received the same respect and recognition among Constantinople Armenians as his father. Besides, amiras' "rule" in comparison with that of chelepis and khojas was less durative because of processes taking place in the empire. And for that reason many influential amiras' sons, being also very influential, didn't have the title (Poghos pey Tatyans, Sargis and Hakob pey Palyans). The reason should be looked in Tanzimat and the Western Armenians' movement for "Azgayin Sahmanadrutyun" ("National constitution").

According to H.G. Marmryan, the title of chelepi was only given to Catholic Armenians<sup>17</sup>. Developing that idea H. Ghazaryan mentions the Tyuzyans as an example and points that they were never called amiras, and some of them had the title

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<sup>15</sup> Urquhart D., Turkey and Its Resources, Municipal Organization and Free Trade; The State and Prospects of English Commerce in the East, the New Administration of Greece, Its Revenue and National Possessions, London, 1833, pp. 107-112.

<sup>16</sup> Barsumyan H., The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul, Yerevan, 2007, p. 167-169 (in Arm.).

<sup>17</sup> Marmryan H.G., Private history, p. 25.

of bey<sup>18</sup>. It is necessary to notice that bey wasn't a title, it was given to all high ranked officials in the Ottoman Empire, not only to the Tyuzyans, but also to many Apostolic Armenians. Besides, the Tyuzyans were called amiras too, and studying the bibliography, we found numerous facts of calling the Catholic celebrities amiras too<sup>19</sup>.

As to the Tyuzyans, we think that the title of chelepi is connected with their occupation and post. The XVII century famous Turkish historian and traveler Evliya Chelepi's father was the mint director. That title was born by famous Bedraki chelepi, who was the mint director too<sup>20</sup>. The title was obviously given to all mint directors. Besides, the mint director must have been an educated man, and we know that educated people in the empire were also called chelepis (e.g. Yeremia chelepi Keomurchyan).

Thus, coming to Istanbul and settling down there the western Armenian bourgeoisie took a new title, which was more valuable at the time. In the Armenian reality it is reflected in taking chelepi title by khojas, and later taking the new one - amira title.

We referred to A. Kechyan's, T. Azatyan's, B. Kechyan's works and to archive documents kept in Matenadaran. Earlier the study of the problem was carried out by H. Barsumyan<sup>21</sup>.

H. Chanikyan in his study "Hnutyunk Akna" refers to the colophons of manuscripts from the churches of Akn and its surrounding villages<sup>22</sup>. The only record about amira is made in the Sasantsi Testament, where Poghos amira, the son of mahtesi Aliksanos from Kamarakap is mentioned<sup>23</sup>. In the sources available to H. Barsumyan that record was made in 1758<sup>24</sup>.

But when studying the documents of Matenadaran we found one dated with 1753. At the time of the patriarch Hakob Nalyan the Istanbul Armenians gathered in Gum Gapu St. Astvatsatsin church to elect Archbishop Alexander as Catholicos (later Alexander II Byuzandatsi). There are 378 seals and signatures at the bottom (only seals in some cases). Among the clergy, esnaf representatives, khojas and mahtesis there is only one signature of amira - Petros amira<sup>25</sup>. It can be Petros Aleksanyan from Kamarakap. According to M. Ormanyan, he was Nalyan's supporter and the chief merchant of the grand vizier<sup>26</sup>, and also one of the most influential Armenians of Istanbul.

<sup>18</sup> Khazaryan H., The social-economic and political situation of Western Armenians in 1800-1870, Yerevan, 1967, p. 382 (in Arm.).

<sup>19</sup> Azatyan T., Akn and the Akneans, Istanbul, 1943, p. 50 (in Arm.); Poghosyan H.E., The Family of Allahvertyans, Venice, 1957, p.68 (in Arm.); Poghosyan H.E., The Family of Pilezikchyan, "Handes Amsorea", 1962, May-August, p.291 (in Arm.).

<sup>20</sup> Ayvazovsky H. Gabriel V., The History of the Ottoman Empire, vol.II, Venice, 1841, p.384 (in Arm.).

<sup>21</sup> Barsumyan H., The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul, p. 37-38.

<sup>22</sup> Chanikyan H., Antiquities of Akn, Tiflis, 1895, p.75-102 (in Arm.).

<sup>23</sup> Parsamyan M., A.Kechyan, Akn and the Akneans, Paris, 1952, p.83 (in Arm.).

<sup>24</sup> Barsumyan H., The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul, p.38.

<sup>25</sup> Matenadaran, The archive of catholicosate, folder 244, doc. 336 (in Arm.).

<sup>26</sup> Ormanyan M., Azgapatum, Etchmiadzin, 2001, vol.II, col. 3463 (in Arm.).

There is also the signature of some mahtesi Seghbos. It can be Seghbestros Yerevanents, who died in February 5, 1754<sup>27</sup>. If we are right then Seghbestros Yerevanents didn't have the title of amira and Armenians of Istanbul gave him and Yaghup Hovhannisyan the title posthumously.

Anyway, this document where the title of amira is used is the earliest up to now. After that the title was used in the sources (gravestones, colophons) more frequently.

We would like to note that the words amira, chelepi or khoja were just honorary titles. Among more than 100 amiras there is none having a document giving him the title officially. It was given traditionally when the person was rather influential in the Armenian colony, which was possible only when the man had some official status in the government.

Another problem was revealed during our study. According to H.G. Mrmryan, amiras were the ancestors of Armenian noblemen<sup>28</sup>. It should be stated that the information in favor of inhabiting the new capital with noblemen by Sultan Fatih is rather poor. But even so, we think that it can't anyhow be connected with the amiras. The chelepis and the metropolitan aristocracy could rather be those noblemen's ancestors, and the amiras were those who came from rural background. We don't preclude that before the beginning of the XIX century there were people with noble origin among the amiras, especially that of rich landowners<sup>29</sup>, but later, when the number of Armenians using the title was increased, it is impossible to speak about amiras being noblemen. There are amira families, having a history of about 400 years (the Sagayans, Kelkelyans)<sup>30</sup>; genealogical trees and other written data could prove it, but it can't refer to all amiras. For example, the Allahverdyans were considered to be the Kamsarakans' ancestors<sup>31</sup>, but the later authors denied that fact, because there is no reliable document. But the scholars have solid facts about the Aroyans' origin and say that the family dates back to the XVI century<sup>32</sup>.

In our opinion, the amiras took themselves that title, because during the developed feudalism the Armenian metropolitan noblemen called themselves like that (amira *kaxaki* ["amira of the town"]). And since most of the amiras from Akn considered themselves as migrated from Ani and Vaspurakan, we can suppose that the usage of this title comes from there.

Thus, the formation of the amira class was the consequence of phenomena taking place in the Ottoman Empire of the time. It took place in the same way as in the Empire, that is a new class of metropolitan authority (ayans) rose and replaced the old elite. The processes began in the middle of the XVIII century and the first man called amira is Petros amira Aleksanyan from Akn.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., col. 3250.

<sup>28</sup> Mrmryan H.G., Private history, p.21-22.

<sup>29</sup> Khazaryan H., The social-economic and political situation of Western Armenians, p. 86.

<sup>30</sup> Mrmryan H.G., Private history, p.108.

<sup>31</sup> Bazmavep, Venice, 1908, June, p. 241-251 (in Arm.).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 1953, January., p. 8.

## ABOUT THE HISTORICAL SOURCES OF MOVSES KHORENATSI'S HISTORY

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In Armenological studies, both in Armenia and abroad the history of the establishment of the Arshakid dynasty has been presented thoroughly. In this context the accession of Tiridates I, first Armenian Arshakid king, is elucidated in its full length due to detailed description of confrontation between the Parthian empire and Rome by Roman historians Tacitus and Dio Cassius, especially the journey to Rome where he received his crown from emperor Nero<sup>1</sup>.

Tacitus<sup>2</sup> and Dio Cassius<sup>3</sup> describe the wars between Parthia and Rome for the sovereignty over Armenia, the campaigns of Roman generals Corbulo and Petus, the treaty signed after the battle at Randeia and, finally, Tiridates' journey to Rome.

The next source is that of Movses Khorenatsi's "History of Armenia" where a special chapter is devoted to the rule of Tiridates<sup>4</sup>; here Tiridates appears as Vatarshak.

### **The person of Tiridates**

Quite a few could be said about the person of Tiridates I before his accession to the throne of Armenia. All we know is that he was the third son of Gotarzes, king of Parthia who ruled several months (after Vologeses and Pakor)<sup>5</sup>. Only in the context of the Roman-Parthian confrontation for the overlordship of Armenia and especially in the passage describing his journey to Rome Dio Cassius tells about his priestly functions<sup>6</sup>. Tacitus mentions that even during the war between Rome and Parthia Tiridates was busy with his priestly functions<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The History of Armenian People (Aghayan Ts. P. et al.), Yerevan, 1971, pp. 730ff. (In Arm.); The History of Armenian People (Zhamkochyan H.G. et al.), Yerevan, 1975, pp.174ff. (in Arm.); Manandyan H., Studies, vol.1, Yerevan, 1977, pp. 320ff. (In Arm.); Manandyan H., Studies, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1978, pp. 9ff. (In Arm.), etc.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, The Annals, Book IV, London-Cambridge/Mass., 1962 (Loeb).

<sup>3</sup> Dio Cassius, Dio's Roman History, London-New York, 1925 (Loeb), Book LXII 19-26, LXIII 1-7. The Armenian translation of the passage dealing with Tiridates see in Ancient Greek sources. A. Josephus Flavius, Dio Cassius (transl. by S.M. Krkyasharyan)(Foreign sources about Armenia and Armenians, vol. 9), Yerevan, 1976, pp. 200-206 (In Arm.).

<sup>4</sup> Book II 2-8 (taking into account the language of our paper we cite the English translation of Khorenatsi's book).

<sup>5</sup> According to Tacitus, Pakor was given a rule over Media (Tacitus, The Annals XV 2).

<sup>6</sup> Some Armenian historians mention about the priestly functions of Tiridates (The History of Armenian People (Ts.P. Aghayan et al.), Yerevan, 1971, p.759, also in H. Manandyan, Studies, vol.1, p. 342).

<sup>7</sup> Tacitus, Annals XV 24. In Armenological studies about Tiridates as being a Zoroastrian priest most complete information is contained in Russell J.R., Zoroastrianism in Armenia, Cambridge/Mass., 1987, p. 268. It should be mentioned that in elsewhere in studies published in Armenia this fact of Tiridates' person is either omitted or mentioned briefly, without any comments.

In this respect it will be useful to cite the passage from the study of Pliny<sup>8</sup>:

«The Magian Tiridates was at his court, having repaired thither, in token of our triumph over Armenia, accompanied by a train which cost dear to the provinces through which it passed. For the fact was, that he was unwilling to travel by water, it being a maxim with the adepts in this art that it is improper to spit into the sea or to profane that element by any other of the evacuations that are inseparable from the infirmities of human nature. He brought with him, too, several other Magi, and went so far as to initiate the emperor in the repasts of the craft; and yet the prince, for all he had bestowed a kingdom upon the stranger, found himself unable to receive at his hands, in return, this art».

### **The main source of the “History of Armenia” (Mar Abas Catina)**

Among his main sources Movses Khorenatsi refers to a mission of Mar Abas Catina, an educated Assyrian, whom Tiridates (Vatashak in the “History”) has sent to his brother, the Parthian king Arshak (Vatash I = Vologeses) in order to make use of the state archive kept in the latter’s court. Khorenatsi describes that mission as follows:

«The latter [Vatashak], having ordered his own principality in a grand manner and established his reign, had a desire to know who and what sort of men had ruled over Armenia up to his time: had he succeeded to the throne of valiant men or of cowards? And finding a certain Syrian, Mar Abas Catina, a diligent man versed in Chaldaean and Greek, he sent him to his brother Arshak the Great with worth gifts, [asking him] to open for him the royal archives. ...

When Arshak the Great received the letter from the hands of Mar Abas Catina, with great alacrity he ordered the royal archives in Nineveh to be set before him, and he was equally happy that his brother, to whom he had entrusted half of his kingdom, had such thoughts. [Mar Abas Catina] examined all the books and found one in Greek on which there was, he says, the following caption.

This book which contains the authentic account of the ancients and ancestors, was translated at the command of Alexander from the Chaldaean language into Greek.

From this book Mar Abas Catina extracted only the reliable history of our own race and brought it to king Vatashak in Nisibis in both Greek and Syriac script. The personable and valiant Vatashak, expert at the bow, eloquent, and intelligent, received it and esteeming it as the foremost of his treasures, placed it in the palace, in safekeeping, with great care; and a part of it he ordered to be inscribed on a stele»<sup>9</sup>.

In Armenological tradition the episode of Mar Abas Catina has been subject of controversy.

Still in the XIX century a number of Armenian and foreign scholars had rejected the historicity of Khorenatsi’s account.

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<sup>8</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* (transl by J. Bostock and H.T. Riley), vol.V, London, Book XXX.6, p. 428 (“Magus ad eum Tiridates venerat”).

<sup>9</sup> Thomson R. W., *Moses Khorenats’i, History of the Armenians*, revised edition, Ann Arbor, 2006, 79ff.

N. Emin wrote that hardly in Mesopotamian archives, located in Nineveh (as it is told by Khorenatsi) any information regarding the ancient Armenian patriarchs could have been extant. He suggested that Khorenatsi could use only local Armenian sources (mainly oral tradition)<sup>10</sup>. The same approach to the problem was demonstrated by G. Khalatyants<sup>11</sup>, A.M. Garagashyan<sup>12</sup>, H. Geltzer<sup>13</sup> and others. R. Thomson, the editor of Khorenatsi's "History" in English also doubts the probability of Mar Abas Catina's mission<sup>14</sup>.

Several scholars had introduced a more balanced approach to the problem of Mar Abas Catina, trying to identify his sources in the ancient cuneiform texts and studies of Classical authors as well and prove the historicity of Mar Abas's source. One of the first attempts was demonstrated by H. Manandyan<sup>15</sup>. Later he was followed by G. Sarkisyan, whose thorough study of Khorenatsi's "History" gave him some clues to suggest the historicity of several episodes in his account<sup>16</sup>.

The study of S. Hmayakyan is also of special interest. The author refers to the well-known text of the Middle Assyrian king Tiglathpileser I (1114-1077 B.C.). According to the text, during the siege of the city of Kibsha (or Kibshuna) located near the Nibur mountain, the king ordered its population to extradite the 300 insurgent families residing there. S. Hmayakyan thought that here a direct link with the story of the patriarch Hayk who had fled from Babylonia towards the "country of Ararat" could be suggested<sup>17</sup>.

But even these authors were unable to prove the historicity of Mar Abas's mission, and in all studies the probability of the existence of Mesopotamian archives during the reign of Vologeses I remains "terra incognita".

Below we shall refer to a unique source which was not used by Armenologists, where an old Pahlavi text describes an undertaking similar to that told by Khorenatsi.

One of the chapters of Denkart, a fourth Book of Avesta, written in Pahlavi (Middle Persian)<sup>18</sup> tells about the Askhanian (Parthian) king who had ordered to collect in all provinces of the Empire the information, both religious and historical, related to their

<sup>10</sup> Emin N., Old Armenian Epos, Moscow, 1881, p. 10ff. (in Russian); Emin N., Dynastic list of the Haykides, Moscow, 1884, p.15 (In Russian).

<sup>11</sup> Khalatyants G., Armenian Epos in the History of Armenia of Movses Khorenatsi, Moscow, 1896, p. 106ff. (In Russian).

<sup>12</sup> Garagashyan A. M., Critical history of Armenians, Constantinople, 1880, p. 136ff. (in Arm.).

<sup>13</sup> Geltzer H., Short History of Armenians, Vienna, 1897, p.5 (transl. into Armenian by Galemkyaryan).

<sup>14</sup> Thomson R., Moses Khorenats'i, p. 53ff. ("The important point is that Moses' fathering of archival material relating to Armenia on the legendary Mar Abas is but a literary device", p. 55).

<sup>15</sup> Manandyan H., Studies, vol.1, p.18ff.

<sup>16</sup> Sargisyan G., Pre-Mesropean Armenian historiography, Patmabanasirakan hands (Historical-Philological Journal), 1969/1, pp. 124-126 (with references on earlier studies)(In Arm.); The History of Armenia, Yerevan, 1990, p. Xlf. (in Russian); «The History of Armenia» of Movses Khorenatsi, Yerevan, 1991, p. 11ff. (in Arm.).

<sup>17</sup> Hmayakyan S., The Legend of Hayk nahapet and the city of Kibsha in Nibur mountains, Patmabanasirakan Handes, 1992/1, p. 125ff. (in Arm.).

<sup>18</sup> This book was compiled in the IX-X centuries A.D. (Boyce M., Textual sources for the study of Zoroastrianism, Chicago, 1984, p. 4).

past, which might have escaped the ravages of Iskander (Alexander the Great), or been preserved in oral tradition.

«Valkhas<sup>5</sup>, descendant of Askan, in *each* district, just as he had come forth, ordered the careful preservation, *and* making of memoranda for the royal city (shatrô shahag), of the Avesta *and* Zand as it had purely come unto *them*, *and* also of whatever instruction (âmûkô-k), due to it, had remained written about, as well as deliverable by the tongue through a high-priest, in a scattered state in the country of Irân, owing to the ravages and devastation of Alexander and the cavalry and infantry of the Arûmans»<sup>19</sup>.

The identity of this king Valkhas (Balash in Persian) was discussed by various scholars of the past.

E. West, the editor of Denkart was inclined to identify him with Vologeses I, during whose reign had been made significant steps in order to strengthen the Parthian empire and Zoroastrianism in particular<sup>20</sup>. This idea was supported later by N. Debevoise, who was relying on an interpretation of passages in the Vendidâd and the Dēnkart. He thinks that Vologeses (Arshak of Movses Khorenatsi - A.K.) may have been the ruler responsible for an early collection of scriptural texts which later were developed into the Avesta<sup>21</sup>.

Thus it appears that the Parthian king Vologeses I, the elder brother of Tiridates, has collected all written data regarding the history of the provinces of his empire. In that case it could be speculated that Tiridates may well have been aware of his undertaking. A desire to possess with sources regarding his own kingdom may force him to ask his brother for assistance.

If so, one can speculate further that Khorenatsi, regardless of his attitude towards the sources of his "History", was aware of the above-mentioned undertaking of Vologeses I. As to the mission of Mar Abas Catina, here any comment would be premature.

<sup>19</sup> The Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXXVII, Pahlavi Texts, p. IV (translated by E. W. West), Oxford, 1892, p. 413, par. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Idem, p. 413, n. 5, citing Darmesteter L., The Sacred Books of the East, vol. IV; The Zend-Avesta, p. I, Oxford, 1880, p. XXXIVff.; the same approach holds H. Lewy (Lewy H., The Babylonian Background of the Kay Kâûs Legend, Archiv Orientalní 17, 1949, p. 31f.) and others (Bivar A.D.H., The Political History of Iran under the Arsacids, - In: Cambridge Ancient History of Iran, vol.I, 2006 [fourth printing], p. 85).

<sup>21</sup> «Under this same ruler all of the scattered remains of the manuscript or oral traditions of the Avesta were ordered collected» (Debevoise N. C., A Political History of Parthia, Chicago, 1938, p. 196).

# BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE ARMENIAN QUESTION FROM THE ARMISTICE OF MUDROS TO THE OPENING OF THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

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## INTRODUCTION

The defeat of Turkey in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 brought the Armenian Question to the forefront and made up part of international relations. The Peace Treaty of San Stefano (near the Ottoman capital of Constantinople), signed on March 3, 1878 between Russia and Turkey, obliged the latter, under Article 16, to carry out necessary reforms in the six Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, in order to guarantee the security of life and property of the Armenians living in this area. The evacuation of Russian troops would only take place after these obligations were met by the sultan's government. Article 16 of the Treaty of San Stefano read:

*“As the evacuation by the Russian troops of the territory which they occupied in Armenia, and which is to be restored to Turkey, might give rise to conflicts and complications detrimental to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries, the Sublime Porte engages to carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by the local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security from Kurds and Circassians”<sup>1</sup>.*

However, the rivalry between the Great Powers of Europe led to revision of the Treaty of San Stefano. Great Britain and Austro-Hungary in particular were opposed to the growing might of Russia. They called for a new conference which was summoned that same year in Berlin and was headed by the six Great Powers of Europe. The conference was brokered by the renowned German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who promised to be an “honest mediator,” between the Great Powers and Turkey. However, in reality Bismarck was more supportive of the British, and especially Austro-Hungary. Russia was forced to abandon some of the gains that were recognized with the Treaty of San Stefano. Bulgaria would become independent of Ottoman rule, however, Macedonia would be left outside of its borders, and so would Adrianople, which was not far away from Constantinople, while Bosnia and Herzegovina, formerly part of the Ottoman domain, would be annexed by Austria-Hungary.

The Alashkert Valley and the strategic fortress of Bayazet (Daroynk), which according to the Treaty of San Stefano would be part of the Russian Empire, in the revised Treaty of Berlin were returned to Turkey. At the conference of Berlin, the Armenian representatives requested that the six Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire should be granted autonomy under European supervision, under the sovereignty of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. The request was not fully met, however, under

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<sup>1</sup> Great Britain Foreign Affairs, Parliament Sessional Papers, 1878, Vol. 83, Turkey No. 22, London, p. 14.

Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, signed on July 13, 1878, provided that Turkey was to institute reforms and guarantee the security in the Armenian provinces, and had to periodically inform the other five European signatories of the treaty about the progress of these reforms. The revised Article 16 of the original Treaty of San Stefano became article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin:

The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out without further delay, the ameliorations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers who will superintend their application<sup>2</sup>.

The Sublime Porte (Sultan Abdul Hamid II's government) masterfully played on the rivalry between the European powers, and made "a defensive alliance" with Great Britain, which pledged to defend the Ottoman Empire against Russian expansion.

Article I of the Convention of the said alliance between Great Britain and Turkey, was signed on June 4, 1878, stating:

*"If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars or any of them shall be retained by Russian, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territories of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms.*

*In return, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later between the two Powers, into the Government, and for the protection, of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these territories; and in order to enable England to make necessary provisions for executing her engagement, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cypress to be occupied and administered by England".<sup>3</sup>*

Thus, Great Britain opposed Russian expansion and the latter's takeover of Armenian territories that were within the Ottoman Empire and pledged to support the sultan. Great Britain, like Russia, also declared itself to be "the protector of the Christian subjects," and for its support against Russia, received from the sultan the Island of Cyprus, essentially in exchange for certain territories that already were conquered by Russia, including a large portion of Western Armenia.

Russia could only keep from the territories of "Turkish Armenia" predominantly the districts of Ardahan and Kars. While the Berlin Conference was going on, the Kurds took advantage of the Russian withdrawal and renewed their attacks upon Armenian civilians throughout the Armenian provinces. The prevalent lawlessness and continued massacres of Armenians at the hands of the Kurds and Circassians resulted in thousands of Armenians being forced to flee to Eastern Armenia and elsewhere to Russia. The pledges made at the congresses of San Stefano and Berlin to safeguard

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., No. 38, London, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. 82, Turkey, No. 2, p. 3.

the Armenians from the attacks of neighboring Kurds and Circassians were not only in vain, but in fact after 1878 became much worse. The Turkish policy of resettling a large number of formerly nomadic or semi-nomadic Kurdish tribes in the territories of Western Armenia, which prior to this were overwhelmingly Armenian-populated, was intensified.

In addition, Circassians, who in the 1860s were fleeing Russian encroachment into their lands in the Northern Caucasus, were also being resettled upon, among other places, Armenian lands of the Ottoman Empire, and like the Kurds, were attacking and pillaging defenseless Armenian villages. After repeated pleas by Armenians to the Sublime Porte, the Grand Vizier simply stated that if Armenians were not happy with their situation they could leave their land, which in turn would be resettled by the Muslim Circassians<sup>4</sup>.

The Armenians found out that the promises of reforms made at the Congress of Berlin and the Cyprus Convention were only mere declarations without any serious mechanisms for implementation. Archbishop Mkrtych Khrimyan, an outstanding Armenian spiritual leader, educator and national liberation figure, on behest of the Armenian Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian of Constantinople, led an Armenian national delegation to the Conference of Berlin. Here Khrimyan presented Armenian hopes for reforms in the Armenian provinces. The European leaders pledged to do their utmost to solve the Armenian Question, as it now became part of international politics. However, Khrimyan already understood after the conference that the European leaders were not genuinely committed to seeing the persecution and suffering of the Armenian people come to an end.<sup>5</sup> All of the European Great Powers (including Russia) had proclaimed that they were the protectors of Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, including the Armenians, but for these powers this was simply a useful way of exerting pressure upon the sultan for political expediency. Archbishop Khrimyan was sent to the Congress of Berlin by Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople Nerses II Varjabedian (1874-1884). Patriarch Nerses II played a key role in raising the Armenian question and the need for improving the situation of the Armenian people in both the San Stefano and Berlin conferences, which formed the basis of articles 16 and 61 respectively.

Simultaneously, the Ottoman defeats in the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 at the hands of various much smaller Balkan Christian states brought the plans to improve the conditions of the Ottoman Armenians to the forefront. Once again the old 1878 package and the pledge for reforms in the Armenian provinces, which were signed by Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1895, but were never implemented, came to the forefront of discussion. The French, British and Italians were anxious to limit the growing German influence in the Ottoman Empire, while the Russian government encouraged the

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<sup>4</sup> Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1963, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed study on the Armenian reforms and the national liberation movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century see the above quoted work of Louise Nalbandian; *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1963.

Catholicos of Armenia to appeal through the viceroy of the Caucasus to the Ottoman government for intervention in favor of reforms in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Earlier in 1907 the British had signed the Anglo-Russian agreement which greatly decreased the rivalry among these two competing empires, which among other things also paved the way for the closer cooperation of these two powers on the Armenian Question. The Armenian reform package was prepared by André Mandelstam<sup>6</sup>, the dragoman<sup>7</sup> at the Russian Embassy in Constantinople, and representatives from the Armenian National Assembly. It was introduced and discussed in Constantinople at a meeting of the ambassadors of France, Britain and Italy. The project suggested the formation of a single province from six Armenian provinces (Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Kharput and Sivas) under either an Ottoman Christian or a European governor general. The governor general was to be appointed by the Powers for the ensuing five years. Germany, already closely aligned with Turkey, opposed the project and succeeded in obtaining significant modifications, including splitting the region into two provinces.

The reform package was signed on February 8, 1914, between the Ottoman Empire, represented by Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha, and Russia. Louis Constant Westenenk, an administrator for the Dutch East Indies, and Nicolai Hoff, a major in the Norwegian Army, were selected as the first two inspectors. However, the Balkan Wars had created much deeper Turkish government resentment not only towards the Balkan states, but more broadly towards Russia, that supported the Balkan states during these wars against Turkey, the Armenian Christian minority, which was now viewed by the Young Turk leaders as another possible instrument for “interfering” into “their domestic affairs.” Hoff was in Van when the news of Turkish attack on Russia had broken out and marked Turkey’s entry into World War I, just as Westenenk was preparing to depart for his post in Erzurum (Karin). Several weeks after the outbreak of the war, the Turkish government officially abolished the reform package on December 16, 1914. Turkey entered World War I on the side of Germany and other Central Powers (Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria) on October 29, 1914, by attacking Russian Black Sea ports. In

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<sup>6</sup> André Mandelstam (1869–1949) became a pioneer of the human rights movement in the interwar period. Originally a diplomat in the service of the Russian Empire, he went into exile to Paris after the Bolshevik revolution and became an important member of the international human rights movement. Mandelstam drafted the first ever international human rights declaration which was adopted by the Institute of International Law at its New York session in 1929. Mandelstam’s work on human rights protection was influenced by his experiences as a diplomat in Constantinople where, in the years preceding World War I, he had witnessed the growing persecution of the Armenians which ultimately culminated with a horrific genocide. After the Armenian Genocide, which had left a permanent and deep mark, Mandelstam remained committed to the Armenian cause for the rest of his life. For more on the work and legacy of André Mandelstam see Helmut Philipp Aust, *From Diplomat to Academic Activist: André Mandelstam and the History of Human Rights*, *The European Journal of International Law* Vol. 25 no. 4.

<sup>7</sup> A dragoman was an interpreter, translator, and official guide between Turkish, Arabic, and Persian-speaking countries and polities of the Middle East and European embassies, consulates, vice-consulates and trading posts. A dragoman was required to have knowledge of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and European languages.

turn Britain and France (allies of Russia fighting Germany) declared war on the Ottoman Empire on November 3, 1914. In fact, two days earlier, British navy upon the orders of First Sea Lord Winston Churchill had attacked Ottoman shipping off of the port of Smyrna. Russia officially declared war on the Ottoman Empire on November 2, 1914.

In March of 1918, as the war was coming to its end, the British Foreign Office prepared a memorandum which listed nation by the nation a synopsis of moral and political obligations to the many nations that were affected by the war. A separate part dealt with the Armenian Question, noting that:

*“We are not bound by any valid contractual obligations, although we are morally committed to the Armenians not only by article 61 of the Berlin Treaty of 1878, but also by the many public statements made on their behalf”<sup>8</sup>.*

### **TURKISH DEFEAT AND THE END OF WORLD WAR I: THE ARMISTICE OF MUDROS**

In September of 1918, Grand Vizier Tala'at Pasha visited his Central Powers allies in Berlin, Germany, and Sofia, Bulgaria. He came away with the understanding that the war was no longer winnable. With Germany likely seeking a separate peace, the Ottomans would be forced to do so as well. Tala'at convinced Enver and Djemal that they must resign, as the Allies would impose far harsher terms if they thought the people who started the war and were clearly implicated in “crimes against humanity” as the Allied May 24, 1915 declaration noted, were still in power.

Faced with defeat, the Sultan dismissed Enver from his post as War Minister on October 4, 1918.

On October 13, Tala'at and the rest of his ministry resigned. Ahmed Izzet Pasha replaced Tala'at as Grand Vizier. Two days after taking office, he sent the captured British General Charles Vere Ferrers Townshend to the Allies to seek terms for an armistice.

On October 25, 1918, Boghos Nubar asked the U.S. Ambassador in France, William Sharp, to transmit to the State Department that Armenia should be recognized by the Allied governments as a belligerent. The request was based on the fact that thousands of Armenians fought for the Allied armies on various fronts. The Turkish government used the excuse of Armenian volunteers fighting in the Allied armies, to carry out an unprecedented mass extermination of hundreds of thousands of Armenians, including women, children and the elderly. This shocking development was gravely condemned by the Allies during the war with a joint declaration in May of 1915. The Allies had avowed to hold the Turkish government responsible for these crimes against humanity<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> British War Cabinet (hereafter cited as CAB) Memoranda 1916-1919, CAB 24/5 Synopsis of our Obligations to our Allies and Others, March 14, 1918.

<sup>9</sup> Foreign Relations of the United States (hereafter cited as FRUS), 1918, Supplement 1, The World War, I, p. 894.

In early October of 1918, as the Ottomans were beginning to completely lose the war to the Allies, the Turkish governor of Smyrna, Rahmi Bey, contacted the Allies and stated that it was possible for him to overthrow the Young Turk government, provided he would receive favorable terms from the Allies who already seemed to be the victorious side. Rahmi offered his terms to the Allies which among other things included the retention of Constantinople as the capital of Turkey. The strategic straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, connecting the Black with the Mediterranean seas, to remain under Turkish control with the right to build fortifications, but with complete freedom of passage to ships of all nations along with granting the right of free governments for Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, however, with retention of nominal Turkish sovereignty<sup>10</sup>.

Prime Minister Lloyd George in a telegram to the American Diplomatic Liaison Officer of the Supreme War Council, Arthur Hugh Frazier, said that the discussion of the terms offered by Rahmi Bey were ongoing. He had stated that the Allies should notify the Turkish side that the non-Turkish parts of the Ottoman Empire like Arabia, Armenia and others would be detached<sup>11</sup>. Eventually, Lloyd George replied that the Allies can only negotiate terms with the heads of the Turkish government<sup>12</sup>. Thus, Rahmi's terms and his attempt at negotiating peace for Turkey came to naught. Rahmi was considered to be a righteous man. He was not only a politician, but a gifted musician and composer. He was considered to be a Western-minded "enlightened Turk," who was fond of different cultures and had many friends of different nationalities who lived in the Ottoman Empire. During the Armenian Genocide, when the Young Turk leaders ordered the roundup of Armenians throughout Smyrna, Rahmi Bey refused to carry out those orders.

By mid-October Tala'at Pasha was looking for a way to conclude an armistice with the Allies. The Turkish Chargé d'affaires in Spain contacted the Spanish Foreign Ministry and requested that the latter inform the U.S. Secretary of State and President Wilson to "take upon himself the task of reestablishment of peace," and to "notify all belligerent states of this demand and to invite them to delegate plenipotentiaries to initiate negotiations"<sup>13</sup>. Tala'at wanted to surrender to the United States to see if he could gain the benefits of President Wilson's Fourteen Points based on the principles of self-determination, despite the Ottoman Empire and the United States not being at war; however, the American side never responded, as it was waiting on British advice which never came.

On October 30, 1918, the Ottoman Empire signed an armistice in the town of Mudros of the Greek island of Lemnos, thus effectively ending the hostilities with the Allies. The armistice was signed by the Ottoman Minister of Marine Affairs Rauf Bey

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 342.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 344.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 353.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 360.

and the British Admiral Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe, on board *HMS Agamemnon* in the harbor of Mudros. As part of several conditions to the armistice, the Ottomans surrendered their remaining garrisons outside of Asia Minor, as well as granted the Allies the right to occupy forts controlling the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The Allies reserved the right to occupy any Ottoman territory in the event of a threat to their security and disorder. The Ottoman army including its air force was demobilized, and all ports, railways, and other strategic points were made available for use by the Allies. In the Caucasus, the Ottomans had to retreat to within the pre-1914 borders. The defeated Ottomans also agreed to sign a permanent peace treaty with the Allies. Two days later, all “three Pashas” fled from Constantinople. On January 1, 1919, the new Turkish government officially expelled Enver Pasha from the army. He was tried in absentia in the Turkish Courts-Martial of 1919-20 for war crimes, including for mass extermination of Armenians, and condemned to death in absentia. Enver went to Germany, where he closely worked with German Communist figures like Karl Radek. In April of 1919, Enver left for Moscow in order to serve as a secret envoy for his friend General Hans von Seeckt who wished for a German-Soviet alliance. Besides working for General von Seeckt, Enver envisioned cooperation between the new Soviet government against the British, and went to Moscow. There he was well-received by Lenin, and established contacts with representatives from Central Asia and other exiled CUP members as the director of the Soviet Government’s Asiatic Department.

A number of articles of the Armistice of Mudros dealt specifically or impacted Armenia and Armenians.

Article Four of the Armistice of Mudros demanded that all Allied prisoners of war and Armenian interned persons and prisoners to be collected in Constantinople and handed over unconditionally to the Allies. Article Five demanded immediate demobilization of the Turkish army except for such troops as are required for surveillance of frontiers and for the maintenance of internal order. Article Eleven demanded immediate withdrawal of Turkish troops from northwest Persia and Transcaucasia to behind the pre-war frontier. Article Sixteen stated that Turkish troops should immediately surrender in the Armenian region of Cilicia which was going to be occupied by Allied troops. While article Twenty-Four of the Armistice of Mudros reserved to the Allies the right to occupy the six Armenian provinces in case of disorder and stipulated that the Allies would also occupy the four Cilician towns of Sis, Hadjin, Zeitun, and Aintab. Cilicia was regarded as an Armenian area, and was included as point b. under Article Twenty-Four on the question of the Armenian provinces, as part of national aspirations for either autonomy or independence. After final approval the terms were telegraphed to General Allenby in Palestine, for he was expected to receive the initial Turkish overtures<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Briton Cooper Busch, *Mudros to Lausanne: Britain’s Frontier in West Asia, 1918-1923*, State University of New York Press, Albany, New York, 1976, p. 14; Gwynne Dyer, *The Turkish Armistice of 1918: A Lost Opportunity: The Armistice Negotiations of Mudros*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1972.

On the same day the Armistice of Mudros came into force (at noon of October 31), the British War Cabinet stated that the terms of the armistice are “sufficiently drastic to enable us to dictate the terms of a rightful and enduring peace in the Near and Middle East.” In particular, the War Cabinet underlined that:

"History will yet have to determine the part played by the Committee of Union and Progress, with its secret ramifications in every capital of Europe, in luring on Germany to war and in compassing the destruction of the Ottoman Empire-so long the cause of wars, diplomatic entanglements, massacres, and the misrule of many of the fairest provinces of the ancient world. Carasso, Tala'at, and Enver have done their evil work, and the reckoning has now to be paid. Armenia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine now enter upon a new chapter of their history...The war in the East is won, and the days when Constantinople could dictate terms to Europe are over, let us hope for ever"<sup>15</sup>.

On the eve of the Armistice of Mudros, Special Representative of President Woodrow Wilson, Edward M. House and Secretary of *The Inquiry*, which was later part of the Commission to Negotiate Peace at the Paris Peace Conference, submitted to the Secretary of State, Lansing, a detailed memorandum, explaining President Wilson's Fourteen Points and his vision for a post-World War world peace. The Fourteen Points in the speech were based on the detailed research of *The Inquiry*.

After the Armistice, both Germany and Turkey referred to President Wilson's Fourteen Points and generally accepted them as the basis for the terms of not only their surrender, but also negotiated them during the 1919 Paris Peace Conference and thereafter.

As E. House, being the Special Representative of President Wilson, stated, among these were the Armenian people. Armenia was to be free and would extend from “sea to sea.” That is to say, from the Black to the Mediterranean Sea, incorporating the Black Sea province of Trebizond along with the six Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire as well as Cilicia, extending to the Mediterranean Sea. It was also suggested that one of the Great Powers should become a mandatory of Armenia to make sure that in its early stages the country is assured of the “unmolested opportunity of autonomous development,” since even a defeated Turkey was still viewed as a threat to its continued existence by both the Allies and the Armenians<sup>16</sup>.

When World War I was still ongoing President Wilson pledged to stand by Armenia at the future peace conference. On July 4, 1918, he promised to Miran Sevasly, Chairman of the Armenian National Union of America:

"I did express my own resolution to do all that I could to see that the hopes of the Armenians were satisfied and that no question of essential justice involved in the

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<sup>15</sup> CAB 24/145 Appreciation of the Attached Eastern Report, Turkey, October 31, 1918, f. 136.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

present European situation should be left unsettled in the general reckoning after the war"<sup>17</sup>.

During the Council of Four meeting at the Paris Peace Conference, represented by the heads of the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy, President Wilson pointed out that the so-called Sykes-Picot agreement made in 1916 between Great Britain, France and agreed by Russia, to partition Turkey, was void, since one of the parties (Russia) withdrew from the war and made a separate agreement with the Central Powers in 1918. President Wilson stressed the importance of including Cilicia within Armenia, since that gave the country an outlet to the Mediterranean Sea<sup>18</sup>.

The last point was arguably the most important in terms of international law and post-world war order since it called for the establishment of the League of Nations, "under specific covenants" for the purpose of "affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike"<sup>19</sup>.

Point Four of the Mudros Armistice stated that all Allied prisoners of war and Armenian interned [persons] and prisoners were to be collected at Constantinople and handed over unconditionally to the Allies. Armenian territory within the Caucasus was ordered to be evacuated by Turkish troops. Railways in the Caucasus were to be controlled by the Allies, which also indicated the occupation of Batum and Baku. Turkish troops were also ordered to withdraw from Cilicia. The Allies also reserved the right to occupy the six Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire<sup>20</sup>.

Upon the surrender of Turkey and the Armistice of Mudros, the Special Envoy of the Armenian Catholicos Gevorg V, Armen Garo (Pasdermadjyan) and the Representative of the Armenian National Delegation, Mihran Sevasly, sent a telegram to the Secretary of State Robert Lansing notifying him that the surrender of Turkey to the Allies is of vital interest to Armenians, urging the U.S. government to add its weight to other Allied governments, in order that "the right of the Armenians be effectively safeguarded," through the following measures:

1. The withdrawal of all Turkish troops not only from the Transcaucasian Armenian provinces, but also from the six Armenian vilayets of Turkey and from Cilicia;
2. The occupation of all strategic points by the Allied troops in the above mentioned territory;
3. The adoption of measures of a nature to prevent the Turkish Government from organizing an influx of Turkish and Mohammedan immigrants into the Armenian territory;
4. The immediate organization of an inter-Allied commission of relief having for its purpose to help the Armenian refugees scattered throughout Turkey and elsewhere,

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<sup>17</sup> Wilson to Tumulty, July 19, 1918, The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, Volume 49, Princeton, NJ, 1985, p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> Gayane Makhmourian (Ed.), Armenia in the Documents of the U.S. Department of State: 1917-1920, Yerevan, 2011, p. 77.

<sup>19</sup> FRUS, 1918, Supplement 1, The World War, I, p. 413.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 442.

and the adoption of effective measures to secure the repatriation of all such refugees and deported Armenians to within the boundaries of the future Armenian state;

5. Pending the deliberation of the peace congress and until the final settlement of the Armenian question, all Armenian territory to be administered by a provisional inter-Allied government<sup>21</sup>.

On November 7, 1918, the British War Cabinet reported that:

*“A good deal of uneasiness has been felt in Armenian circles over the terms of the armistice with Turkey, whereby Turkey is left in possession of the six Armenian vilayets during the armistice period subject to good behaviour. Recent answers to questions put in the House of Commons on this subject have tended to reassure their fears, as it is now made clear that the armistice terms bear no relation to the territorial settlement which will be imposed by the allies on Turkey at the peace conference”*<sup>22</sup>.

On November 17, 1918, British Lieutenant General William Montgomery Thomson, with about 2,000 soldiers of the British Indian Army and a detachment of Russian White Guard troops who were opposed to the Bolshevik government, arrived in Baku. General Thomson's arrival effectively marked his governorship of that city which lasted until the middle of 1919. Lloyd George stated that there were some 170,000 British troops in Russian Armenia, Caucasus and Syria. Ultimately, the British Prime Minister stated that they were not going to maintain their troops in Armenia, but only maintained them for the sake of law and order and to prevent further massacres<sup>23</sup>.

On November 20, 1918, Secretary of State Robert Lansing sent a telegram to the U.S. Chargé d'affaires in Great Britain, Irwin B. Laughlin, telling him to inform the British Foreign Office that the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (Near East Relief)<sup>24</sup>, with the support and approval of the U.S. government, desired to undertake at

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 895.

<sup>22</sup> CAB 24/145 Appreciation of the Attached Eastern Report, November 7, 1918, f. 140.

<sup>23</sup> Makhmourian G., Armenia in the Documents of the U.S. Department of State: 1917-1920, p. 51.

<sup>24</sup> Near East Relief was organized in 1915 in response to the Armenian Genocide after U.S. Ambassador to Turkey Henry Morgenthau, Sr. urged its formation in order to save the survivors of the Armenian Genocide. The American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) spearheaded the effort. Under the leadership of James L. Barton (Secretary of ABCFM) and philanthropist Cleveland H. Dodge, the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief was founded in 1915. The Committee was supported by President Woodrow Wilson. Through public rallies, church collections, and with the assistance of charitable organizations and foundations, the Committee raised millions in its campaigns to save “the starving Armenians.” The Committee was able to deliver funds through the American Embassy in Constantinople which relied upon the missionaries and its consuls to distribute the aid. While the U.S. entry into war against Germany and Turkey in April 1917 disrupted this critical lifeline, the Committee widened its scope of activities at the end of the war also to include Russian Armenia where hundreds of thousands had taken refuge. Renamed the American Committee for Relief in the Near East in 1918, it was incorporated by an act of Congress in 1919 as Near East Relief (NER). Between 1915 and 1930, when it ended operations, NER administered \$117,000,000 of assistance. It delivered food, clothing, and materials for shelter by the shipload from America. It set up refugee camps, clinics, hospitals, orphanages, and centers for vocational training. NER is credited with having cared for 132,000 Armenian orphans scattered across the region from Tbilisi and Yerevan to Constantinople, Beirut, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

once relief measures for rehabilitation of the oppressed nationalities of Turkish Empire in Constantinople and Asia Minor. It proposed to dispatch a ship with a cargo of foodstuffs, clothing, agricultural machinery, seed, and medical supplies, together with some 300 doctors, relief workers, mechanics and agriculturalists. The ship would sail from an American port on the Atlantic through the Dardanelles to a port on the coast of Armenia, and there would discharge its supplies and personnel<sup>25</sup>. This was one of the first serious and mass relief efforts after the capitulation of the Ottoman Empire.

On November 21, 1918, the British Foreign Office prepared an important memorandum that proposed the possible partition of the Ottoman Empire. The borders of the proposed Armenian state included all of Western Armenia and Cilicia, as well as the territories of Eastern or Russian Armenia. The newly revived Armenian state would cover the territories stretching from the northwest the territory of the Black Sea, including the port of Trebizond and extend through Western Armenia to Cilicia and the Mediterranean coastline with the important port of Alexandretta<sup>26</sup>. This proposal of "United Armenia" (also known as Integral Armenia) was also supported by the American side. The memorandum was made by the Foreign Office in coordination with other Allies to be presented at the upcoming Paris Peace Conference, which commenced on January 18, 1919.

On November 22, 1918, the British War Cabinet during its discussion of the 95<sup>th</sup> Eastern Report noted that the revelations in the public press regarding the abominable treatment of British prisoners by the Turks were diminishing the false notion of the "clean fighting Turk." Lord Robert Cecil's November 18 speech in the House of Commons on the Armenian Question, was telegraphed to Constantinople on November 18 by the Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour, to Admiral Somerset Gough-Calthorpe, Commander-in-Chief of the British Mediterranean Fleet, who had signed the Armistice of Mudros on behalf of the Allies with the Ottomans. The Occupation of Constantinople began with the Allied fleet entering Constantinople in November of 1918 and it was Gough-Calthorpe's flagship, HMS *Superb* that led the way. Admiral Calthorpe was instructed to notify the Turkish government of Lord Cecil's speech with regards to the future of Armenia.

On November 18, 1918, Brigadier General Sir Gilbert Clayton who served as a British army intelligence officer and colonial administrator throughout the Middle East, during and after the war, pointed out that, "it was of the utmost importance," that there a modus vivendi would be achieved between Great Britain and France, when it came to the administration of the new Middle East. This would remove any chance of friction and competition between the two wartime allies. According to General Clayton, France should be recognized as the trustee of an autonomous Lebanon, including Beirut and the Beka'a valley, and also of autonomous Armenia, which would include the port of Alexandretta. Great Britain would be given the task of administering Palestine, and

<sup>25</sup> Makhmourian G., Armenia in the Documents of the U.S. Department of State, p. 33.

<sup>26</sup> CAB 24/1, Eastern Report, No. XCV, November 21, 1918, Armenia.

serve as the adviser of the independent Arab state, which should include the sanjak (county) of Tripoli and Latakia. Given this arrangement, the economic interests of France would be safeguarded as under the Asia Minor (Sykes-Picot) agreement of 1916, and, according to General Clayton, the settlement of the Zionist question would be greatly facilitated<sup>27</sup>.

Lord Cecil's speech signaled a "welcomed assurance that the rule of the Ottoman is not to be restored in countries such as Armenia and Cilicia." The report also noted that the whereabouts of the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P.) leaders were still unknown, adding that they were "presumably getting into touch with their natural allies, the Bolsheviks." The report also including information that the "anti-Zionist rabbi, Nahum<sup>28</sup>, who is prominently connected with the C.U.P.," had reached The Hague en route for the United States in order to "propagate for the restoration of Turkish suzerainty in Palestine and Syria."

On November 18, Sir Reginald Wingate also reported that he had been requested to telegraph the protest of the Armenian National Union of Egypt against the omission from the conditions of the armistice of a stipulation that Cilicia and the six Armenian vilayets should be immediately occupied by the Allied troops. The union asked that the French Eastern Legion should be sent to Armenia, and that use should be made of the Caucasian Armenian troops<sup>29</sup>.

The Armenian grave concern of not occupying the six Armenian provinces and Armenian-populated Cilicia (including cities such as Zeitun, Hadjin, Sis and Adana that were named by name in the original draft of the Armistice of Mudros), which was left out due to pressure by Turkish Minister of the Marine Affairs, Rauf Bey, who signed the armistice on behalf of Ottoman Turkey, came out to be true. The Turks used their old method of pitting one European power against the other. During the negotiations, as the British were anxious to be the country that Turkey offers its surrender were willing to accommodate to a great extent changes and amendments to the Armistice of Mudros, that otherwise would not be omitted. The rivalry with France came into play, as Britain wanted to be the "first" to occupy Constantinople and thus stress its primacy with regards to the future status of the region. The point about occupying six Armenian

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<sup>27</sup> CAB 24/145 Appreciation of the Attached Eastern Europe, No. XCV, November 25, 1918, f. 154.

<sup>28</sup> Chaim Nahum (1872-1960), was a rabbi who after the rise of the Young Turks, with whom he was closely associated, became in 1909 the Chief Rabbi of Turkey. His close connection to the Young Turks would later also be carried over to Mustafa Kemal and his top deputies, virtually all of whom hailed from the Young Turk and CUP background. During the 1922-1923 Conference of Lausanne, which commenced negotiations with the Kemalists and the Allies about granting recognition to the former, Nahum was a prominent and also a signatory to that treaty. For his services to the Turkish government Nahum was given the title of "effendi," or "master." Israeli historians Yuval Ben-Bassat and Eyal Ginio have noted that Nahum opposed Zionism because he believed it was opposed to Ottomanism, to which he wholeheartedly subscribed. Yuval Ben-Bassat, Eyal Ginio, *Late Ottoman Palestine: The Period of Young Turk Rule*, pp. 244-245.

<sup>29</sup> CAB 24/145 Eastern Report, No. XCV, Armenia, November 21, 1918.

provinces “in case of disturbances” was the last, which also connoted the level of importance that the British placed on this issue.

Britain during and right after the war repeatedly proclaimed that the liberation of the oppressed nationalities of the Ottoman Empire, which first and foremost included the Armenians who had underwent a systematic mass extermination attempt at the hands of the Turkish government, was now being sidelined for Realpolitik. The Armenian issue was used to rally support among the humanitarian driven British constituency which had been very much sympathetic to Armenians since the time of the Congress of Berlin and especially after the Hamidian massacres of 1894-1896, however, the British Establishment used the legitimate issue to claim moral superiority in its fight against the Turks, and once the war was over, issues like the control of the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, the control of the oil-rich Mosul region in northern Iraq (Mesopotamia), and to lesser extent the question of indemnities in post-war Turkey (including loans that were given to the sultans during the Ottoman period, however, this was mostly done by France).

During his speech on Armenia at the House of Commons, Lord Cecil stated that incredible outrages were committed against the Armenians, who had suffered an unimaginable faith at the hands of the Turks. After stating that Cilicia would be occupied immediately, he went on to say that the Allies could “not permit the evil forces which had been predominant in Constantinople to remain predominant in the (Turkish) government.” The Allied object was the liberation of all those who were entitled to protection. The Armenian atrocities were committed in an organized fashion and the arguments that some Turkish officials were making that they were simply done at the hands of “isolated Turkish brigands,” were not true. They were ordered from Constantinople, so far as he knew, in every case. That was the central fact that needed to be recognized in dealing with the situation. Lord Cecil also underlined that the Armenian massacres were not due to “a religious question.” The Arabs had always protected the Armenians, and when the British army came to Aleppo it had found several bodies of Armenians living there under the protection of the Arabs. And in the same way there was no reason why the Kurds and Armenians could not live perfectly well together if the Turkish influence was removed.

There was already evidence that the Kurds and Armenians were prepared to make terms with one another and to arrange to peacefully coexist. There were also indications that the Turks still did “not learn their lesson,” and were showing signs of trying to carry on their “old policy of delay, and of raising with incredible fertility every kind of objection.” If they had the opportunity they would try their other device of “setting one European nation against another.” Lord Cecil stressed, to a thunderous applause in the House of Commons that, “those days had ended. The Turks would make a profound mistake if they failed to realize that their tactic of delay and resistance was finally finished. The only way for clemency would be if they showed that they had really mended their ways and would hasten to carry out the terms of the armistice to which

they had agreed, and the other conditions which would be put upon them by the justice of their conquerors<sup>30</sup>.

In November 1918 the Armenian National Delegation, "interpreting the unanimous voice of the whole nation," which included the Republic of Armenia and Western Armenia (the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire), notified the Allied governments that Armenia has won its right to independence by its voluntary and spontaneous participation in the war on the three fronts of the Caucasus, Syria, and France, and by the myriads of victims in men, women and children who were massacred in wholesale manner during the war.

On November 19, 1918, Sir Horace Rumbold reported that Professor George Davis Herron<sup>31</sup>, an American who was known as an outspoken public figure in Europe and who during the war had moved to Geneva, Switzerland and was doing intelligence work for the Allies, had communicated to him the text of a telegram he had received from Mikayel Varandyan, prominent ARF member who served as the Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia to Italy. Prof. Herron also forwarded Ambassador Varandyan's telegram to the United States government.

Varandyan stated that the horrible Turkish invasion caused tremendous damage to Armenia. Armenians, deprived of all exterior help and betrayed by their neighbors who "went over to the enemy," still, with superhuman efforts, were able to create in "the Biblical region of Ararat, the cradle of civilization," an independent republic free of all Turco-German influence. A republic that was recognized by the 2,000,000 Armenians of the Caucasus as their legitimate state, which would serve as the nucleus of the future Republic of Armenia, which, "under the protection of the Allies, will extend over all Russian and Turkish Armenia." The 3,000,000 Armenians who had escaped from Turkish barbarism hoped that, in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of the peoples, the Allied Powers would recognize the existence of the Armenian Republic, which was an accomplished fact.

The Armenian soldiers numbering some 200,000 heroically fought for four years in the Allied ranks on the Eastern, Caucasian, Palestinian, and Syrian fronts. All of them hoped that the rights of Armenians as a belligerent nation would be recognized by the Allies and that the future peace conference would give full satisfaction to the cause of Armenia. The Armenians also hoped that "the sinister assassins" of their people would be punished by the Allies, and that reparations would be made by those responsible for the ruin of Armenia so that the regeneration of that land, "the greatest victim of this vindictive war," would be possible. George Herron added that he had had similar

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<sup>30</sup> CAB 24/145, Appreciation of the Attached Eastern Report, No. XCV, Turkey, The Turks and Armenia, November 21, 1918.

<sup>31</sup> George Herron in 1917 began contributing regular written reports to the American Legation at Berne, Switzerland. In addition to his intelligence work on behalf of the U.S. State Department, Herron also supplied the British War Office and British Foreign Office with similar reports. Herron's intelligence and analysis was greatly valued by the British, who allotted him 1,000 francs per month so that stenographic help could be hired. Briggs, Mitchell Pirie Briggs, George D. Herron and the European Settlement, AMS Press, 1971, p. 32-33.

appeals to the same effect from a number of other Armenian leaders, some of whom, according to him, had mistaken the Armistice of Mudros as “treaty of peace,” and were thus, in a state of considerable apprehension as to the future of Armenia<sup>32</sup>.

On November 27, 1918 the U.S. military attaché in London, Stephen L. Slocum, sent a telegram to the Chief of Staff of the U.S. War Department, Peyton C. March notifying him that Prime Minister David Lloyd George believed that Armenia needed to be under an “administrative help of European or American State under a mandate of the League of Nations”<sup>33</sup>. A similar possible mandate was also suggested for Turkey (dubbed as “Anatolia”), that is to say, mainly the Turkish inhabited Asia Minor that was west of the Armenian provinces (Turkish Armenia) of the Ottoman Empire<sup>34</sup>.

That day British Rear-Admiral Richard Webb, the Assistant High Commissioner of Constantinople, reported that the greater part of the remaining Armenians were concentrated in the principal towns of Anatolia. They had now been given liberty to return to their homes, and many were endeavoring to do so. But they were without clothing or food, and their homes were either in ruins or occupied by Muslim emigrants from the Balkans and Syria. Even with good will, it was doubtful that the Turkish government could eject the Balkan Muslim emigrants, and certainly it could not do so without causing great loss of life. The returning Armenian survivors would be more likely to be persecuted when they would reclaim their homes. According to Rear-Admiral Webb, it would be best to endeavor to keep, feed, and clothe the Armenian refugees, at various camps throughout the Near East, through the winter, and meanwhile to make definite arrangements for their return in the spring of 1919<sup>35</sup>.

James Bryce<sup>36</sup>, the former British Ambassador to the United States, who strongly condemned the Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire and raised his voice at the House of Lords as early as July of 1915, also reaffirmed that Armenia must be fully independent. Bryce, with the assistance of historian Arnold J. Toynbee, in 1916 had produced an important documentary record of the Armenian Genocide which contained a compilation of statements from eyewitnesses of the genocide entitled *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire*.

In December of 1918 as the Paris Peace Conference was about to convene Bryce stated that:

"English friends of America trust that American public opinion, recognising the sufferings long endured by the Armenian people, its fidelity to the Christian faith, and

<sup>32</sup> CAB 24/145 Appreciation of the Attached Eastern Report, No. XCV, Turkey, The Turks and Armenia, November 21, 1918,

<sup>33</sup> Makhmourian, Armenia in the Documents of the U.S. Department of State, p. 34.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> CAB 24/145, Eastern Report, No. XCVII, Turkey, December 5, 1918.

<sup>36</sup> James Bryce (1838-1922) was a British academic, jurist, historian and Liberal politician, who had travelled throughout Armenia in 1876 and climbed Mount Ararat. He witnessed Turkish misrule towards the Armenian subjects and had developed a deep sympathy for the Armenian people and their plight. He published his impressions of the journey in 1877, in a book entitled Transcaucasia and Ararat.

the splendid services rendered by its soldiers in the war, will heartily support Armenia's claim to complete deliverance from Turkish rule and its own national independence. By its industry, intelligence, and education, Armenia is well fitted for freedom and capable of restoring prosperity to its ancient home"<sup>37</sup>.

But it turned out that the humanitarian-minded political leaders lost to the shrewd politicians of the Realpolitik. The British political elite, contrary to its wartime lofty public proclamations of securing "self-determination for small nations," "fighting for human rights," and even "democracy," was still very much committed to, by this time supposedly outdated, concepts of imperialism and colonialism.

### CONCLUSION

The terms of the Armistice of Mudros were already to a great extent a setback for the just settlement of the Armenian Question as stipulated by British and other Allied leaders during the war. The Turkish side was able to remove the points about the occupation of the Armenian provinces (Western Armenia) by the Allied troops. The British side rushed to conclude the Armistice of Mudros with Turkey, placing at the top of its priority the occupation of Constantinople and securing a free passage of the straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles. The British were also determined to hold on to the oil rich territory of Iraq (Mesopotamia) which they had occupied in 1918.

At the conclusion of the Armistice of Mudros, contrary to these stated aims, the British priorities were actually further south in places like the oil-rich Iraq (Mesopotamia) and to certain extent securing the free access of the straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles which through the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea linked the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea. The British were satisfied on these points and as it later became evident, never lacked the will and ability to flex their military or political muscle when it suited their interests. This was particularly evident in the early to mid-1920s during the dispute of the oil-rich Mosul area of Iraq, which the Turks wanted to include in their own newly proclaimed republic. The British showed their full military and political potential and even utilized the League of Nations to successfully check Turkish ambition in this area, making sure that Mosul remains part of the British controlled Mandate of Iraq.

The French troops which had replaced the British troops in Cilicia in 1919, and were supposed to stay there for good according to the Armistice of Mudros, in 1921 ignominiously abandoned this Armenian-populated region. The French side, contrary to Armenian protests, made a unilateral agreement with the Turkish nationalists in October of 1921, effectively handing over the control of this region to the latter.

The British Foreign Office, after three weeks from the Armistice of Mudros, on November 21, 1918, had prepared a memorandum which outlined the borders of the independent Armenia which included most of its historic territory, stretching from the Black Sea coastline all the way to the Mediterranean Sea. The State of Armenia would

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<sup>37</sup> The Case of Armenia, p. 18.

include both its Western and Eastern parts that were formerly part of the Ottoman and Russian empires respectively. However, the British were never prepared to make an actual commitment (military and otherwise) to one of their supposed war aims, of holding the Turkish government accountable for what it had done to the Armenians and granting the latter their promised independence based upon the principle of self-determination.

The fact that Western Armenia was not occupied by the Allies turned out to be fatal for the Armenian survivors who during the war already had experienced a horrific genocide at the hands of the Turkish government. The British intelligence reported that Armenians could not maintain this territory on their own. All of the Allies were well aware that Armenia could not have an “unmolested opportunity of autonomous development,” against the Turkish nationalist-Bolshevik alliance, without Allied support.

The armed Turkish regular and irregular formations throughout the Armenian provinces according to the terms of the Armistice of Mudros were to be disarmed. However, this task was not taken up by the Allies, and was left up to the Turkish government officials. Many of these officials simply paid lip service to this Allied demand and did very little, if anything, in carrying out these orders<sup>38</sup>. By mid-1919, a “new” Turkish nationalist movement headed by “former” Young Turk leader Mustafa Kemal who hailed from the ranks of the C.U.P. that committed the Armenian Genocide, already begun to plan its course of action against the fledgling Armenian state. Kazim Karabekir, a prominent C.U.P. general, reorganized the Eastern Ottoman Army stationed in Western Armenia and in autumn of 1920 launched the invasion and occupation of the Republic of Armenia. While Kazim occupied Armenia from the west, his Bolshevik allies marched into Armenia from the east, thus effectively bringing an end to Armenian independence and occupying all of its territory. As Oliver Baldwin, the son of Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, who served as an infantry instructor in the Republic of Armenia and remained committed to the Armenian cause for many years after its “betrayal” and occupation, noted that for the British political elite and other Allied leaders “Armenia had served her purpose...that was all that was needed”<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> When the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed VI gave order to Kazim Karabekir to surrender, Karabekir simply refused to obey. No serious efforts were made by the Sultan or the Allies to carry out the order which was one of the points of the Treaty of Mudros.

<sup>39</sup> Oliver Baldwin, *The Questing Beast: An Autobiography*, Grayson and Grayson Ltd., London, 1932, p. 175.

## THE EFFORTS OF THE ARMENIAN BENEVOLENT SOCIETY OF THE CAUCASUS IN HELPING THE ARMENIAN REFUGEES (1896)

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Some of the Western Armenians who had miraculously survived the massacres, organized by Abdul Hamid II, were forced to take the route of emigration. The refugees, having been deprived even of the basic means of livelihood, were in a difficult socio-economic situation. Various illnesses were disseminated among them because of lack of food and living conditions. A necessity of taking urgent measures to provide both material and moral support to Western Armenians was taking shape under these circumstances.

The Armenians of Diaspora, Eastern Armenians and Russian progressive society came to help refugees. Different charitable, social and religious organizations and companies were created.

In order to give assistance to the poor compatriots the book by Gr. Djrbashyan was published in Moscow in 1897<sup>1</sup> and the total revenues of its sale should have been provided to the Armenian refugees. The European progressive society also tried to alleviate the condition of the tortured Western Armenians. Donations were organized in Great Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Russia, USA and elsewhere. One million eight hundred thousand Deutschmarks (about eight hundred thousand rubles) were collected in Germany from September 1896 to 1899 to help the refugees<sup>2</sup>. About two hundred fifty thousand franks were sent from Great Britain up to December 1896<sup>3</sup>. Three hundred fifty thousand franks were collected for the Armenian refugees in 1897; two million franks were raised in the USA, two hundred thousand in Switzerland<sup>4</sup> and fourteen thousand in Denmark<sup>5</sup>.

The Armenian society could not remain indifferent, and a significant part of humanitarian aid was taken by the Armenian Benevolent Society of Caucasus (hereinafter referred to as ABSC), founded in Tiflis by Doctor B. Navasardyan still in 1881 and headed by the Council and the Local Board.

A significant number of records and the Armenian periodicals of the time, covering both the situation of the Western Armenian refugees and the assistance they received, are preserved in the National Archive of Armenia (ABSC fund).

The considerable part of the archival documents stored in the National Archive of Armenia is not published yet. Some of them have been used by the famous historian

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<sup>1</sup> Brotherly help to the Armenian victims in Turkey, Moscow, 1897 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> See "Murch", Tiflis, 1899, № 4-5, p. 546 (In Arm.).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 1896, № 1, p. 157.

<sup>4</sup> "Taraz", 1897, № 1, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., №12, p. 206.

Leo (Arakel Babakhanyan) in his work, "The thirtieth anniversary of the Armenian Benevolent Society in the Caucasus, 1881-1911"<sup>6</sup>.

As the refugees started to cross the border of the Caucasian Vicegerency because of the massacres started in Trabzon and the surrounding areas since the autumn of 1895, the Primate of the Georgian-Imeretian Diocese, archbishop Gevorg Surenyants sent an alarming letter to the Council on 13 November 1895, asking to take without delay the steps necessary for the help of the refugees. The first caravan of the Western Armenians that had passed the Caucasian border consisted of 4000 people, mostly women and children<sup>7</sup>. Since the statutes of the ABSC was not permitting to conduct an activity outside the territory of the vicegerency the Council of the ABSC discussed exclusively the matter of providing aid to the refugees, being sheltered in the territory of the Caucasus, at the session № 22 on 5 September 1896<sup>8</sup>.

The main problem of the ABSC from September 1896 was to accept and house the refugees within its capabilities. Nevertheless, the insufficient resources compelled the Council during the session of 5 September to give the President of the Council, A. Ananyan, permission to appeal to the authorities to get their consent for public fundraising<sup>9</sup>. The request was rejected by the Vicegerency<sup>10</sup>. Probably, it was conditioned by the anti-Armenian attitude of the vicegerent at that time, Grigori Golitsin, having extreme monarchic views. He was doing his best to restrict the activities of any Armenian public organization, which could gain reputation among Armenians.

Trying to concentrate the assistance to the refugees in his hands and to demonstrate that the authorities "take care of" refugees, G. Golitsin allows collecting donations in the Russian Empire starting from December 11, 1896 on condition that the aid be forwarded to the appropriate state agencies, which in turn will distribute both the goods and money<sup>11</sup>.

Despite the fact that the authorities did not permit the ABSC to organize donations for the benefit of the refugees, the ABSC got help thanks to the publications in press. Group and individual aid was sent to the ABSC, based on the consideration that the Society was well-informed of the refugees' situation.

Women, children and elderly people were prevailing among the refugees, who were applying to the ABSC for almost everyday help. To have helped them the Council decided to set apart a private assembly from among its members, which should make trips and get acquainted with the situation of the refugees so that it was possible to decide what kind of assistance the sheltered persons needed and in which province or village the aid was to be provided<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> See Leo, *Thirty years of the Armenian Benevolent society in the Caucasus, 1881-1911*, Tiflis, 1911 (In Arm.).

<sup>7</sup> See Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> See National archive of Armenia (NAA), folder 28, list 1, dossier 39, n. 76 rev.

<sup>9</sup> See NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 39, n. 77.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

The Council gives instructions to the chairmans of the branches for organizing appropriate committees and transferring statistical data about the number, gender and age of the refugees as well as about the kind and extent of the expected aid.

The branches of the Council started working. The Council of the ABSC discussed the reports from Tiflis and Surmalu at the sessions, convened in 18 October and 25 October, respectively.

The reports were describing in details the terrible situation of the refugees, pointing out that they needed housing, bedding and clothing, since many of them were falling asleep on a damp floor; they had no clothes and warm sheets and were consequently getting sick.

There were considerable numbers of death cases because of lack of basic medical care. It was mentioned in the report of the Surmalu branch that 775 refugees had found shelter in Igdir and the surrounding areas; at the beginning they were provided with food and housing by the local villagers<sup>13</sup>. The branches were demanding for necessary help. The Council decided to send 500 roubles and a case of clothes to Igdir for the refugees. Those being sheltered in Kars were in a similar situation<sup>14</sup>.

The fact that the frosty days of winter were getting nearer was also a great problem for the branches of the ABSC; the problem of finding shelters for almost naked refugees was becoming more difficult. They were placed mainly in cowsheds.

The medical assistance was a great problem for all branches. The sick and the healthy people were accommodated in the same room because of which infectious diseases were spreading easily.

There was almost no medical aid. Discussing this question, the Council made a conclusion that it was not convenient to send physicians but there was a need to reach an agreement with those working in provinces to help the sick people for a certain amount of money.

At the same time, the number of refugees was increasing day by day. For instance, the local administration of Vagharshapat wrote a letter to the Council that the number of refugees was being constantly increased; if their number reached around 500<sup>15</sup> about a month ago according to the data collected from 24 villages of Vagharshapat, then the figure achieved 1150 as of December 20<sup>16</sup>.

Looking into the reports of the branches, the refugees can be divided into three groups:

1. People in a comparatively stable situation, that is, the persons or families who were able to sell their property beforehand and to emigrate from the cradle in a little bit of safe condition. Such refugees were small in number;

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> NAA, f. 28, l.1, d. 358, n. 130.

<sup>15</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 357, n. 112.

<sup>16</sup> Loc. cit., l. 1, d. 921, n. 137.

2. Families in poverty, but able to work, who were stayed unemployed. There was a need to help this group before finding a job;
3. Families in extreme poverty, the great part of whose members were in sickness. This group needed long-term assistance.

The Council was requesting from the branches a detailed account about the expenditures along with the reports to be able to distribute its scarce resources.

The accountable report of the ABSC, dated February 4, 1897 and sent to Bishop Aristakes Sedrakyan<sup>17</sup>, was providing detailed information about the number of refugees in the Caucasus, their situation and the aid to be granted them. The secretary of the ABSC Council, Hambardzum Arakelyan, mentions in the report that the refugees were mainly settled down in the Kars region (24.000) and Yerevan province (10.000)<sup>18</sup>. The terrible situation of the refugees was also described. Then the document deals with the presents and the way they were distributed.

The Council had received 19.248 rubles and 74 kg of aid for the benefit of Armenian refugees as far as the beginning of 1897. Then it was mentioned in detail how much of that aid was sent to the refugees and to which of the regions.

The activities of the Batumi branch of the ABSC had also a significant impact on providing help to the Western Armenian refugees and mitigating their situation<sup>19</sup>. The principal purpose of the committees of the said branch was to provide the correct and appropriate aid to the Western Armenian refugees sheltered in Batumi, after having heard the reports of those persons who were supporting the Batumi branch and the cases of refugees. These individuals were getting acquainted with the situation of the refugees in place, rendering accounts during the sessions, where the amount of aid was determined. The protocols deal with the matter of how much money was given to the refugees and for what purpose. The lists also give the number of a refugee's family members and the place they emigrated from. Based on these archival documents, one can conclude that the average number of refugee families was 5-6, most of them having migrated from Trabzon, Van, Baberd and other places.

There is a need to argue that the Armenian public and religious organizations did not provide full assistance to the Armenian refugees who had escaped the Hamidian massacres. This was conditioned by the fact that the entire attention of all Armenians was focused on the mass murder in the Western Armenia and Armenian-populated areas of Asia Minor as well as on giving help to the rebels of Sassoun and Zeitun. Hence, the refugees who had reached the Caucasian Vicegerency found themselves in the center of improper attention.

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<sup>17</sup> Sedrakyan (Melik-Arakelyan, 1845-1906) Aristakes Sedrak - a philologist, historian, clergyman, bishop, member of the Echmiadzin Congregation. He was a bishop in 1882. In 1869-1882 Aristakes Sedrakyan was the abbot of St. Karapet in Yerndjak and St. Gayane in Etchmiatsin. He was the leader of the Armenian Dioceses of Tatev, Artsakh, Georgian Imeretia and Astrakhan.

<sup>18</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 967, n. 34.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 10-93.

Except of that, the inadequate aid to the refugees was conditioned by the anti-Armenian attitude of the Russian government and, especially, the Caucasian vicegerent G. Golitsin. By the directive of November 1901, addressed to the governors, Golitsin ordered to inform the refugees, having been resided in the Caucasus after 1893, that they should leave the territory of the Empire by their own will, and they would be helped in this case only. And those who had no desire to leave “the Russian soil” were obliged to become Russian subjects, and they would be given a “proper permit”<sup>20</sup>. In this case, they and their generations would have been given permission to obtain real estate in cities after twenty years they were granted citizenship. These rules were related to those being sheltered in the Russian Empire up to February 1, 1901. Those who came after that period should have been deported from the empire<sup>21</sup>. In addition, the Armenian public organizations and newly formed national parties did not have enough experience and skill to assist the refugees.

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

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<sup>20</sup> "Murc", 1901, № 11, p. 246.

<sup>21</sup> Ananun D., Social development of Russian Armenians, vol.3 (1901-1918), Venice, 1926, p. 1-12 (In Arm.).

## VAN-VASPUKAKAN DURING WORLD WAR I (Summer of 1915-1917)

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**The fortress of Van**

After the retreat of July 1915 some Armenians of Vaspurakan returned again to restore their paternal hearths. There was no longer an Armenian authority both in Van and in the province. P. Voronov was appointed the governor of Van, and the lieutenant-colonel A. I. Termen, the head of the district<sup>1</sup>. Various Armenian, Russian as well as American and British charitable and public organizations were

gradually being established both in Van and in Vaspurakan's districts. Van-Vaspurakan was shown a considerable help by order of Gevorg V, the Catholicos of all Armenians.



**The quarter of Van after Turkish devastation in 1915**

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<sup>1</sup> Termen Alfred Yosif (1855 - after 1918), a lieutenant-colonel, police officer; has served as a Chief of Police in China and Central Asia.



**Catholicos of All Armenians, Gevorg V**



**Armenak Yekaryan**

Avetis Terzibashyan was appointed the mayor of Van, Armenak Yekaryan and then Jim Changalyan, a captain of the American Army, the Commander of Militia (mercenary, Yerkrpah [country defender] regiment)<sup>2</sup>. Poghos Nubar pasha provided four thousand roubles for Police activities<sup>3</sup>. A court was organized with Aghabek Hambaryan as its chairman (members - Eghishe Kadjuni, a lawyer, and Martiros Nalbandyan, a vice-inspector of Yeramyian School). With the assistance of public and charitable organizations the population began to rebuild their houses, almost completely destroyed, also start agricultural works. The Armenian public-political figures such as Vahan Papazyan (Coms), Avetik Sahakyan, Ashot Atanasyan, Grigor Ohandjanyan and others, came to Vaspurakan to help the population.



**Vahan Papazyan (Coms)**

The American "Committee for the Help of Armenians and Syrians" was also participating in the reconstruction of Western Armenia, particularly Vaspurakan, along with the Russian Government, Armenian and Russian public and charitable organizations. It started working in Vaspurakan since March 1916. But the Committee had "secured" its

<sup>2</sup> Jim Changalyan had come from the USA with 52 volunteers to be united with the volunteer groups, but getting informed of dissolution of the groups, decided to enter into the service of Van Police.

<sup>3</sup> "Horizon", Tiflis, 1915, N 200, September 7 (in Arm.). The number of combatants was 222, as of 13 December of the same year. See Karapetyan M., Armenian volunteer groups and national battallions in the Caucasian front (1914-1917), Yerevan, 1999, pp. 150-157 (in Arm.). J. Changalyan returned to the USA on 7 October 1916.

presence in Van at an earlier period. Karapet Torgomyan, a medical assistant, was sent to Van prior to the arrival of senior members for the purpose of organizing a medical services; he had to be their representative up to their arrival. “The Lord Merry Fund of the London’s Mayor”, a British public organization, was operating along with the Americans.



**Lest they perish campaign poster of the American Committee for Relief in the Near East (ACRNE)**

46 thousand roubles, 13 thousand of which was set aside for establishing an orphanage within a month, and 33 thousand for buying warm clothes for the refugees of the province<sup>4</sup>.

At the same time, the head of the district, lieutenant-colonel A.I. Termen, requested the directorates of all orphanages in the South Caucasus to give the names of orphans from Vaspurakan, enrolled in their institutions, as well as the residence places and the possible information about the property their parents were holding, in order to be able “to protect the legacy of these orphans and to appoint a guardianship of their property...”<sup>5</sup>.

The organizations helped primarily in the agricultural works. The villagers were donated farming tools, livestock, carriers and other domestic animals. Despite the retreats that occurred several times had broken the normal life of the province, the Armenians continued to restore the ruined economy upon return and were involved in farming works.

Thanks to the implemented works, not only Armenians, but also Assyrian and Yezidi populations started to return to Van-Vaspurakan. The public organizations created conditions step by step for the population to be involved in more or less normal working activities.

To help the Armenians of Van the Caucasian Committee of the Union of All-Russia’s cities donated



**Jim (Petros) Changalyan**

<sup>4</sup> “Horizon”, N 255, November 12, 1915 (in Arm.).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., N 267, 27 November 1915 (in Arm.).



1915 Russian poster



Russian-Turkish front



Ruins of the Kaxakamej district of Van

Along with that, it was projected to build tea-houses and canteens in Van, for the population was relatively well supplied with bread. They needed only clothing. The abbot of Lim cloister, archimandrite Hovhannes, arrived in Van by the order of catholicos Gevorg V. He had to do his best to collect the saved manuscripts of Varag monastery, the convents of Aghtamar, Lim and Ktuts as well as those of the churches of Van, taking them to Etchmiadzin<sup>6</sup>.

On December 23, 1915, the medical and nutritional detachment (consisting of 20 vans<sup>7</sup>) of the Union of Cities and headed by Ashot Atanasyan, a commissioner, arrived in Van. He founded an orphanage where 70 orphans were sheltered. After a while they were sent to Dilijan. A hospital with 50 beds was also opened. At the same time, the Union of

Cities had an intention of opening three food stations in Van and thus much in villages. Seven tea-houses, one store, a bathroom and a laundry were founded in Van by the same organization. Forty four orphans of Assyrian, Kurdish and Turkish origin were sent to the Caucasus<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> "Van-Tosp", Tiflis, N 10, January 31, 1916, p. 15 (in Arm.). The senior supervisor of the Caucasian museum returned from Van on 23 January 1916. He has been able to find 1150 pieces of manuscripts and sent them to Etchmiadzin after long-term search works. See "Arev", Baku, N 10, January 31, 1916.

<sup>7</sup> "Van-Tosp", N 7, January 10, 1916, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> "Mshak", Tiflis, N 15, January 4, 1916.

The internal life of Van was a little bit regulated. The disorders of ordinary soldiers, such as invading houses and demanding wine and women, searching the leftover houses for the purpose of finding treasures, were almost stopped due to the strict measures taken by the military authorities<sup>9</sup>. The return of refugees to their homes became more urgent after capturing Mush and Erzerum (Karin) by the military units of the Caucasian Army in February 1916.



**Ashot Atanasyan**

The organizations in Van and the province considered as their primary task to involve schoolchildren in schools. According to the project, schools have to be established in Khjishk and Ererin villages of Timar province. The task of founding of schools was laid upon archimandrite Daniel.



**Russian cavalry detachment in the Russian-Turkish front**

The main part of the refugees from Van was centered not only in the province of Yerevan, but also in other districts of the Caucasus Vicegerency. It is true that the Russian state and public organizations, especially the Armenian ones, were trying to help, providing assistance in several fields, but the situation of the Western Armenians was continuing to be too heavy, for the aid, being provided, was not reaching everyone; it even did not meet their most basic needs. The war and especially the irregular supply led to a sharp rise in prices and depreciation of the rouble.

<sup>9</sup> "Van-Tosp", N 7, January 10, 1916, p. 13.



Armenian returnees of Van waiting for bread

All this was supplemented by articles published in the Georgian press, which accused Armenians in "colonization" of the Caucasus. Besides, the Georgians opposed the allocation of loans by the state to refugees<sup>10</sup>. Hovhannes Tumanyan was compelled to deny such absurdities in a special article and identify the issues, related to the Armenian refugees<sup>11</sup>. Such a moral-psychological and hard economic situation made the Western Armenians to take actions in order to return to their dwelling places and restore the destroyed and ruined homes as soon as possible.

In December of 1915 the Union of Cities sent A. Atanasyan, an experienced agronomist and public figure, to Van. He had to go through the situation and find out the needs the refugees could encounter upon their return in the spring. These operations should have been administered by A. I. Termen.



Alexander Khatisyan

A. Atanasyan considered the sending of a sanitary-disinfectant group and dustcarts to Van one of the primary issues to clean the city from various garbages for preventing the possible spread of epidemics in the spring<sup>12</sup>.

On 18 January, 1916, the reporter of "Mshak" wrote from Van that the situation was stabilizing in the city. By the proposal of the chief commissioner of the Caucasus branch of the Union of Cities, A.I. Khatisyan, and through mediation by A.I. Termen "A. Atanasyan should remain in Van as a commissioner of the Union of Cities to assist

<sup>10</sup> "Mshak", N 163, July 28, 1915.

<sup>11</sup> "Horizon", N 238, October 23, 1915.

<sup>12</sup> "Van-Tosp", N 12, February 14, 1916, p. 16.

Mr. A. Termen to carry into effect a number of heavy and responsible works, which are connected with the return of population of Van and the region in the coming spring”.

A. Atanasyan cabled M. Papadjanov (Papadjanyan), a deputy of the State Duma, Al. Khatisyan and the chief commissioner, dealing with the issues of refugees at the Russian-Turkish frontier, general M. Tamamshev (Tamamshyan), in order to make preparations for providing the returnees with seeds, domestic animals, farming tools and other necessary supplies. At the same time it was necessary to set up several food stations on the way to provide with food the people returning to Van<sup>13</sup>.



Mikayel Papadjanov (Papadjanyan)

On February 28, 1916, Atanasyan informed from Van that the number of returnees is increasing day by day. This fact worried the local Russian authorities because they themselves had to face the problems on the refugees' way of life. During the consultation at A.I. Termen's meeting, Atanasyan said that, first and foremost, 36 villages of Nerkin Timar needed primary assistance, where the people of Vaspuarakan, returning to homes, would have been concentrated. It was necessary for their life to buy seeds of at least 131,500 roubles, draught animals of 48,000 roubles and dairy cattle of 44,000 roubles and farming tools of 25,000 roubles.

In the case of satisfying the abovementioned needs, the population could cultivate 9050 tithes of land, which would be sufficient to secure the survival of 25,000 people.

It was recommended to apply to the Government for the required amount with the obligation to repay it within two to three years.

Why the Armenian societies, especially the people from Van, were in a hurry to be back to their abandoned and ruined settlements a day before? And that was when the retreat of the Russian troops would become a fact in every moment and they would take the path of migration again. Such hastiness had its deep and well founded reasons.

The local morals and customs were unfamiliar for the people from Van, sheltered in the province of Yerevan and various settlements of the Caucasian Vicegerency. In addition, they preferred to go back to their native places against the uncertain situation and unemployment. The Western Armenians and, especially, the people from Vaspurakan were also worried of the Russian Government's decision to settle the Alashkert valley with Russian migrants.

According to the cadet newspaper "Speech" ("Речь"), the government wished to "create a fairly wide geographical area with Russian population on the Russian-Turkish frontier to demarcate the Russian-Armenians from Turkish-Armenians"<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> "Mshak", N 24, February 3, 1916. "Mshak", N 52, March 8, 1916.

<sup>14</sup> "Arev", Baku, N 171, 5 August 1916.

The divan of the Caucasian Vicegerent handed over 120 thousand roubles to the Armenian Benevolent Society of the Caucasus (ABSC) for purchasing agricultural tools, seeds and domestic animals for Armenians of Van district. In addition, 43.000 roubles were allocated for transportation of cargoes from Igdir to Van as well as for creating a convoy<sup>15</sup>.

Atanasyan asked in the letter, dated with 11 March 1916, to inform the people from Vaspurakan that it was desirable to have only men returned to their birthplaces and, especially, those who had oxen to perform their farming work. He warned that there were no draught animal in Van-Vaspurakan and the oxen in Julfa and Khoy were being sold at 300 to 350 roubles<sup>16</sup>.

The charity committee of the Grand-Princess Tatyana (daughter of Nikolay II) started operating in Van since May 1916<sup>17</sup>.

The Armenian Central Committee, operating along with the ABSC, got 60 thousand roubles from Tamamshev to purchase draught animals and seeds for the Van region<sup>18</sup>.

The Americans working in Vaspurakan, choose the valley of Hayots Dzor in the south-west of Van for their activities. There were up to three thousand refugees there, as of June 1. They were given eight hundred draught animals and dairy cattle within a month<sup>19</sup>.

The members of the American Committee, Reverend McCalm and S. Wilson, distributed 400 oxen, 100 cows, 50 buffaloes and seeds of 10,000 roubles in 35 villages of Hayots Dzor. Each three families were given a pair of oxen, and the cows were given to the widows<sup>20</sup>.



**Grand-Princess Tatyana**  
**(daughter of Nikolay II)**

<sup>15</sup> "Hambavaber", Tiflis, N 18, 1 May 1916, p. 563.

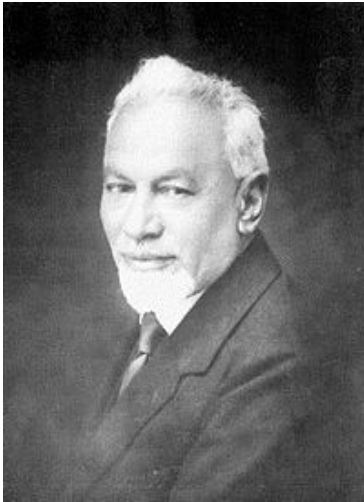
<sup>16</sup> "Van-Tosp", N 16, 13 March, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> National Archive of Armenia (hereafter NAA), f. 221, l. 1, d. 6, list 4.

<sup>18</sup> "Hambavaber", N 22, 29 May 1916, p. 687.

<sup>19</sup> NAA, f. 221, l. 1, d. 6, l. 4 rev.

<sup>20</sup> "Mshak", N 106, May 11, 1916.

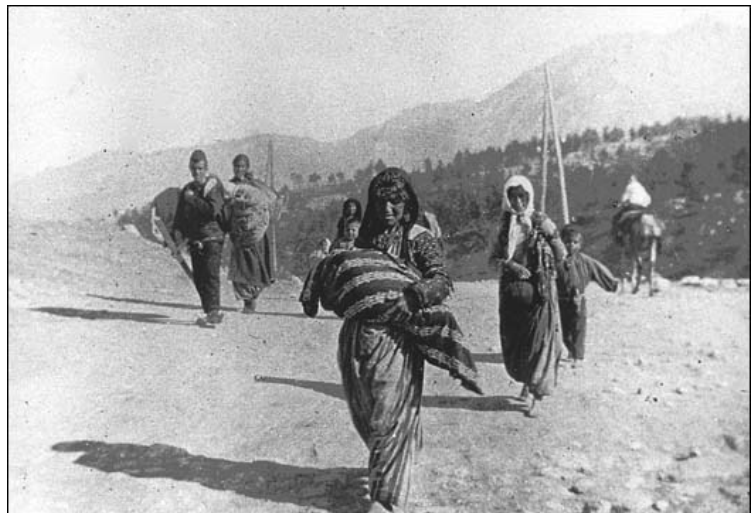


Avetik Sahakyan

Av. Sahakyan, the chairman of the "Agricultural Society", visited Van to get acquainted with situation on the spot and to coordinate the works of the ABSC, "The Relief Society" and "The Agricultural Company". Perhaps his arrival was also conditioned by the help to be provided from Van for the Armenian and Assyrian refugees in Salmast and the surrounding areas, being in a difficult situation. The spiritual leader of the Armenian Diocese of Atrpatakan, Bishop Nerses Melik-Tangyan, had warned of the mentioned fact by the telegram<sup>21</sup>.

A. Atanasyan has mentioned in the report he made in Tiflis on 26 July 1916 that the committees under the guidance of the Grand-Princess Tatyana Romanova and that of the Americans have done considerable work. The latter has distributed three thousand heads of cattle and up to one thousand pounds of wheat to some three thousand refugees within a month.

The spiritual leader of the Armenian Diocese of the United States, Archimandrite Vehouni, stated the following about the true aims of the American Protestant preachers still in his letter of November 9, 1915, addressed to the Catholicos. "The missionaries were preaching to the American people for many years that they have assumed an apostolic heavy duty to



Refugees

make idolatrous Armenians Christian, and have thus accumulated millions of dollars from the Americans and are still collecting money<sup>22</sup>".

G. Vardanyan, the commissioner of the "Relief Society" purchased 232 large cattle, 11 calves, 409 hens, 1 cart in Khoy and sent them to Van. He also planned to buy 100 cows to distribute among Aygestan residents<sup>23</sup>.

The Union of Cities established two clinics in Khoy and Van, built shelters for orphans, food stations on the road of Julfa-Khoy-Van for returning refugees as well as a number of workshops in Van and three ships. According to A. Atanasyan, the Union of

<sup>21</sup> "Hambavaber", N 24, 12 June 1916, p. 751-752.

<sup>22</sup> NAA, f. 57, l. 2, f. 1272, p. 81.

<sup>23</sup> "Mshak", N 104, 13 May 1916.

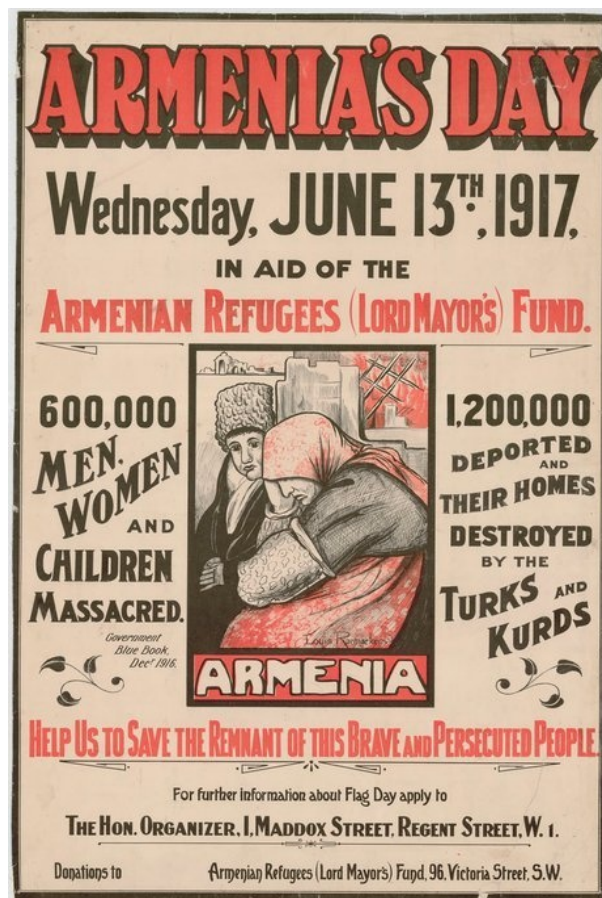


Sirakan Tigranyan

Cities had taken the first place in Van and in the region when considering the implemented projects<sup>24</sup>.

Sirakan Tigranyan, the Commissioner of the Armenian Society of Petrograd, purchased appropriate tools for a working shop to be opened in Van and villagers. A medical-food station was built in Salmast by means of the Grand-Princess Tatyana Romanova's committee<sup>25</sup>.

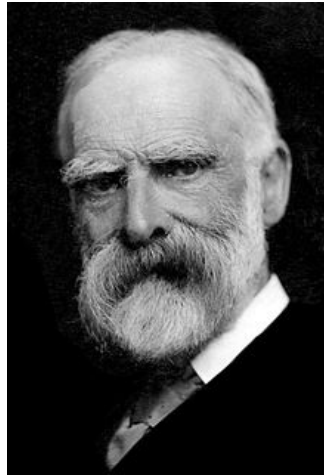
A number of British charitable and non-governmental organizations supported the Western Armenian refugees in 1915-1917 and the following years. They were united and the London Committee of "Britain for the Armenian Refugees" or the Anglcom was founded. The Armenian Society, Lord Mayor's Fund, the Manchester Women's Society, the British Women's Fund for the benefit of Armenians and other societies were among these organizations.



"Britain for the Armenian Refugees"

<sup>24</sup> NAA, f. 221, l. 1, f. 6, p. 5.

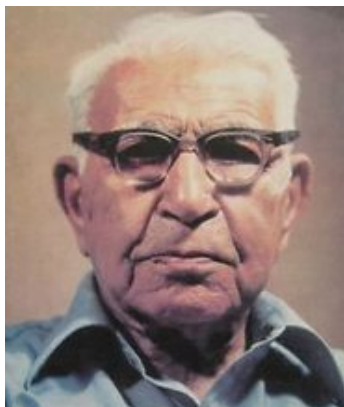
<sup>25</sup> "Hambavaber", N 25, 19 June 1916, p. 781.

**Emilia Robinson****Lord James Bryce**

Getting informed of the organization of Armenian volunteer groups and the hardships of Armenian refugees, E. Robinson decided to organize the "Anglo-Armenian Red Cross and Refugee Fund" to collect clothes, money and medicine for the wounded Armenian volunteers and refugees. The Presidency of the Fund assumed Lord James Bryce<sup>26</sup>.

E. Robinson donated 3080 roubles on behalf of the Fund to "the Union of Vanuhis (women of Van)", operating in Tiflis. The latter sent 1540 roubles from this amount to the "Armenian Womens' Union of Vaspurakan", functioning in Yerevan<sup>27</sup>.

The organizations activated their works in Van-Vaspurakan just since April 1916. In order to make them more efficient, each organization fixed a certain province. Thus, the "Commission for Rehabilitating Armenia" and the "Relief Society" were functioning in some parts of Timar province and in Archak, and the American missionaries, in several Armenian villages in the Upper Timar and Gavash.

**Tachat Terlemezyan****Constantin (Costi) Hambardzumyan**

Constantin (Costi) Hambardzumyan, Armenak Maksapetyan and Tachat Terlemezyan were the representatives of the "Agricultural Society" in Vaspurakan<sup>28</sup>. Unlike other organizations, they were trying to find necessary things on the spot. They managed to get 110 heads of pets, about 40 pounds of various seeds, 200 ploughshares and 150 hooks<sup>29</sup>. However, the aforementioned companies were not always coordinating their actions and the affairs were being damaged as a result<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> "Horizon", Tiflis, N 12, 17 January 1916.

<sup>27</sup> "Van-Tosp", N 7, 10 January 1916, p. 13.

<sup>28</sup> NAA, f. 654, l. 4, d. 15, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Papazyan Vahan, My Memories, vol.II, Beirut, 1952, p. 428.

Besides the Armenian population, the Yezidis also returned to the Van province, being compelled to constantly fight the Kurdish gangs. Around 500 Assyrians, who fled from Bohtan, also found shelter in Van<sup>31</sup>.

Arshak Tadevosyan, a representative of the "Agricultural Society", operating in Van and the province, presented the accomplishments on 28 July, 1916. He left for Persia with his companion, G. Shahumyan, to buy draught animals. They got two thousand heads of animals.



Narekavank (X century)

A special consultation, operating along with the Russian government, allocated 700 thousand roubles for the development of 30,000 sowing areas in Van and Diadin<sup>32</sup>. Bishop Ter-Movsisyan got information from the General Commissioner of the "Office for Accomodating Refugees of the Caucasus Front" that 50,000 roubles were to be donated to Stepan Ter-Mkrtchyan, a commissioner of the "Agricultural Society", to buy seeds from Persia for Van province<sup>33</sup>.

The anti-Armenian stance of Voronov impeded seriously the normal activities of the Van-based organizations. As Grigor Ohanjanyan, a representative of the Armenian Central Committee, operating along with the ABSC in Van and Persia, reported, "The Armenian was the most terrifying element in the days of Voronov and Termen. The powerless sympathy of Termen towards Armenians was inflamating, more and more, the hatred of Voronov towards Armenians of Vaspurakan".

The Russian army, deployed both in Van and the province, was confiscating the herbs, collected by the population, for their own needs, cutting down fruit trees to have a

<sup>31</sup> "Horizon", N 119, 31 May, 1916.

<sup>32</sup> "Hambavaber", N 29, 17 July 1916, p. 918.

<sup>33</sup> NAA, f. 239, l. 1, d. 8, p. 5.

firewood and for other purposes, dismantling also the wooden houses. As Gr. Ohanjanyan notes, it was not possible to intervene, for "...that would mean to become an enemy of Voronov and be deported from Van"<sup>34</sup>.

When the general Voronov and prince B. Shakhovski left the province<sup>35</sup>, the attitude towards Armenians was changed. The authorities, excluding some commandants of the villages, realized that 'making up relations with the Kurds is impossible'<sup>36</sup>.

On February 1917, VI. Burkovsky was appointed a lieutenant-governor of Van<sup>37</sup>. To Gr. Ohanjanyan's opinion the new appointment evoked certain hopes among Armenians. He was sure that general Burkovsky had come as not to rule but to govern<sup>38</sup>. The governor's first steps were promising. At first, he established a new administrative division for the province and assigned provincial governors and officials.

Gr. Ohanjanyan offered the Armenian Central Committee to assign a translator at the Governor's Office inasmuch as such a position was not provided for the staff of the latter. Besides, there was necessary to form a legal organization to help the refugees that would give an opportunity to quickly solve the problems.

Gr. Ohanjanyan was considering the permission of authorities allowing Armenians to carry arms as the matter of priority. At the same time, the population should have been increased to 40-50 thousand people, which would allow 20 thousand people to be armed. Such amount of forces would have a restraining role on the Kurds, compelling them to refrain from attacking the Armenian populated areas via equivalent actions in case of necessity<sup>39</sup>.

"The Union of the Armenian Associations of Tiflis, Assisting the Refugees", which was formed from the ABSC, "Agricultural Society" and the "Relief", intended to send one thousand ploughs, five thousand scythes, more than one thousand and three hundred sickles, axes, spades, shovels and other goods to Van. One hundred thousand roubles were provided on that end and one hundred and fifty thousand roubles were allocated to buy draught animals from Persia<sup>40</sup>. The American committee, in its turn, bought

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<sup>34</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, n. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Prince Boris Shakhovski who was a former diplomat and had served in the Ottoman Empire, was openly patronizing the Kurds. He had a considerable role in supporting Badirkhan zade Kyamil bek, returned to Vaspurakan. The Kurdish chieftain was giving arms and money to the Kurds of Abagha and Zilan canyons to enable them to fight against the Turks. Nevertheless, all this brought no result. See "Ashkhatanq", Yerevan, N 64, 10 December 1916. The prevailing mass of the Kurds were continuing to faithfully serve the Turks and their "subjugation" to the Russians was false. The Kurds used every convenient moment to attack not only Armenians, Assyrians or Yezidis, but also Russians.

<sup>36</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, n. 9 rev.

<sup>37</sup> "Ashkhatanq", N 48, 15 October 1916.

<sup>38</sup> NAA, v. 28, l. 1, d. 171, n. 10.

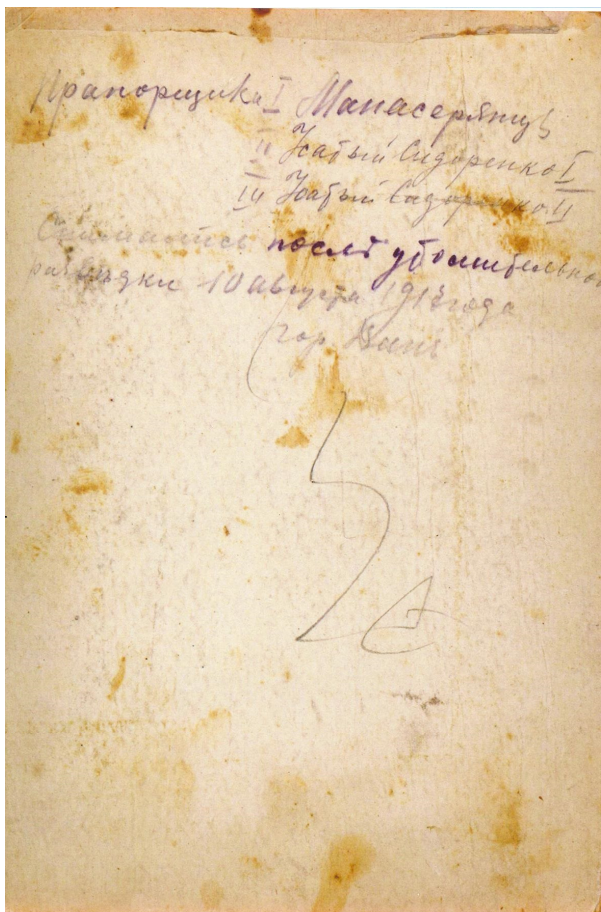
<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>40</sup> "Mshak", N 103, 12 May 1916.

domestic animals for Armenians around Persia and Van, providing 350 thousand roubles<sup>41</sup>.

The Russian authorities decided to explore the fish resources of Lake Van to clarify the expediency of fishery<sup>42</sup>. N. Marr arrived in Van to explore the cuneiform inscriptions, found in the city<sup>43</sup>.

In spite of many difficulties the life was getting back on its track gradually. The merchants started to make relations with Persia and the Caucasus. A group of people from Van founded a corporative company "Van", which had to provide the population of the city with agricultural products<sup>44</sup>. The population started to restore their houses, markets and other buildings. The presence of a relatively large population played a restraining role against the soldiers and Cossacks who did illegal activities (including killings) until that moment.



In photo - 1. Praporshchik Mikhail Manaseryan (1892-1920),  
2. "Moustached" Sidorenko, 3. "Moustached" Sidorenko.

On the reverse of the photo - «Shooting after humiliating reconnaissance, August 10 1917, city of Van». The photo from the personal archive of historian Ruben Manaseryan (is published first time).

<sup>41</sup> "Hambavaber", N 16, 10 April 1916, p. 497.

<sup>42</sup> "Horizon", N 144, 30 June 1916.

<sup>43</sup> "Gakhpar", Tiflis, N 45, 5 June 1916.

<sup>44</sup> "Arev", N 78, 14 April 1916.

The situation was changed again after 25 July, when unofficial news of possible retreat was spread, which misled and panicked the population. The people of Gavash and Karjkan provinces abandoned their villages by the order of the Russian command. Some of the inhabitants of Van who had already tested the bitter experience of "retreat" considered that "this was an apparent trick, and the enemy was far away from Van". The previous retreats had shown that the enemy forces consists of about 300-400 Kurds, who could be easily beaten off. At the same time, the population of Van was of the firm conviction that fighting would have caused less losses than escaping. They applied to the commander of the Caucasian 4<sup>th</sup> cavalry division, general F.G. Chernozubov, to be provided with arms and ammunitions, but were rejected<sup>45</sup>.

Unfortunately, the meeting of the representatives of the Armenian social and charitable associations in Van did not come to a common decision about the position they had to adopt.

Nevertheless, a group of fellows rushed to Hayots Dzor to constrain the retreat and to organize a resistance. However, the locals, obeying the instructions of the Russian authorities, had already started to leave. The panic grew after Russian subdivisions started to abandon Norduz, Shatakh and Gavash posts<sup>46</sup>. As a result of this retreat 50.000 people left the regions of Mush, Bitlis and Vaspurakan<sup>47</sup>.

V. Papazyan formed two armed groups: the first group was to be the vanguard of the retreating population, and the second, the rearguard. By the instruction of V. Papazyan transportation and self-defensive forces were gathered in Timar. He stayed in the abandoned Van putting his life in danger as to set free the stores till the last moment (it is about the food storages of the ABSC- R. S.)<sup>48</sup>.

The retreat of the population of Van started on July 28. Only the next day they had a chance to get 126 guns, which were given out to the militia, headed by Changalyan and lieutenant-colonel A. Termen. As far as the people of Van testify, Termen did his best to return the people to their homes, as he was convinced that there was no danger<sup>49</sup>.

This last evidence proves once more that the defense of Van was possible with the Armenian and Russian forces that were located in the city. However, taking the order of general Voronov, the Armenian militia was compelled to leave the city on the night of July 29<sup>50</sup>.

Taking the opportunity of the situation, the soldiers that were still in Van, began to loot the property and estates of the Armenians and companies by the permission of the Command. The warehouse of the "Union of Cities" as well as the clothing, costing

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<sup>45</sup> NAA, f. 57, l. 5, d. 122, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> NAA, f. 57, l. 5, d. 122, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Hambavaber", N 33, 14 August 1916, p. 1032.

<sup>48</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, p. 11.

<sup>49</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, p. 11.

<sup>50</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, p. 11.

100.000 roubles and stored in the storehouse of the American missionaries, were pillaged. The two buildings, belonging to them, were fired as well. The houses of the city were robbed; the elders and the sick people there were killed<sup>51</sup>.

The militia was able to beat the Kurdish horde coming to loot the Armenian villages of Timar province on August 9. The province had 3,000 Armenian population, who had not given credence to the truthfulness of the retreat and organized a self-defense<sup>52</sup>. After the retreat of July the population returned to Van and the surrounding villages. The population of Vaspurakan consisted of 12639 Armenians, 817 Assyrians and 191 Turks, as of 15 October<sup>53</sup>. The Assyrians, living in Van, formed a fighting group of 60-70 people. They were occasionally sent to scouting by the authorities.

After the retreat of July 1916 the charitable organizations started to return to Van. However, they did not undertake a wide range of activities, unlike the previous periods. The organizations were frightened of the possibility of retreat. The main support was given by the ABSC. Nutrition houses and markets were opened by that organization in Van and Alyur village in the province of Timar. As the insecure condition of the roads did not allow getting the necessary amount of provisions from the Caucasus, it was decided to take the following step. "The Vaspurakani families, living in the Caucasus, give their stored wheat to the storage of Van and get flour from the warehouses of the Benevolent Society in the Caucasus"<sup>54</sup>. This fact gave a chance to alleviate the acute shortage of food, especially that of the wheat, in Van, and put an end to the sale of wheat and flour at speculative prices by some dishonest merchants.

Besides, the stored wheat in different caches of villages was saved from being spoiled. This would have also given an opportunity to store and accumulate certain amount of wheat for spring. Substantial monetary resources that had to be spent for transporting wheat from the Caucasus and Persia would have been also saved. It was planned to open several bakeries in Van.

It was thought that there would have been an opportunity to receive from 15,000 to 20,000 poods of wheat in 1917<sup>55</sup>, if the seeds would have been provided in a timely manner and the "danger" of the retreat would not have hindered the field works.

One of the greatest problems of the Armenians of Van was the inclusion of school-aged children in schools. There were 2.000 school-aged children in Van and the region in the autumn of 1916. The Armenian Central Committee provided 3.000 roubles to buy stationery and textbooks and to send them to Van<sup>56</sup>. Projects were being developed to reopen the schools and to resume studies. Initially, it was planned to have three

<sup>51</sup> NAA, f. 57, l. 5, d. 122, p. 2 rev.

<sup>52</sup> NAA, f. 57, l. 5, d. 122, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> The number was eighteen thousand as Gr. Ohandjanyan says. See NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, p. 2. Half a million of roubles were set aside to assist the Mohammedans in the conquered areas by order of the Caucasus Vicegerent. The Kurds were deprived of the assistance; see NAA, 1168, l. 1, d. 324, p. 16.

<sup>54</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, p. 6.

<sup>56</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 1083, p. 4. Events in Vaspurakan (The Diary of Hm. Manukyan), "Vem", Paris, n. 1, 1937, p. 60.

schools. One of them was to be functioned in Van, the other in the village of Berdak, not far from the city, and the third in Alyur village of the Timar province. But all the efforts were in vain because of the retreat on November 9<sup>57</sup>.

Gr. Ohandjanyan has presented all the details of the situation in Van and the region in the report, dated with December 10. He distinguished the uncoordinated actions of both military and civilian authorities because of which the population had suffered. "The Commission for the Reconstruction of Armenia" sent relevant specialists, who had to help establish court, town hall and other administrative bodies. The governor allowed the villages to have four armed guards to protect the settlements from the possible attacks of the Kurds<sup>58</sup>. It goes without saying that those four armed men would not have been able to repel the large-scale attack of the Kurds, but their presence had a moral and psychological significance for the villagers.

The population of the province began gradually to increase. Approximately 18 thousand people were living in the city and the surrounding villages. All their problems were being solved by the Armenian Central Committee, operating along with the ABSC. As Gr. Ohandjanyan wrote in his report "The other organizations came as well, but they came and went. Only the "Union of Cities" and the "Benevolent Society" stayed". The Union of Cities was satisfied only with the repair of its own buildings and office, and they were "waiting for the food and other supplies to operate"<sup>59</sup>.

Needless to say that supplying 18,000 people with food was a complicated and responsible task, as most of the sowing areas could not be cultivated in time. To alleviate the situation of the population, shops and stores were opened in Van and Alyur village in the province of Timar.

The problem of education was among the matters that were of primary importance. Gr. Ohandjanyan stated painfully, "it is the third year already that several thousand Vaspurakani children are deprived of school... the school brings rules and regulations in the village..."<sup>60</sup>. To have the schools restored the Armenian Central Committee prepared two estimates; the first one consisted of eight thousand roubles for three schools, where four hundred children would have been enrolled. The second estimate concerned the project of founding seven schools for 750 children. One has to mention that the number of school-age children was much higher. Thus, there were 400 school-age children in Alyur village, but the local school was capable to accommodate only 250 pupils. Hence, it follows that the planned seven schools could have accommodated all children. However, it required more money<sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>57</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 1083, p. 4. Events in Vaspurakan (the Diary of Hm. Manukyan), "Vem", Paris, n. 1, 1937, p. 60.

<sup>58</sup> "Van-Tosp", N 3, 13 December 1915, p. 14.

<sup>59</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, p. 3 rev.

<sup>60</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, p. 6 rev.

<sup>61</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, p. 7.

Gr. Ohanjanyan considered it necessary to teach Russian language. He had offered that in case of appointing a senior teacher at the Alyur village school, his knowledge of Russian should have been considered mandatory<sup>62</sup>.

The Armenian central committee, operating along with the ABSC, spent considerable resources for cargo transportation. About 1,000 poods of goods of different types and importance were being transported to Van monthly, for which more than ten thousand roubles were required. In order to save money that was spent on cargo transportation, Gr. Ohandjanyan provided funds both to build sailing vessels and to send the loads to different settlements of Van<sup>63</sup>. Four sailboats were built with a total capacity of 16.000 poods<sup>64</sup>. The Russian authorities, attaching importance to the strategic position of Vaspurakan, decided to organize a Van fleet, and a temporary statute was adopted about it. The commander of the Baku port had to provide necessary supplies, as well as consultations<sup>65</sup>. The Head of the Petrograd Military District with headquarters in Petrograd, General Hakob Bagratuni, proposed the position of the Commander of the Van Navy to a marine officer, later an admiral of the Soviet Union, Hovhannes Isakov (Isahakyan), who refused to accept this proposal.

At the beginning of 1917, the territory of Van district occupies 3425 versts<sup>2</sup> (verst is equal to 1.06 m) and was divided into 6 zones. The Russian Revolution of February 1917 and the overthrow of the autocracy in Russia brought some changes in Western Armenia as well, but a number of officials, who remained in their positions, continued to harass and prevent the return of Armenian refugees. We find the evidence of this fact in the telegram of the Van commissioner of the Union of Cities, K. Hambardzumyan, addressed to V. Kharlamov, the chairman of the Transcaucasian Special Committee, dated with 21 June, 1917. The Commissioner reported about the Kurdish threat facing Van and the settlements of the provinces. A number of principals of destination points (etaps) continued the project adopted by Prince B. Shakhovskij;



Generals Hakob Bagratuni and Andranik Ozanyan

<sup>62</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 171, p. 7.

<sup>63</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 1030, p. 27 rev.

<sup>64</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 1030, p. 28.

<sup>65</sup> NAA, f. 28, l. 1, d. 1030, p. 173.

they disallowed the return of Armenian refugees and patronized the Kurds. K. Hambardzumyan proposed to immediately remove such persons as they continued to pursue the policy of the former authorities<sup>66</sup>.



Admiral of the Soviet Union,  
Hovhannes Isakov (Isahakyan)

The Russian government divided the Western Armenia into 19 districts on July 21. The district of Van, which included the territories of Saray, Bashkale and Diadin, were placed under the authority of Commissar K. Hambardzumyan<sup>67</sup>. In October it was allowed to form the third battalion of the Armenian 5<sup>th</sup> Rifle Regiment in Van by order of the Command of the Caucasian Army. It was formed by local residents. However, it was ordered shortly after to form the 4th Regiment of Van. The men aged 18 to 40 were mobilized. An instructional brigade of non-commissioned officers was also formed<sup>68</sup>.

The activities of reconstructing Van-Vaspurakan were continued in 1917. However, after the military units of the Caucasian Army left the Russian-Turkish front on February 1918, the Ottoman troops began a large-scale attack. In March, the Armenians of Van and the province were compelled to retreat into Eastern Armenia and Persia. There they continued to fight against Turkish invaders.

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

<sup>66</sup> NAA, f. 1168, l. 1, d. 318, p. 277.

<sup>67</sup> NAA, f. 1267, l. 4, d. 16, p. 47-48.

<sup>68</sup> NAA, f. 1267, l. 2, d. 96, p. 1.

## THE REPATRIATION TO ARMENIA AND THE PEOPLE'S HISTORICAL MEMORY (According to the personal ethnographic observations)

*Dedicated to the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Mass Repatriation (1946-1948)*

**Svazlian Verjine**

*Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of NAS RA*

As a result of the forcible deportation and the Genocide of the Armenians in advance planned and organized by the government of the Young Turks in 1915, the Western Armenians were expelled from their native cradle, they lost their historical Motherland and were driven to the deserts of Surudj, Ras-ul-Ayn, Meskené, Raqqa, Deir-el-Zor, sacrificing to the Turkish yataghan a considerable part of its genofund, more than one and a half million people, while those who were miraculously saved dispersed to the various countries of the world to earn their daily bread. The Armenian Diaspora was thus created as a historical reality.

The Armenian emigrants, uprooted from their ancestral lands, ignorant of foreign languages and laws, were, in alien countries, nothing but cheap labor, in spite of the fact that the skillful mastery of the Armenian patrimonial craftsmen, such as tailors, shoemakers, jewelers and blacksmiths or the fine embroidered articles and the ornamented rugs made by the gifted Armenian women won the admiration of foreigners.

Whereas the horror of assimilation, degeneration and, especially, of unemployment gave no rest to the wandering Armenians and the nostalgic songs of the emigrant Armenians were woven as a consolation:

*I have moved away from my home and place,  
I have lost my kin,  
I long for my homeland,  
Have patience, my soul, have patience!*

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

*Rejoice and do not cry in grief,  
Stand firm on your feet,  
You will soon hear about repatriation,  
Have patience, my soul, have patience!<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Svazlyan V., Cilicia. Oral tradition of Western Armenians, Yerevan, 1994, p. 202 (in Arm.).



Repatriation (Lebanon, 1946)

The return of the homeless and motherland-deprived Western Armenians to Eastern Armenia started by the consecutive repatriation caravans. First, in the years 1920-1930 from Constantinople, France and Greece, followed, in the years 1946-1948, by the massive repatriation from Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, France, Greece, the Balkan countries and distant America and, ultimately, in the years 1962-1965, from Egypt, Cyprus and Iran. And thus nostalgic songs were created:

*I miss you, magnificent Yerevan,  
You golden Lake Sevan higher than many seas,  
You have such fishes in your depths as Koghak and Ishkhan,  
My soul may testify, I'll give you my life.*

*Hey, dear Yerevan, you, my Armenia,  
Hey dear, hey dear, lovely Yerevan.*

*Yerevan, my dear, be always firm,  
You are surrounded with orchards and flower-gardens,  
Your air and water are sweet, your view is splendid,  
Whoever doesn't love you isn't a real Armenian.*

*My dear Yerevan, you, my Armenia,  
Hey dear, hey dear, lovely Yerevan.<sup>2</sup>*

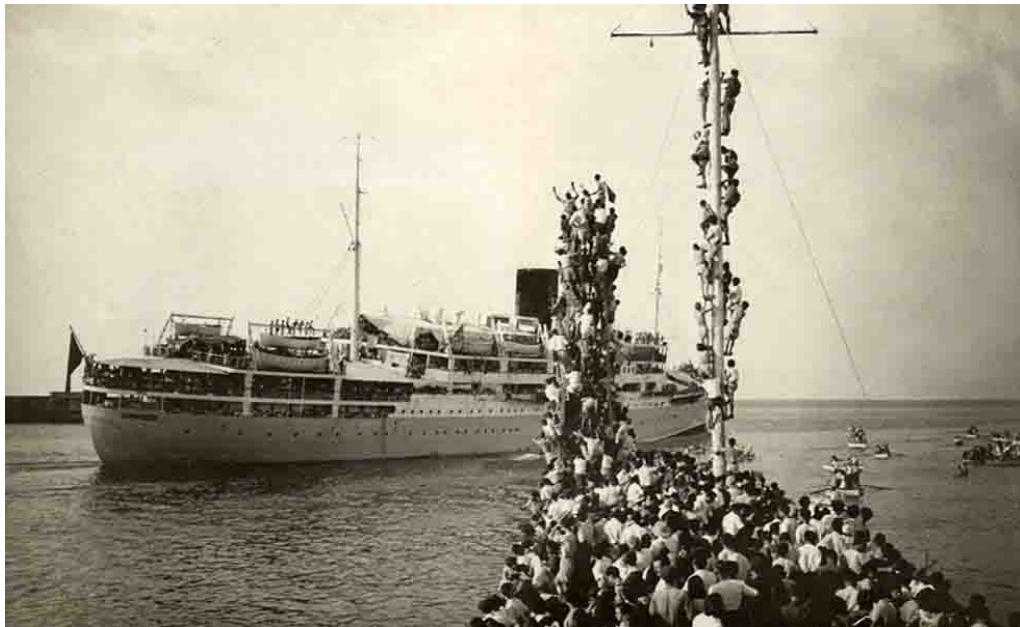
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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 203.

The repatriates returned to the Motherland, Armenia, singing the anthem “Free Soviet land, Armenia...” They came to put, hand in hand with their sisters and brothers in the homeland, a soothing balm over the bloody wounds of the Motherland caused by the Second World War.

For that noble purpose, the workers were bringing the force of their arms; the craftsmen, the skill of their hands; the intellectuals, their knowledge; the rich, their belongings and factories; the parents, their children.

*I will go to Armenia  
And stay there permanently,  
What shall I do in foreign lands?  
Hey! I'll go to Armenia!*<sup>3</sup>



The Peak of Farewell to Repatriates (Beirut, 1946)

Dense caravans of repatriates came, inspired by the victory of the Soviet Union in the World War II and, particularly, by its official claim of Armenian and Georgian lands laid to Turkey on November 1, 1945. And along with the great expectations, the popular song was woven from mouth to mouth:

*I want to go to Armenia,  
I want to see Yerevan,  
I want to hoist the flag  
On the summit of Mount Ararat.*<sup>4</sup>

While the people's song resounded as a claim:

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 202.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

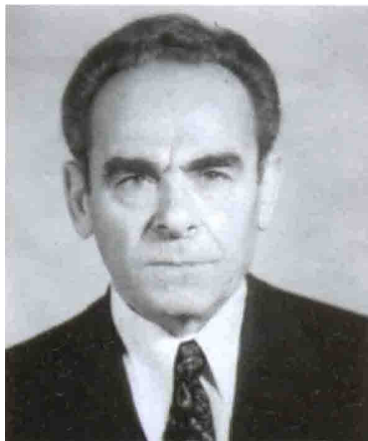
*We want them, we want them,  
Kars and Ardahan are ours...  
Kars and Ardahan will  
Soon be returned to us  
So that we transform  
These waste lands into paradise.*<sup>5</sup>

The Turk diplomats, however, burying in oblivion the inexpressible sufferings of the Armenians during the rule of the Ottoman Empire, dared to declare: "We have no debts in Turkish lands and rights to anyone. We shall live as honorable people and we shall die as honorable people."<sup>6</sup> And yet, as the reliable historical facts of the Armenian Genocide and the 700 oral testimonies of the eyewitness-survivors we have written down, tape- and video-recorded, studied and published testify, the past of Ottoman Turkey has never been "honorable."

Consequently, the repatriates came also to Eastern Armenia with the great hopes of the righteous return of those occupied lands...

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

The latter had barely accommodated themselves to the new life conditions, when the dreadful 1937 events were repeated also in 1949. And a great many repatriates, together with millions of other innocent people, were exiled to Siberia.



**Assatour Makhouljian**  
(1911, Moussa Dagh)

Here is a fragment from the testimony of repressed **Asatour Makhouljian** (born in 1911, Moussa Dagh), repatriate from Lebanon in 1946, lecturer of English language at the Yerevan State University. I have inscribed it in Yerevan, in the District of 1<sup>st</sup> Nork Massive, in 1998.

*"...By the way, let me tell you: [while repatriating] in Batumi they had checked my books five times and they had looked through my foreign language dictionaries. I had worked on several papers such as "American Democracy," "Swiss Democracy," "Soviet Democracy."*

*They confiscated them. During my questioning, these papers were on the table. They asked me: "Who has written these?"*

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 204.

<sup>6</sup> Lazyan G., Armenia and Armenian Judgment (documents), Cairo, 1946, pp. 372-373 (in Arm.).

*"These are the subjects I studied at the university."*

*The Chekist, who was questioning me, said: "How is it that you know English well and you haven't been a British spy?"*

*They kept me under investigation for eight months. No evidence, no facts.*

*They declared: "The prisoner is a political spy. He has carried out anti-political propaganda. I advocate five years' imprisonment."*

*Then they asked me: "Do you have anything to say in your own words?"*

*"Yes. That man is lying. He has neither facts nor witnesses. He is committing state treason. I request ten years' imprisonment for him."*

*They were amazed by my boldness. On both sides of the judge, there were magistrates who had fallen asleep in the August heat. He pushed them to wake up. I said: "Here, now justice has woken up. Now there will be justice, and I will be set free."*

*They went away, made their decision came and declared: "Five years' imprisonment, two years' disenfranchisement."*

*After the trial, I was taken to the prison near the circus. They took me to a small room. Thirty people in it were lying next to each other. They gave us a piece of bread, a little watery borsch. I remained there for a month. Then they read out my name and said: "We're sending you to Russia."*

*I said: "I don't know Russian, why do you send me to Russia?" They gave no answer.*

*One night they put me in a steel wagon: we were thirty-three; sixteen of them were thieves..."<sup>7</sup>*

The socio-psychological adaptation of the repatriates in the new political and economic circumstances utterly unusual for them and the difficulties with which they overcame the numerous psychological obstacles linked with those conjunctures are presented in vivid and artistic pictures in the tragicomic narratives of the repatriates in the folklore section entitled "The Newcomers" we have recorded from them, whose titles alone are picturesque and most expressive: "The Newcomer and the Thief," "The Newcomer and the Pit," "The Newcomer and André, the Militiaman," "The Newcomer and the Agitator," "The Letter Written by the Newcomer," "The Newcomer in the Line," "The Newcomer and the Brigand," "The Newcomer and Father Stalin," "The Newcomer at the KGB," etc.<sup>8</sup>

In spite of the political, domestic and moral-psychological difficulties prevailing in the country, however, a great number of repatriates settled down, taking advantage of the opportunity to receive free education in the Motherland, to creative work. They started to study fervently at the daytime and nighttime educational institutions raising the level of their secondary and higher professional education. Many of them became, in the course of time, heroes of labor of collective farms, eminent figures in sciences, arts and culture. With their diligence and the experience peculiar to the refugees to overcome the difficulties, they began to build, over 1/10 of their lost territory, their native home and

<sup>7</sup> Svazlyan V., Armenian Genocide. Testimonies of eyewitness-survivors, Yerevan, 2011, p. 491-492 (in Arm.).

<sup>8</sup> Svazlyan V., Cilicia..., էջ 111-117.

village, founding around Yerevan new burghs and districts perpetuating the memories of their former cradles, such as Nor (New) Arabkir, Nor Boutania, Nor Malatia, Nor Sebastia, Nor Aresh, Nor Kilikia, Nor Zeytoun, Nor Hadjn, Nor Marash, Nor Ayntap, Nor Moussa Ler (Dagh), etc., with comfortable private residences and well-cultivated personal plots, but the ache of the former ruined house and the extinguished hearth continued to fume in their memory, and the dream of the lost native Land was entrusted as the call of the soul from generation to generation in the form of a popular song:

*When the doors of hope will be opened,  
And we shall return to our country again,  
Our homeland, our magnificent country,  
Which was taken from us with violence.*

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

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

*I wish to see Sassoon and Van,  
Zeytoon, Hadjn and Moussa Dagh,  
Tarson, Marash, Sis and Ayntap,  
We, certainly, will embellish.<sup>9</sup>*



**Doctor of Philological Sciences, ethnographer Verjiné Svazlian interviewing the Armenian Genocide survivor-repatriate, Mariam Baghdishian (b. 1909, Moussa Dagh)**

<sup>9</sup> Svazlyan V., *Armenian Genocide ...*, p. 611.

I have started to write down folklore materials and chronicle-documentary testimonies of historical memory from the repatriates living in the Motherland as early as 1955 on my own initiative and by the call of my Western-Armenian blood. I have recorded, during the years, the relics of the popular oral tradition communicated by the representatives of the various age and sex groups:

1. **Folklore in prose** - Tales, fables, moral-edifying, religious, superstitious, humorous and toponymic legends, as well as the testimonies communicated by the eyewitness-survivors of the Armenian Genocide.

2. **Folklore in verse** - Lullabies, nursery, love, nuptial, festive, ritual, emigrant, domestic, humorous songs, as well as historical songs (in Armenian and Turkish languages) pertaining to the Armenian Genocide, songs relating to the mobilization of the Armenians in 1914, to the arm-collection, the imprisoned people, the exile, the massacres, the children-deprived mothers, the orphans and the orphanages and to the liberation struggle, patriotic songs, songs related to the repatriation and nostalgic songs about the lost native Land.

3. **Folklore in formulas** - Proverbs, sayings, edifications, benedictions, maledictions, riddles, tongue twisters, idioms, popular prayers.

4. **Ethnographic ceremonies** - Birth, wedding and burial ceremonies.

During the past 60 years, I have not only written down, audio- and video-recorded these folkloric, ethnographic, dialectal and about the Armenian Genocide primary historical and factual source materials (over 10,000 units), banked in the memory of the Western Armenian repatriates, but I have also investigated them in the various scientific aspects and have published them, also in different languages, in my 26 large and small books.

It was elucidated from these long and persistent studies that modifications in time and space had been made not only in the folklore materials and the quantitative indices of the narrators, but also within the genres themselves and certain qualitative traits of degradation, decomposition and transformation between the genres were noticeable.

The repatriates living in the Motherland had persisted in the past, owing to various historical events, in different Diasporan communities side by side with other nations (Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Jews, French, etc.) and, naturally, their spoken language had been subjected to certain influences and interactions. However, the dialects themselves and the literary Western Armenian spoken language and its grammatical structure had remained stable, inasmuch as the mother tongue had been, in the foreign countries, their only means of national identity and national preservation.

If in the past the determinant was time, and the influence of the foreign environment was a secondary condition, the influence of the new, own environment on the dialects transferred to Armenia, and the Western Armenian language was determinant, and time was the secondary condition.

Owing to the extensive literacy and professional education in Armenia, to the authoritative and irresistible influence of the literary, national Eastern Armenian state

language (schools, colleges, universities, the press, radio, television, etc.) their complicated dialects and the Western Armenian spoken language yielded gradually their place, in a comparatively short period (in 3-4 decades), to the literary Eastern Armenian language or to the dialect of the given locality.

Up to the 1980s, a multi-layered linguistic system was noticeable in the repatriate families, namely, the elderly continued to talk with each other in their native dialects, the middle-aged people spoke in a mixed literary Armenian and the native dialects of the seniors were almost incomprehensible to the new generation born and educated in Armenia.

At present, people of the new generations master the contemporary literary Armenian and foreign languages. They keep next to nothing the folklore traditions of the past nowadays but they are enriched instead with the national and international cultural values.

Thus, the new social quality of the repatriates living in Armenia, their spiritual-conscious inner world and mentality were gradually shaped in the crucible of the higher professional education received in the Motherland, the increasing scientific-technical information and the public production relations. Their cultural development and their ability to public adaptation, proceeding in the direction of approach, constitutes a component of the national identity and the consolidation of the Armenian nation.

Tendencies of a new stream of repatriation are, at present, noticeable. A great many Diasporan Armenians are not only making investments in Armenia and creating new business enterprises, but they are also buying or building houses or private residences with the aim of partly or permanently settling in the Motherland, since the life conditions of the countries they live in and the fear of assimilation and degeneration urge them to think about the future of their children, their Armenian-spirited education and the preservation of their national identity.

In 2005, in the desert of Deir-el-Zor (Syria), I inscribed a testimony about representatives of the third and fourth generations of Armenians, whose great-grandparents, in 1915, in the days of the Armenian Genocide, had taken refuge in the families of Arab desert-men, had lost their mother tongue and had changed their religious faith. The above mentioned representatives of the third and fourth generations were also speaking Arabic, but they had preserved the national identity of their great-grandparents. They had heard that the Armenians had a country named Armenia, that Karabagh had been liberated from the Turkish-Azeri rule and that those who wanted to settle there were given by the government a piece of land to cultivate and money to build a house.

Thus, there are thousands of assimilated, estranged Armenians in the Syrian deserts who have still preserved their national identity, but who hesitate to express themselves explicitly.

It is, therefore, the primary task of our government to organize the resettlement of these people in Armenia and in Artsakh (Karabagh).

Since the nation can persist only on its native soil, the existence of the people outside its native soil is, sooner or later, doomed to come to an end...

Just as the grief of the lost Land is displayed in the eyes of every Armenian, so the idea of Repatriation is written all over the face of every Armenian.

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

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# POLITICAL SCIENCES AND INFORMATIONAL SECURITY

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## ON THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE KURDISH QUESTION IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST IN MODERN TIMES

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In ethnic sense the Kurds are a divided people; hence, they are often called a divided nation, a nation without country and state<sup>1</sup>. The English diplomat lord Curzon has written that the history of the Kurds is entirely dark, and that “this is a people without literature and almost without history”.

The Kurds are dispersed in vast territories of the Near and Middle East, but reside compactly mainly in Turkey, Iran and Syria. There are Kurds residing in the newly independent republics of the South Caucasus and Central Asia and in Russian Federation as well. There is a Kurdish diaspora in the countries of Western Europe (more than 1 million), the USA, Australia and elsewhere. No exact data about the number of the Kurds throughout the world is available. Some Kurdish authors lift their number up to 50 million. Nevertheless, 30-50 million is considered as more credible, being 15 million in Turkey (20 percent of the entire population of Turkey), 8 million in Iran (11 percent), 6 million in Iraq (20 percent) and 2 million in Syria (10 percent)<sup>2</sup>.

The Kurds are the fourth people in number in the Near and Middle East after the Arabs, Persians and Turks. At present, no people exist in such a number throughout the world, who do not have a statehood. The Kurdish political parties as well as the nationalistic circles pretend to found Kurdish state in the so-called frames of the “Ethnic Kurdistan”, which includes the eastern parts of Turkey (Western Armenia), Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan as well as the northern, Kurdish-inhabited areas of Syria<sup>3</sup>.

Despite the fact that the term “Kurdistan” has occupied a stable place in the literature, there is no such a country on any of the geographic maps of the world. Therefore, the concept of “Kurdistan” has merely a conventional meaning. The area covering this concept was a part of both Ottoman Empire and Qajar Iran up to WW I. After WW I, when a reshaping of political map of the Near East took place, the “Ethnic Kurdistan” became a part of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. From that time on there can be found the conditional names of “Turkish Kurdistan” (or “Northern Kurdistan”), “Iranian Kurdistan” (or “Eastern Kurdistan”), “Iraqi Kurdistan” (or “Southern Kurdistan”) and “Syrian Kurdistan” (or “Western Kurdistan”) in the literature.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Michael Eppel, *A People without a State. The Kurds from the Rise of Islam to the down of Nationalism*, Austin, 2016.

<sup>2</sup> See Michael M. Gunter, *The Kurds: A Modern History*, Princeton, New Jersey, 2016, pp. XIV-XV.

<sup>3</sup> See Graham E. Fuller, Ian O. Lesser. *Turkey's new geopolitics: from the Balkans to Western China*, Colorado, 1993, p. 62.

The Kurdish world is not definite. It differs with its multiplicity and contradistinctions, difficult to be explained at first glance, among other things. This is a spotted mosaic, nomads, semi-nomads and sedentary population, tribes and tribal confederations, tribal zones, linguistic and religious diversity, geographical and political division etc.

The consciousness of national unity and congeniality as well as of united homeland was muddy amongst the Kurds up to the XX century. The idea of collective independence was also absent among them because of tribal structure; besides, the tribal independence of feudal character was a final ideal. Just for that reason the Kurdish people never succeeded in creating their own statehood during the historical developments they had undergone.

The “Kurdish Question” was for the first time a matter of discussions in international instances in 1919, at Paris peace conference<sup>4</sup>. But in international legal practice this question was for the first time formulated in the form of a contract on August 10, 1920, in the Treaty of Sevres, which was guaranteeing a right to autonomy in Turkey for the Kurds. This autonomous formation could be turned into a sovereign state with the consent of the League of Nations after a year. It was planned to create Kurdistan in the territory of Western Armenia by the map the president of the USA, Woodrow Wilson had drawn<sup>5</sup>, which was in itself strange and incomprehensible for Armenian people. But, as is known, the Treaty of Lausanne, signed in 1923, denounced the Treaty of Sèvres, thus pushing the “Kurdish Question” into nonexistence.

In the final stage of the WW II the “Kurdish Question” ascended again on the surface of political realities, this time by the leader of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin. The latter raised a number of issues simultaneously just after the war, which were tended to change the correlation of powers in the Near and Middle East in favor of the Soviet Union. The issues of Iranian Azerbaijan, Black Sea straits, “Armenian Question”, “Kurdish Question” and others were among those matters. A Kurdish state formation was created in the north-western part of Iran by the immediate initiative of Moscow on January 22, 1946, which was named “Kurdish people republic” or “Republic of Mehabad”<sup>6</sup>. Stalin had planned to enlarge gradually this newly established state at the expense of both Iranian and Iraqi lands with the Kurdish populations, as well as to scotch the oil fields and oil refineries of the Near East by the Kurds to bring down the fuel feeding of the Mediterranean fleet of Western countries. It was believed in Moscow that “the Kurds are a sharp dagger, which can be directed against Turkey, Iran and Iraq”<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> See General Shérif Pasha, Memorandum on the Claims of the Kurd People, Paris, 1919.

<sup>5</sup> See Treaty of Peace with Turkey, Signed at Sèvres, August 10, 1920. The Frontier between Armenia and Turkey. As decided by President Woodrow Wilson, November 22, London, 1920.

<sup>6</sup> See Eagleton W. Jr., The Kurdish Republic of 1946, London, 1963.

<sup>7</sup> Sergo Beria, My father Beria. in the Corridors of Stalinist rule - <http://books.google.az/books?id=LK9> (in Armenian).

As is known, the Armenian project of Stalin was crashed on various grounds. As to the annexation of Iranian Azerbaijan to the Soviet Azerbaijan, Stalin himself declined the project, making out that a widespread Turkish zone would come into existence along the southern borders of the Soviet Union let the project be carried out. Concerning the “Kurdish republic of Mehabad”, it has also a very short life, just 11 months<sup>8</sup>. Stalin had probably moved backward under the pressure of the Western Powers. There is a viewpoint (not proven) that the USA was threatening the Soviet Union to exploit a nuclear weapon, if the latter had not stopped her “attacking” policy in the Near and Middle East. Nevertheless, it is supposed that Stalin had not absolutely resigned of employing the Kurdish card and was waiting for the time of establishing nuclear balance with the West.

It is beyond any doubt that in our days the Kurdish question is becoming more complicated when the intersection of the interests of both world leading countries and regional states within the said area are considered. Virtually, not a single country of the Near and Middle East (except, probably, Israel) is not interested in establishing an independent Kurdish state. The reasons for such a state of affairs are numerous; first, the birth of a new state formation is possible only on the lands belonging to the states of the Near and Middle East. It is difficult to believe that any country in the region will be ready to allow the shortening of its own land. Then, the chain of the armed conflicts will destabilize deeply the situation of the region after creation of the Kurdish state. All the states of the region will be immersed in this conflict in a varying degree. And considering the fact that Turkey is a NATO member, the conflict can be turned into interregional one. This will place the oil and gas pipelines, operating now and to be constructed in the future, under a threat. The same concerns also the Eurasian transit corridor. Finally, nobody knows what will be the orientation of the Kurdish state to be created; the diapason is very large – from the liberal secular country to the theocratic state on the basis of Islamic radicalism. Hence, the ruling circles of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria are always making joint efforts to counteract the Kurdish nationalism and the leaders of these states are having secret meetings on the Kurdish question from time to time for the purpose of coordinating their actions. For instance, there is information on the agreement obtained between Turkey and Iran to exchange intelligence data about the situation in their borderline regions<sup>9</sup>.

The Great Powers, too, do not show any interest on resolving the “Kurdish Question”. All this provides a ground to conclude that the creation of the Kurdish state is impossible in the visible future. On the other hand, it is reality that the “Kurdish Question” is being gradually subjected to internationalization, becoming a more serious problem in relations of the USA, European Union, Russian Federation, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and other countries. Decidedly, the Kurds are become serious regional players on the background of events, evolving in the Near and Middle East in recent

<sup>8</sup> See Pisyany N.K. From the bleeding Mehabad to the banks of the Araxes (transl. from Persian), Teheran, 1943, Part II.

<sup>9</sup> See “Iraq and the Kurds: International Crisis Group (ICG)”, report No. 120, Middle East Institute, 19 April 2012.

years. One can even say that they are key players in the Near Eastern policy. It is beyond doubt that the absence of the statehood always helps the Kurds to operate out of the existing legal relations. This fact as well as the fighting efficiency of the Kurds make them one of the most important players of the present-day Near East.

A question arises, if one can talk of the worldwide Kurdish movement as a united whole? It is difficult to answer to that question. But one thing is evident; despite even the deepening contradictions among the militant Kurds, the dominant idea in the Kurdish ideology was already become the creation of an own independent state, which remains unchanged for all parts of this separated people.

It is absolutely evident that the peculiarity of the “Kurdish Question” requires some alternative ways for its solution. This is conditioned by the fact that the Kurdish community is not, virtually, homogeneous in any of the Near and Middle Eastern countries and does not pursue common goals. Moreover, their behavior and manners have no fixed focus and are conditioned by the dictation of time.

The last decades of the XX century brought huge tragedies for the Kurds. Saddam Hussein annihilated tens of thousands Iraqi Kurds with chemical weapons in 1980. Five thousand Kurds were exterminated in Halabja city in just one day; another 4500 Kurds were annihilated during the so called operation of “Anfal”<sup>10</sup>. More than forty thousand Kurds were killed in consequence of the clashes between the Turkish army and the fighters of the Kurdish Workers’ Party (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan [WPK in English]) after 1988; tens of thousands people are forcibly displaced from their homes<sup>11</sup>.

Now the situation in the Near East on the “Kurdish Question” has the following scenery; the ongoing war in Syria gave a new breath to the Kurdish national movement for the past ten years in the Near and Middle Eastern countries (for the first time it took place after the invasion of American troops into Iraq in 2003). The prevailing part of the Kurds in Syria struggles against the islamic combatants supported by Turkey. The Kurdish militia detachments of Syria fight actively against the military subdivisions of the fighting Islamic groupings called “Jebhad an-Nusra” (“The front of victory”), who are included in the so- called “Free Army” of Syria. The Kurdish national council of Syria, which incorporates 12 parties, submitted an application to the command of the Syrian “Free Army” in January of the last year demanding to immediately put an end to the “criminal war”. An accent is made in the declaration on the fact that the mercenaries who fight on the side of the “Free Army” are becoming “an obedient tool” in the hands of Turkey, and that Ankara pursues its own interests.

The renouncement of Damascus from the centralized control over the Syrian Kurds’ lands became an inspiring stimulus for their kinsmen in Turkey as well.

At present, various organizations of the Syrian Kurds have been united to obtain a regional autonomy like the Iraqi Kurdistan. They are receiving military aid from the USA to fight against the combatants of the “Islamic State”. Moscow, too, declared many

<sup>10</sup> David L. Phillips, *The Kurdish Spring. A new Map of the Middle East*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 2015, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

times that the struggle of the Syrian Kurds against the terrorists is absolutely affective and legitimate.

The Kurdish autonomy, proclaimed in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1974, is the only Kurdish state organization despite its autonomous status. It is hard to say so far whether it can become the nucleus of the prospective united Kurdish state or not. One thing is obvious in any case; the existence of the Kurdish autonomy in Iraq can be an infectious example for the states with the Kurdish populations in the Near East.

At present, the national aspirations of the Iraqi Kurds are favored by the USA. Perhaps for that reason the leader of the Kurdish autonomy Masud Barzani calls that autonomy a "Strategic Trench of the Near East". Nevertheless, wishing to save the territorial integrity of Iraq, Washington speaks out against the projects of Kurdish independence, considering that this can become a new seat of instability in the Near Eastern region, being explosive even without that.

It is important to note that the disposition of the USA toward the Kurds living in various states of the Near and Middle East is quite different. If the USA and Kurds are cooperating closely in Iraq and Syria, then Washington calls the "Kurdish Workers' Party" in Turkey a terrorist organization. Thus, it is very difficult to speak about the Kurdish policy of the USA in general terms, for the American political scientists distinguish two groups or types of Kurds - "kind Kurds" and "bad Kurds".

In recent times, along with Washington, Moscow, too, tries to make use of the Kurdish card more effectively, who is not only watching closely the Kurdish developments but also tries to influence them. The Russian Federation has also undertaken active steps in the field of exploitation of the rich energy resources in the Kurdish autonomy of Iraq. The Russian company "Gasprom Neft Middle East" is also working actively along with British "BP", French Total, American Ekson Mobile and Gulf Keystone, having been involved in the sphere of carrying out four projects in Iraq, of which three (Halabja, Shaqal and Garmiya) are in the Kurdish autonomous area.

The armed subdivisions of the Kurdish autonomy ("Peshmerga"), which are operating in Northern Iraq, are likewise receiving a certain military-technical assistance from the Russian Federation. In general, Moscow is interested in the stable development of the Kurdish autonomy of Iraq inasmuch as this can become a guaranty for the safety of Russian investments.

The Iraqi Kurdistan is also in the center of the permanent attention of Turkey and Iran, as they have large-scale economic, political and strategic interests there. Ankara, which has refused to recognize the Kurdish autonomy for a long time, is its primary economic partner now. It is succeeded by Teheran in that sense, acting as a second partner.

In April 2011 Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made an official visit to Erbil for the first time as a prime-minister. During the negotiations the parties spoke about expanding bilateral cooperation, especially in the field of energy carriers. It is beyond doubt that the activity of Turkey would disturb the Islamic Republic of Iran inasmuch as Ankara acts in Iraqi

Kurdistan as competitor<sup>12</sup>. In general, Turkey tries to brake the Iranian influence in Iraq, including the measure of assistance to the Sunni population of that country, while Iran, acting from the positions of protecting the Iraqi Shiites, tries to prevent the reinforcement of the Sunni population's positions in every way, including the governmental structures of Iraq.

Generally speaking, the rich supplies of the Iraqi Kurdistan's energy carriers opened a door for rivalry between different states. At present, its oil reserves are estimated at 45 million barrels, and the natural gas reserves at 115 trillion cubic meters. An oil pipeline goes to Turkey from the Kurdish autonomous formation, exporting one million barrels of oil daily. These resources are reaching the Mediterranean port of Ceyhan in Turkey through pipeline.

The autonomy of the Iraqi Kurdistan, which is officially called "The Kurdish Regional Government", produces 200 thousand barrels of oil daily at present. But it should be noted that the Iraqi Kurdistan has no exit to the sea; hence, it faces some difficulties in exporting its energy carriers.

Turkey continues to hold its military presence in the north of Iraq, pursuing a purpose of restraining the WPK's militants, situated in mountainous areas. Turkey tries to acquire the assistance of the Iraqi Kurdistan in the struggle against the WPK's militants, based in the mountains of Kandil, within the zone of the Turkish-Iraqi borders.

No doubts that Turkey and Iran consider the stopping of the Iraqi Kurdish autonomy's aspiration for independence their primary strategic goal. These two states are fully consonant with the fact that the Iraqi Kurdistan should not be converted to a state formation with an independent status from that of Iraqi federation's member. At the same time, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Turkey try to isolate the Iraqi Kurdistan in every way not to let it to have contacts with the political oppositions of their countries.

Now the characteristic line of the internal political processes in Iraqi Kurdistan is the sharp conflict between two mighty clans, having centered the country's rule in their hands, which sometimes grows even into armed clashes. The headman of one of those clans is the leader of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and the head of the autonomous Kurdistan Masud Barzani, and the other is Jelyal Talabani, the leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, who used to hold the office of the Iraqi Republic's president. The latter calls the clan and party of Barzani "tribal feudals" and proclaims himself the leader of the "Kurdish social-democrats". One of the most important reasons for rivalry between them is the issue of dividing huge incomes, originating from the oil sale, custom houses and other sources as well as the question of monopolizing the resources of the state, in general.

Though an agreement about the ceasefire was signed between the parties by the intermediation of the USA in 1998, the confrontation between them is going on up to now, sometimes in disguised way and sometimes explicitly. The new political parties and groupings (Gorra, the Islamic Union of Kurdistan, the Islamic Grouping of

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<sup>12</sup> See Turkey and Iran Vie for control of Iraq. - <http://www.peyamner.com/details.aspx?1=4&id=238922>.

Kurdistan), born in Iraqi Kurdistan, are further complicating the internal political situation of that region. But Washington tries not to allow the chaotic situation to be created in Iraqi Kurdistan or, as Americans say, not to let Kurdistan to turn into a "Near Eastern Kosovo".

The viewpoint of all the political parties and groupings, operating in Iraqi Kurdistan, about turning the autonomy into the complete independence is consentaneous. All of them require to pass a referendum regarding that question.

The "Kurdish Question" is also a matter of deep concern for Iran, where a few million Kurds are living, in Iranian Kurdistan and Iranian Azerbaijan, in a collective form, as well as in different districts of the country, in a dispersed form. The religious-theocratic regime, created in that country after the Islamic Revolution in 1979, had adopted the principle of formation a unitary (homogenous) state on the basis of Islam. The unitarianism denies and does not accept any form of autonomy or sovereignty of any minority of the country, based on the Turkish, Iranian or Arabic nationalism.

The Kurds have always been a headache for the government just after the creation of Islamic Republic. In general, they are an element, whom is very difficult to keep obedient. Besides other circumstances, Teheran is also afraid that the Kurdish factor may be put into action by her potential adversaries.

That is right, the Kurds have not raised armed insurrections up to now, but they are usually compared with the unleashed fire, which could be inflamed in every second. Now Teheran is able to successfully use the Kurdish card in the Near Eastern turmoil. But despite all of this, the Kurdish issue continues to be the problem of primary importance in both the internal affairs and foreign relations of that country.

According to the current constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran the activities of political parties are prohibited in that country. Hence, the great part of the Kurdish active political parties is abroad, in exile. Many attempts of negotiations between those parties and Teheran on returning to homeland are ended with failure, since the Kurds pose preconditions that they will return to homeland only in case the rights of Kurds will be recognized and supported by the state<sup>13</sup>.

As concerns the Kurds of Turkey, they have riot flares against the authorities for decades and were in constant struggle for the sake of their national rights.

Beginning from 1984 the "Workers' Party of Kurdistan" of Abdullah Ocalan (WPK), which is organized in 1978, wages an overt armed struggle against the government with a view of creating Kurdish state in the south-eastern part of Turkey and north-western part of Iraq. This party pushes forward the "federative" principle for the creation of Kurdish state, which implies the creation of Turkish-Kurdish, Iranian-Kurdish and Syrian-Kurdish federation<sup>14</sup>. Of course, that means a requirement for the creation of Kurdish state within the frames of the so called "ethnic Kurdistan", which, certainly, cannot be acceptable for Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Ocalan declared that there can be applied

<sup>13</sup> See <http://www.odnako.org/magazine/material/poteryanniy-Kurdistan/>.

<sup>14</sup> See Muradyan I., Problems of security in the Near Eastern policy of the USA, Yerevan, 2003, p. 125 (In Arm.).

the experience of Northern Ireland when resolving the “Kurdish Question” during a TV bridge with London still in 1997 before he was imprisoned.

The WPK had a large military base in Syria until 1998, where its fighters were being trained.

Now there is no unity between the political parties and organizations and a general viewpoint is missing not only on the matter of creating Kurdish state but also on the tactics of struggle. A large part of the Kurdish society demands to recognize constitutionally the ethnic, cultural and language rights of Turkey’s Kurds; to grant an autonomy, which will include such components as decentralization of administrative system of Turkey and provision of broad authorizations to the local self-governing bodies<sup>15</sup>.

Another group requests separation from Turkey and complete independence. The resistance and confrontation between different parties and groupings, having various standpoints on the political future of Kurds turn into fratricidal armed clashes time by time. The weakness of the Kurdish movement is just in that matter.

It is hard to say what is worth the present leadership of the WPK. Abdullah Ocalan, who was a Marxist of Mayo-Castro type at the beginning of his activities, abandoned it later on to attract the Kurdish intellectuals to his side, professing socialist-nationalist ideas. At present, he is sentenced to life imprisonment in the prison of Imrali island in the sea of Marmara. The administration of the party during his absence is carried out by the comrades-in-arms of Ocalan, Zubeir Aydar, Murad Qarailan and Jemil Bayliq<sup>16</sup>.

The political views of A. Ocalan are not distinguished with stability. Those are fluid and contradictory. He declared that he himself stops the armed struggle of the WPK against the Turkish authorities for a while still in 2011. In this regard the Turkish government changed its policy toward the WPK. In jail he was visited by the Turkish delegation with whom Ocalan had allegedly come to terms and signed some kind of agreement letter about the “Kurdish Question”<sup>17</sup>. Nevertheless, the contacts of Apo (the Kurds call their leader this way) with the government of Erdoğan does not mean anything yet. Furthermore, the figures of the WPK estimate such actions of Turkey’s leadership as an attempt to further isolate Ocalan.

Generally speaking, this leader of the Kurdish political movement often changes his standpoints and the lack of realism and, sometimes, also the fact of not taking into consideration the historical reality are characteristic to the programme documents of his party. The WPK has a pretentiousness of sole leadership in the national political affairs. Therefore, all the other Kurdish parties and organizations were declared conciliating, opportunistic, and, sometimes, even traitorous, who violate and reject the national dreams of Kurdish people, and against whom a lasting and uncompromising struggle

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<sup>15</sup> See Meliha Benli Altunishik, The possibilities and limits of Turkey’s soft power in the Middle East, *Insight Turkey*, vol. 10/No. 2/, 2008, pp. 32-35.

<sup>16</sup> See [www.mfa.tr.PKK/KONGRA-Gel](http://www.mfa.tr.PKK/KONGRA-Gel).

<sup>17</sup> See Ocalan and Turkish Government Reach a Deal, <http://www.peyamner.com/details.aspx?1=48&id=239734>.

should be waged. Such a tactic, when the WPK has obtained almost monopolistic positions in the Kurdish movement, weakens considerably that movement.

In the programme documents the WPK proclaims himself an apologist of the idea of freedom for all peoples of the region. Nevertheless, there is no mention about the rights of Armenian people regarding the Western Armenia in the mentioned documents, or, even though, about some kind of assistance by the Kurds to that affair. On the contrary, the territories of the Western Armenia are included within the geographical borders of the so called “Kurdistan”, which comprises the political claims of the WPK. Generally speaking, no Kurdish party or serious organization is known, which has different viewpoint on that matter. As concerns the Kurdish nationalists of all kind and color they are all calling Western Armenia “Kurdistan” without exception. Also they are calling arbitrarily the Kurdish population of Western Armenia indigenous (autochthonous) as though the Kurds are living in their “ancestral lands” from the times immemorial.

At present, the Kurdish nationalists, residing in various countries, are publishing books, maps and different kind of booklets in various languages and in a large amount of copies, in which the Western Armenia is called either “Kurdistan” or “Western Kurdistan”, having scattered those materials throughout the world.

It is quite obvious that beginning from the Ottoman period the Turkish governing circles have been consistent in their works for the Kurds to perceive the Western Armenia as their “homeland”.

Now many people in Turkey defend the viewpoint that the “Kurdish Question” is the number one for the country. But the general view of the Turkish governing circles is that the “Kurdish Question” should be resolved within the frames of country’s unity. At the same time, the standpoints about the political future of the Kurdish people are quite different in Turkey. Some say that the “Kurdish Question” should be solved exclusively by military means; others consider that this question has no military solution, since all the attempts to settle the issue have not achieved the desired results. There is also the variant of resolving the “Kurdish Question” through the economic methods, that is, the Kurds won’t claim for autonomy or statehood if the Kurdish-populated areas develop economically and the situation of people becomes improved. In that case they won’t support the armed Kurdish groupings as well.

Now Turkey proclaims herself a regional superpower. Accordingly, the Turkish politicians declare constantly that how strong the pressure of foreign powers (they have in view, first of all, the USA and Israel) will be upon Turkey on the “Kurdish Issue”, so strong will be Turkey in making no concession.

Anyhow, it is beyond doubt that the solution of the “Kurdish Question” in one way or another and as soon as possible is a vital issue for Turkey, for the Turkish ruling circles think that this question not only threatens the security of the state (in the sense of destabilization), but also can result in crashing of Turkey and losing a huge part of the country’s territory. Moreover, not only the Kurds of Turkey, but also those of neighboring countries are deemed a threat by Turkey. Therefore, Ankara is vitally interested in

restraining the Kurdish nationalism not only in its territory, but also in Iraq, Syria and Iran. Generally, Turkey tries to make obstacles on the way of creation of some kind of Kurdish independent or autonomous territorial formation.

The president of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan shows that he is under the strong influence of the ancient Turkish nationalism through his behavior and manner. The Kurdish policy and, in general, the orientations of the foreign policy of Turkey are based on the ideology of Neo-Ottomanism for that reason<sup>18</sup>. The government of Erdoğan makes efforts not to allow the rise of the Kurdish nationalism in the “Ethnic Kurdistan” on one hand and tries to mitigate the relations with the WPK and the Kurdish opposition, in general, on the other hand.

At present, the Turkish army and special services have gained great skills in struggling against the Kurdish movement and undermining it. Special army units have been formed, which are trained for the struggle against the mountainous guerilla battles. The national Security Council of Turkey has adopted a document entitled as “An anti-terrorist strategy of Turkey”, which also includes the struggle against the “Kurdish terrorism”<sup>19</sup>. Ankara is also working energetically to shatter the social mainstay of its principal adversary, the WPK. There are created Kurdish “Pocket parties” for that end; something that is not new in the political practice of Turkey. At present, it is the party of “Peace and democracy” that is acting in the Turkish parliament as a sole spokesman of Turkey’s Kurds. There were created armed detachments of the so called “village guards” by the initiative of the Turkish government still in the 1980’s, which were consisting solely of Kurds. Their task was the struggle of “Kurds against the Kurds”.

One of the peculiarities of the Turkish policy is that there are underground power centers in that country, which affect significantly domestic and foreign policy. These influential semi-military organizations are cooperating closely with the government to crash down the Kurdish movement.

According to the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, the non-muslim communities of Turkey are considered national minorities, consisting of Turkey’s citizens of Jewish, Greek and Armenian backgrounds. The Kurds are not recognized as a national minority by the legislation of Turkey; they are deemed as members of the United Islamic community, *umma*. Hence, the situation in the south-eastern provinces of Turkey is not interpreted from the position of national minorities by the Turkish government.

The representatives of the European Union do not agree with that position of Ankara. Furthermore, they think that the “Kurdish Question” should be viewed from the perspective of human rights and freedom. Europeans are afraid, by the way, that in case of being included in the European Union Turkey will move the ethnic rigid conflict to the European territory. It would not be superfluous to note as well that the European

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<sup>18</sup> See A.Davutoğlu, *Stratejik derinlik: Türkiye’nin uluslararası konum*, Kure yayinlari, Istanbul, 2001; See also A.Davutoğlu, *Foreign policy of Turkey and Russia* - <http://www.globalaffairs.ru/number/n-14562> (In Arm.).

<sup>19</sup> See Official site of the Turkish Prime-minister - <http://www.Basbakanlik.gov.tr> Türkiye’nin yeni terörle mücadele stratejisi.

Union included the WPK in the list of the terrorist organizations since 2004 with all of its consequences. The USA also classifies the WPK as a terrorist organization.

One should take into consideration an important reality of the present times, that is the Kurds are acting as allies of the USA. The supreme strategic and security interests require to constantly keep the Kurds in the front-rank positions of their Near Eastern policy. Probably, Washington intends to heal the aspirations of the Kurds within reasonable limits to gain national sovereignty, but not to allow them to pass the permissible limits. It seems that the presence of the USA in the region is securing the balance of powers and do not allow to carry out the pretensions of regional players such as Turkey and Iran.

The hypothetical possibility of the Kurdish-populated areas of Turkey to be separated from the Turkish state impels Ankara to apply the policy of “whip and pie”. Turkey runs a rigid policy, including the usage of military force, on one hand and applies some concessions, not characteristic to the political tradition of Turkey, on the other hand, having a goal to equalize to some extent the contradictions and confrontation between the center and the south-east of the country. Time after time Turkey tries to make impression that has began to approach the Kurdish problem with apprehension. In such a way Turkey wants to leave an impression for the outside world of being a democratic country. The activities of human rights organizations of various countries restrains Turkey, by the way, to act against the Kurds by the traditional methods, typical to that country.

Summarizing the article, one can reach the following conclusions; though the talks that it is the time to unravel the “Kurdish node” are often heard in the USA and Europe, no premise for the settlement of the “Kurdish Question” is still seen in the Near East. The Kurds have great hopes on the US support in that matter.

Certainly, a considerable part of the Kurdish population of Turkey raises the question of creating their own statehood, and another part is supporting the autonomy in Turkey, which means decentralization of the Kurdish-populated areas and transfer of the authority to Kurds. The study of the “Kurdish Question” in Turkey leads to the conclusion that, at present, those Kurdish circles who demand a solution of the Kurdish problem within the borders of Turkey instead of supporting the separation from the Turkish state are not small in number. People with such an orientation suppose, as a rule, that in case of the solution of the Kurdish problem the large country, which has exits to Europe and the outside world, in general, will provide the Kurds with more opportunities than the independent Kurdistan, geographically separated and having Turkey as a hostile neighbor.

Certainly, those of the Kurds in Turkey who have solid consciousness that in case of not resisting the anti-Kurdish policy of the Turkish government the Kurds will be eventually condemned to Armenians’ fate are not small in number.

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

# THE ARMENIAN CIVILIZATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE LENS OF HUNTINGTON'S HYPOTHESIS (An Examination Outline of the Concept)

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The formation of a new world order and the ongoing processes within that context in different parts of the world became a subject of analyses for various outstanding scholars in the field of strategic studies (geopolitics), and in parallel with that different projects of the future were proposed.

One of those is Huntington's hypothesis of the "clash of civilizations", which, we'll note that, became a catalyst for the strategic way of thinking of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and of nowadays due to the novelty in formulation of the questions and often admittedly, with originality of the solutions.

From that perspective, the observations concerning Armenia and the Armenian people in the concept Samuel Huntington (within that framework the logic of the ongoing discussions over the *Artsakh (Nagorno Karabakh)* issue) are of certain interest. It seems to us that Huntington's knowledge of the "Armenian file", which is manifested in some of his articles<sup>1</sup> and also in the monograph published in 1996<sup>2</sup>, needs to be supplemented, as Huntington is not just a researcher and an ordinary citizen but is an authoritative member of the US political establishment and one of the policy-makers. The U.S. political elites pay a heed to Huntington's opinion. His view is discussed throughout the world, and it has an impact on various peoples' political fate. And if we also take into consideration that Huntington reflects quite precisely the essence of neo-Atlantism (conservative direction - L.Sh.) - one of the two most recent geopolitical projects<sup>3</sup>, then the importance of the interpellation will become much clearer. Herein, the nuances on the newest tendencies of the world development, which "hunts" the

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<sup>1</sup> Huntington S., The Clash of Civilizations?, Foreign Affairs, Summer 1993; Brief Russian-language version (which was published in the USA: Economics, politics, ideology, 1994, N 3, pp. 39-41) of the article The Clash of Civilizations? originally published in the New York Times); If not civilizations, then what? Paradigms of the Post-Cold War World, USA: Economics, politics, ideology, 1994, N 4, pp.71-75, Foreign Affairs, November/December 1993; The Clash of Civilizations and what it can mean for Russia, Social sciences & Modernity, 1995, N 3, pp.133-136 (in Russian); The Future of Democratic Development: From Expansion to Consolidation." World Economy & International Relations, 1996, N 6, pp. 87-94 (in Russian); West is unique but not universal (Foreign Affairs, December 1996; Reprinted in Russian in World Economy & International Relations, 1997, N 8, pp. 84-93.

<sup>2</sup> The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. New York, Simon & Schuster, 1996, p.368.

<sup>3</sup> See Dugin A., Fundamentals of Geopolitics. Geopolitical Future of Russia. To think in space, Third revised edition, Moscow, 1999, p. 115 (in Russian).

newly emerged idol of the US political mental establishment, Farid Zakaria, do not change, in essence, the substantial character of the things<sup>4</sup>.

Hence, in light of what has been said above, the specification of Armenia's place in the hypothesis of the possible clash of civilizations (using his major criteria of **religion** and **religious affiliation** for the classification of civilizations) becomes crucially significant. Thus, he writes that "Religion is a central decisive characteristic of civilizations" and confirms Christopher Dawson's claim that "the big religions are the foundations on which the great civilizations rest"<sup>5</sup>. In another place, Huntington repeats: "Religion is the main decisive feature of a civilization..."<sup>6</sup>. Seeing mechanical identification between the Orthodox and Eastern Churches, Huntington "places" Armenians in the category of the 'Orthodox civilization,' as a result of which Armenia ends up a part of the Orthodox-Slavonic world. Meanwhile, as Russian scholar Nikolay Yutanov pointed out, ascribing "Orthodox civilization to Russia", Huntington envisages "a passive form of cooperation"<sup>7</sup> for it (consequently also for Armenia - L. Sh.).

#### **A. RELIGION AS A MAJOR FEATURE FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF CIVILIZATIONS: HUNTINGTON'S VIEW**

According to Huntington, in the post-bipolar world the local civilization becomes an ethnicity-based civilization. Huntington declares: "The global politics is the politics of the civilizations"<sup>8</sup>. The superpowers' rivalry develops into a clash of civilizations. For the first time in history, global politics has become multi-polar and multi-civilizational"<sup>9</sup>. It should be noted that the multi-polarity of the situation is unpredictable<sup>10</sup>. Huntington makes this view as a starting point in his well-known monograph. Huntington writes that in the post-bipolar world, "local politics is ethnic politics, whereas global politics is a politics of civilizations. The superpowers' rivalry has been replaced by a clash of civilizations"<sup>11</sup>. Also, in Huntington's opinion, the conflict among various civilizations becomes the

<sup>4</sup> See Zakaria F., *The Future of Freedom: Non-Liberal Democracy in the USA and beyond its Borders* (translated from English), Moscow, 2004 (In Russian); Zakaria F., *Post-American World* (translated from English), Moscow, 2009 (In Russian).

<sup>5</sup> Huntington S. *Clash of Civilizations* (translated from English), Moscow, 2003, pp. 59-60 (In Russian).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 410.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> The civilization, writes Huntington, is the people's highest cultural generality and the widest level of cultural identifying, besides that which differs the man from other biological kinds. It is defined by material elements, as the language, history, religion, customs, social institutions, as well as the people's subjective resemblance" (Huntington, S., *The Clash of Civilizations*, p.51). "The civilization", stresses Huntington, "to which the man belongs, is the highest degree, which allows him to distinctly identify him" (*Ibid*, page 51). "Usually a complicated mixture of morality, religion, education, art, philosophy, technologies, material welfare and, probably, of numerous other things" (*Ibid*, p. 529).

<sup>9</sup> Huntington S., *The Clash of Civilizations and what can it mean for Russia*, *Social Sciences and Modernity*, 1995, N 3, p. 134.

<sup>10</sup> See Huntington S., *Clash of Civilizations*, p. 346.

<sup>11</sup> Huntington S., *Clash of Civilizations*, p. 24.

central and the most dangerous aspect of the world politics in that new world<sup>12</sup>. Huntington claims that the world is no longer divided into the free world, the third world and the communist bloc, and neither is a simplistic division of the world into the rich and poor camps, or democratic and non-democratic countries sufficient. The separation of the countries of the world to the civilizations they belong to is productive and correct. "At a macro-level it is a matter of the clash of civilizations," Huntington explains, "at a micro-level, it is a matter of particularly dreadful, protracted and brutal conflicts between states and nations that belong to different civilizations"<sup>13</sup>. Huntington concludes that the states are more and more thinking "in categories of civilizations," and they define **their place** and **their interests** in the world (emphasis is mine - L.Sh.)<sup>14</sup>. More specifically, Huntington contends, in the post-Cold War period the states "increasingly define their interests in civilization terms"<sup>15</sup>. Huntington also points out the tendency in the worldwide development coming to a conclusion of primary significance in the geopolitical field: the growth of statehood might that was predominant in the West is gradually shifted to non-Western civilizations. The global politics has become multi-polar and multi-civilizational<sup>16</sup>. And in general, in order to confirm his hypothesis, Huntington addresses various aspects of the issue and brings forth new substantiations. Thus, for example, he believes that world politics is entering a new stage, wherein the principal source of the conflict between countries and peoples will be not in the field of ideology and economy but "in the field of culture." The main conflicts in world politics will occur between the countries and peoples of different civilizations." This clash of civilizations will dominate in the world politics<sup>17</sup>. Huntington explains that in a post-bipolar world the earlier question of "Who are you siding with?" has been replaced with a more fundamental question of "Who are you?" Therefore, Huntington believes that each country has to find an answer. That answer is the country's cultural identity, and it defines the country's place in the global civilization as well as its friends and enemies<sup>18</sup>.

Thus, besides solving the most important methodological problems within the civilizational conceptual framework that he has put forward, Huntington also draws much more substantive and concrete forecasts. Huntington writes: "During the next few years the local conflicts will most likely transform into full-scale wars both in Bosnia and in the Caucasus, in cases, when those wars will take place at the fault lines of civilizations. The next world war, should it occur, will be a war between civilizations"<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Huntington S., "If not civilizations, then what? Paradigms of the Post-Cold War World" (in Russian, - "USA: Economics, Politics, Ideology), 1994, N 6, p. 72.

<sup>14</sup> See Ibid, p. 73

<sup>15</sup> The Russian edition of The Clash of Civilizations, p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> The Clash of Civilizations? in Russian, USA: Economics, Politics, Ideology, 1994, N 3, p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> The Russian edition of The Clash of Civilizations, p. 186.

<sup>19</sup> The Clash of Civilizations? in Russian, p. 39.

On the whole, by stressing that civilization is the highest form and the broadest range of features of the cultural generality of people that define the people's cultural identity, he predicts that the world will be more and more defined by seven or eight main civilizations, *viz.* Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavonic Orthodox, Latin American and, possibly, African<sup>20</sup>. Besides, Huntington believes that the bloodiest conflicts will take place along the fault lines that divide those cultures<sup>21</sup>. This conclusion finally stems from Huntington's cultural orientation. He contends that in the new world the most important, large-scale and dangerous conflicts will occur ... between peoples of different cultural identifications<sup>22</sup>. In Huntington's conception, here a decisive one could even say an important, key role here belongs to religion. And since religion is the key cultural feature that defines a civilization, the "fault line"<sup>23</sup> conflicts almost always occur between the peoples belonging to different civilizations<sup>24</sup>.

Huntington claims that when a major clash occurs at a global, or macro level in world politics between the West and the rest of the world, at a local or micro level the clash occurs between Islam and other religions<sup>25</sup>. Besides, according to Huntington, the borders of Islam are bloody. They will most probably remain such for some time to come<sup>26</sup>. It seems to us that in order to give flesh and blood to his strategic projects Huntington also applies the understanding of sub-civilizations. Huntington clarifies: "It is obvious that civilizations merge and partially overlap. They can incorporate sub-civilizations. The Western civilization has two principal versions, *viz.* the European and the North American, whereas Islam<sup>27</sup> is subdivided into Arab, Turkic and Malay. And even though civilizations, in rare cases, have no clear-cut boundaries, those civilizations are real. They have their ups and downs; they split and they merge. And as every student of history knows, civilizations disappear<sup>28</sup>."

Introducing an understanding of a **core state**<sup>29</sup>, Huntington outlines the boundaries of principal civilizations, including the Orthodox civilization. He places

<sup>20</sup> In his monograph the civilizations are presented with following specifications and sequence: Sinic, Japanese, Hindu, Islamic, Orthodox, Western, Latin American and African (possibly) civilizations (see Huntington, S., *The Clash of Civilizations*, pp. 54-60. Hereinafter, we will be guided by this pattern.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> The Russian edition of *The Clash of Civilizations*, p. 24.

<sup>23</sup> **Fault line** is a line between neighboring states from different civilizations or between groups from different civilizations but that are in one state.

<sup>24</sup> The Russian edition of *The Clash of Civilizations*, p. 410.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

<sup>26</sup> Huntington S., *The Clash of Civilizations and What it Can Mean for Russia*, Public Sciences and Modernity, 1995, N 3, p. 135.

<sup>27</sup> In his monograph Huntington adds also Persian sub-civilization to the Islamic civilization. He writes, "Numerous distinct cultures or sub-civilizations exist in Islam, including Arab, Turkic, Persian, and Malay" (Huntington S., *The Clash of Civilizations*, p. 56).

<sup>28</sup> Huntington, S. *If not civilizations, Then What?* (Russian version), p. 39.

<sup>29</sup> **Core State** - In civilizations, there are usually one or more places that are seen by its members as a main source or sources of culture of a given civilization. Usually such sources are located in a core State or in civilizations' countries,

Armenia in that category. Huntington writes: "Russia remains one of the global civilization's core states that historically identifies with the Orthodox civilization. Up to now civilization includes such Orthodox Slavonic States as Belarus, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Serbia, such non-Slavic Orthodox States as Georgia, Armenia and Romania, as well as countries with mixed population, i.e. Orthodox and non-Orthodox, as Ukraine and Kazakhstan. As a core State, Russia bears main responsibility for preserving order and stability in the Orthodox States and countries"<sup>30</sup>.

I believe it is appropriate also to quote here a relevant passage from his monograph. Huntington reports: "Some scholars distinguish the existence of a separate Orthodox civilization, centered in Russia, which differs from Western civilization by its Byzantine roots, 200 years of Tartar rule, bureaucratic despotism, and limited exposure to the Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, and restricted influence of other significant events, which took place in the West"<sup>31</sup>.

Huntington comes to those conclusions, in general, by applying the criteria that characterize cultures and civilizations. Huntington writes: "People identify themselves with the origin of religion, language, history, values, traditions and institutions. They identify themselves with cultural groups, tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations and, at the broadest level, civilizations"<sup>32</sup>. Besides, according to Huntington, in the future the countries will align themselves by the features **of culture and civilization**, realizing, in particular, that "the differences between civilizations are extremely profound, and that civilizations are connected by common history, language, culture, traditions and, most importantly, by religion. Civilizations hold different views on the relations between God and man, citizen and state, parents and children, freedom and power, equality and subordination. Those differences are the results of centuries. They will not quickly disappear"<sup>33</sup>.

Concluding that the present-day non-Western societies (states) become modernized, without becoming westernized, and increase their potential, Huntington writes: "The central axis of the world politics, most probably, will be the conflict between The West and The Rest and resistance put up by non-Western civilizations to strong West and its values"<sup>34</sup>. In another place Huntington writes: "The central axis of post-Cold War world politics is the interaction of Western power and culture with the power and culture of non-Western civilizations"<sup>35</sup>. Hence, the West will be forced to get adapted to those non-Western present-day civilizations, whose force will approximate to that of the West. Huntington believes: "Therefore, it is necessary to have better

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i.e. in terms of culture in the most powerful and central country or countries (see the Russian edition of *The Clash of Civilizations*, p. 203).

<sup>30</sup> Huntington S., *The Clash of Civilizations and What it Can Mean for Russia*, p. 135.

<sup>31</sup> Huntington S., *The Clash of Civilizations*, p. 57.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> Huntington S., *The Clash of Civilizations?*, p. 39.

<sup>34</sup> Huntington S., *The Clash of Civilizations?*, p. 39.

<sup>35</sup> Huntington S., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, p. 41.

knowledge of foundations of other civilizations, religions and philosophies as well as of the people's traditions and to distinguish common elements of the western and other civilizations"<sup>36</sup>. At the same time Huntington shares his solidarity and sympathy with the view held by the European politician Jacques Delors that it becomes more obvious that "the future conflicts will be sparked by cultural factors rather than economics or ideology. The West should learn to get a profound understanding of the religious and philosophical underpinnings of other civilizations"<sup>37</sup>.

It is clear, however, that not only the West, but any nation needs to understand the religious and philosophical underpinnings of other civilizations and to visualize its place in the Huntington's classification of civilizations. First of all, as that is a geopolitical concept par excellence. For example, the Russian political scientist Sergey Pereslegin finds that even though Huntington's book has certain traits of a scholarly work and all "the related features" of an essay, it should nevertheless be relegated to the field "of strategic studies." Pereslegin writes: "In fact, the matter concerns military and strategic planning that transcends its limits, with state/ethnic group playing a role of the smallest tactical unit"<sup>38</sup>. Perhaps, this issue of cognition is topical, first of all, for those people that live to use Huntington's concept, on the "fault line" of civilizations. It is obvious that the Armenian nation fits into that category as its homeland, the Armenian Plateau, is situated at a crossroads of civilizations. That is why it is so important to regard the adequate placement of the "Armenian file" in Huntington's hypothesis framework as a strategic task.

## **B. "THE SPATIAL HOUSE" OF THE ARMENIAN CIVILIZATION**

Within the framework of the interpellation the differentiation of the vital area, "spatial house" of the civilization (Huntington) gains importance, where the subject of the given civilization has created through centuries, and sometimes through millennia its "political house," have been endowed by the objective attributes of every civilization, religion, language, traditions, literature, institutions (Huntington). There he has fed his historical mission. In that sense, the history and the cultural development of Armenia, the unification of the Armenian civilization to the Armenian Plateau is impressive. Generalizing the information of the medieval maps, the well-known cartographer Rouben Galichian (England) underlines: "The geographical region of the Armenian Plateau and Armenian Highlands," the borders of which are "The Pontos Mountains, so called Small Caucasus, the Zagros Mountains reaching the west of the Lake Urmia and the Eastern Mountains of the South of the Lake Van or the Armenian Tavros, a territory

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<sup>36</sup> The Clash of Civilizations? (Brief Russian-language version in USA: Economics, Politics, Ideology, 1994, N 3, p. 41.

<sup>37</sup> Huntington S., If Not Civilization, Then What?, p. 75.

<sup>38</sup> Pereslegin S., Afterword in About a Spectroscopy of Civilizations, or Russia on a Geopolitical Map of the World (Russian edition of The Clash of Civilizations), p. 579 (in Russian).

of about 400.000 km<sup>2</sup><sup>39</sup>. Afterwards: "In the maps the territory of Armenia is always noted from Virk and Aghuank to the south and passing from Arax reaches up to the west of Van, up to the Eastern Euphrates, thus, includes the territory of the Armenian Highlands. Until 1915, about three millennia, the inhabitants of the highlands, the Armenians, were centralized in this region. Armenia lost independence in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, however the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia followed it, which survived more than three centuries"<sup>40</sup>.

Thus, differentiating the medieval cartography the geographical borders of the Armenian Plateau and identifying it with the location of the "Eden Garden,"<sup>41</sup> in fact, outlines and demarcates the biological territory of "the Armenian civilization," distinctly also showing in its context other, "the contact zones" with Orthodox-Byzantium, perhaps Georgian, Iranian and Islamic civilizations.

We won't be mistaken, claiming that from the Golden Century up to Bagratid Armenia and the Cilician Armenia "Armenian civilization" reached its classical forms and manifestations. It is obvious that the Armenian civilization was developing on the basis of the "Armenian Christianity" and within its framework, when the latter "from the beginning of the fourth century gets its statehood, then in organized way becomes independent from the outer world, becomes feudalistic in the inner life, learns the forms and the rites of the organization of the Armenian pagan religion, gets nationalized in this way"<sup>42</sup>. In this way, it learnt "the organization of the Armenian pagan religion and its administrative situation and the state"<sup>43</sup>.

The fact that Armenia could not restore its full sovereignty through centuries until the Genocide, essentially slowed down the development of the Armenian civilization, nevertheless, it could suspend its progress<sup>44</sup>. It appeared to be that throughout the centuries the Armenian culture and civilization, almost independent of political ups and downs, got developed with their inner logic. What had been noticed during the Seljuk reign, evading the political administrative regime of the country (12<sup>th</sup> - 13<sup>th</sup> centuries)<sup>45</sup>, became a sustainable tendency during the further centenaries. The Armenian clerical-political and intellectual elite reigned on this work style and got used to it.

What refers to the Armenians' "political house," then in the beginning a new period of preserving independent kingdoms, the restoration of the ministers' system and the

<sup>39</sup> Galichian R., The countries south to Caucasus in the medieval maps: Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, Yerevan-London, 2007, p. 18.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.89.

<sup>41</sup> See the Bible. Old and New Testament, Holy Echmiadzin, 1994, Book of Genesis 2, 8-15.

<sup>42</sup> Gyozalian G., Historical Problems, Beirut, 1985, p. 65 (in Arm.).

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p.84.

<sup>44</sup> See about this Shant L., The Independence as a Demand of the National Existence in Levon Shant, Works, Beirut, 1948, vol. 5, pp.161-225 (in Arm.); Gyozalian G., The Big Jubilee: on the occasion of the 1500th anniversary of the Armenian translation of the Bible, Historical Problems, Beirut, 1985, p. 49-105 (in Arm.).

<sup>45</sup> See Yuzbashian K. N., The Armenian State of the Bagratunid Era and Byzantium in the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries, Moscow, 1988, pp. 233-235 (in Russian).

Armenian statehood and for providing different degrees of sovereignty in different regions of Armenia in the uninterrupted and stubborn struggle, up to the Armenian revolution and freedom fighting was developed. In that sense, the political history of Armenia everlastingly turned into the history of preservation and strengthening of the national self-sovereignty, the history of the Armenian civilization's stable and uninterrupted evolution.

### C. MONOPHYSITISM AS A STARTING POINT FOR UNDERSTANDING

It is a fact universally acknowledged that alongside Catholicism and Protestantism, the Orthodoxy is a part of Christianity. It designates local, autonomous national churches or two major families of Eastern Christendom, viz. the Oriental Orthodox Churches (Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Holy Church, Assyrian Orthodox Church, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Coptic Orthodox Church and Malabar Assyrian Orthodox Church of India) and Orthodox Chalcedonite Churches. The latter are also called Greek Orthodox since they originate from the Greek or Byzantine Church, and they have the same church traditions, rites and similar hierarchy structure. Even though today the Orthodox Churches include national traditions, languages and features, all of them, however, have the same historical origins in the Byzantine Orthodox Christianity. They emerged in the 9th-11th centuries as autocephalous, Chalcedonite churches and go by the name of Orthodox (Eastern Dyophysite) churches. (The Georgian Church was established earlier; however, in 608 it separated from the Armenian Church and started to get closer to the Byzantine Church in terms of creed.) The Oriental Dyophysite Church recognizes the authority of seven Ecumenical Councils and their doctrinal definitions, whereas the Catholic Church recognizes twenty. These two branches recognize the dual nature of Christ, i.e. Divine and Human that exist "inseparably but without merging." By clearly drawing a distinction between the Divine and the Human in Christ, the Dyophysitism thus ruled out the opportunity of deification of the Human. Hence, God remained merely as an object of worship. On the other hand, a man was put where he belonged and the framework of his competence was limited<sup>46</sup>. And in general, the Armenian Catholicos Karekin II states a historical reality when he says that if "in the western part of the East the Byzantine Church served as a **Mother Church** for the **Orthodox** churches that were spawned in it, Armenian Church was in the same position in the eastern part of the East (in the South-Eastern section of Asia Minor) and had the same special role of a central institution in the life of Eastern churches"<sup>47</sup>.

The Armenian Apostolic Church, protecting its spiritual independence, which, by the way, was founded earlier than the Byzantine Church and was the latter's opponent after the Council of Chalcedon (451). After that Council the Armenian Church has not

<sup>46</sup> For more detailed treatment see Mirzoyan H., Religious and Doctrine Struggle and the Armenian Philosophical Thought, Armenian philosophy in the system of spiritual culture. Methodological issues of the Armenian history of philosophy (Ed. by S. Arevshatyan), Yerevan, 1992, pp. 69-81 (in Arm.).

<sup>47</sup> Catholicos Karekin II. The Armenian Church "as a service institution", Antilias, 1994, p. 157 (in Arm.).

recognized the decisions made by subsequent Ecumenical Councils and accepted **Monophysitism** that regards Christ as God's indivisible nature. The Christological doctrine of the Armenian Church defends Monophysitism and places a greater stress on Christ's divine aspect; however, by saying "one nature," it does not construe that as only the Divine nature disregarding the Human one. Catholicos Hovhannes III from Odzun writes about the true faith of the Armenian, hereby, Apostolic Church, "Christ is neither merely a man, nor merely God but at the same time God and man"<sup>48</sup>. And recognizing the unity of the Divine and the Human, a Monophysite church awakens a person's self-confidence in terms of his potential and abilities and instills hope of reaching the Divine and a wish and will do so. Hence, it deifies man<sup>49</sup>. The Russian writer, translator and scholar V. Mikushevich believes that the selection of "Monophysitism" by the Armenian Church has had an impact on the unique features of the Armenian culture. Mikushevich generalizes, "Armenia not only did not seclude itself in its church isolation but, on the contrary, displayed **a true universal scope of creative aspirations** (emphasis is mine - L. Sh.), by reflecting in a unique fashion all those spiritual tendencies that were discernible from India to the Pyrenean Peninsula"<sup>50</sup>.

Let us have a close look at those statements.

Fridtjof Nansen's observations concerning Cilician Armenia, the Armenian Church (and its creed) and connections between the Armenian and the world architecture are important as significant evidence. Nansen writes, "Even though surrounded by enemies, Cilicia was able to preserve its independence in the face of increasing strength of Turks and Byzantine's encroachments for three centuries. The Cilician Armenians, too, disregard the cajolery and threats of the Greek-Byzantine and Roman Churches. Like Armenians in Greater Armenia (emphasis is by L. Sh.), they remained loyal to their Monophysite creed and preserved their Church"<sup>51</sup>. It seems that H. Gevorgian, one of the best experts in the philosophy of culture, Member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, bore in mind the issue in question, when he wrote that in early second millennium Armenia "conditioned by the preservation and strengthening of the national identity... was one of those few countries that retained the culture of the Antiquity and undertook a unique combination of the latter with Christianity" and that "having the same foundation of the combination of the culture of Antiquity and Christianity, the Armenian culture unfolded itself in a whole multitude of cultural forms that were in harmony with the European civilization ... as well as in the legal and statehood forms of the

<sup>48</sup> St. Hovhannes from Odzun, Against the Illusories, Gandzasar, Theological Journal, Yerevan, 2002, vol. 7, p. 268 (in Arm.).

<sup>49</sup> Comprehensive Notion and Information about the Armenian Church, see Ter-Mikelian A., The Christian of the Armenian Holy Church. Manual of Faith, Holy Echmiadzin, 2007, p. 592 (in Arm.); Ormanian Archbishop Maghakia, The Armenian Church, Yerevan, 1993, p. 287 (in Arm.).

<sup>50</sup> Mikushevich, V., A Healing Light ("Book of Lamentations, Grigor of Narek"), Bulletin of Yerevan State University, 1981/3, p. 62 (in Russian).

<sup>51</sup> Nansen F., The Deceived Nation: Investigative Trips of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations to Georgia and Armenia. Yerevan, 2002, p. 223, translated from German (the Armenian edition).

organization of public life (we'll recall, perhaps, here how harmoniously the Cilician Armenia entered into the universe of the European nations)"<sup>52</sup>. In the light of what has been said above, the statement that the "unique process of development of the Armenian nation has had an essential impact not only on the Byzantine<sup>53</sup> but also on the West European culture"<sup>54</sup> and that, in particular, "the Gothic style that is one of the significant achievements of the medieval world culture, had experienced certain influence at its initial stage" from the Armenian culture<sup>55</sup> becomes even more credible and convincing.

### C. CILICIA AS A WINDOW BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA

From the perspective of covering the issue of a civilizational "affiliation" of the Armenian nation, the assessment of the historical role and the clarification of the position of Cilician Armenia (1080-1375), undoubtedly, have left an essential trace on the development of the Armenian spiritual culture<sup>56</sup>. It is well known that in the Middle Ages a transit trade and economic contact (why not also spiritual communication) between the West and East on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean took place in the territory of the so-called Lesser Armenia, i.e. Cilicia<sup>57</sup>. It is noteworthy that starting from the 11th century, the Armenian Cilician State had close ties with the Crusaders and, through them, with Western Europe. The Pope Gregory III says in his official epistle *Eglesia Romana* in 1384: "When Christian princes and armies went to win back the Holy Land, no nation or people would so enthusiastically rush to help with people, food, horses and advice as Armenians. They did their best and helped Christians in that holy war with their great courage and loyalty"<sup>58</sup>.

Naturally, the Cilician Armenian State was not immune to the European influences. Starting particularly from the reign of Levon II, Cilicia strengthened its economic ties with the European countries. V. M. Kyurkchian writes: "The political organization of the State, the administrative and other positions, as well as, the gate to the royal court were modeled after Europe. The number of marriages between the Armenian and European

<sup>52</sup> See Gevorgian H., *The Adoption of Christianity in Armenia from the Perspective of the History of Philosophy, Philosophy, History, Culture*, Yerevan, 2005, p.94-95 (in Arm.). For the Wide Context of the Position of the Problem see Gevorgian H., *Armenia and Europe: The History of Armenia and the Armenian Culture under the Light of Modern Historiographical and Political Theories*, Vem, 2009, April - June, p. 26-46 (in Arm.).

<sup>53</sup> In particular, About the History and Civilization of Byzantine, Byzantine-Armenia Multilateral Connections see Dil Charles, *The Problems of the History of Byzantine* (in Arm., trans. from French), Yerevan, p.400 and Hrach M. Bartikian's Preface "Charles Dil" (pp. 5-25).

<sup>54</sup> Nansen F., *The Deceived Nation*, p. 229.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p.234.

<sup>56</sup> See in detail Mikayelian G.G., *History of the Cilician Armenian State* (trans. into Armenian from Russian), Yerevan, 2007, p. 552 and Mutaflan K., *In the Crossroads of the Cilician Emperors* (trans. into Arm. from French), Yerevan, 2001, p. 632.

<sup>57</sup> See Marco Polo. *Travels*, Leningrad, 1940, p. 17 (in Russian).

<sup>58</sup> See Morgan Jacques de, *The History of Armenia: From the Most Precise Times of Its History Till Our Days* (trans. from French), Boston, 1947, p. 304.

princely families increased and many places of learning were established by local and Roman clergymen<sup>59</sup>. It might come as a surprise to a person who is not aware of those historical facts but it is a reality that relations between Europe and Armenia, in this particular case between Europe and Cilicia, were marked by mutual influence. Famous historian René Grousset reported that “the accord (between the Crusaders and Cilicia - L. Sh.) was immediate and long-term and the relations were anchored in equality. The ties between princes were constant. In fact, the 10th century Roman East was the Franco-Armenian East”<sup>60</sup>.

Another author, Paul de Véou, addressing the issue of help given by Armenians to Crusaders in their war for Holy Sepulcher, wrote thus, “Armenia was a godmother of France (marraine) in Asia”<sup>61</sup>. It was those processes that made the Armenian scholar to conclude that the general development of Cilicia was taking place under the crisscross influences<sup>62</sup>.

It is obvious that a class of the Armenian merchants contributed to those “**crisscross influences**,” especially in the 15th-17th centuries. In fact, that class was performing the function of a connecting ring between East and West. Fernand Braudel remarked that this class took into its own hands the control over a huge flow of goods from Europe to the Ottoman Empire. The heads of those cart caravans, the so-called **caravan bashis**, were always Armenians. Fernand Braudel confirms, via a rhetorical question, “Hasn’t that cargo transportation flow brought together into a single whole the huge areas, no more, no less, than East and West?..”<sup>63</sup>.

#### **D. MECHITARISTS AS A SPIRITUAL MENTAL (EUROASIAN) BRIDGE OF ARMENIA**

It should be confirmed that the spiritual and cultural connection of the Armenian people with Europe has become even closer from the 18th century on due to the efforts of the Mechitarists, the Congregation that was founded by Manuk Mekhitar from Svaz (Sebasteia) and that is still in existence. At first Mekhitar and his followers operated in Istanbul and then in Mora. In 1715 they moved to Venice, settled down in the Saint Lazarus Island and built a magnificent monastery. In 1712 the Mechitarists accepted the patronage of the Roman Catholic Church, which, however, did not prevent them from maintaining their ties with the Armenian people. The prolific activities of the Mechitarists stimulated the renaissance of the Armenian culture, national mentality and self-recognition. At the same time, the European lyric poetry, science and culture became accessible to the Armenians due to their highly skilled translations. Their translations

<sup>59</sup> Kyurkchian, V.M., Armenian Cilicia, New York, 1919, p. 13 (in Arm.).

<sup>60</sup> See Catholicos Karekin II, “The Armenian Church” as a service institution”, p. 151.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>62</sup> See Gabrielian H., History of the Armenian philosophical thought. Yerevan, 1958, vol. 2, p. 110 (in Arm.).

<sup>63</sup> Braudel F., The Material Civilization, Economics and Capitalism in the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries (trans. into Russian from French), Moscow, 1988, vol. 2, p. 146.

from the Armenian also made a contribution to the European culture. This is a classical example of cultural adequate connections, civilizations, in this case, even a dialogue of sister civilizations.

### THE MISSION OF ARMENIA

Casting a glance to the Armenian fatal year of 301 Levon Shant, the greatest connoisseur of the political history of Armenia and the benefactor of the Armenian culture and civilization, wrote: "The year of 300 of Christ is the year of our siege, when the Armenian people will become a leading position with the besieged East: a Christian cape stuck first in the Zoroastrian, finally moreover in the Muslim sea. Until the mid of the 11th century the overflow of the Turanian tribes will cut the root of the cape from the West, and the Armenian people (Armenia - L. Sh.) will become a perfect island in that Turanian-Muslim sea. Every dramatic side of our life and luck is already right there"<sup>64</sup>. In reality, on this objective basis the uninterrupted evolution of the inclusive life of Armenia, the uninterrupted flight of culture-civilization, as well as the shocking ups and downs up to the tragic 1915, took place.

Exactly 73 years ago after the proposition of Huntington's hypothesis, on June 1, 1920 during the discussion of Armenia's care in the USA Senate the Senator elected from Arkansas Joseph Robinson declared that if the Congress refuses President Wilson's proposal, then "the Christianity" (read the Western civilization - L. Sh.) in its Eastern front will get crushing blow." On the same objective basis, however, during the centuries, Armenia built its mission. "Armenia is the vanguard of Europe in Asia," long ago that proposed resolution rightly defines the Armenian people's situation in our world, Valery Brusov wrote in the tragic 1916. The Armenian people's mission, which prompts the whole procedure of its development, has been, has sought and obtained the comparison of the East and West"<sup>65</sup>. That is, "seek and show to the world the comparison of the two eternal beginnings - the West and East, with which the whole humanity lives, and which are vividly expressed with their cooperation in the History of Armenia. To reconcile them in the high unity... is the implementation of the historical mission of the whole Armenian people"<sup>66</sup>.

V. Brusov clarifies that Armenia in the same 1916 "is called, as fate willed it, to serve a conciliator of two different cultures: the one, on which basis the whole Christian West grew, and the one that in our days is presented by the Muslim East"<sup>67</sup>. Hence, "The historical mission of the Armenian people should be recognized as the search of comparison of those two ancient conflicting beginnings... the cooperation of the East and West, Asia and Europe in Armenia (V. Brusov)"<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> Shant L., *The Independence as a Demand of the National Existence*, Yerevan, 1991, p. 190.

<sup>65</sup> *Poetry of Armenia*, edited by Valery Brusov, Yerevan, 1966, p. 27 (in Russian).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

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Thus, the historical events and even their brief analysis prove that it is not right to place the Armenian people and in particular Armenia into a category of the “Orthodox-Slavic civilization.” That conflicts both with historical facts and with the Armenian cultural and civilizational identity. That identity is, for sure, one of the branches of the Western Christian civilization, which is missing from the Huntington’s classification.

**P.S.** *Huntington himself demonstrates a historical approach in defining the Western civilization and from that perspective he assesses the territory of the Catholic Church in the process of the emergence and evolution of the Western civilization. However, those features do not become essential in his conceptual framework for defining the Western civilization proper.*

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# PHILOLOGY

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## CONTRADICTIONS AND ERRORS IN THE PREFACE AND NOTES OF NIZAMI'S WORKS COLLECTION IN FIVE VOLUMES

**Doloukhanyan Aelita**

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In 1985 and 1986 the Moscow-based publishing house «Khudozhestvennaya literatura» had published a collection of works of the great Persian poet Nizami in five volumes<sup>1</sup>. They contain the next works of Nizami - «The treasury of secrets», «Khosrow and Shirin», «Layla and Majnun», «Seven Beauties», and «Iskandername» in two volumes. On the title pages of all volumes is written «translated from Pharsi».

The preface of the edition belongs to Mirza Ibragimov, while all notes is authored by Rustam Aliyev. The preface of the first volume begins as «Nizami Gyandjevi, the glory and pride of Azerbaidjani people belongs to the giants of world literature, whose creativity is written in golden letters in the history of literary thought of mankind»<sup>2</sup>.

In order to reveal the false nature of this unproven statements, let us refer to facts concerning Nizami, in foreign and Armenian sources.

In all French encyclopaedias we read:

1. «Nizami, one of the great poets of Persia, was born in the region of Rum (1140-1202)»<sup>3</sup>.
2. «Nizami, Persian poet (Gyandje, Caucasus, modern Kirovabad, 1141-1209)»<sup>4</sup>.
3. «Nizami (1140-1200), famous Persian poet»<sup>5</sup>.

English encyclopaedias:

1. «Nizami Gyandjevi (1140/41-1202/3), Persian poet born in Gyandja. Nizami is regarded by Persians as the greatest master ...»<sup>6</sup>.
2. «Nizami, greatest romantic poet in Persian literature who had introduced spoken and realistic style into Persian epic literature ... he was inspired by the epic poets Ferdowsi and Sanai, became first great Persian dramatic poet. Nizami earns admiration in the Persian-speaking countries for his original and clear style reflected by means of his fondness towards language, and his knowledge in philosophy and science makes his works crabbed for ordinary readers»<sup>7</sup>.

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\*The article was originally published in Patmabanasirakan Handes, 2014/2, p.19-24 in Russian («Противоречия и ошибки в предисловии и примечаниях пятитомника трудов Низами»).

<sup>1</sup> Nizami Gyandjevi, Collection of works in five volumes, vol.I, II, Moscow, 1985; vol.III, IV, V, Moscow, 1986 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> Nizami Gyandjevi, Collection of works, vol. I, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Larousse universel en 2 volumes, t. 2. Paris, 1923, p. 372.

<sup>4</sup> Petit Robert - 2, Dictionnaire universel des noms propres. Paris, 1988, p. 1291.

<sup>5</sup> Dictionnaire encyclopédique Quillet, L-O. Paris, 1939, p. 3195.

<sup>6</sup> Arberry A.J., «Classical Persian Literature», 1958. See The World of Knowledge Encyclopaedia, V. XVII, London, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Auckland, 1971, p. 3965.

<sup>7</sup> See The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, V, VII. Chicago, 1974, p. 312.

In Russian encyclopaedias:

«Nizami is the best Persian romantic poet (1141-1203), was born in Rum but bears the surname Gyandevi, since most of his life he spent in Gyandja (today Elizavetpol), where he died. About him see preface to different publications and translations: Hamer, Berlin, 1813; Bacher, Leipzig, 1871; Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum («Каталог персидских рукописей Британского Музея», London, 1881, t. I, p. 563)»<sup>8</sup>.

This is the picture regarding our topic in European encyclopaedias, and also in Russian ones, before the establishment of the USSR, when the borders of Armenia were violated and Armenian territories were part of the Russian empire, particularly Kars district, Karabağ, Nachidjevan, Javachkh were given to Turkey, Azerbaidjan and Georgia.

Probably, in order to justify this falsification, the Persian poet Nizami was made Azerbaidjani, the genius thinker of other people was given to the nomads who came from northern China, who had been established in this region only in the XI century and did not created their own script and literature.

It should be mentioned that due to the same approach in the notes to the Moscow volumes of Nizami Ferdowsi became also a Tadjik poet: «Ferdowsi (936-1020), great Tadjik-Persian poet, author of epopee «Shahnameh» («Book of the Kings»)»<sup>9</sup>. In other publications we lack such definitions. In Encyclopaedia Robert - 2 we read: «Ferdowsi - Persian epic poet (940-1020)»<sup>10</sup>.

During the Soviet period numerous studies were written by Azerbaidjani and Russophone authors who state unanimously and without any proof that Nizami was the glory of nonexistent XII century Azerbaidjani literature. Partly such literature was published in Moscow<sup>11</sup>.

Y. E. Bertels dedicated a voluminous study to the life and creativity of Nizami where he stresses that he was fluent in two languages - Persian and Arabic. He never mentions about the knowledge of mother tongue by the «genius» of Azerbaidjani literature, but only adds: «It is possible that besides these two languages of the Caliphate of the XII century Nizami knows some other languages. It would be unsurprising if the resident of Gyandja know some Georgian and Armenian. At last he could ask his friends for assistance for whom these languages were native»<sup>12</sup>.

Nizami was Persian poet but he spent his whole life in Gyandja mostly populated by Armenians, especially part of the Armenian intellectuals of that same XII century were its natives.

<sup>8</sup> Brockhaus F., Efron N. A., Encyclopaedic dictionary, vol.XXI, Saint-Petersburg, 1897, p. 58 (in Russian).

<sup>9</sup> Nizami Gyandjevi, Collection of works, vol.IV, p.360.

<sup>10</sup> Petit Robert - 2, p. 644.

<sup>11</sup> See Nizami Gyandjevi, Epoch, life and creativity, "New in life, science, technics", scientific-popular series, Literature. 12.1991 (in Russian); Köroglü H. G., Nizami Gyandjevi (850 years from the birth), Moscow, 1991 (in Russian).

<sup>12</sup> Bertels Y. E., Nizami. Creative path of the poet, Moscow, 1956, p. 70.

Saint-Martin, the founder of Armenology in France, in the first volume of his fundamental study «Historical and geographical writings about Armenia» regards Gandzak as an Armenian city and says that the form Gyandja is used in colloquial speech, and that it is a big city in the province of Artsach of Armenia Major, whose name is derived from the Armenian word “gandz” - “treasure”, since the Armenian kings used to keep here their treasures<sup>13</sup>. Saint-Martin lists those who had conquered Gandzak but he never associates it with Azerbaidjan. But in the note of the Moscow edition we read: “Gyandja is the native city of Nizami, one of the ancient cities of Azerbaidjan. In the XII century Gyandja was the capital city of Azerbaidjan, and the political, economic and cultural centre of Transcaucasia, Near and Middle East. Gyandja was located five kilometres to the north-west of modern Kirovabad”<sup>14</sup>.

In 1997 in the USA was published the “Historical Atlas of the World”, which contains the map of 1140 of this region, but here such a mighty Azerbaidjani state never exists<sup>15</sup>.

Kirakos Gandzakeci, the XIII century historian, in his truthful account seldom mentions the province and the city of Gandzak. He associates a large number of representatives of Armenian literature of the late XI and first decades of the XII century with that city and never regards it as a territory of other country. He wrote that David son of Alavik, Grigor son of Tokaker, and great Hovhannes Sarkavag Imastaser were natives of Gandzak and adds: «All three are natives of Gandzak, as well as myself»<sup>16</sup>. He testifies also that Mkhitar Gosh, the well-known lawmaker, fabulist and great teacher of the XII century also was the native of Gandzak: «He comes from Gandzak, the famous and well-known by its scholarship, son of Christian parents who arranged him to study the Holy Writing, and when he became mature, ordained him a priestly rank»<sup>17</sup>.

In the XIX century and the first decades of the XX century, while Nizami was not yet made an Azeri without proof by the command of Soviet authorities, the Armenian thought honors him as a Persian poet. The great Armenian poet Hovhannes Tumanyan, who was fond of Persian poetry, speaks about him as being Persian poet: «At the time when we were speaking about Orient and Persia, we talk about Ferdowsi, Saadi, Omar Khayyam, Nizami and similar greatest figures ...»<sup>18</sup>.

One could imagine how it was difficult for Avetik Isahakyan, another genius Armenian poet, to write in 1948, during the dictatorship of Stalin, the preface to the Armenian translation of «Layla and Majnun» and use the word Azerbaidjan, well aware that Nizami is never related to Azerbaidjani literature. But Isahakyan mentions who really was Nizami. He especially stresses the next: «Nizami wrote all his works in Pharsi on the cultural, worked, high language like in medieval Europe people wrote in Latin.

<sup>13</sup> Saint-Martin J. A., *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, t. I, Paris, 1818, p. 150.

<sup>14</sup> Nizami Gyandjevi, *Collection of works*, vol.V, p.762.

<sup>15</sup> See *Historical Atlas of the World*. Skokie, 1997, p. 30.

<sup>16</sup> Kirakos Ganzhakeci, *History of Armenia* (ed. by K.M. Ohandjanyan), Yerevan, 1961, p.116 (in Arm.).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p.207.

<sup>18</sup> Tumanyan Hovh., *Complete works in ten volumes*, vol.7, Yerevan, 1995, p.141 (in Arm.).

That is why some literators regard Nizami as one of the seven greatest poets of Persia, along with Ferdowsi»<sup>19</sup>.

In the notes of the Moscow publication of Nizami's works errors of historical character are to be found. For example: «Ardashir-abakhan - founder of the Sassanid dynasty in Iran (324-241)»<sup>20</sup>. Ardashir I ruled in 224-241.

As is known, the kings of Caucasian Albania were Armenians and on their coins bear Armenian legends. But in the notes Armenian also is incorporated into Caucasian Albania: «Arran (Aran) - name of the ancient region in the western part of modern Azerbaidjan. The capital city of Arran was Barda, then Gyandja. In the medieval geography Arran and Armenia are seldom regarded as one and the same country»<sup>21</sup>.

In the notes of the five-volumed publication are referred mythological personages and ritual items of Avesta, the sacred book of Zoroastrians, heroes of the Old and New Testament of the Bible, Greek mythological and historical persons, idioms connected with Koran, the sacred book of Islam, but nowhere we encounter an Azerbaidjani mythology, since Nizami could not borrow from Azerbaidjani life - he was the bearer and spokesman of other milieu.

Nizami was one of the erudite people of his time, he knows that the Turkish tribes had made their acquaintance on the territory where he lives only in the XI century, arriving from northern China. In order to hide this fact in the notes it is written: «In the poetry of Nizami China, the country of the Turks, does not correspond to modern geographical ideas about China»<sup>22</sup>.

In the notes several geographic place-names are connected with Armenia. About the mountain Ankarak, mentioned in «Khosrow and Shirin», is written: «Ankarak is the mountain Ansharak on the territory of modern Armenia»<sup>23</sup>.

Indeed, R. Aliyev, author of the notes knows that *lavash* is an Armenian bread, but he did not find it appropriate to write about it. In the notes to «Layla and Majnun» we read: «Lavash - a thin plain bread»<sup>24</sup>.

The abovementioned proves one reality; although literary studies does not belong to exact sciences, anyway it could be regarded as a science if the facts are not falsified and conclusions are exclusively based on proved information. And the abovementioned facts prove that Nizami was a Persian poet, and ascription of the genius of one people to another is unacceptable.

***Translated from Russian  
by A.V. Kosyan***

<sup>19</sup> Isahakyan Av., Works in six volumes, vol.5, Yerevan, 1977, p.253 (in Arm.).

<sup>20</sup> Nizami Gyandjevi, Collection of works, vol.II, p.460.

<sup>21</sup> Nizami Gyandjevi, Collection of works, vol.V, p.760.

<sup>22</sup> Nizami Gyandjevi, Collection of works, vol.II, p. 467.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 460.

<sup>24</sup> Nizami Gyandjevi, Collection of works, vol.III, p. 355.

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# DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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## LETTER No. XXIII.

JOURNEY FROM DIARBEEKIR TO HARPOOT—TAURUS MOUNTAINS—  
SOURCE OF THE TIGRIS—HEROIC BAND OF MISSIONARIES AT  
HARPOOT: STORY OF THEIR PRESERVATION DURING THE  
MASSACRE AND IN THE PRESENCE OF DEATH.

HARPOOT, *July 22, 1896.*

DEAR FRIENDS,—We left Diarbekir for Harpoot early on the morning of July 13, accompanied for the first hour or so of our journey by our kind friend and host, Mr. Hallward. Towards evening we began our ascent of the Taurus mountains, and all the following day were in their midst, now climbing up, up, up; and then winding down again through some narrow pass or beside the edge of some steep precipice, while all around the wild and lonely mountain scenery every moment seemed to offer some fresh beauty or wonder to our view.

We kept very near the Tigris a good part of the way, and at one part it was extremely beautiful, rushing over a rocky bed with great volume and force. We believed we finally traced its source to a wonderful blue lake of “incredible crystal,” as Mr. Ruskin would say, which lies high up amid the mountains, lonely and without even a boat on its surface, reminding us very much of the Sea of Galilee (except that it is smaller), and our imaginations, looking forward to the good time coming when this country shall be open to civilisation, pictured it a lovely

summer resort for the dwellers on the neighbouring plains, all dotted over with white sails, and its shores with happy homes.

Our descent on the third day into the great plain on the northern side of the Taurus was very tedious and trying, especially as we accomplished it under a blazing sun—but our good horses never once made a false step—and before evening we had arrived at the Government village Mezreh, at the foot of the steep hill of 1000 feet high, on the summit of which Harpoot stands, and were met and kindly greeted by our Consul, Mr. Fontana, and also by Dr. Barnum and Mr. Ellis, two of the missionaries from Harpoot, who, after we had stayed a little while in conversation with the Consul (who lives at Mezreh), escorted us up the hill to their fortress-like town. In riding across the plain, we had come through much desolation and two ruined and burned villages, and on entering the town, we rode through the *entirely ruined* Christian quarter until we arrived at the American Mission, where four buildings only remained standing out of twelve, the rest being heaps of ruins.

The kindest welcome awaited us here as at every mission station previously visited, and we were soon at home with this heroic little band, every one of whom has faced immediate and terrible death without fear or flinching. This is no figure of speech, for their destruction was evidently intended by the authorities here, if not by those at Constantinople, and it was not by any Government protection (as with Miss Shattuck at Ourfa), but by direct Providential intervention that they were saved.

The soldiers were ranged on the hill-side below, and the cannon planted pointing at their buildings, which stood high above the Christian quarter, and the bullets fell *in showers* upon the premises, while one shell burst in Dr. Barnum's little study, and we saw the path it made and where it broke, with its own remains, which he keeps as a relic.

The officials put the blame for this disgraceful attack on those above them when not on the Armenians themselves, and justice and truth are things unknown.

And this continued reign of deceit and lies and oppression is never for a moment varied by the opposite. The poor villagers send constantly to the mission with one tale of sorrow or another. The Kurds are taking their harvest, for example; the missionaries tell this to the Vali, with name of village, date of robbery, &c., who professes to be as much interested as they in the good of the people; and then follows the *invariable* report, which sounds like an echo of the Sultan's letter to Queen Victoria last winter, "We have made all inquiries, and we find none of these complaints are true," and that is the end!

This neighbourhood has suffered more largely in pillage and destruction of property than any other in Armenia, and already about £30,000 has been spent here, and over 73,000 people kept alive, and still the needs are almost as great as ever. There is not a village rebuilt yet of the more than 150 which have been pulled down and burned.<sup>1</sup>

The tale our missionary friends here (Dr. and Mrs. and

<sup>1</sup> A waggon-load of kerosene cans was supplied by the Government to the Kurds for the purpose, &c.

Miss Barnum, Mr. Ellis, and two single ladies) told us of the time of the tragedy here, was most thrilling. They were all together, with over 100 of their people, afterwards 400 gathered round them, and driven by the fire and the whistling of bullets from one place to another. They had also with them two aged and paralysed missionaries, who had to be carried—a Mr. Wheeler and Mrs. Allen—and they all found a temporary shelter on the top of the roof of the girls' school-room, since burned, which having a little parapet around, was some protection from the observation of the soldiers on the opposite hill. Here they expected and prepared to die together, but after a while, finding the entrance to the boys' school-room, which was on higher ground, accessible, they planned a united retreat thither. In doing so they were deliberately fired at by a Turk, who had found his way to the roof on which they were, as well as became again the targets for a brief space of the soldiers' bullets. The Turk *aimed too high*, else one or more *must have been killed*, his bullet was found in the gateway they passed through afterwards; and as for the rest, the Lord had evidently given His angels charge concerning His servants to protect them in all their ways, and these bullets also did not touch them.

I asked our friends what their feelings were under these terrible circumstances, and I will give you some of their replies as nearly verbatim as possible. One said: "I had always feared death till then, but at that moment all fear was taken from me and death seemed nothing." Another said: "I believe my husband was almost disappointed we did not go, it would have been so lovely to have been taken

out of all the confusion and trouble here, by a brief pang, and all together." She also told me she had unloosed her dress in front that a sword should meet with no hindrance in its thrust, and so she should go the quicker. A third said: "My thought was a query whether a bullet going through me, would have force to wound Mr. Wheeler or not" (the helpless friend whom he was assisting to carry); and Dr. Barnum said: "I assure Mrs. H. there was not a woman screamed on our whole ground, and our ladies were as calm and collected as they are now."

The evident Divine protection over these servants of the Lord extended to the scholars also. When the buildings were fired, sixty of the young girls made their escape to neighbouring houses, each of her own choice taking from her small stock of possessions neither jewellery nor clothes, but just her little Bible under her arm. All of these girls returned safely two days after, when the immediate danger was over, and then indeed there was excitement and many tears, and Mrs. Barnum said she was so hugged by the women and girls in their joy, it was hard for her to keep on her feet!

When one contrasts this safety with the dreadful occurrences outside the mission circle, it is the more remarkable. Only a very short distance from Harpoot, for example, thirty-two women, headed by a noble and very intelligent woman well known to the missionaries, had thrown themselves into the Euphrates and were drowned, to escape apparently otherwise unavoidable dishonour, and more than one father played the part of Virginius of old and killed his daughter outright.

The missionaries lost everything they had in the looting

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that followed the massacre and fire, but have since bought back a good deal, so that they are living quite comfortably now; but the Government holds out no hope of any indemnity for rebuilding at present, and objects even to small walls being put up, for immediate convenience.<sup>1</sup>

As the post is now going out I must conclude, and remain for us both, yours always affectionately,

HELEN B. H.

<sup>1</sup> A tiny statistical return will assist the imagination to grasp the extent of the desolation in the districts of Harpoot and Palu:—

*Statistics for Palu and its Forty-three Villages.*

Armenian houses . . .	2,074	Kidnapped girls . . .	43
Number of Armenians . .	14,878	„ women . . .	152
Houses plundered . . .	2,059	Girls married to Turks .	29
„ burned . . .	755	Women „ „ . . .	21
„ destroyed afterwards .	259	Girls returned . . .	16
Killed . . .	900	Women „ . . .	92
Wounded . . .	513	Churches destroyed . .	44
Families converted . . .	474	Monasteries „ . . .	2
Individuals „ . . .	3,181	Schools „ . . .	37
„ circumcised . . .	603	Ecclesiastics killed . .	16

This list does not include those who died from fear and exposure. The kidnapping represents but a small part of the violence done to women.

*Statistics gathered at Gregorian Episcopate for Harpoot and its Seventy-three Villages.*

Needy persons . . .	26,990	Forced conversion of men	
Houses plundered . . .	6,029	and women . . .	7,664
„ burned . . .	1,861	Wounded . . .	1,315
Churches badly injured and		Miscarriages . . .	829
defiled . . .	29	Killed in fields and highways	280
Churches burned . . .	15	Persons burned . . .	56
Protestant chapels destroyed	5	Died of hunger and cold .	1,014
„ „ badly		Suicides . . .	23
damaged . . .	18	Martyrs { Bishops . . .	1
Monasteries burned . . .	2	„ { Priests . . .	11
„ damaged . . .	4	Protestant ministers . .	3
Forced marriages to Turks	166	Teachers . . .	7
Rape . . .	2,300	Men, women, and children	1,903
Forced conversion of priests	12	Total deaths . . .	4,127
Loss of property . . .		1,651,956 liras Turkish.	

This does not include Malatia, Arabkir, Egin, Charsanjak, Gighi, Palu, Choonkoosh, and Diarbekir districts.

These statistics have been carefully prepared.

## LETTER No. XXIV.

HOW TO HELP THE DESOLATED VILLAGES?—CONDITION AROUND HARPOOT—DESPAIR OF THE VILLAGERS—PETITION FROM HOO-I-LOO FOR REBUILDING OF PROTESTANT CHURCH—VISIT TO THE VILLAGE IN RUINS—MEAL IN AN ORCHARD—ASSESSING THE TAXES OF THE DEAD UPON THE SURVIVORS—PLANS FOR FUTURE WORK—VAN, MALATIA, ETC.

HARPOOT, *July 25, 1896.*

DEAR FRIENDS,—One of the most difficult problems in connection with the relief of Armenian distress is that of the villages, and it is difficult in two ways. The first is that these villages are so numerous that to deal with them is much the same as trying to deal with single shops, houses, or persons in a city where there has been murder and pillage. One does not know where to begin, and even if one had a millionaire on the Relief Committee, one would hardly know where to stop. But the second reason which makes it hard to help is that a village *is* a village. It has no walls, nor gates; little or no active government (though that is not always a hardship, when, as in this country, the dogs persistently fraternise with the wolves): and consequently when an attack has once been made upon the Christians either by their neighbours or by outside tribes, the chances are that it will be repeated as often as there is anything worth plundering in the village. In the city, people can combine their strength

(even when disarmed by the Government as the first step in a massacre); they can hide a good deal of their property or carry it from place to place; but what can a poor villager do, who owns a very obvious yoke of oxen, and an almost as obvious store of grain? I know of several towns that have been able successfully to resist massacre, but I cannot at present recall a successful defence of a village.

And it is the sense of their helplessness in these villages that makes their and our hopelessness, whenever we give way to despair with them. Here at Harpoot, one looks to the south, from the cliffs where we are perched, across a great upland plain bounded on the south by the Taurus mountains, which we crossed on coming from Diarbekir. This plain is well watered by mountain streams and dotted all over with villages, mostly Christian villages, and almost all of them have been burned and destroyed. For days before the massacre and plunder at Harpoot, the missionaries watched the flames rising from one village after another, as the Kurds and Turks drew nearer and nearer to this doomed city. And what is true of this plain is true of every plain and hillside in this part of the country. It is the same to the north of Harpoot, across the Euphrates, where they have not only carried off the spoil of the people, in oxen, grain, implements, and other properties, but have come back again to plunder them of the oxen purchased for them by some of the relief workers (happily the Government has secured restitution of this last bit of plunder), and are even now threatening them with a renewal of the attacks of last

autumn. Is it any wonder that the people feared to till their fields, or that they fear to gather in their harvest, or that they huddle together like sheep, in villages that have not been burned, or where the desolation is less complete? It is a problem to aid them, a more difficult one to secure them from further danger: both parts of the question appear at first sight equally hopeless.

Some days ago we had an interesting visit from some villagers at the south side of the plain, coming from what was once the richest Christian village in the neighbourhood. The men came to the mission (two of them, if I remember, were the deputation) to ask for advice and help. They had been visited, I believe, some time since by one of the Red Cross agents, who had urged them to begin to rebuild their ruined houses, and had offered to start them by giving £5 a piece to the first ten or twenty houses—an excellent plan, and one that went right to the heart of the difficulty. The people, however, had refused the help, not because they were averse to help, but because they were in despair. What was the use of building what would be pulled down again, or of storing what would be plundered again? So the offer was declined, strange as it may seem. It will help you to understand the discouragement of the people.

Their recent visit was on a slightly different errand. There is (or was) in the village a fine Protestant church, which was built four years ago, and is now wholly destroyed, only the bare walls standing. Since the troubles, they have been holding their service in the Gregorian Armenian church, at the close of the Armenian service;

but without much sympathy from their hosts, who have now told them that they cannot any longer entertain them. So the deputation came to Harpoot to know if something could not be done to put their church in order; they did not want their houses built, but they wanted, so they said, a place to pray in, and they begged for help in rebuilding their house of worship. Dr. Barnum told them that there were no funds available for any such purpose, and sent them away, only promising that we would think over their case. I need hardly say that I was very interested in the people who put God first in this way; and while I do not believe in exterior sanctities, I felt the sanctity of spirits that had become prayerful by misfortune, and wished to know more about them. And so it came about that we planned an expedition to them, and yesterday five of us rode across the plain to examine into things for ourselves.

Hoo-i-loo is the name of the place, as nearly as I can write it from sound (for you will not find it marked on any map), and it lies between three and four hours from here (all distances, as you know, are measured by hours with us, like the German *Stunde*, and an hour stands for the distance covered by a laden horse in an hour of time, say between three and four miles English). Our party consisted of Mr. Gates, Miss Bush, Miss Emma Barnum, our two selves, our servant, and a *zaptich*. There was a cool breeze blowing, and we had a delightful ride across the plain, passing on the way a little Armenian church into which were built two Latin inscriptions, dedicated by Nero to some officers of the third legion. It seemed

appropriate to find the name of Nero here! It ought to be inscribed over the whole country-side, and on a thousand broken walls and ruined homes.

When we came to the village, we found that it consisted of about three hundred houses, and that not more than six were standing. All the rest was brown, bare, broken wall of mud-brick, without a roof, and with hardly a door or a window-shutter left. The people began to come around us and welcome us; one of the first women that drew near had lost her hand; there was no more than a stump left by the sword of the destroyer.

We went to the ruins of the church; the roof, as I said, was gone, and every piece of timber in the walls was burnt out by fire. The débris had raised the floor by perhaps a foot. The people crowded round with eyes full of tears, the women telling of slain sons and other pitiful things; the pastor, too, came to talk to us—a fine young fellow, in whom we were much interested. We made the tour of the village, found a little Catholic church similarly destroyed; then I took a lesson in archæology, for I noticed the streets deep in dust from the disintegrating brick, and saw how these mounds or tells were formed that we have seen so many times on our journey. Moreover, it was clear that desolations of this kind had occurred from the earliest times in this country, for how else could we explain the frequency with which such tells or mounds are found? If the people at Hoo-i-loo do not rebuild, there will be a tell formed there within a couple of years.

One single thing I found which had escaped destruction. High on the wall of a ruined house, in the second storey,

a photograph was nailed. We sent for a pole and got it down. It was a group of Armenian workmen from a factory at Worcester, Mass., and had doubtless been sent home by some happy emigrant to his relations.

When we had finished our tour of the village, we were taken to an orchard, where they had prepared us a meal. "The robbers have not stolen our gardens," said the poor people. "No," I replied, "nor did they steal the sunshine," at which they brightened up. They set before us great dishes of apricots, apples, plums, and mulberries and cherries prettily arranged with hollyhock blossoms, and brought us milk, both fresh and curdled; and did everything in the way of hospitality that an Eastern people can do so much better than we. And we talked over all their plans, and encouraged them to believe for better days.

I must not forget to state that our study of the village showed that the houses were fired one by one; those that were spared belonged to Turks. They were fired by petroleum, the supply of which was brought in a waggon from Harpoot, by an official of the Government. The man who did it is well known; and I suppose he will be rewarded by-and-by with promotion, if one may judge from parallel cases.

And now what are we going to do for these poor people? We are encouraging them again to rebuild their houses, and shall try to help the foremost of them; and as to the church, who knows but what we may find some way presently to fulfil the desire of their hearts and give them and their pastor a "place to pray in?"

I must not close this letter without saying how delighted

we were to hear that Friends had sent us £1000 for our work here. Some of it may go to the village of Hoo-i-loo. We shall try to be very wise, very wary, and very economical in the distribution of it, so that all of it may go to the neediest people, and none of it may be turned into taxes. By the way, in regard to taxes, we have bad news from Ourfa; the Government is assessing the taxes of the dead upon the survivors! If this is true, it is one of the most heartless schemes that could be devised, and will throw the people back again just as they are rising. And I am almost certain, from the character and position of my informant, that it *is* true.—Your sincere friend,

J. R. H.

*Extracts from Private Letters.*

If all goes well, I hope to see thee and the rest of our friends in about six weeks' time. Meanwhile letters will still find me if addressed to the Bible House at Constantinople.

J. R. H.

Partly on account of Mr. Atkin's earnest request to us to continue our reports from this country, and partly because I am glad to remain in the country a while longer, I am letting R. return alone. But I shall continue to write you as before, because there is always so much to tell, and now that R. is going there is (perhaps) less need of reticence in using any information I may give, because the Turks despise women so much I don't think they will trouble themselves very much about my doings or say-

#### THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES OF 1915.

Only a third of the two million Armenians in Turkey have survived, and that at the price of apostatising to Islam or else of leaving all they had and fleeing across the frontier. The refugees saw their women and children die by the roadside, and apostacy too, for a woman, involved the living death of marriage to a Turk and inclusion in his harem. The other two-thirds were “deported”—that is, they were marched away

from their homes in gangs, with no food or clothing for the journey, in fierce heat and bitter cold, hundreds of miles over rough mountain roads. They were plundered and tormented by their guards, and by subsidised bands of brigands, who descended on them in the wilderness, and with whom their guards fraternised. Parched with thirst, they were kept away from the water with bayonets. They died of hunger and exposure and exhaustion, and in lonely places the guards and robbers fell upon them and murdered them in batches—some at the first halting place after the start, others after they had endured weeks of this agonising journey. About half the deportees—and there was at least 1,200,000 of them in all—perished thus on their journey, and the other half have been dying lingering deaths ever since at their journey's end; for they have been deported to the most inhospitable regions in the Ottoman Empire: the malarial marshes in the Province of Konia; the banks of the Euphrates where, between Syria and Mesopotamia, it runs through a stony desert; the sultry and utterly desolate track of the Hedjaz Railway. The exiles who are still alive have suffered worse than those who perished by violence at the beginning.

The same campaign of extermination has been waged against the Nestorian Christians on the Persian frontier, and against the Arabs of Syria, Christians and Moslems without discrimination.

In Syria there is a reign of terror. The Arab leaders have been imprisoned, executed, or deported already, and the mass of the people lie paralysed, expecting the Armenians' fate, and dreading every moment to hear the decree of extermination go forth.

This wholesale destruction, which has already overtaken two of the subject peoples in Turkey, and threatens all that 60 per cent. of the population which is not Turkish in language, is the direct work of the Turkish government. The "Deportation Scheme" was drawn up by the central government at Constantinople and telegraphed simultaneously to all the local authorities in the Empire; it was executed by the officials, the Gendarmerie, the Army, and the bands of brigands and criminals organised in the government's service. No State could be more completely responsible for any act within its borders than the Ottoman State is responsible for the appalling crimes it has committed against its subject peoples during the War.

## THE WAR OF TURKEY AGAINST ARMENIA: ANALYZING THE TURKISH DOCUMENTS (NOVEMBER 1920)

**Safrastyan Ruben**  
*Member of NAS RA*

The November of 1920 was fateful for the Republic of Armenia. The Turkish army captured Kars on 30 October, predetermining the military defeat of the Armenian side in the Armenian-Turkish war. The gravity of the struggle was transferred into the diplomatic sphere. A treaty was signed with Turkey on December 2 in Alexandrapol after intensive and multilateral negotiations of about one month, which ratified the results of both the military and diplomatic defeat of Armenia.

The native historical science, dragging new archival and other documentary materials of a considerable quantity, laid a serious basis for comprehensive and impartial study of this tragic page of our modern history<sup>1</sup>.

Nevertheless, the Turkish documents remain for the most part still unreachable to us. The present publication is the first step on the way to filling this gap.

A number of important documents dated with November 1920 are presented in translation, annotated in detail and analyzed as well. These are fragments of encrypted writing between the heads of the Turkish state and military highest organs, the Head of General Staff of the Armed Forces and then the commander of the Western front Ismet (Inönü), acting Foreign Minister Ahmed Muhtar (Mollahoğlu) and the commander of the Eastern front, Kâzım Karabekir, as well as documents, reflecting the guiding role of Mustafa Kemal, the Speaker of the Turkish National Grand Assembly (TBMM). The secret letters of the two conflicting heads of the Turkish Communist Party (TCP) operating in Baku, addressed to Kemal and Karabekir are involved as well. In fact, the authors of the said letters were acting as agents of nationalistic forces.

The documents were mainly secret or strictly confidential; some of them are cryptograms. This fact gives them an exceptional importance, since it provides an opportunity to be introduced with the real purposes of the policy of the new, Republican Turkey, being at that time formed upon the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, “founding fathers” toward Armenia as well as their approaches, reviews, working style and tricks in regard to Armenia.

This is the case when they did not need to keep hiding behind the circulating diplomatic statements, the great masters of which were the Turkish rulers of all times, having formulated their thoughts with full clarity.

In particular, the documents prove undeniably that the supreme goal of Turkey at the last stage of the war was the destruction of Armenia as a substantive factor. Thus,

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<sup>1</sup> Sargsyan Y., *Conspirative deal. Armenia, Russia, Turkey*, Yerevan, 1995 (in Arm.); Zohrabyan E. A., *The 1920 Turkish-Armenian war and Great powers*, Yerevan, 1997 (in Arm.); Galoyan G., *Armenia and the Great powers. 1917-1923*, Yerevan, 1999 (in Arm.); Khurshudyan L., *The disintegration of Armenia in 1920*, Yerevan, 2002 (in Arm.).

according to the precise formulation in the cryptogram sent to the acting minister of Foreign Affairs of the TBMM's government on November 8, "it is an absolute necessity to liquidate Armenia politically and materially"<sup>2</sup>.

Unfortunately, the Armenian political society was unable to discover this purpose timely, which was a considerable factor for a defeat Armenia suffered on the diplomatic front. The head of the delegation, composed for conducting peace negotiations with Turkey, and Alexander Khatisyan, the former prime-minister and minister of foreign affairs was subsequently confessing in his memoirs, "...Our delegation was thinking that the Turks were wishing for a viable Armenia as the Turkish state figures were continuously declaring that"<sup>3</sup>.

The documents reveal that the actual conceptions of the Kemalists about the national interests of Turkey were diametrically different. To find out their real intentions one needs to pay a significant attention to the speech of Mustafa Kemal delivered in the closed session of the TBMM on November 18, 1920, where he noted that the military actions against Armenia were aimed at establishing a land communication with Azerbaijan, having based upon the conclusions of the Army Headquarters<sup>4</sup>. Hence, the "official" interpretation of the causes of the war against Armenia, notified for the whole world in the famous "speech" of the same Atatürk later, in 1927, is disproved, "The harmful actions taken by the Armenians in the Autumn of 1920 became intolerable. We made a decision to go against Armenia"<sup>5</sup>.

The well-informed Turkish authors are writing that the initiator of the military actions against Armenia was Mustafa Kemal himself. He had come to the conclusion still in 1920 that the "Caucasian Wall", that is Armenia, should be destroyed from behind<sup>6</sup>. The undisguised pan-Türkist intentions of the Kemalists are proved by the abovementioned fact as well<sup>7</sup>.

It is obvious that the cryptographs that were being sent from Ankara with the signature of acting foreign minister Mukhtar bey were speaking up for the approaches and assessments of Mustafa Kemal.

The Turkish documents prove that the Turkish ringleaders while initiating the war had a more "modest" intention, not to destroy Armenia, but its armed forces only. This is proved by the order of the Chief of the General Staff, Isnet bey, about launching an

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<sup>2</sup> Hariciye Vekili Ahmet Muhtar, Şark Cephesi Kumandanlığına, Ankara, 8/11/1336. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz. İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 901.

<sup>3</sup> Khatisyan A., The rise and development of the Republic of Armenia, Athens, 1930, p. 263 (in Arm.).

<sup>4</sup> See [Atatürk], Erzurum Mebusu İsmail Beyle Rüfekasinin, Ermenistan Sulh Şeraiti Hakkında İstizah Takriri ve Hariciye Vekâleti Vekili Muhtar Beyin Cevabi Münasebetiyle Sözleri. - [Atatürk] Atatürk'ün T.B.M.M. Açık ve Gizli Oturumlarındaki Konuşmaları. Yayına Hazırlayan: Kâzım Öztürk. Ankara, 1990, s. 322.

<sup>5</sup> Kemal Atatürk, Nutuk. Cilt: II, 1920-1927, İstanbul, 1961, s. 486.

<sup>6</sup> See the following work one of the pillars of the Kemalist official historiography wrote - Tevfik Biyiklioğlu, Atatürk Anadolu'da (1919 - 1921), Ankara, 1959, s. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Hariciye Vekili Ahmet Muhtar, Şark Cephesi Kumandanlığına, Ankara, 8/11/1336. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz, İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 901.

attack against Armenia. Turning to the command of the Eastern front, he writes, "Our ultimate goal is the annihilation of the Armenian armed forces"<sup>8</sup>. One has noted in the order that the relevant decision of the TBMM was a ground for this document, which was also approved by the government<sup>9</sup>. But later on, defeating the Armenian army in a few battles and seeing that Armenia is isolated and abandoned by its allies, the leadership of Turkey began to make changes in its plans. This process, which can be considered as one of the key events of the Turkish-Armenian war, was lasted a few days and caused quarrels in the ruling circles of the Kemalists. The Turkish sources provide a chance to clarify some details of the said process.

The memoirs of Karabekir make it evident that he informed by telegram the Military minister of the Kemalists, Fevzi pasha (Chakmak), in the next day of capturing Kars, October 31, about the details of his victory, stating specifically that the amount of trophies is so large that may be enough to fight for ten years<sup>10</sup>. It is noteworthy that after two days the said telegram of Karabekir was received, in November 2, the government of TBMM turned to the government of Armenia, offering to immediately start negotiations for the purpose of making peace<sup>11</sup>.

This document is written in a quite soft style and does not contain provisions of ultimate character; basically, it is an offer to start peace negotiations. Approaching to Armenia with such a cautious offer from the Kemalists about peace negotiations proves that they still had serious fears at that moment concerning the capture of Kars, which could result in heavy diplomatic complications; hence, they were trying to mitigate their incroachments on the territory of Armenia.

As Ismet proclaims in his memoirs, the political circles of Ankara had not a definite approach when considering the rapid advancement of Karabekir in Armenia. To the opinion of some actors in Ankara the said triumph of Karabekir could have been harmful when discussing the total and final victory<sup>12</sup>. On those same days, some of the deputies of the TBMM acted even with questioning and requested explanations about the enlargement of the war against Armenia without the permission of the TBMM<sup>13</sup>. All it shows the existence of disagreements among the ruling circles of the Kemalists regarding the subsequent actions towards Armenia.

Nevertheless, Karabekir was aloof from such fluctuations. He was sure that the advancement into Armenian territory, to Alexandrapol, should be continued and only after that the peace negotiations should be started. Therefore, he decided to act independently, ignoring the position of the government. Leaving in Kars only an armed detachment, composed of one thousand volunteers, who had come from Samsun on

<sup>8</sup> This remarkable document is published without curtailment by Ismet in his memoirs. See İsmet İnönü, *Hatıralar: 1. Kitap*, Ankara, 1985, s. 222.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 898.

<sup>11</sup> See the text Khatysyan A., *The rise and development*, p. 245-246.

<sup>12</sup> İsmet İnönü, *Hatıralar: 1. Kitap*. Yayına Hazırlayan, 1985, s. 222.

<sup>13</sup> *Siyasi Kirgincilikler: 15 Gün Gizli Tutulan Görev*. - Tercüman, 04. 05. 1993.

the eve and hurried to join the regular army for the purpose of lootage, Karabekir started moving forward on the direction of Alexandropol on November 3, having under his command combatable military units for capturing this important city as well<sup>14</sup>.

At the same time, being still not confident that he would be able to continue defeating the military units of the retreating Armenian army, addresses a message to the commandment of the 11<sup>th</sup> Soviet Army<sup>15</sup>. This letter is a document of political character at first, where a coarse misrepresentation of reality has been made.

Trying to convince the Russians that Armenia is an aggressor state and that the war of the Kemalists against it is merely an act of self-defense, Karabekir insists that Armenians "have captured Erzurum" as a result of the "total attack", started in September 24, which did not correspond to reality<sup>16</sup>. Nevertheless, the essential purpose of the message was much more specific; a suggestion was being made for the "Soviet Russia, an ally" to give assistance to Turkey and put an end to the "dominance of dashnaks [members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation]" through the way of taking "decisive measures"<sup>17</sup>. In fact, this was an offer to the Russians to open immediately a new front against Armenia. There is no record about the answer of the Russian side.

Karabekir was not wrong; the Armenian troops had not still lost their fighting efficiency. The very next day the Armenian army showed fierce resistance to the enemy in the battle near Kyzylchakhchakh and caused serious losses to the Turks. The Armenian troops left their positions in an organized manner in the evening only and retreated<sup>18</sup>.

The advancement of Karabekir was not coordinated with Ankara beforehand; as Karabekir himself points out in his memoirs, "I informed (emphasis is ours - R. S.) the Command of the General Staff"<sup>19</sup>. Probably, he was not sure that the government would permit his further offensive actions at that time.

The reason of the cautious position of Ankara's government was the external factor. In fact, the leaders of the Kemalists were considering the positions of three

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<sup>14</sup> Kâzim Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 899.

<sup>15</sup> See the text: The telegram of the chief of the 11<sup>th</sup> Red army staff Pugachev to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Russian Soviet Federative Republic with the Turkish version of events in Armenia, provided by the Kemalists command of Eastern front. – in *The Genocide of Armenians. The responsibility of Turkey and obligations of the world community. Documents and commentaries*, vol.2, part 1 (compiler, editor, author of the Preface and Commentaries by Yu.A.Barseghov), Moscow, 2003, p.218-219 (in Russian). This document was published in Armenian partly by E. Zohrabyan; see Zohrabyan E. A., *The 1920 Turkish-Armenian war and Great powers*, Yerevan, 1997, p. 287 (in Arm.).

<sup>16</sup> See in the text of Karabekir's message The telegram of the chief of the 11<sup>th</sup> Red army staff Pugachev to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Russian Soviet Federative Republic with the Turkish version of events in Armenia, provided by the Kemalists command of Eastern front, p. 218.

<sup>17</sup> Citation is made according to Zohrabyan E. A., *The 1920 Turkish-Armenian war and Great powers*, p. 287 (in Arm.).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p. 273-274.

<sup>19</sup> Kâzim Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, İstanbul, 1959 - 1960, s. 899.

countries, Great Britain, Soviet Russia and Georgia. The most important of them were, certainly, the two, Great Britain and Soviet Russia.

But the position of Georgia was not still roundly clear as well. There was a fear in the governmental circles that the Georgians, taking advantage of the situation, could capture Kars, being in fact defenseless. In addition, as Karabekir points out in his memoirs, he had received the message of ultimate character from the commander of the Georgian army, located in Ardahan, in November 3, where it was underlined that if the Turks were to go out of Kars and to pass the line the Georgians had drawn, then the latters would have attacked them<sup>20</sup>.

Taking into consideration the abovementioned circumstances, the General Staff, having received the report of Karabekir pasha about the preparations for capturing Alexandrapol, ordered, "This operation is dangerous. The attacks of the Georgians on Kars cannot be excluded. That is why it is needed to go back to Kars without delay"<sup>21</sup>. Karabekir expresses disagreement with this order of the General Staff, does not obey the command and continues to move forward on the direction of Alexandrapol. His response was the following, "I do not think it right to leave the enemy, being pursued and already defeated and to retreat to Kars in order to prevent the operations of a new possible enemy. If the Georgians are going to take such an operation, then, after having hit Armenians once more, I shall return to Georgians and defeat them, too, striking them from the rear. I continue the advancement"<sup>22</sup>.

The change of the abovementioned cryptographs between Ankara and Karabekir took place on November 5. Subsequently, the Turkish troops occupied positions on the hills west of Alexandrapol in the evening of that same day, disobeying the command of the General Staff, and, thus, created a direct threat to the city. Karabekir received the suggestion of Armenian government about signing a ceasefire still in the morning of November 3. He transferred it to his leadership and presented immediately a number of demands of ultimate character to the Armenian side without waiting appropriate instructions from his governors.

The next day, on November 7, the Armenian side surrendered Alexandrapol to the Turks, accepting the demands of ultimatum<sup>23</sup>. Thus, the self-guided operations of Karabekir were crowned with unprecedented success; the war was over.

In fact, the said success of Karabekir accelerated the process of modifying the ultimate goals of Turkey during the war of both Turkish government and General Staff with Armenia. It was expressed in concentrated form in the texts of two ultimatums about the ceasefire, addressed to the Armenian side<sup>24</sup>. The first one, dated with November 6, includes lesser requirements than the second, which was presented just

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> See the texts of the ultimatums; Simon Vratsyan, Republic of Armenia, Yerevan, 1993, p. 511-513 (in Arm.).

after two days, on November 8. The first ultimatum was the result of Karabekir's "spontaneous activity", having as a basis, in all likelihood, the already mentioned note of a relatively lesser demands of Ankara's government on November 2. The second one was written after revaluations of the created situation by the ringleaders of Kemalist movement. The strictly confidential cryptogram of the acting Foreign Minister of the TMBB's government, Ahmet Muhtar, dated on November 8 and addressed to Karabekir, had served as a basis for the mentioned document<sup>25</sup>. The approaches, being definitively formulated as a result of these revaluations, are presented in details here and the motivations of the said approaches are interpreted as well.

It is instructive to compare this coded document with the other official writing, signed in the same day and by the same leading figure; it is about the letter, addressed to the Foreign Ministry of Armenia and containing the general conditions of peace Turkey had proposed. In other words, we are dealing with the document of diplomatic character, which was provided for "external use"<sup>26</sup>. Thus, for example, if the first one was making accents on the annihilation of Armenia as an independent factor, the second one was about Turkey doing its best both to help Armenia with foodstuff and to assist in developing its economy.

It was pointed out in the letter addressed to the government of Armenia that "the determination of the Turkish-Armenian border should be a matter of simple statistics and referendum"<sup>27</sup>, and the cryptogram was an explanation for pasha, having been far from diplomatic tricks, that the objective of the proposal "stems from the aspiration of preventing the determination of border"...

Based on the new instructions from Ankara, Karabekir, too, presented the second ultimatum, containing extremely hard conditions.

The victory in the war against Armenia was also a result of well-thought-out and flexible diplomacy of the Kemalists. Usually, it is common for us to judge about the Turkish diplomacy, relying upon the results it has obtained. The present publication provides an opportunity to get introduced with the approaches and judgements, which gave birth to the Turks' actions in the diplomatic arena. In that sense, the document, put in the Appendix and signed by Muhtar, likewise, presents an interest, which deals with the explanations of a number of important clauses and manners of diplomatic tactics, elaborated by the government of Ankara and applied in regard to bolshevik Russia within the circles of Armenia-related questions<sup>28</sup>. In particular, Karabekir was required to be "yielding" during the discussions with the Russians, bearing in mind that the Soviet Russia was the only ally of Turkey. At the same time, Muhtar bey was explaining to him how the Bolsheviks' fear of Englishmen should be exploited, persuading them that in

<sup>25</sup> Hariciye Vekili Ahmet Muhtar, Şark Cephesi Kumandanlığına, Ankara, 8/11/1336. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz. İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 901.

<sup>26</sup> See the text Sulh Şartlarımız, Ankara, 8/11/1920. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz, İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 900.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Hariciye Vekili Ahmet Muhtar, Şark Cephesi Kumandanı Kâzım Karabekir Paşa Hazretlerine, Ankara, 20 - 21/11/1336. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz, İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 905-906.

case of Van and Bitlis to be passed under the control of Armenians, "this will greatly strengthen the British positions in the East"<sup>29</sup>.

No matter how strange it may seem, but these primitive geopolitical arguments were reaching their goals...

The document no. 7 of the Appendix of the present article, containing the order of Kemal, deserves attention, the essential meaning of which is possible to comprehend only in case of being introduced with its prehistory<sup>30</sup>.

Since the Summer of 1920 and, especially, after the successes of the Kemalists in the initial stage of the Armenian-Turkish war, some common interests were emerged between Ankara and London<sup>31</sup> and a diplomacy of secret relations was pushed forward<sup>32</sup>, and before that, the close relations of Ankara with Moscow began to get frozen to some extent and were of an irregular nature.

The Turkish sources state that the Kemalists were able to correctly evaluate this newly-emerging situation and use it wisely. Based on the fact that a new government, consisting mainly of Mustafa Kemal's supporters, had come to power in Constantinople by the British approval on October 21, which had expressed a wish to send a delegation to Ankara and to conduct negotiations with the government of the nationalists, they shaped an opinion among the Russians that this government, performing the British assignment, had to seek the ways of "drawing the movement of Anatolia towards the British side, isolating it from both the Bolshevik and Islamic worlds"<sup>33</sup>.

The mentioned move of the Kemalists reached its goal; the Bolsheviks started to go into relations with their ally more "tactfully" and showed greater willingness to meet halfway<sup>34</sup>.

At the same time, the government of the TBMM spared every effort to touch some terms of an agreement with the British through secret contacts and playing the fact of its allied relations with the Bolshevik Russia<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., s. 906.

<sup>30</sup> Mustafa Kemal, Doğu Cephesi Komutanlığı'na, Ankara, 30 Kasım 1920. - Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları, C. II, Ankara, 1995, s. 210-211.

<sup>31</sup> See about that in details in the following monograph: Agapi Nasipyan, Britain and Armenian Question 1915-1923, Beirut, 1994.

<sup>32</sup> Salahi R. Sonyel, Kurtuluş Savaşı Günlerinde Batı Siyasamız (Nisan 1920 - Mart 1921), Belleten, Ocak 1981, Cilt: XLV/1, Sa. 177, s. 359-360.

<sup>33</sup> According to the Turkish researcher E. Tellas, the letter of the acting Foreign Minister of TBMM, Ahmet Muhtar, dated on October 22 and addressed to G. Tchicherin, the Foreign Commissar of Russia, was pursuing the said goal. See Erel Tellal, Sovyetlerle ilişkiler. - Türk dış politikası: Kurtuluş savaşı bugüne olgular, belgeler, yorumlar (Cilt I: 1919 - 1980), İstanbul, 2002, s.170. Here the position of Ahmet Muhtar is wrongly mentioned as a "People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs".

<sup>34</sup> The telegram of I. Stalin to V. Lenin is typical in this sense, where he advises to delay the signing of the agreement with Armenia, since it could alienate the Kemalists and motivate them to come to an agreement with the British. See Telegram from I. Stalin to V. Lenin, Baku, November 5, 1920. - The Armenian Genocide. Responsibility of Turkey and obligations of world community. Documents and commentaries, p. 216.

<sup>35</sup> İlhan Uzgöl, Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, İngiltere ile ilişkiler. - Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşı Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar (Cilt I: 1919-1980), İstanbul, 2002, s. 141-142.

Based on the British archival documents, the Turkish researcher Salahi Sonyel writes that from the mid-August of 1920, that is immediately after the Sèvres treaty was signed, Mustafa Kemal had tried to come to an agreement with the British through his secret representatives, having even promised to place the Caucasian Army of Karabekir under their command and employ it against the Bolsheviks<sup>36</sup>.

We have to mention that Kemal was trying to influence the British through Italy as well, with the representatives of which he has also established secret contacts. During September-October of 1920 these were being carried into effect through the unofficial representative of Kemal<sup>37</sup>. Nevertheless, in November 1920 he sent his official representative, the Minister of Interior, to Rome. The envoy of the Sultan Government in Rome, Ferruh bey, sent information to Constantinople, stating that a great significance was given by the Italian governmental circles to the said visit<sup>38</sup>. Thus, a more favorable diplomatic atmosphere was secured from the viewpoint of achieving the strategic goals of Turkey when the war against Armenia is considered. In particular, making use of this fact, the Kemalists refused the mediation of Russia in the Armenian-Turkish negotiations, and this was the case when they had given their consent beforehand<sup>39</sup>. But when it became clear that Russia has taken a more decisive stand and brings troops into Armenia, establishing direct contacts with the army of Karabekir, this trick temporarily lost its significance and was even seen as one, full of dangerous consequences. The resolute command of Mustafa Kemal to deny hearsay of cooperating with the British by all possible means and contained in the Appendix No. 7 was followed under these conditions.

Mustafa Suphi had conducted vigorous activity in that period, who was able to become an authoritative leader of the Turkish Communist movement, having domiciled in Baku on May 1920<sup>40</sup>.

He was absolutely sharing the approaches of the Kemalists about Armenia<sup>41</sup>. The letter Mustafa Suphi addressed to Mustafa Kemal and presented here in translation (the document No. 8) proves that the Turkish Communist Party under the leadership of Mustafa Suphi was actually operating as a propagandistic, information-gathering and intelligence organisation, supporting the military operations of the Kemalists against Armenia. At the same time, he was acting as a mediator between the representatives of the Russian Bolsheviks' leaders in Baku and Kemalists. In particular, as the letter of Mustafa Suphi addressed to Mustafa Kemal shows, the former had organized not only the meeting of the representative of the TBMM's government, Memduh Shevket, being

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<sup>36</sup> See about that Salahi R. Sonyel, *Kurtuluş Savaşı Günlerinde Batı Siyasamız* (Nisan 1920 – Mart 1921), *Belleken*, Ocak 1981, Cilt XLV/1, Sa. 177, s. 359-360.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 356-357.

<sup>38</sup> See this document: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Büyükelçiliği* 118/73 numaraya ek:

<sup>39</sup> TBMM Başkanı Mustafa Kemal, *Bariş Delegeleri Hamit ve Necati Beyefendilere*, 23 Kasım 1920. - Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları, C. II, Ankara, 1995, s. 207.

<sup>40</sup> Mustafa Suphi was considered "the Man of Moscow". See, for instance, Doğan Avcioğlu, *Millî Kurtuluş Tarihi 1836'den 1995'e*, İstanbul, 1976, s. 621-624

<sup>41</sup> See Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar 1908 – 1925*, 3. Baskı, Ankara - İstanbul, 1978, s. 228.

at that time on a visit to Baku, with I. Stalin, but also got a chance to be present at their conversation<sup>42</sup>.

The personal letter of Karabekir's longtime friend (the document No. 6), Ismet bey, who was the commander of the Western front in that period, is a matter of interest, for it shows clearly, first of all, that the victory over Armenia saved practically the nationalists, rebelled against the authorities of the Ottoman Empire<sup>43</sup>.

When the activities of Karabekir during the Armenian-Turkish war is characterized, one needs to consider the fact that he was virtually playing dual game; showing loyalty to Mustafa Kemal, he did not break his ties with one of the Young Turks' ringleaders, infamous Enver pasha, engaged in vigorous activities at that time<sup>44</sup> and, in some cases, has even acted according to the instructions of the latter<sup>45</sup>. In his turn, Enver was supporting Karabekir in all ways. In particular, one of the founders of the "Turkish Communist Party" created in Baku under the leadership of Enver, the famous Young Turk figure Fuat Sabit<sup>46</sup> (later he adopted a surname Agacik) was acting as a "communication official" of Karabekir, sending him reports. One of them, which contains a reference about the Armenian-Turkish war, is included in the Appendix of the present article in translation as a document No. 5<sup>47</sup>.

The prevailing part of the presented documents is taken from the books written by Kâzim Karabekir, a commander of the Eastern front created for the war against Armenia<sup>48</sup>. The army having many armed robbers joined and being commanded by Karabekir invaded Armenia, spreading death and destruction everywhere. Karabekir was awarded the military rank of *ferik* (lieutenant-general) for the mentioned "heroism"<sup>49</sup> and after the war was over, he was bestowed with the "Medal of Independence with Green and Red Ribbons"<sup>50</sup> and entered in the official historiography of the republican Turkey as a "Conqueror of the East"<sup>51</sup>.

The Turkish historian Cemal Kutay who was distinguished by his independent views has given a more realistic assessment to the activities of Karabekir, characterizing those as "Destruction of Armenia"<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> TKP Merkez Heyeti Reisi: Mustafa Suphi, Kâtibi: Ethem Nejat, B. M. M. Reisi Mustafa Kemal Paşa Hazretlerine, Bakû [? Kasım 1920]. - Mete Tunçay, Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar 1908-1925, s. 231-233.

<sup>43</sup> İsmet, 28/Teşrinisani/1336. - Kâzim Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz, s. 903.

<sup>44</sup> A number of letters exchanged between Karabekir and Enver in that period were contained in one of Karabekir's books. Kâzim Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat Terakki Erkânî, İstanbul, 1967

<sup>45</sup> See Murat Çulcu, Spekülatif Marjinal Tarih Tezleri. 6. Baskı, İstanbul, 2000, s. 281-282.

<sup>46</sup> See Doğan Avcioğlu, Millî Kurtuluş Tarihi 1836'den 1995'e, s. 487.

<sup>47</sup> Doktor Fuad Sabit, Kâzim Karabekir Paşa Hazretlerine, Bakû, 25 Teşrinisani 1920. - Kâzim Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat Terakki Erkânî, İstanbul, 1967, s. 78-80.

<sup>48</sup> Kâzim Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Muhammed Erat, Kâzim Karabekir Paşa'nın Ermeniler Üzerine Harekâtı (1920). - Kafkas Araştırmaları, II, 1996, s. 102.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> See his study: Cemal Kutay, Karabekir Ermenistan'i Nasıl Yok Etti?, İstanbul, 1956.

But this ambitious Turkish pasha was not satisfied with the rewards he had received from his state. He decided to investigate the history of the people he himself had slaughtered and explain to him “where he came from and where he goes”<sup>53</sup>.

Having declared with self-confidence that he is familiar with almost all the literature about the Armenians<sup>54</sup>, Karabekir came to “conclusion”, which is remarkable for its exceptional cynicism even within the frames of the opinions on Armenians expressed by different representatives of the Turkish elite in decades. Finding out that “there are proofs about the Turkish origin of the Armenians”<sup>55</sup>, the Turkish pasha, who had penetrated deeply into the history, made a demand, “the Armenians have to do the following - they should spread love to the Turks through the press...”<sup>56</sup>.

Ignoring the details of Kâzim Karabekir's political outlooks and activities, we have to mention only that his relations with Mustafa Kemal were strained from the years of the nationalist movement, for Karabekir was considering that Kemal depreciated his decisive role in the victory against Armenia, and Kemal, in his turn, was jealous of Karabekir's glory and reputation<sup>57</sup>.

Karabekir was even accused in cooperation with Young Turks preparing an assassination attempt against Kemal in 1926, having been arrested consequently<sup>58</sup>. For all these reasons, many of five dozen books, authored by Karabekir, especially those, which touch the war against Armenia and further events, were prohibited, having been published after his death only. For instance, all examples of his memoirs entitled as “The reasons of the war for our independence” and prepared for publication in 1993, have been confiscated in publishing house and liquidated by the decision of the Independent court with extraordinary licenses<sup>59</sup>. The house of Karabekir was also sought through, the great part of his personal archive being confiscated; nevertheless, the manuscripts and the original documents were not found<sup>60</sup>.

The saved part of the archive began to be published just after the death of Atatürk and Karabekir. The voluminous book (1171 pages) of memoirs, “The war of our independence”, is being separated from these publications, which were published by his daughters. They mention in the introduction that the manuscript is published in an

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<sup>53</sup> Karabekir finished the manuscript of his book, dedicated to the Armenians, in 1946 when the Armenian Question was modernized again; the work was entitled “The Armenians. Where did they come from? Where are they going? It was published decades later under the heading of “Armenian dossier”. See Kâzim Karabekir, *Ermeni Dosyası*. Yayına Hazırlayan Prof. Faruk Özerengin. İstanbul, 1994.

<sup>54</sup> Kâzim Karabekir, *Ermeni Dosyası*, s. 29.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 40.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 42.

<sup>57</sup> The detailed interpretation of the history of relations between Mustafa Kemal and Kâzim Karabekir can be found in [Kâzim Karabekir], *Kâzim Karabekir Anlatıyor*. Yayına Hazırlayan Uğur Mumcu, Beşinci Basım, İstanbul, 1990.

<sup>58</sup> Later he stood before the court and was found innocent. See Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926*, Leiden, 1984, p. 152-154.

<sup>59</sup> See Feridun Kandemir, *Kâzim Karabekir'in Yakılan Hatıraları Meselesinin İyüzü*, İstanbul, 1964, s. 90-115.

<sup>60</sup> See Faruk Özerengin, *Sunuş. - Kâzim Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimizin Esasları*, İstanbul, 1992, s. 5.

original type, without changing even a letter<sup>61</sup>. The book was published in July of 1960 when the country was not yet calmed down after the military coup of May<sup>62</sup>. Perhaps, this fact fostered the emergence of the documents, revealing the real objectives of the Turkish policy towards Armenia<sup>63</sup>.

A number of Karabekir's books were also published later on. One of his works, which reveals the significant role of the Young Turkish Party in the Kemalist movement upon the basis of the rich and new sources, it being for the first time in the Turkish historiography, was useful from the viewpoint of the present publication<sup>64</sup>. The daughters of Karabekir, who are the publishers of this volume as well, make a special accent on the fact that they are publishing the manuscript he has left in an original type, "both adding and making apart no word"<sup>65</sup>. In fact, their approach in such a way gave an opportunity to put a number of Turkish archival documents, concerning immediately the Turkish-Armenian war, in scientific circulation.

Also, we have applied various other publications, published in Turkey, especially the documents, signed by Mustafa Kemal, or the volumes containing his parliamentary speeches<sup>66</sup>. These publications are of importance, for they provide an opportunity to get introduced with the documents reflecting the approaches of the nationalist movement's leader, which found no place in the "Speech", chosen carefully by himself and canonicalized by the official historiography<sup>67</sup>. In particular, even one single document, which could refer to the Turkish-Armenian war, is not published here<sup>68</sup>, while the documents, included in the mentioned work, "are important and trustworthy sources for those, having a desire to get acquainted with Atatürk"<sup>69</sup>.

We think that the documents, being presented in translation, give a picture of the wide and diverse activities the Kemalists had carried out during the final stage of the Turkish-Armenian war. They help us to make our perceptions of different developments of the expansionist policy regarding Armenia, elaborated and implemented by Turkey, clearer and more objective as well as give an opportunity to understand some distinctive features of the Turkish elite's mentality.

<sup>61</sup> See Hayat Feyzioğlu, Emel Özerengin, Timsal Ayasbeyoğlu, Önsöz. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimiz, s. VI.

<sup>62</sup> See Erik Jan Zürcher, Young Turk Memoirs as a Historical Source: Kâzım Karabekir's İstiklâl Harbimiz. - Middle Eastern Studies Vol. 22, No. 4, October 1986, p. 565.

<sup>63</sup> It is remarkable that the Turkish law enforcement system was waken up a few months later after the book was published and began to persecute the publisher, but it was late. See Ibid., p. 565-566.

<sup>64</sup> Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat Terakki Erkânî. İstanbul, 1967.

<sup>65</sup> Merhum General Karabekir Kızları, Önsöz. - Kâzım Karabekir, İstiklâl Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat Terakki Erkânî. İstanbul, 1967, s. III.

<sup>66</sup> [Atatürk] Atatürk'ün T.B.M.M. Açık ve Gizli Oturumlarındaki Konuşmaları, Ankara, 1990; [Atatürk], Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları. C. II. Yayınlayan, Ankara, 1995.

<sup>67</sup> Kemal Atatürk, Nutuk. Cilt: I – III, İstanbul, 1961. Our historians have used the Russian translation of the first publication of this book: Mustafa Kemal, The way of the new Turkey. 1919-1927, Vol. 1-4, Moscow, 1929-1934.

<sup>68</sup> The second volume of Mustafa Kemal's "Speech", which is entitled "Documents", contains 299 official documents.

<sup>69</sup> Kâzım Öztürk, İkinci Baskının Önsözü. - [Atatürk] Atatürk'ün T.B.M.M. Açık ve Gizli Oturumlarındaki Konuşmaları, Ankara, 1990, s. III.

## APPENDIX

## TURKISH DOCUMENTS

## 1

The cryptogram of the acting minister for Foreign Affairs, Muhtar bey<sup>70</sup>, to the commander of the Eastern front, Kâzım Karabekir pasha.  
(November 8, 1920)<sup>71</sup>

Ankara  
8/11/1336

## To the Command of the Eastern Front

There is no doubt that the ceasefire offer, made by Armenia, is aimed at avoiding a disaster at the moment, when she is isolated both from Western and Eastern worlds. Armenia will, naturally, try to implement the duty of cutting our connection with the East, imposed on her by the treaty of Sèvres, as soon as she gets stronger as well as will distort our life and progress in conjunction with the Greeks. It is impossible that Armenia, having been in the centre of the Muslim environment, will refuse the responsibility of that cruel gendarme with the conviction of the heart and decide to fully connect his fortune with Turkey and Islamism.

That is why it is an absolute necessity to have Armenia eliminated politically and materially. Along with that, one needs a coordinated preparation of the abovementioned important preconditions, for the implementation of that goal depends on possibilities that our capacity gives. It follows from that that our retreat because of a simple ceasefire agreement with the Armenians could not be a matter of discussion. The fundamental clauses of the ceasefire, transferred to the Armenians, should be aimed at misleading the Armenians and appearing peace-lovers for Europe instead of leaving Armenia. Nevertheless, their results will actually be the creation of preconditions, necessary for the gradual preparation and maturation of our goal.

At the present it is an absolute necessity to demobilize the Armenian army and confiscate its weapons, thus providing no chance of restoring its military structure.

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<sup>70</sup> Ahmet Muhtar; he has adopted the surname of Mollaoğlu later on (1870-1934). A diplomat, deputy foreign minister; he was often taking the place of the first foreign minister of the Kemalist Turkey, Bekir Sami, having been on an international and long-lasting business trips. He was the ambassador of the Ottoman Empire to Greece and Ukraine, occupied the posts of ambassador in Moscow and Washington; has been a deputy of the Turkish Grand National Assembly for many times.

<sup>71</sup> Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*. İstanbul, 1959-1960, s. 901. The partial Armenian translation of this document was published by E. Gh. Sargsyan. See Sargsyan Y., Armenian-traitorous activity. - "Hayastani ashkhatavoruhi", 1991, N. 3, p. 1-2 (in Arm.) and Sargsyan Y., Conspirative deal, Armenia, Russia, Turkey, p. 170-171 (in Arm.). Both translations are significantly different from one another and deflect from the original text. The document was also considered by Vahakn Dadryan, who published the English translation of its one part; see Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus*, Oxford, 1995, p. 358.

Under the pretext of keeping the railways under control and protecting the rights of the Muslim population, we have to establish our military control over the entire territory of Armenia and thus keep all the roads that link Turkey to Azerbaijan. The aforementioned goal must be fulfilled in a covert and soft manner both in the text of the peace treaty and in the actions that come from it on condition of being always peaceful in the eyes of the Armenians.

The first point of ceasefire sent to you today for the transfer to the Armenian government is the adoption of a referendum principle on the border that stems from the aspiration to hinder the final decision on the border with Armenia<sup>72</sup>. You can temporarily admit the Brest-Litovsk border, as the goal is to get a written suggestion on the border with Armenians beforehand and thus hinder the entrance into a deadlock. However, it is necessary to prepare a ground for continuous intervention under the pretext of protecting the rights of the Muslim minority on the other side of the border. It is supposed to include provisions in the treaty that will enable the immediate confinement of weapons from the enemy's hands and the deployment of its army as soon as possible.

There is a need to make special efforts to arm the Turks of the region step by step and to create national armed forces. They will connect East and West and turn Azerbaijan into an independent Turkish state.

The current directive, containing the real purpose of the government, is confidential. It is provided only for you.

Please inform us in writing about the full decoding of this cryptogram.

Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
Ahmet Muhtar

## 2

The speech of Mustafa Kemal at the Grand National Assembly of Turkey about the written inquiry of the deputy of Erzurum Ismail Bey<sup>73</sup> and his friends on the peace with Armenia and the response of the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Muhtar Bey (18 November, 1920)<sup>74</sup>

Mustafa Kemal Psh<sup>75</sup> (Ankara): "I would like to remind you about a point and acquaint the assembly with information about military matters that I have received from the military department. As the honorable gentleman mentions<sup>76</sup>, the Armenians have accepted the terms of the previously proposed ceasefire. Two fundamental provisions

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<sup>72</sup> It concerns the document to be transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia.

<sup>73</sup> Later he adopted the surname Arslan.

<sup>74</sup> Atatürk'ün T.B.M.M. Açık ve Gizli Oturumlarındaki Konuşmaları, Ankara, 1990, s. 321-322.

<sup>75</sup> Pasha.

<sup>76</sup> Perhaps, he means Muhtar Bey, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

were based on the clauses of that ceasefire. First: to confiscate weapons from the Armenian army. Second: proceeding from the existing situation, to create a neutral zone between the line, until the Armenian army retreats, and between the border, which we are going to defend in the future. We advanced the previous line much ahead. From the previously founded positions, our troops advanced not only in the eastern direction, but also from the center, including Shatakh (Çatak), to the south. For that reason, the part of the ceasefire agreement, which was about the border, of course, was subject to changes. Our Chief Officers came up with a few new suggestions about it. In most of them there are not particularly important provisions: this one is a bit more to the west of the new line, the other is a little more advanced. But there is a new viewpoint there too. It is as follows: roads from the south to Azerbaijan should be completely safe. Here is the proposal that the Chief Officers have, gentlemen. The military came up with their offer at the right time.

## 3

The code of Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Muhtar Bey to Kâzım Karabekir Pasha (Kâzım Karabekir Paşa)  
(20-21 November, 1920)<sup>77</sup>

Ankara

20-21/11/1336

To the Commander of the Eastern Front, His Excellency Kâzım Karabekir Pasha  
In response to the 13/11/1336<sup>78</sup> telegram<sup>79</sup>

1....<sup>80</sup>

2. Rumors are spread that the Armenian newspapers were published with black mourning frames because of the endless range of our victories in the Eastern Front, and the Muslims are extremely happy and enthusiastic. The lack of contacts with Europe and the difficulty of communication hinder to receive more complete information about the reaction of the Caucasus events. The most recent European journals, which were attained here, are dated to October 20, and there are no details on that topic in them.

3. We informed the Russian Soviet government<sup>81</sup> that the reasons for our attack were: the massacres committed by the Armenians, the Dashnaks' refusal to conclude a peace with us, as well as their desire, as a tool of British imperialism, to fully capture our eastern vilayets and to contact with the British troops in Iraq. It was not possible to find

<sup>77</sup> It is published: Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 905-906.

<sup>78</sup> November 13, 1920.

<sup>79</sup> Karabekir has not published this document in his memoirs.

<sup>80</sup> In the first item of the code some issues related to the activities of the Sultan's government in Constantinople are described. We haven't translated that part.

<sup>81</sup> In the Turkish text of the telegram here is a multipoint, most likely, the word could not be read or deciphered. Those years the telegraph connection was unreliable. The meaning of the sentence suggests that here should be "we have informed" or another phrase, having the same meaning.

out whether the relevant telegram on these issues reached our representative in Moscow, Bekir Sami<sup>82</sup>, the opinion and approaches of the Russian government on these issues are not known as well. Taking this opportunity once more with importance, I ask you to provide reliable telegraphic or radio contacts with Russia at any cost.

4. Taking into account the envisaged signing of the Treaty of Friendship, as well as the peculiarities of our relations, please, if you contact with the Russian troops, don't keep yourselves away from them. It should be taken into account that the two nations are jointly fighting against global imperialism, and Russia is the only great power that has recognized us, has established relations with us and can help us, even if it is insignificant.

If the problem of Van, Bitlis, well-known to you, is discussed<sup>83</sup>, then act softly in that issue, explain, that from the viewpoint of the right of nations to self-determination it is unacceptable and politically unrealizable. Also, explain that the purpose of the formation of the government of Ankara is to create politically and economically, completely independent Turkey within the framework of boundaries recognized by the National Covenant, and if he comes out from the framework of the program, the people will completely lose their enthusiasm, will be disappointed once again and the power will pass to Istanbul. In that case, by making Ferid Pasha<sup>84</sup> a Sadrazam (Grand Vizier), the British people will possess the whole Caliphate people, including Anatolia, which will have extremely unfavorable consequences for the Bolsheviks of Russia both in the Caucasus and Asia.

The second: when it becomes obvious that the Armenians, who entered Van, Bitlis can easily join the British in Iraq, then it will greatly strengthen the positions of the British in the East. During the discussions over the Iraqi mandate in the London parliament, former Prime Minister Asquith has already announced that, in order to be able to protect Mosul, it is necessary to reach the Black Sea, and if the Armenians are allowed to descend so far to the south, then that would be a great service for the English imperialism. I think it is necessary to explain it<sup>85</sup>... On the other hand, on any occasion I ask you to make feel, that the Government of Ankara is preparing to carry out

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<sup>82</sup> Bekir Sami (later he adopted the surname Kunduh)(1865-1933, according to some sources, 1932), politician, diplomat of the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey. During World War I he occupied management positions in the system of the Ottoman government. He occupied the post of Foreign Minister in the first and second governments of the Kemalists (1920-1921), led the first delegation of that government to Moscow (July- September 1920). His role in the implementation of the Armenian Genocide has not been fully clarified as there are contradictory testimonies. See, for example, A. Antonyan, *The Great Crime. The Last Armenian Massacres and Tala'at Pasha*, Yerevan, 1990, p. 31 and British Foreign Office Dossiers on Turkish War Criminals (By Vartkes Yeghiayan. La Verne, 1991, p. 325).

<sup>83</sup> He means the proposal of the Soviet government- to hand Van, Bitlis and Mush to Armenia.

<sup>84</sup> Ferid Pasha, Damad, the representative of the sultanate family (1853-1923), an Ottoman statesman, occupied the position of Sadrazam (the president of the government) for five times. He headed the Turkish delegation in Sevre and signed the Treaty of Sevre.

<sup>85</sup> This is how the Turkish text is. Apparently, this part of the document was unreadable for the publisher.

modern social reforms and revolution, necessary for our country, which will make the foreigners' interference impossible.

Sir, I ask you to present our position in Gyumri<sup>86</sup> about the Armenians, according to the recital made by me - the humiliated one.

Acting Foreign Minister:  
Ahmed Muhtar<sup>87</sup>

4

The president of the TBMM (Grand National Assembly of Turkey) Mustafa Kemal's instruction to Peace Delegates: honorable gentlemen Hamit<sup>88</sup> and Necati<sup>89</sup> (23 November, 1920)<sup>90</sup>

The intervention and mediation of any other party in our negotiations with Armenians cannot be discussed. In particular, you can declare that the mediation is unacceptable for those who will want to represent the Armenians and will want to interfere in the case to protect them. It is clear that we will never give up our rights. Gentlemen, the relevant information has already been sent to His Excellency Kâzım Karabekir Pasha by the Foreign Ministry.

The president of the TBMM  
Mustafa Kemal

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<sup>86</sup> He means the negotiations in Alexandrapol.

<sup>87</sup> Describing this and the next document, Karabekir writes: "During the Eastern operation, we also had some exchange of letters with Ankara on the general situation". See: Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 904. It is noteworthy that in the code of his response, Karabekir has informed about his approaches only to the points of Ahmed Muhtar's letter which related to the activities of the Sultan's government of Constantinople. See the text Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 906-907.

<sup>88</sup> Hamit Bey (later adopted the surname Kapal) was a vali (governor) of Erzurum during that period. He was known as "Crazy Hamit". Among others he had signed the Treaty of Alexandrapol in 1920. He is considered as one of the organizers of the murder of Mustafa Suphi.

<sup>89</sup> Süleyman Necati Bey, later adopted the surname Güneri, (1890-1944), a member of the Kemalist Movement, a figure in educational and publishing spheres. He was a deputy of the TBMM from Erzurum, was distinguished for his anti-Armenian speeches and interpellations. Among others signed the Treaty of 1920. Later he taught Turkish at the Galatia Armenian College of Constantinople. He has authored a non-voluminous memorabilia book. Süleyman Necati Güneri, *Hatıra Defteri*, İstanbul, 1999.

<sup>90</sup> It is published: [Atatürk], *Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları*. C. II, Ankara, 1995, s. 207.

Signaller official Dr. Fuat Sabit Bey's<sup>91</sup> letter to Kâzim Karabekir Pasha  
(25 November, 1920)<sup>92</sup>

Baku

to His Excellency Kâzim Karabekir Pasha

<sup>93</sup>  
...

Everyone wants to benefit from the attacking action<sup>94</sup>. The Dashnaks and Armenian nationalists as well as Muslim capitalists spread news that the Turks have joined the British, have attacked the Bolsheviks, and after eliminating them thus will re-establish the independence of Turkey. Through these rumors, the rich Muslims try to maintain their wealth which they are about to lose. And the aim of the Armenians is to exacerbate the relations between the Turks and the Bolsheviks and leave the Turks alone. I am sure that Suphi also benefited from it with great skill<sup>95</sup>. He did not miss the opportunity to present the advancement of Turks as suspicious and he tried to convince that if he didn't exist, then many adventures would take place in the nationalist, imperialist, pan-Islamist Turkey. In this way he sought to reinforce his weakened position. In my familiar circle, meeting with my acquaintances, I declare that it is groundless, that the Turks will never get closer to the imperialist and capitalist Europe. Even if we admit that their leaders can make some deviations to maintain their existence, then from those who have already clarified their views, no one can expect them to join the murderers and come up against the revolution. It is also unbelievable that those who have already been exempted from slavery power, will come to an illegal agreement with him, thus putting themselves into eternal economic slavery. I said that even if the leaders have such an inclination, then the Turkish people have already left behind the time when they listened to everything that has been said. Now they already have such a power that is able to smooth a way for the realization of the people's fate and desires.

Along with that, there is a great suspicion towards the Turks in the Russian revolutionary circles. I am convinced that it is irrelevant and in the near future the fact of

<sup>91</sup> Doctor Fuat Sabit, later adopted the surname Ağacık: a figure of the Young Turk Party, an active participant in the Pan-Türkist movement, one of the founders and leaders of the extremist organization "Türkish Hearth". See about it, in particular, Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*. Cilt I: İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi, 1908 - 1918. Genişletilmiş İkinci Baskı, İstanbul, 1988, s. 432. He was a member of the *Teskilat Mahsuse* (Special Organization), which carried out the Armenian Genocide. See about it: Abdullah Muradoğlu, *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*. - *Yeni Şafak*, 23. 11. 2005. During the years of the Nationalist Movement, he was one of the leaders of the TCP, founded by the Young Turks, came up with the role of a Signaller among the Enverists, the Kemalists and the Russian Bolsheviks. About his life and activity see Ali Birinci, Dr. Fuat Sabit. - *Türk Yurdu*, 1999, Sayı. 139-141, s. 45 - 58.

<sup>92</sup> It is published: Kâzim Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimizde Enver Paşa ve İttihat Terakki Erkânı*. İstanbul, 1967, s. 78-80.

<sup>93</sup> The first part of the letter describes the activity of Mustafa Suphi in Baku. That part is not translated.

<sup>94</sup> He means the attack of Turkey on Armenia and the occupation of Kars.

<sup>95</sup> He means the attack of Turkey on Armenia.

being unfounded will become obvious. It is necessary to eliminate that suspicion in time and not to pay attention to the intrigues of the adventurers<sup>96</sup>...

Dr. Fuat Sabit

6

Ismet Bey's letter to Kâzim Karabekir Pasha  
(28 November, 1920)<sup>97</sup>

My dear brother Kâzim,

Today Saffet<sup>98</sup> is coming. Together with Fuat Pasha<sup>99</sup> they will be at your place. They are so happy! What a great happiness to see you! You can't imagine how I missed you, how I want to see you. Now my biggest desire is to get ten-to-fifteen vacation days to stay with you. But at present it is an impossible illusion...

The eastern action<sup>100</sup> revived us and our work. We were in such a difficult situation, we were so disturbed, that it was an absolute necessity to open a vent, that could make the situation breathe. By Allah's mercy, you opened it with the deserved success and coordination. By the providence and destiny you are committed to provide great services to our nation and history. Allah donated you to our nation. Especially Mustafa Kemal has no idea what to do to be able to show and express his gratitude. Everybody is in the same situation<sup>101</sup>.

At the same time, the East has entered a phase of a delicate nature. If it is possible thus to achieve a result, then the path of salvation will be really opened. How and in what manner it will take place is not worth discussing here, as the case is moving forward.

In the West, our situation is difficult, Kâzim: a lack of ammunition, anarchy, intrigues, and the most important is, of course, the ammunition<sup>102</sup>...

Ismet<sup>103</sup>

<sup>96</sup> The rest of the letter which is not related to the Turkish-Armenian war, is not translated.

<sup>97</sup> Is published: Kâzim Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 903. It is written from Eskişehir.

<sup>98</sup> Colonel Saffet Bey, later adopted the surname Arikan (1888-1947). He was a military, statesman and diplomat of the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey. On November 14, 1920 he was appointed as an attaché to Ali Fuat's embassy to Moscow.

<sup>99</sup> Ali Fuat Pasha, later adopted the surname Cebesoy (1883-1968): a military, statesman and diplomat of the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey. On November 21, 1920 he was appointed as the first ambassador of Kemalist Turkey to the Soviet Russia. In 1921 signed the Russian-Turkish Treaty of Moscow. He has published a memorandum book on Turkish-Russian talks. See Ali Fuat Cebesoy, *Moskova Hatıraları* (21/11/1920-2/6/1922), İstanbul, 1955.

<sup>100</sup> He means the war against Armenia.

<sup>101</sup> As it is seen from Karabekir's comments below, he was not satisfied with the official congratulations of Mustafa Kemal and others.

<sup>102</sup> The text published by Karabekir ends with this.

<sup>103</sup> Karabekir wrote about this letter in his memoirs: "From Mustafa Kemal and Fevzi Pasha, as well as from official congratulations received from the others, more important for me were Ismet Bey's letter and telegram, as he had placed the role of the Eastern Front in the War of Independence and its significance for our national work in the

## 7

The telegram of Mustafa Kemal, the President of the Grand National Assembly  
To the Eastern Front Command  
(30 November, 1920)<sup>104</sup>

Ankara, 30 November, 1920

To the Turkish representative in Baku Memduh Shevket Bey  
To the Turkish representative in Tiflis Kâzım Bey<sup>105</sup>

As turns out from the news coming from different places, the British people resort to all means to ruin the relations between the Bolsheviks and us, as well as the Islamic countries. They hope that when they succeed in it, they can oppress two societies separately. One of the rumors spread for that purpose is that instead of handing Azerbaijan to us by the British, we will create a front against the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus. A number of other frauds, like this, are being circulated. You are competent and obliged to deny all kinds of rumors immediately and clearly by all means at your disposal.

No proposal on peace was done to us either directly by the British, the French or the Italians or by the government brought to power by them in Istanbul.

Mustafa Kemal

## 8

The letter of Mustafa Suphi, President of the Central Board of the Turkish  
Communist Party to Mustafa Kemal, the President of the Grand National Assembly  
(November<sup>106</sup>, 1920)<sup>107</sup>

To the President of the Grand National Assembly, His Excellency Mustafa Kemal  
pasha

Baku

1...<sup>108</sup>

2. The successful attack<sup>109</sup> of rebel troops in the Eastern Front has caused a good impression here. Since no recent news has been received from you or no signaller

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framework of our history". See Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 902-903: İsmet's coded telegram was written on December 9, 1920, and is therefore not involved in this publication. See the text: Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl Harbimiz*, s. 903.

<sup>104</sup> [Atatürk], Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları. C. II, Ankara, 1995, s. 210-211.

<sup>105</sup> Kâzım Bey, later adopted the surname Dirik (1880-1941). A professional soldier, statesman among Republicans, was a part of Mustafa Kemal's close circle.

<sup>106</sup> The month is determined by the Turkish publisher.

<sup>107</sup> Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar 1908-1925*. 3. Baskı. Ankara - İstanbul, 1978, s. 231-233.

<sup>108</sup> The initial part of the letter, which speaks about the possibilities of communist activities in Turkey, is not translated.

<sup>109</sup> He points to the Eastern Front of the Nationalist Armed Forces, the commander of which was Karabekir.

came here, a delegation has been sent to your sides under the leadership of comrade Mdivani for studying the situation and establishing a more stable relationship. During that attack, too much deepening in the Armenian borders has caused some doubts in the public opinion, which have been dispelled by us through the widespread messages. We have mentioned that the attack will not harm the Armenian worker and peasant and that its purpose is to punish the Dashnak government, which, being the agent of the Entente, didn't abhor to commit many deceits and crimes.

Apparently, the public opinion reacted on these messages positively, because this time there was no propaganda about the barbarism of the Turks, as usually happened in such cases in the past. Even the Armenian communists came up in the press as supporters of the Turkish attack and continue to publish rumors which describe the rebels of Anatolia as a righteous side.

In any case, we think it is worth noting, that no possibility was given to use the "Armenian massacre" as a means to direct the opinion of the proletarians of Russia and Europe against the Anatolian movement and to qualify us as deceivers.

3. Due to the risk of failure and stabilization of the Western and Eastern fronts by Anatolia, increased the danger in recent days that Britain will enter into allied relations with the government of the TBMM<sup>110</sup>. Such a union will lead to the loss of the so far achieved of the Anatolian rebels. At the same time, because of the British, Anatolia will be deprived of any kind of material and moral assistance sent by the Soviets. That is why we think we didn't make a mistake when we said that the rebels are trying to have stronger and more active relations with Russia.

4. We had already informed beforehand that a Turkish Red Regiment was formed by our party to assist the Anatolian movement. Approximately three weeks ago, under the command of the member of the Central Committee, comrade Mehmet Emin<sup>111</sup>, it was sent over Nakhijevan at Kâzim Karabekir Pasha's disposal. But at that time, because of closing the road of Nakhijevan by the Dashnaks and the attack of the Eastern Front it was not possible for the soldiers to reach Anatolia. Our regiment made a transition from Kerüsid<sup>112</sup> to Arpachay and completed it successfully, causing great damage to the enemy's forces. Our losses amounted to 11 killed soldiers and 20 slightly wounded. As it is winter at present, so our soldiers went to rest in Aghram<sup>113</sup>. All necessary measures will be taken to send them over Delijan<sup>114</sup>.

5. Just after the arrival to Baku, the representative of the TBMM in Azerbaijan Memduh Shevket Bey<sup>115</sup>, was given the necessary measures for the successful

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<sup>110</sup> TBMM - the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

<sup>111</sup> According to Turkish sources, this official of the TCP was under the influence of Enver, later he delivered Mustafa Suphi to Kemalists, who had arrived in Erzurum, thus saving his life. See about it Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de Sol Akımlar 1908-1925*. 3. Baskı, 1978, s. 215-216.

<sup>112</sup> In Armenian - Goris.

<sup>113</sup> Apparently it should be Aghdam.

<sup>114</sup> In Armenian - Dilijan.

<sup>115</sup> Memduh Shevket Bey, later adopted the surname Esendal (1883-1952): one of the leaders of the Young Turks "Union and Progress" Committee and the Kemalist Republican-People's Party, diplomat, writer. In 1920-1924 he was

fulfillment of his duties decided by us, and he was introduced to famous revolutionary figures, in particular, with comrade Stalin, a member of the Council of People's Commissars of Russia, who is here in recent days. We assume that Memduh Shevket Bey has presented you the results of the conversation with Stalin, which lasted for up to two hours. We find it necessary to add another two or three points to it.

First of all comrade Stalin mentioned that the Soviet government of Russia views the national rebel movement of Anatolia as an important historic event, which should serve as an example and to which all the nations of the East should follow. Russia is ready to go for all kinds of sacrifices to strengthen that movement. After that he explained that the reason for not helping them so much was that actually only recently it was managed to establish a reliable relationship with Anatolia. On the other hand, the rumors that the Red Army remained neutral after the Anatolian movement started, does not correspond to reality. He informed that important forces are currently taking part in the occupation of Nakhijevan, and after the end of military operations in Crimea, the Caucasian direction will move to the foreground.

Comrade Stalin also talked about the third important issue.

The good reception of Enver Pasha and his friends in Russia is conditioned by their work in favor of the rebel Anatolia. They are provided with material assistance. Do they have the opportunity to try to cause internal rebellions and destroy the military front of Anatolia? Memduh Shevket Bey responded that the help to Enver Pasha and his friends could be continued and clarified its reasons.

Dr. Fuat Bey<sup>116</sup>, who has long been acting under the name of Communist, who actually has nothing to do with communism and whose relations with our organization are broken, tries to present the movement of Anatolia as an unorganized<sup>117</sup> movement to which is specific only nationalism. The abovementioned person, relying on the information provided by Bekir Sami Bey a few months ago, announced that he was the ambassador of the TBMM of Anatolia in Russia, and ordering a seal, demanded four million roubles from the Azerbaijani government, thus creating an ugly situation.

We think the person who will represent Turkey in front of the Soviet government of Russia, must be chosen among the most active revolutionaries in the rebel movement.

7...<sup>118</sup>

TCP (Turkish Communist Party) Central Committee

President: Mustafa Suphi

Secretary: Ethem Nejat<sup>119</sup>

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the ambassador of Ankara to Baku. Accomplice to the crime of the Armenian genocide, about which was mentioned in one of the verdicts of the Turkish military extraordinary court in 1919. See Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu, *İttihat - Terraki'nin Sorgulanması ve Yargılanması: Meclis-i Mebusan Tahkikati, Teşkilat-i Mahsusa, Ermeni Tehcirin İçyüzü, Divan-i Harb-i Örfi Muhakemesi*, İstanbul, 1998, s. 521.

<sup>116</sup> It is about Dr. Fuat Sabit (Agacik), mentioned above.

<sup>117</sup> The Turkish text uses the word "choban" (çoban), which in this case has the meanings "rude" and "boorish".

<sup>118</sup> This is how the Turkish text is, the sixth item is missing.

<sup>119</sup> Ethem Nejat (1887-1921) has participated in the Pan-Türkist movement during the Young Turks, later was actively involved in the Communist movement and together with Mustafa Suphi was killed by the order of Kemal and Karabekir.

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# FOREIGN SOURCES AND AUTHORS ABOUT ARMENIA AND ARMENIANS

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**XIV.- JOURNEY THROUGH A PART OF ARMENIA AND ASIA MINOR, IN THE  
YEAR 1835. COMMUNICATED BY JAMES BRANT, ESQ. HIS MAJESTY'S CONSUL  
AT ERZ-RÚM. JULY, 1836.**

**James Brant**

Asia Minor consists of a high mass of mountains, supporting a table land which presents a succession of extensive and fertile plains, running in general east and west. In the highest parts rise the great rivers of Armenia, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia, the Kur or *Cyrus*, which waters the whole of the province of Georgia, and receives numerous tributaries from Caucasus; the Aras (*Araxes*), which flows round the foot of Mount Ararat and joining the Kur, falls into the Caspian; and the Jórúk<sup>1</sup>, or *Acampsis*; the Chár-shambah Şú, or<sup>2</sup> *Iris*, -and the Kızıl Irmák<sup>3</sup> or *Halys*, the largest river of Asia Minor, which traverses, in a circuitous route, nearly the entire breadth of the Peninsula; the three last flow into the Black Sea; - the Tigris and Euphrates, which, after a course of upwards of a thousand miles, enclosing the large and celebrated plain of Mesopotamia, now Al-Jezírah, unite and fall into the Persian Gulf. On its northern side, this mountain-tract overlooks the Black Sea, on the south, the Mediterranean and the plains of Mesopotamia and Syria. Between the Black Sea and the base of the mountains, there is generally a strip of level land of greater or less breadth, which sometimes, as in the province of Jáník, widens into broad plains. Where these plains do not occur, the mountains, at a distance of about 12 hours, or 24 miles from the sea, attain their extreme height of between 6000 and 7000 feet. Before the central table land is reached, there is a triple range running east and west. The Chár-shambah Şú holds a course parallel to this range, until it bends round the western end of it in longitude 36° 30' E., and enters the sea at Sámsún.<sup>4</sup> The Jórúk bounds its eastern extremity near Batum, where it falls into the Euxine, in longitude 41° 30' E. The range is partially cut through in one place by the river<sup>5</sup>, which, rising near Gúmish-khánah<sup>6</sup>, empties itself into the sea at Tírehbóh, about 60 miles to the west of Trebizond. The whole range of mountains, from sea to sea, is limestone. Volcanic rocks frequently are found, first on the northern face near Trebizond, then at Erz-rúm, at Diár-bekr, and at Kaısar: between Gúmish-khánah and Trebizond, granite rises up occasionally. The mountains abound in veins of copper and lead, the last being rich in silver. Mineral springs frequently occur, most of them hot. Towards the Black Sea, the mountains are clothed with forests to an elevation of about 4500 feet; but above that height, the country in general is bare of trees,

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<sup>1</sup> Jorokh or Horokh in Armenian, Choroki in Georgian, and Chúrák or Chûrúk in Turkish.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Wednesday-water, probably from a village of which the market is kept on that day of the week; by Turkish writers it is called Yeshil Irenak, that is, Green River.

<sup>3</sup> Red River.

<sup>4</sup> The ancient Amisus.

<sup>5</sup> KharshOt in Lapie's Map; Goumache-khaneque (GOMish-khnneh-şOun, Silver- house River) in Darmet's, copied from the Russian Map of 1819.

<sup>6</sup> Silver-house.

although, in some recesses of the mountains, forests exist even in the central more elevated parts. The passes from the coast are numerous, but, excepting those which follow the valleys of the great rivers, they are difficult, and many are open only in summer. The soil is, for the most part, fertile, and the country well watered. The population may be considered as small in proportion to the land susceptible of cultivation.

Trebizond, situated on the southern shore of the Black Sea, has been a place of importance almost since its first foundation by the Greeks, in ages beyond the reach of authentic records. It was at this city that Xenophon reached the sea on his celebrated retreat with his 10,000 Greeks after the defeat and death of Cyrus the younger at the battle of Cunaxa in Mesopotamia. It is impossible to trace his route from Xenophon's account of the retreat, but unless the face of the country be entirely changed, the pass, by which he crossed the mountains in order to reach Trebizond, must be the same now in use, since no other is practicable in winter, and it was during that season the passage was effected by the Greeks.

At the period of the Roman dominion over Asia Minor, their trade with India is supposed to have passed through Trebizond; and in later times the Genoese brought the productions of Hindostan from Ispahan to Trebizond, and from thence conveyed them through Caffa in the Crimea, and afterwards through Constantinople to Europe.

The sovereigns of Armenia permitted the Genoese to establish a line of fortified stations through their kingdom to the frontier of Persia. Trebizond was the first, and Byzid the last, of these stations. They were between 25 and 40 miles apart, and were always in commanding and defensible positions, surrounded by solid and extensive walls, within which were quarters for the guards and shelter for the horses and merchandise of the caravans. In their progress from station to station, in order to secure their safety, the caravans were furnished with escorts, more or less numerous according to the state of the country. Baibút and Erz-rúm were two of their strongholds; and the solidity and extent of the fortifications there, and at other places, show the importance the Genoese attached to their trade; the profits of which must have been very large to have sufficed, not only to meet such immense expenses, but also to have enriched the republic.

After the expulsion of the Genoese from Caffa, about the middle of the fifteenth century, and the extinction of the independent principality of Trebizond on the capture of the city by Mahomet II., which occurred nearly at the same time, the commercial relations between Trebizond and Europe ceased entirely, and the Euxine became closed to the navigation of Christendom.

That the Black Sea has been gradually re-opened to European vessels has been owing to treaties extorted by Russia from Turkey at various periods, at the point of the bayonet; and the last treaty (that of Adrianople) finally rendered every part of the Euxine accessible to the commercial flag of all the nations of Europe.

The old channel of communication with India and Persia has thus been once more resumed. It is not probable, however, that it can at the present day be made available for an Indian trade with Europe, because more economical routes are now open; but that it is the most eligible channel for an intercourse with Persia and the circumjacent countries, has been placed beyond all doubt by positive results, in proof of which the rapid increase of the trade may be adduced. In 1830, only 5000 bales of European merchandise passed through Trebizond on their way to Persia, while in 1835, nearly 20,000 proceeded by the same track to the same destination.

There are no remains in the city, nor in the neighbourhood, of buildings of a more remote age than the Christian era. The number of churches is great; for independent of nearly twenty churches and chapels still retained for the service of the Greek Church, almost all the mosques have been Christian churches. The handsomest is that of Santa Sophia, which is situated a mile to the west of the city; it is still in a good state of preservation externally, and although it has been converted into a mosque, it is seldom used by the Mohammedans.

The town is built on the slope of a hill facing the sea; part is surrounded by a castellated and lofty wall, and is in the shape of a parallelogram. On either side of the walled portion of the city is a deep ravine, filled with trees and gardens, and both ravines are traversed by long bridges. Overlooking the city is a citadel, which is rather dilapidated and neglected; it is commanded by neighbouring heights. The gates of the city are closed at sunset, and the walls are in sufficient preservation to serve as a defence against an attack by troops unprovided with artillery. Many fragments of marble and of inscriptions, remains of more ancient structures, are worked into the walls. Over one of the principal gates is a long inscription, which refers to a Christian bishop and one of the emperors of Constantinople; it is evidently not in its original position. The walls and citadel are generally, and no doubt justly, attributed to the Genoese.

Below the town is a small port, intended probably for row-galleys. The beach between the city and the sea was enclosed by the walls of the town on both its sides, being prolonged till they joined the quays. The port was thus rendered inaccessible by land, except from the town, and the communication between them could not be interrupted. The quays were of masonry, and surrounded the whole port, leaving only a narrow entrance: the upper parts have been washed away, but enough of the masonry remains under water to break the violence of the sea, and to give protection to boats and small craft by which the port is still frequented.

There is no port for ships; a small open bay at the eastern extremity of the town is used as an anchorage during the summer. After the autumnal equinox, the Turkish and European vessels resort to Platana, an open roadstead about seven miles to the west of Trebizond. But British vessels anchor at all seasons at Trebizond; and the anchorage there, in winter even, appears to be quite as secure as that of Platana. The bottom is excellent holding ground, and with good ground-tackle, a ship would ride safely in the heaviest weather. The high mountains covered with snow prevent the wind from blowing

home on this coast; and during the severest gales there are, at short intervals, lulls of wind and sea, and there seldom is a night during the whole year in which the wind does not blow off the land.

The houses of the town contain for the most part a ground-floor alone; and all having a yard or a garden with a few fruit trees, scarcely a house is visible from the sea, and the town has the appearance of a forest when the trees are in leaf.

The city contains between 25,000 and 30,000 inhabitants. The Greeks may be estimated at 3500 to 4000, the Armenians at 1500 to 2000, and the Mohammedans at 20,000 to 24,000. The walled part of the city is inhabited solely by the latter; and that portion without the walls contains the Christian population, some Mohammedan families, as well as the bazars and khans. The natives of all sects, whether Christian or Mohammedan, are unfriendly to Europeans, and are an ignorant, rude, and bigoted race.

From the period of the expulsion of the Genoese and the capture of Trebizond by the Turks, its commerce dwindled into insignificance; and previous to 1830 it consisted in the export of a few products of the country to Constantinople; in the import of iron from Taganrog, a Russian port in the sea of Azof; and in a traffic with Abassah carried on in small craft, which transported salt, sulphur, lead, and considerable quantities of the manufactures of Turkey, receiving in exchange from the uncivilized tribes of the Caucasus their various raw productions, as well as a great number of male and female slaves.

The blockade of the coast of Abassah by the Russians, with a view to the subjugation of the Caucasian tribes, and to the extinction of the traffic in slaves, has annihilated the trade between Abassah and Trebizond; and the native merchants have since turned their attention towards that of Constantinople, which has, in consequence, increased, together with the consumption of European manufactures.

The country immediately around Trebizond has few productions,-objects of a commercial exchange with Europeans. Tobacco, bees'-wax, hazel-nuts, honey, butter, and kidney-beans, are exported from thence to Constantinople. The neighbouring mountains abound in rich veins of copper and lead ores, but the system of working mines in practice prevents the development of this rich source of national wealth.

The present importance of Trebizond is derived almost solely from its being the most convenient point of debarkation for merchandise destined for Armenia and Persia; but it is not improbable that a relaxation on the part of the Turkish government with regard to monopolies, and a change in the tariff now in operation in Georgia, may one day occasion Trebizond to become an interesting commercial mart, independent of its transit trade to Armenia and Persia.

I embarked at Trebizond on the 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1835, in a galley, and kept along the shore to the Russian frontier, a distance of 60 hours, or as many leagues, passing in succession the districts of Yomurah, Surmenah, O'f, Rízah, and Lázistán. All these,

however, except O'f, are known under the general name of Lázistán, and the people are called Láz. The O'fli's have peculiar habits and customs distinct from those of the Láz.

The picturesque beauty of the coast is particularly striking. The mountains rise immediately from the sea from 4000 to 5000 feet, clothed with dense forests, composed principally of chestnut, beech, walnut, alder, poplar, willow, and occasionally small oak, elm, ash, maple, and box, the higher parts being covered with fir. No ship-building is carried on in this part of the coast, and there is no exportation of timber, (a general prohibition existing against it in Turkey) so that the forests supply only charcoal, firewood, and timber for the construction of houses and of boats used in the coasting trade and fisheries.

The country is so wooded and mountainous, that it does not produce grain sufficient for the consumption of the population, yet not a spot capable of cultivation appears to be left untilled. Corn fields are to be seen hanging on the precipitous sides of mountains, at which no plough could arrive. The ground is prepared by manual labour, a two-pronged fork, of a construction peculiar to the country, being used for this purpose. Indian corn is the grain usually grown, and it is seldom that any other is used for bread by the people: what the country does not supply is procured from Guriel and Mingrelia.

The people are a hardy, laborious, and bold race, they are skilled in the use of a short rifle, which every man carries slung at his back, wherever and on whatever occasion he moves, and they enjoy a high reputation as soldiers. A demand is always made on this country by the Porte to supply a certain number of men for the arsenal at Constantinople.

A general census of the full-grown men in the empire, capable of bearing arms, was lately taken; the result gave for O'f, 24,000 men, and for Lázistán, 18,000 men. O'f has a very small extent of coast, but inland it spreads more widely, and runs nearly to the Jórúk, being bounded by that river and Lázistán. The O'flis in many of their habits much resemble the inhabitants of Maina in the Morea, carrying on blood-feuds from father to son; but when out of their own country, they are peaceable, and give their attention to commerce. They are represented as wealthy, having good towns, and houses of a better description than are usually found in these countries. Their country is very mountainous and inaccessible, particularly in winter; but, from their character, strangers seldom venture among them, and very little more is known of them, than that they are a fierce and independent race.

There are no towns in Lázistán: in Surmenah, Rízah, A'tenah, Khópah, and Bátúm, places all situated on the coast, there are bázárs, which consist of a street of shops, together with one or more coffee-houses, and a khán or two. At these bázárs a weekly market is held. The inhabitants live in cottages scattered singly over the country.

*Surmenah* and Yomurah, contiguous to Trebizond, may be considered as belonging to it; the people, being in constant contact with the townspeople, are more civilized than the Láz generally are.

*Rízah* is an important and fertile district, with the most extensive bázár on the coast. The climate is milder than in other parts: oranges and lemons are produced in the open air, shelter for the trees not being required in the winter months as it is at Trebizond. *Rízah* is famous for the manufacture of a linen made from hemp, used throughout Turkey for shirts.

*A'tenah* is a very insignificant place, with a small bázár.

Between *Khópah* and Trebizond no places on the coast communicate by caravans with the interior. There are passes from Surmenah, O'f, and *Rízah*, which are only practicable in summer, but I believe merchandise is never transported by them even then.

*Khópah* is an open roadstead where goods are landed, which are destined for Atvin<sup>7</sup>, a small manufacturing town on the river *Jórúķ*, three days' distant from the coast. Sometimes goods destined for Ahkiskhah are landed at *Khópah*, and carried through Atvin; but more generally they are landed at *Bátúm*, and conveyed by the *Ajerah*, or *Kúlah* valley<sup>8</sup>.

There are numerous summer anchorages all along the coast from Trebizond, as also several which are considered safe, and used in winter, but there is no port except at *Bátúm*.

*Bátúm* is well sheltered, and its bay is capable of containing a large number of ships, but it is an unhealthy station, and those who venture to reside there from July to October are exposed to severe attacks of fever. The port owes its existence to the river *Jórúķ*, which, falling into the sea some miles to the westward of *Bátúm*, has deposited, between its present channel and that place, a large tract of alluvial soil forming the western side of the bay. The sea has thrown up a bank of shingle which forms a border to this peninsula, leaving the land within it raised very little above the level of the sea, marshy and covered with brushwood, -these marshes occasion the unhealthiness of the place. The bázár is situated on the western side of the bay, close by the sea; it contains about sixty shops, several coffee-houses and kháns, and a mosque, all built of wood. Many buildings were in progress, and the place had the appearance of a newly-settled colony. There are a few small houses built, and gardens cleared in the brush-wood behind the bázár. The eastern side of the bay, opposite to the bázár, is healthy, and were a town placed on the rising ground there, it might be inhabited safely at all seasons, and would be placed beyond the influence of the marshes, since the breadth of the bay at that part is between two and three miles. Every person is obliged now to shut up his shop and quit the place during the sickly season.

The river *Jórúķ* is the boundary between the Páshálik of Trebizond and *Kárs*; *Bátúm* lying to the eastward of it, is consequently in the latter. It is one of the larger rivers of Armenia, uniting the waters of the *Kúlah*, or *Ajerah* valley, the *Marsat Dereh*,

<sup>7</sup> Probably Artvani of Lapie, and Artzani of the Russian Map, on a tributary to the *Jórúķ*.

<sup>8</sup> To the N.E. of *Bátúm*.

near Báibút<sup>9</sup>, and of all the valleys on the western and northern sides of the mountains, in which are the sources of the Kur, Aras, Arpah-cháï (*Harpasus*), and the Կարá Տú, or Western Euphrates, -these rivers serving as drains to the valleys on the opposite sides of the chain. Rafts come down the Jórúk from Atvin to the sea in three days, and sometimes, though rarely, track up against the stream in eight or ten; but from what I could learn, the river would not probably be navigable for boats, on account of rapids and rocks.

The country throughout is without roads; during the winter a direct communication with the interior across the mountains is impracticable, and between places on the coast it is usually kept up by sea.

The Russian Frontier, at about eight hours distant from Bátúm, and two beyond the bázár of Chórúk Տú, is formed by a river called the *Shefkatil Տú*, which rises in the mountains that run eastward and northward from the bay of Bátúm, and form the southern boundary of a vast plain. The river crosses this plain obliquely, holding a north-western course, and detaching from the rest of the plain, a small portion which is bounded by the river, the mountains and the sea, and which has been left in possession of Turkey. On the northern bank of the Shefkatil Տú, there is a small Russian fort called St. Nikolai, where is a quarantine-station.

Chórúk Տú possesses a more extensive bázár than Bátúm, with several coffee-houses, and a mosque; but there are no dwelling-houses, except that of the Bey. The persons who have shops in the bázár, are partly strangers from the coast of Lázistán and partly natives, the latter live in the contiguous mountains, and once a week, on the market-day, frequent the bázár, which is well attended. The Láz quit the place at the unhealthy season, in the autumn, and return when it is past. There is no harbour here, and I consider that, as a place of trade, it will soon be superseded by the more eligible station of Bátúm, where everything has the appearance of improvement, while at Chórúk Տú things seem in gradual progress of decay. The district is a dependency on the Páshálik of Կárş. The house of the Bey is on the shore close by the bázár, and was intended to have been enclosed in a fort, which was begun after the conclusion of the Russian war, but it was never proceeded with beyond the foundations. The bázár is built on a steep bank of shingle, thrown up by the sea, which being higher than the plain behind, protects it from the encroachments of the sea. The streams flowing from the mountains across this low flat run in sluggish currents, and, after heavy rains, render it a complete marsh, and having forced very deep channels through the shingle bank, empty themselves into the sea. Beyond the plain, which is in general narrow, commences a wood-land, which continues in the direction of the mountains to their base at the distance of about four or five miles.

At Chórúk Տú I quitted the boat and commenced my journey by land. I had entered the Páshálik of Կárş on passing the mouth of the river Jórúk, and had now to traverse the country as far as the city, whence it takes its name. The distance, by my line of

<sup>9</sup> Báibút, or Paipurth, in Armenian; purth means castle.-A.

route, was about 120 miles to Digwír, close on the Russian frontier, and thence to Kárs by Ardahán, about seventy miles. The country, until I reached the heights above Digwír, was very mountainous and woody, the summits themselves were pastures without wood; thence descending into Poshkov, there is a succession of rich plains, without any trees, excepting occasional pine forests in the recesses of the mountains, which border and divide the plains.

On this journey of 1500 miles I travelled as consul, and was furnished as such with a firman from the sultan. My suite consisted of a drogoman, a tatar, and two servants, and I had usually twelve horses including those of two guides. The loads, for the sake of dispatch, were light. My rate of travelling was between ten and sixteen post-hours a day; from 30 to 48 miles. The current expenses of horses, lodging, &c. amounted to about 30/. every 100 post-hours, or 300 miles. This was independent of presents, tatars, guards, and some incidental charges to which a private traveller would not be liable. I was treated by every body with great attention. Guards were always appointed, and although seldom (and I may almost say never) required, yet I could not, without offence, decline the compliment, as such they were intended, and such I considered them.

On the cross-roads post-horses are seldom found, but the villagers are obliged, and are in general quite willing, to furnish them at the post rate of one Turkish piastre ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  d.) per post-hour, three miles. I was but occasionally detained long for want of animals. I think a traveller, making moderate dispatch, with a small quantity of baggage and not many attendants, would find 30/. per 100 hours adequate to all his expenses. I would include in this his tatars' pay, and every expense.

The peasants who receive the traveller in the villages are generally content to leave their remuneration to his generosity. I seldom have found them dissatisfied with what I gave, but a few instances of the contrary did occur, and I am sorry to say it was generally in the poor Christian's house. I universally found the Mohammedans civil, ready to give all they had, and grateful for whatever they might receive.

In towns I was usually allotted quarters in the house of some wealthy Armenian, and was always well treated by them. My entertainers would seldom make any demand or accept money; in such cases a trifle was presented to the wife.

Quitting *Chórúk Şú*, I crossed the low meadows situated behind the bázár, passed through a narrow wood, and commenced ascending, by a beautiful but wild mountain gorge, the valley of Khino, The forest scenery was as magnificent as can be conceived, the trees of the same description as those in Lázystán, but of far larger dimensions. The first night was passed at a village named Jaghát, the houses of which were not collected together, but dispersed among the woods. Wheat is not grown here, but Indian corn, millet, and some rice are cultivated: the winters are not severe, but the summers and autumns are wet, and on that account the harvest often fails; for two years past, enough had not ripened for their consumption. Fruits of the commoner sorts are abundant and good, and grapes enough are grown to make wine. The next day, continuing the ascent through a similar country, and the same kind of scenery, I passed

a straggling village named Zerehbozel, and in the evening reached my night's quarters at *Didewaghi*, situated directly under the pass of the Kolowah Dágh, containing eighteen families, with the houses collected together. The whole valley is under the Bey of Chórúk Şú. The height of the village above the level of the sea, I should not estimate at more than 4000 feet, but the long winters of nearly eight months' duration, the foggy and wet summers, and early autumns, render agriculture there a very precarious occupation. The arable land is of small extent, and, in favourable seasons, will not yield the inhabitants above a six months' supply of grain. They have but few cattle or sheep from the impossibility of procuring winter fodder, which must be given for nearly eight months. The inhabitants are a very fine race, and show their Georgian mixture in their handsome features: they speak Georgian generally after reaching Bátúm, and in the valley through which I had passed, many of the natives did not understand Turkish at all. The men always go about armed with a rifle and a khammah, or large double edged knife, and they still have suspended from their girdles a knot of cord, which, though but ornamental now, served formerly to bind any captive Georgian they might meet in their rambles.

The country is very difficult, there are only mere footpaths through thick forests and beside dangerous precipices. Caravans do not attempt this road; they go from Bátúm up the Kúlah or Ajerah valley.

From hence there are two passes to cross into the Ajerah valley, one by the Perengah Dágh<sup>10</sup> and down the Juwánah valley, the other over the Kolówah Dagh and down the Akó valley. The Perengah Dágh pass is to the eastward of the other, and is the more difficult pass, but it makes a shorter cut, and runs near the Russian frontier. I had wished to go by it, the state of the snow, however, prevented the possibility; even by the Kolówah Dágh it was necessary to place my baggage on the backs of men, as laden horses could not pass, and from the extreme steepness of the mountain I was obliged to walk both up and down. The side I ascended was clothed with forests of the largest beech-trees I ever saw. The summit of the mountain was, on the 30<sup>th</sup> May, still covered with deep snow which was fast melting; on the upper part only a few stunted juniper bushes and spruce fir were growing, but the summit itself was bare. The descent into the valley of A'ko, was extremely steep and long; it took me four hours to ascend and as many to descend, including our numerous rests. A'ko is a pretty valley, and contains about sixty families, who seemed in easy circumstances, for the valley was well cultivated, and there appeared to be a sufficiency of land. The climate is temperate; rye and Indian corn are grown, but not much wheat; a small quantity of silk also is produced. The cattle are fed in the pastures on the Perengah Dágh, and when they encroach on the Georgian territory about ninepence per head is exacted for the grass, during the summer months.

The character of the people seems very much to resemble that of those on the other side of the range just passed; they look like Georgians, and speak the language.

<sup>10</sup> Dágh [tágh] means mountain.

From A'ko I descended into the Kúlah or Ajerah valley, through which runs a very considerable river, uniting with the Chórúk before it falls into the sea near Bátúm. On reaching the banks of the river, I got into the direct road from Bátúm, and about two miles beyond passed the opening of the Juwánah Valley, down which descends the road over the Perengah Dágh pass.

The forests on this side differ entirely in character from those on the other side of the range. Here they are quite alpine, and consist principally of small oak, mixed with Scotch and spruce fir. As the mountain is ascended, the oak disappears, and in the higher part are found only the spruce fir, with a few birches and alders. Along the valley as high as Kúlah, villages are of frequent occurrence, and there would appear to be sufficient cultivation to supply the wants of the inhabitants.

The roads in the Kúlah valley, below its junction with that of A'ko, were represented as more difficult than those in the upper part.

*Kúlah*, the hereditary possession of Aḥmed Páshá of Kárs, at about sixty miles from Bátúm, is the principal place in the valley, and contains with its immediate neighbourhood, about sixty houses and a bázár with twenty shops. The climate is good, for grapes ripen here readily and wine is made, but higher up the valley no vines are to be found.

Continuing up the valley we reached at its head the village of *Danesvorólah*, having one hour previously passed the small one of Reged, where the Āghá of the district resides. The distance from Kúlah is about twelve miles, but the rocky nature of the road, and the frequent circuits we were obliged to make to cross torrents, fatigued our horses and made our progress slow. The woods and mountains showed an elevation of probably 5,500 feet, and the snow lies so long on the ground, that it often happens that grain does not ripen. An additional proof also of the severity of the climate may be adduced, viz., that above the pine forest, which is immediately over the village, the birches and alders were, in the commencement of June, only beginning to put forth their buds. On every side are most luxuriant meadows yielding pasture for a fine breed of cattle, which are numerous.

Danesvorólah is chiefly inhabited by persons who have quitted the territory ceded to Russia, and who have been located here, until they can find a more eligible place of residence.

Immediately on quitting the village the road ascends through a pine forest for an hour, when the summit of the range is reached; where are extensive pastures, used by the natives of the contiguous valley, as the summer grazing grounds of their herds and flocks, but these pastures are free from snow only between three and four months, and even at the season in which I was there, on many parts the snow lay so deep, that my baggage horses had great difficulty in getting through it.

From the heights, there is an easy descent into the plain of *Poshkov*. The country as well as the natives assume now a character perfectly distinct from those on the opposite side of the mountains, where the country is mountainous and wooded; the

houses are all of timber, the language Georgian, and the people a fine, tall, handsome race. On this side the country is open, or rather it is a succession of plains without wood, except in some recesses of the mountains; the habitations are the underground houses of Armenia, and the people talk only Turkish, and bear the distinctive features of the Armenian race. The whole tract is well adapted to the growth of grain, as well as for grazing, and, although now depopulated from the consequences of the war, will probably be soon again occupied. The Sanjáḵ of Poshkov was retained by the Russians until the definitive settlement of the frontier, and either on their evacuating it, or during the occupation, all the villages were destroyed; some, however, are now in progress of restoration, but many still remain in ruins.

I passed the night at the village of Digwír, where the Bey of the Sanjáḵ of Poshkov resides; on leaving it I crossed a high mountain range, without a tree, with but few villages and little cultivation; affording scarcely more than summer pasturage to the flocks and herds of some Turkomán tribes. In some of the sheltered recesses on the slopes of the mountains, there are fir forests, but not any trees, either on the summits of the mountains or in the lower plains. From the range, I descended into the rich plain of Ardahán, watered by the Kur; the upper part is marshy near the sources of the river, and serves merely to pasture large herds of cattle, the lower part is well cultivated and productive.

*Ardahán* formerly contained 300 houses, but it was occupied and destroyed by the Russians, and now numbers only 70 families.

The houses are, like those of the villages of Armenia, underground; a method of construction adopted on account of the severity of the climate. There is a fortress, but it was dismantled by the Russians and the guns taken away; it is, however, commanded by neighbouring heights, and never could be made a place of strength. Within the castle walls is a large house, belonging to the Bey, as, also, other houses built of stone and above ground, but most of them are now in ruins.

From Ardahán the road lies over a high table-land, abounding in excellent pastures intersected by swamps, but with very little cultivation. In a distance of about 25 miles, not a single village occurred, nor until within three hours of ẖárş did villages and cultivation reappear, when the country became well peopled and highly productive.

ẖárş was formerly a large town, and might have contained 6000 or 8000 families; a part of it is walled and has a citadel<sup>11</sup>, but it is commanded by heights within musket range, on the opposite side of a deep narrow ravine, through which runs the river Arpah-Chái.<sup>12</sup> Two stone bridges unite the two portions of the city divided by the river, encircling the walled portion of the town on three sides.

The town is now little better than a heap of ruins, not containing above 1500 or 2000 families. A great part of the Turkish population abandoned it during the Russian occupation, and all the Armenians emigrated with the retreating army of the Russians,

<sup>11</sup> Built by Amurath (Murád) III.-Ed.

<sup>12</sup> Barley-river.

leaving many deserted villages, and a great deal of unoccupied land. The Turks of *Ḳárş* have always been considered a turbulent and bad race of people, but the *Páshá* has succeeded in gaining an ascendancy over them, and they dare no longer show their seditious spirit. *Ḳárş* is the residence of a *Páshá* of two tails.

The climate is very severe, but the fertile plains around produce abundant crops of excellent wheat and various grains, the surplus of which is exported to Georgia. Wheat produces six to eight fold, and barley eight to ten.

On quitting *Ḳárş*, I proceeded through a rich and well-watered plain, about twenty-live miles in extent, with luxuriant pastures, abundance of cultivated land and numerous villages ; among which, one only is inhabited by Armenians, all the others being possessed by Turks. There were numerous herds of remarkably large and line cattle. From the extremity of the plain, I commenced, by a very gradual rise, the ascent of the *Suvánli Dágh*, which is covered with forests of Scotch fir. It would be easy to make a carriage road across this mountain range, which is traversed during the summer by carts, used for the transport of goods between *Ḳárş* and *Erz-rúm*. The ascent is long and gradual, and the estimated height may be 5500 feet above the sea; the descent is short and rapid, and ends on the banks of the *Aras*, flowing through the plain of *Pásín*, which is remarkable for its fertility; wheat was said to return ten, and barley fifteen fold. Innumerable Armenian families emigrated from *Pásín* with the Russian army; most of the villages are but half inhabited, and wide tracts of rich land lie waste. This plain is separated from that of *Erz-rúm* by a low range of hills<sup>13</sup>, rising from 800 to 1000 feet above the plain, called the *Deveh Bóyiní*, or Camel's Neck.

*Hasan Ḳal'eh*, the town of the plain, has been a considerable place, but it is now a heap of ruins, and contains only some 30 or 40 families; it is walled, and has a Genoese castle in ruins, but it could not be made defensible, on account of the vicinity of the mountains. The distance from *Ḳárş* to *Erz-rúm* is about 110 miles. The forests of the *Suvánli Dágh* supply *Ḳárş*, *Erz-rúm*, and the villages in the plain of *Pásín*, with timber for building and firewood, A few Kurds inhabit the plain, who do not migrate beyond it, and are quite inoffensive.

*Erz-rúm*<sup>14</sup> must always be of importance from its position. It is situated in an extensive and fertile plain between 30 and 40 miles in its extreme length, and from 15 to 20 in its greatest breadth, watered by the *Ḳará Şú*, or western branch of the *Euphrates*. On every side are found rich grain-countries in which good horses, fine mules, cattle and sheep, are reared in great numbers. *Erz-rúm* commands the road to Persia, protects the approach to Constantinople, and is now the first important place in Turkey, whether entered from Georgia or Persia. As a *Páshálik* it yields only in rank and extent to that of *Baghdad*.

<sup>13</sup> One of the highest points of Armenia, and forming the separation of the waters of the *Araxes* and *Euphrates*, whose sources here approach within 10 miles of each other.-Ed.

<sup>14</sup> *Arze*, the antient name. *Arze-el-Rúm*, contracted into *Arzerúm*. *Anatolia* is called *Rúm* by the people to the eastward. To this day, you are asked in Persia whether you come from *Rúm*.

The climate is severe on account of the elevation above the sea, which I estimate<sup>15</sup> at 5500 feet. The plain formerly contained about 100 well populated and flourishing villages, some partially and some wholly Armenian; the latter people have chiefly emigrated, and, in consequence, there are many villages half inhabited, many without inhabitants, and a great portion of the plain lies waste. The soil is of unequal fertility; towards the upper part, near the mountains, where the town is placed, wheat yields only six to eight fold, while in the lower ground, near the river, it renders twelve to fifteen fold. All the grains in this part of Armenia are reckoned peculiarly fine in quality.

The city is rising slowly from the ruin in which it was involved by the Russian occupation, and by the emigration of so many industrious and laborious Armenians; its former population was estimated, in 1827, at about 130,000 inhabitants; at present there cannot be above 15,000, but it fluctuates considerably, on account of the vast number of strangers who are constantly arriving and departing with caravans. The town is partly surrounded by an old castellated wall, of the date of the Genoese occupation, and contains a citadel. A large portion of the city is unwalled, where are the principal bázárs and kháns.

On leaving Erz-rúm on the 2nd of July I crossed the plain, following the course of the K̄ará Şú for about 20 miles, and then diverged from the high Constantinople road, which continues near the river, and went over a more elevated tract of country, with little cultivation and few villages. It is in ordinary seasons deficient in moisture, and hence crops are then scanty; but in wet seasons it produces a good return. From this elevated ground I descended into the plain of Terján, in which the Mamah-khátún River unites with the K̄ará Şú. This is a fine plain and well watered; the district contains about 40 villages, inhabited by Turks, among whom a few Armenians are intermingled; but it is susceptible of maintaining more people, for a great deal of fine land lies waste. The people complained much of the predatory conduct of the Kurds who live in the Dújik Mountains, which border the plain on the south, to whom they attributed the desolate state of the country. No cattle can be left out at night; all grain reaped must be housed before night, for both cattle and grain found in the fields are carried away by the Kurds.

The climate is much milder than at Erz-rúm, as was indicated by the state of the harvest; here the grain had turned yellow, while at Erz-rúm it had not come to a head: wheat returns here ten fold. The buildings are half underground, in the usual Armenian style; but the winter is not severe enough to prevent the cattle being sent out to feed. The K̄ará Şú, after the junction of the Mamah-khátún River, becomes a considerable stream, and even in the driest season is fordable only in a few places.

The distance from Erz-rúm to Karghán may be about 60 miles in a west-south-west direction.

<sup>15</sup> By a series of Barometrical Observations. A. As at Erz-Rúm water boils at 200° of Fahrenheit's scale, the level of that place appears to be about 7000 feet above the sea. See Memoir of Mr. G. W. Brown, in Walpole's Memoirs, relating to Greece and Asiatic Turkey, voi. ii. p. 178.-F. S.

Between the plains of Teiján and Erzingán, a mountain-range intervenes with many very strong passes easily defensible; it is inhabited by Kurds, and forms part of the Dújik range. The river makes a circuit far into the mountains; its channel was said to be full of rocks and rapids; it rejoined our road as we entered the plain of Erzingán.

The Dújik Mountains are peopled solely by Kurds, who inhabit villages in winter and cultivate the land: They are represented as rich, pay no sort of contributions to the Sultán, lose no opportunity of levying them on passengers whom they meet, and are in the constant habit of plundering their neighbours. There are two powerful tribes, one called the Sháh Huseïn, and the other the Balabánlí; each, I was informed, could bring between 4000 and 5000 men into the field, mostly on foot. Several other tribes inhabit these mountains, of which I could not get any particular account, as they reside on the southern parts of the range. The distance from Karghán to Erzingán I estimated at about 30 miles, in a direction inclining a little to the southward of west.

*Erzingán* is a town containing about 3000 houses or families, of which about 800 are Armenian and the rest Turkish; it is governed by a Bey, and is a dependence on the Páshalik of Erz-rúm. The houses here, and in all the villages of the plain, are built above-ground, which gives them a more agreeable and cheerful appearance than in other parts of Armenia. The town is situated at the western end of a beautiful and rich plain, which is about 20 miles long, by 7 or 8 broad. The Gujik Mountains form its southern boundary, and at their foot runs the Qará Şú.

The climate is here never severe in winter and it is warm in summer. The harvest was ready (6th July) for the sickle, and the season was rather more backward than usual. On the northern side of the plain the bases of the mountains bounding it are covered with villages, surrounded by very extensive gardens, which furnish, in great abundance, excellent fruit to the circumjacent districts, even as far as Erz-rúm, Báibút, and Gúmish-khánah. Grapes and melons are among the fruits produced. The fields bore the most abundant crops I had anywhere witnessed; the wheat was heavy and the straw much longer than in the Erz-rúm plain. Wheat was said to render twelve fold. The centre of the plain was rather swampy, and showed indications of salt. It affords pasture to a great number of mares, cows, and sheep. There were stated to be about 100 villages in the plain, but the Kurdish depredations have been gradually diminishing the number of the inhabitants. A village I stopped at, formerly contained 100 families which had now only about thirty, and I was informed that most of the villages were similarly reduced. In no part of Asia Minor did I see a plain with a more luxuriant vegetation, nor with the appearance of a more careful cultivation.

Crossing the plain in a southerly direction, in about an hour and a half, we entered a very narrow defile through which the Qará Şú flows. This defile in its whole length to Kemákh is very strong, and presents innumerable defensible positions. The river was on my left running at the foot of the Dújik Mountains, on my right were mountains all but precipitous. The river is fordable in one or two places with some difficulty, during the dry season. It took me ten hours to go from Erzingán to Kemákh, but from the nature of the

road I should not conceive the distance to be above twenty-six miles. I entered Kemákh by a bridge of wood thrown over a deep chasm in the mountain through which the river has forced its way. Just before entering the chasm, the Keumer Şú had joined the Kárá Şú: the former comes from the mountains in a westerly direction, and by it wood is brought down for the use of Egín and Kébán Ma'den, and floated down thither by the Kárá Şú.

*Kemákh* is a singular place; an elevated portion of the town is within a wall of very ancient structure, but commanded by mountains rising close to it. The remainder is situated on a slope amidst gardens ascending from the river's banks. The governor is one of the remaining Dereh-Beys<sup>16</sup>, whose family has held the office for several generations, and who possesses extensive tracts of land around. The town contains 400 Turkish and about 30 Armenian houses: there seemed to be no commerce nor manufacture. The inhabitants live by cultivating the neighbouring valleys and by transporting wood to Kébán Ma'den. There is sufficient water in most parts of the river to navigate it with boats, but rapids, rocks, and shoals too frequently occur to render the clearing the channel a promising enterprise in the present state of the country; I was informed, however, by a person in the habit of bringing down timber from Kemákh to Egín, that the difficulties opposed to such an undertaking were by no means insuperable.

On quitting Kemákh I recrossed the bridge by which I had entered it, and took a course more westerly than the river, crossing mountains which here and there presented strong positions. The post-station was formerly near the river, but it had been removed several hours from its banks, which lengthened our road. I reached Herhemeh, the post, a small village, after a ten hours' ride, but I did not estimate the distance above twenty-five miles. From that village I returned towards the river, and reached the ferry of Khóstú in four hours or twelve miles, having passed in the way the village of Hasan O'vah,<sup>17</sup> situated in a very productive valley. The river at the ferry of Khóstú was rapid and wide, and not fordable. I saw on the left bank some women reaping the corn, and armed men watching near, to prevent the Kurds from carrying it off. After crossing to the left bank of the river I continued along it for about three miles, till I reached a village below which the stream again enters a vast rent in the mountains, the precipices on either side rising to 1000 or 1500 feet. I here quitted the river and crossed the range to shorten the road; the river soon after passing through the chasm in the chain makes a bend to the south-east, and our course cut off this corner; the mountains were very steep. There was said to be a better, though a longer, road by keeping along the right bank of the river, but it could only be better by comparison - good it could not be. The distance from Herhemeh to Egín I estimated at about thirty miles on a general bearing of south by west, but the nature of the road made the day severe for the horses and tedious for the riders, having been about thirteen hours on the road.

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<sup>16</sup> Valley-beys, or chiefs.

<sup>17</sup> Hasan's plain.

*Egín* is situated in a very deep valley on the right bank of the Euphrates; the approaches to it are difficult on every side, we crossed the river by a long wooden bridge to reach the town, as the road we took was on the opposite bank. There are numerous villages in the valley, nearly as populous as the town itself. The mountains rise from the banks of the river by a steep slope, which is terminated by abrupt precipices; the whole height of the mountains may be about 4000 feet, and the valley is so narrow that they seem quite to hang over the town. The sloping part of the mountains is covered with gardens, on terraces rising one above the other, and the trees being thick the houses appear to be situated in a forest, and the contrast between the lower part of the valley and the severe and lofty limestone precipices which border it produces a singular effect; in fact I never saw so remarkable a valley. The climate is very temperate, agreeably cool in summer from the abundance of trees and water, and the current of air which blows through the valley; and in winter snow seldom lies on the ground, but the higher mountains are then impassable, and it often happens that all communication is, for weeks together, cut off between the valley and places beyond the mountains. The town contains 2700 houses, 2000 of which are Mohammedan and 700 Armenian. Many of the villages contain 400 or 500 houses. Very little grain is cultivated in the valley, from the want of level ground, and the whole is occupied by gardens. The trees are mostly the white mulberry, the fruit of which is eaten fresh; it is also dried, and then converted into brandy, or boiled into *petmez*, a syrup obtained likewise from grapes. Wine is made in small quantities, and common fruits are abundant. The *goître* is a frequent disease, and I found a man who said it was hereditary in his family, his mother had it, and all her children, while the children of his father by another wife were exempt from it.

After quitting *Egín*, we continued on the western bank of the river, but instead of following the windings of the stream we crossed several steep mountains and deep valleys. The road is less difficult than that by which I approached *Egín*. The course of the river was more or less obstructed by rocks and shoals, and it is not used as a channel of communication, except for rafts of timber for the use of the mine at *Kebán Ma'den*. After continuing with the river for about fifteen or sixteen miles, we left it, and turning more westerly crossed a mountain range, which brought us by a slight descent to an elevated plateau on which *'Arabgír* is situated. The distance from *Egín* to *'Arabgír* may be about thirty miles in a direction first south and then south-west. There was stated to be a better road from *Hasan O'vah*, avoiding *Egín* and keeping at a distance from the river. *'Arabgír* is fifteen caravan days (about 270 miles) from Aleppo, and only eleven (198 miles) from Trebizond; the route to Trebizond is the more secure. The climate of *'Arabgír* is severe on account of its elevation, and much snow falls in winter. The summers are cool; the harvest was reaping (12th July).<sup>18</sup> The land about *'Arabgír* is good, and wheat was said to yield twelve fold, but on account of there being so much

<sup>18</sup> Exactly two months later than the beginning of the barley harvest at Smyrna, only 37 or 38 miles south of *'Arabgír*. -F. S.

rocky ground producing little or nothing, the quantity of grain grown is not more than sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. The town is situated in the midst of a forest of fruit-trees, among which the white mulberry is the most common, the fruit being eaten, as at Egín, and used for making brandy or petmez<sup>19</sup>. There are about 6000 houses, 4800 are Mohammedans and 1200 Armenians. The latter are principally engaged in manufacturing cotton goods from British yarn. The manufacture, which has been introduced of late years only, has extended itself rapidly, and there are now nearly 1000 looms at work. The place is in a thriving condition in consequence, and is one of the most interesting towns in the interior as regards Trebizond.

In the district of Dívrígí, to the north, on the road from Hasan O'vah, there are iron mines, which are not regularly worked, but those who choose are at liberty to extract ore; it is not done on any important scale. At a place called Zeitún on the road to Aleppo, I was informed that there were also iron mines regularly worked, which supplied the surrounding country with metal of an excellent quality.

The road from 'Arabgír to Këbán Ma'den lies over an undulating, open, barren, and uncultivated country, affording only a scanty herbage to a few cattle and sheep. Between 'Arabgír and the Euphrates, a distance of about twenty miles, I passed but one village, with a little cultivation around it. Before reaching the river I fell into the military road, constructed from Sámşún by order of Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá: it appeared to have been made with too great haste and too little labour to promise durability. I crossed the Euphrates by a ferry; there are three boats clumsily constructed but adroitly managed. The stream here is about 120 yards wide, deep and rapid. Two hours above this ferry, the Kárá Şú, or Western Euphrates, which rises near Erz-rúm, is joined by the Murád Cháĩ, or eastern Euphrates, whose sources are in the neighbourhood of Diyádín. The united streams preserve the name of the Murád Cháĩ<sup>20</sup> as far as Bír, where the river finally assumes that of Frát<sup>21</sup>.

The town and mine of *Këbán Ma'den*<sup>22</sup> are situated in a ravine about half an hour from the ferry; a small stream runs through the valley and joins the Murád Cháĩ, a short distance below the ferry. The town evidently owes its existence to the mine, for there would appear to be no other possible inducement to have fixed it in such a situation. The mountains around exhibit barrenness under its most forbidding aspect, for they produce neither tree nor shrub, nor vegetation of any kind. The ravine is so narrow that there is no space for cultivation, as the mountains unite in it at an acute angle. The climate is extremely hot in summer, and from the elevation of the mountains, a good deal of snow falls in the winter. The town contains about 400 or 500 families, all more or less employed in the working and superintending the mine, or in supplying the wants of the miners and their families. The greater number are Greeks, natives of the mountains, between Gúmish-khánah and Trebizond, but there are likewise some Armenians and

<sup>19</sup> Petmez (properly pekméz) is inspissated grape-juice, a common sweetmeat in the Levant.-F, S.

<sup>20</sup> Murad's river, or the wished-for river.

<sup>21</sup> Properly Forát.

<sup>22</sup> Mine of the gorge or pass; Balance-mine.

Turks. The latter are generally the directors of the various departments; the Armenians are artisans, and the Greeks are the miners. There is no trade in the place excepting for the consumption of the inhabitants. The mine is of argentiferous lead, and would appear to be a very unprofitable concern, at least in the hands of the government.

We left *Ḳebán Ma'den* by ascending the ravine in which it is situated, and after riding nine miles, emerged from it and came to a more open and productive country, but still mountainous, crossing which for about ten miles more we descended to a magnificent and well cultivated plain, studded with villages. This plain is extensive; it might perhaps be ten or twelve miles long by about six broad, but we crossed it only in its breadth. A low range of mountains separates this plain from the adjoining one of *Kharpút*. The distance from *Ḳebán Ma'den* to the town of *Kharpút* I estimate at thirty miles, over a good road, direction about southeast.

*Kharpút* is placed on an eminence at the termination of a range of mountains, but higher parts of the range command it, so that it cannot be regarded as a strong military position. The city overlooks an extensive, beautiful, and productive plain, and was said to contain 1720 families, 1400 Turkish, 300 Armenian, and 20 Catholic; but since it has been the head-quarters of *Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá*, the population must, at the present moment, be much greater. The plain furnishes a vast quantity of grain; its length may be estimated at not less than thirty-six miles; in general it is not above four to six miles broad, but in some parts it expands more; it is of unequal fertility, the centre being well-watered by numerous small streams, is most productive, while near the foot of the mountains on the sloping edges of the plain the land is arid and stony. Wheat returns twelve to sixteen fold. The climate is temperate, being neither excessively warm in summer, nor extremely cold in winter; the productions of the soil are various, consisting of every kind of grain, grapes, wine of a superior quality, oil from seeds, and cotton. The streams of the plain flow eastward until they fall into the *Murád Chái*, which skirting the eastern extremity of the plain, joins the *Ḳará Şú* two hours above the ferry of *Ḳebán Ma'den*.

I was surprised to learn that in this plain the population was generally redundant, a fact I never heard asserted elsewhere in Turkey. At an Armenian village where I lodged, containing eighty families, I was informed that only sixteen had lands, the remainder acted as labourers, and when no employment could be obtained they migrated to the capital or some large city to procure work, leaving their families (as hostages for their return) in penury, if not a burden, to the richer classes. Yet these people are not allowed to remove with their families to parts of the country where inhabitants are thin and spare lands abound. The prohibition to removal is enforced only against Christians, I believe, and it is intended to prevent migration and the diminution of contributors to local taxation, for the head of the family is called upon to pay his portion at the place where his family resides, notwithstanding his necessities oblige him to seek employment elsewhere.

Taken as a whole I had not seen any place, with the exception of Erzingán, approach to the state of apparent prosperity enjoyed by the inhabitants of the plain of Kharpút<sup>23</sup>.

Descending from the eminence on which the town of Kharpút is situated, we crossed the plain, in an oblique direction, and ascended a very steep mountain, on the face of which the military road has been continued, but the passage is still very difficult, on account of the extreme rapidity of the ascent, which it took us two hours to accomplish. In another hour we descended to a lake called Geuljik<sup>24</sup>, which has been generally described as salt, but having tasted the water I can affirm that it is fresh; the lake is about twelve miles long and three or four broad. From thence we passed along a tolerably well cultivated valley to a Kurd village situated at its extremity. The inhabitants appeared to be rich in cattle and ought to be at their ease, from the excellent land under cultivation. We then crossed a beautiful but small plain with two villages in it, and soon

<sup>23</sup> It may be interesting to know something regarding the condition of the agricultural population, and I will state what I learned from an Armenian farmer in the plain of Kharpút. He had ten pair of draught oxen, a few cows and sheep.

The produce was -

Wheat, 375 bushels, valued at 4s.	.....£75
Millet, 50 „, „ 1s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d	.....3
Cotton, 1155 lbs. „ 6d.	.....28
Grapes, 3300 lbs. „ $\frac{4}{10}$ d.	.....6

Sundries, as lentils, beans, seed for oil, butter, &c. all  
used in the family or consumed by guests .....  $\frac{50}{2142}$

The Expenditure -

25 bushels of wheat furnished to the mines	.....£25
200 bushels furnished to guests	.....40
495 lbs. of cotton paid to the lord of the Soil	.....12
Tax to the Pasha, ten per cent.	..... $\frac{14}{294}$
Remains for the maintenance of the farmer and his family	$\frac{51}{2142}$

The 50 bushels of millet and 50 bushels of wheat, the grapes and the sundry produce, were consumed by the farmer and his family. The cotton sold, after the lord of the soil had taken his rent, was about sufficient to pay the tax to the Páshá. The man received occasionally something from his guests, which, as it would be paid in money, was probably saved; but this was the statement made by the farmer, and as is universally the case, he no doubt represented his position rather worse than it really was. Nearly two-thirds of the whole produce was thus consumed in rent, taxes, and entertainment of strangers. I was not informed how much land he had in cultivation; there is no measure of land, it is estimated by the quantity of seed used in sowing, or the number of oxen necessary to plough it. They do not manure much, but allow the land to lie fallow every alternate year. Such is the general system of agriculture throughout Armenia.

<sup>24</sup> Little Lake, also called *Geukcheh*, i. e. "sky-blue." St. Martin Mém. sur l'Arménie, vol. i. p. 64.-F. S.

engaged in a succession of very difficult mountain passes; here all traces of the military road are lost. In these barren mountains are situated the sources of the Tigris and the copper mine of Arghaná<sup>25</sup>. There are collected around the latter about 743 families, 270 Greek, 173 Armenian, and 300 Turkish. The first and last are all engaged in directing or working the mines, the Armenians are tradesmen or artisans. From the mine to the town, a distance of about ten miles, in a direction to the eastward of south the road lies over steep, difficult, and barren mountains.

*Arghaná* is situated under a lofty peak (surmounted by a large Armenian convent) overlooking a vast plain, part of the Arabian desert; it contains about 600 families, one-half Mohammedan and the other Armenian, and appeared in a very dilapidated state. The elevated position of the town gives it the advantage of a cool breeze, while in the plain below the heat is inconvenient. The slope from the town to the plain was occupied by fields and gardens, producing every sort of grain, cotton, fruits, and a very superior wine; the land was stated to be very rich, and wheat to return sixteen fold.

From Arghaná to Diyár-bekr<sup>26</sup>, we passed over a vast level intersected by a low ridge of limestone hills; but did not see a single village in the whole route, a distance of about 36 miles. We passed, however, some fields of wheat and millet, said to belong to Kurds whose encampment was a little out of the road; the crops appeared very light. We saw only one rill of muddy-water, but was told that excellent water is found by sinking wells to a moderate depth in any part of the plain.

The distance from Kharpút to Diyár-bekr may be estimated at 55 miles in direction about south-east.

*Diyár-bekr*<sup>27</sup> is situated on the right bank of the Tigris, and between the river and the town gardens intervene. The area of the city is very considerable, the walls are lofty and substantial, they are constructed of the ruins of more ancient edifices, and surmounted by a castellated parapet to protect musketeers, but they have evidently been built before the use of cannon.

The town in its prosperity contained 40,000 families or houses, and numberless looms in constant work; it enjoyed an active trade with Baghdád in Indian, and with Aleppo in European produce, and was one of the most flourishing and wealthy cities of Asia. The plain was cultivated in every part and covered with villages, and within 3 miles of the gates there were several villages, each containing from 400 to 500 houses, and more than one Christian church.

At present, the number of houses or families in the city is reduced to about 8000, (of which 1500 are Armenian, 85 Catholic, 70 Greek, 50 Jews, and 6300 Turkish); there

<sup>25</sup> Or Arghaní, from the Armenian Arghni or Argni. They also form the ridge running in a north-east and south-west direction, between the tributaries to the Euphrates on the west, and the waters of the Tigris on the east, which are here only separated by a distance of about ten miles.-ED.

<sup>26</sup> Diyár-Bekr (the tents or dwellings of Bekr), pronounced by the Turks Diyár Bekir, derives its name from Bekr, son of Wáyil, a great-grandson of Rabí'ah, from whom the adjoining division of Al-jezírah (the Peninsula) was named. They all descended through 'Adnán from Ishmael. Pocock's Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 45. Jihán numa, p. 436.

<sup>27</sup> The Ancient Amida.-ED.

exist but a few hundred looms, half employed; the trade with Baghdad is annihilated, and that with Aleppo is reduced to insignificance; there are but few merchants and those not wealthy, the people are distressed and without occupation, not a village remains in the whole plain, not a person dares reside without the walls, and the plain is very imperfectly cultivated by Kurds. Until Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá established his authority at Diyár-bekr, the inhabitants were almost in a state of siege, for no one dared to venture without the city, except in company of a caravan, and the communication with Baghdad even by a Tátár was cut off. All this desolation and depopulation was produced by the Kurds, and that too, in the memory of my informant, within 25 years.

The climate, though excessively hot in summer, cannot be considered unhealthy, and in winter the temperature is delightful. I was informed that in the plain wheat would yield a return of 16 fold, and that the scantiness of the crops I had observed was the consequence of great economy in the seed and the negligent mode of cultivation in use by the Kurds.

The situation of Diyár-bekr is admirably calculated for that of a great commercial city, and nothing appears necessary to revive its ancient importance, but a removal of the causes which have occasioned its decline, namely, insecurity and the interruption of its communications with Baghdad.

The Tigris is not used as a channel of transport so high up as Diyár-bekr, but rafts of timber are sometimes floated down from the mountains above the town.

From Diyár-bekr we returned to Kharpút, and thence took the road to Malatíyah. After reaching the extremity of the plain of Kharpút, we crossed a lofty range of mountains covered with small oak trees producing a considerable quantity of gall-nuts, and descended to the banks of the Murád Cháï, where the ruins of a mosque and large cáravanserái exist. From Kharpút to the river is about 30 miles. Half a mile below the cáravanserái, the Euphrates has cut a passage through the main chain of Taurus; whence it continues about 45 miles among the mountains, its course interrupted by rapids and rocks; lofty precipices rising on either side to a very great height. This part of the stream is never passed by rafts of any kind, but when it emerges from the defile it then becomes navigable without any further interruption.

From the ruined cáravanserái we ascended the river for about four miles and crossed it at a ferry called Eiz Oghlú<sup>28</sup>, from the name of the district. On either bank is a village, both together containing a hundred Kurd families. The inhabitants were apparently poor, and we could scarcely procure any food, but in the evening we saw many cattle returning from the pastures.

*Aspúzi*<sup>29</sup> is about 21 miles, in a westerly direction from the Euphrates; it is situated amidst a forest of fruit trees on the side of a mountain, six miles above the town of Malatíyah, the inhabitants of which remove to Aspúzi for seven months, returning for the

<sup>28</sup> Eyás O'ghlú?-F. S.

<sup>29</sup> Aspúzi is on the bank of the Deir Mesíḥ (Christ-convent), a small stream which joins another failed Bunár-báshí (spring<sup>o</sup> head) in the town of Malatíyah.-F.S.

live winter months to Malatíyah: during the summer months, Malatíyah is abandoned to a few persons left to guard the houses, every other inhabitant quitting it. It is singular to see the population of the city transferred, for a portion of the year, to another close by; and no inconvenience in the position of Malatíyah would seem to have forced on the people this extraordinary custom.

*Malatíyah* and *Aspúzí*, which may be considered as one town, contain 3923 families - 2800 of which are Turkish, and 1123 Armenian. Plague, cholera, and Kurdish depredations have been gradually causing a diminution of the population; and the extensive and fertile plain of Malatíyah is nearly reduced to an uncultivated waste.

Malatíyah, as we saw it, deprived of its inhabitants, was the most desolate-looking place that can be well imagined. Not a living creature was to be met, and the streets were overgrown with grass.

The ancient walls are in ruins, and in most parts have fallen down; the houses have a mean appearance; the shops in the *bāzār* are mere mud-stalls. I saw two well-built mosques and two caravanserais, all in the Persian style of architecture. I passed through the city, and on leaving it by a handsome gate I observed the people appointed as guards of the houses, whose appearance did but augment the melancholy impression the situation of the city had excited.

From the city, we traversed the plain down to the Tokhmah Şú, we crossed by a bridge<sup>30</sup>, three or four miles below which the river falls into the Murád Chái. A causeway on arches is united to either end of the bridge, extending across the valley in which the stream flows, and indicating an occasional great rise of the river. About seven miles from the Tokhmah Şú<sup>31</sup>, we came to another stream, named the Chámúrlú Şú<sup>32</sup>, flowing through a deep narrow valley, well cultivated and irrigated by the waters of the river; it also falls in the Murád Chái. I passed in the plain a column of stone, which marks the half-distance between Constantinople and Baghdád. There was likewise in the plain a ruined Khán.

*Hasan Baṭrík*<sup>33</sup> is a village situated at the extremity of the plain, which, in a north westerly direction, is about sixteen miles broad; the length of the plain which accompanies the course of the Tokhmah Şú, flowing about east and west, must be very considerable. *Hasan Baṭrík* contains fifty Mohammedan families. Here are the ruins of a handsome mosque and caravanserai, built of freestone in the Persian style of architecture.

The plain, except in the valleys of the river, was a waste, and yet there could be no other reason for its being so, but the insecurity of the country. The fields around the village seemed productive in grain, and some cotton is grown.

Immediately on quitting *Hasan Baṭrík*, I entered a defile, in which runs the Chámúrlú Şú. The mountains are lofty, but not very steep, they are covered with small

<sup>30</sup> Called *Kırk-geuz*, "Forty-eyes". Jim. Numá, p. 600.

<sup>31</sup> Boundary-water.

<sup>32</sup> Mud-water.

<sup>33</sup> Patriarch *Hasan*.

oak bushes; the valley is narrow. I crossed the stream at about fifteen miles, and after ascending a very steep and high mountain came to Hákım Khán, situated a short way down the opposite side. The distance from Hasan Baṭrıḳ to Hákım Khán, I estimate at about eighteen or twenty miles; the road mountainous but not difficult: at the place where we forded the river, the water was girth deep; in the spring it is both difficult and dangerous to cross, and it is seldom that any persons but Tátárs make the attempt. The total distance from Malatıyah to Hákım Khán is about thirty-six miles, on a general bearing of north-west.

*Hákım Khán* is a small and apparently poor town, it contains about 250 Turkish, and 35 Armenian families. There is an old castle; and a Khán in the Persian style, said to have been built by a doctor, and hence its name. The country around is mountainous and arid, the rocks are all limestone. Vines do not thrive, on account of the severity of the winter; a small quantity of hardy fruits and tobacco is grown. Wheat yields six to eight fold.

Thus far from Diyár-bekr I had followed the high Constantinople-road, which continues onwards in the same north-west direction, while I took a more westerly course to Ghurun. Leaving Hákım Khán, we crossed mountains, valleys, and streams, without following any beaten track, and finally came again to the Tokhmah Şú, which we had quitted near Malatıyah, having made a circuit of the Agjá Dágh<sup>34</sup> Mountains. I followed the course of the Tokhmah Şú, in a northerly direction for about five miles, till I arrived at Ghurun, a little above which town the principal branch of this river has its source.

The distance from Hákım Khán to Ghurun I reckoned forty-five miles, on a general bearing of west.

*Ghurun* is situated in a deep narrow valley, whose eastern side rises in a precipice, the western slopes, and is cultivated where the ground permits. A stream runs through the valley, which is filled along both its banks with trees and gardens, amidst which the principal part of the houses are situated. The town contains 850 Turkish, 860 Armenian, and 63 Catholic Armenian families; the only instance of a town in the interior, in which the Christian exceeds the Mohammedan population. The winter is severe, the summer short, and the cultivation of the soil would not appear to be a favourite or profitable pursuit. The inhabitants indiscriminately are engaged in a trade with the migratory tribes of Turkomans and Kurds, who, in their migrations from near Angora, where they winter, pass several weeks in pastures around Ghurun, at distances of from six to eighteen hours. The traders of the town supply all the wants of these migratory tribes, and receive in payment the produce of their flocks and herds, which they either use, re-export, re-sell on the spot, or manufacture. The principal article is sheep's wool, of which a large quantity is bought and sold here.

From Ghurun I ascended the steep eastern side of the valley, and travelled over a mountainous tract, the hollows of which abound in fine pastures, the summits being bare limestone. These pastures are said to extend to the neighbourhood of

<sup>34</sup> Hâji Tâgh? Tâgh is commonly pronounced Dagh.

Ḳaïsariyyeh.<sup>35</sup> In spring they are luxuriant, but they were now dried up, having been in the early part of the year fed down by the herds and flocks of the Kurds.

*Manjelik*, at 25 miles from Ghurun, in a northerly direction, is a small village, and the only one on the road; it formerly contained above 100 families, but all the Turks abandoned it from the depredations of the Kurds, and 15 Armenian families only now remain, induced to do so by the presence of a very ancient church dedicated to Saint Thórós, which is a place of pilgrimage and of peculiar sanctity. Here is much more land than the inhabitants have the power to cultivate, and they occupy only the best, and that nearest the village, which is situated in a valley watered by a small rivulet, and the land appeared good; wheat yields ten to twelve fold. The climate is extremely rigorous in winter, and a great deal of snow falls, the summers are short and not warm, though the grain produced is very fine; the peasants are well supplied with butter from their herds, and wool from their flocks, but their butter and grain are mostly consumed by guests, who frequently do not pay for their entertainment. I lodged in a house belonging to four brothers, all of whom had received five wounds each, in defending themselves and their property against Kurdish aggression. Páshás and Āghás did not vex them much, because the village is the only one between U'lásh and Ghurun, a distance of 54 miles, which would be totally impassable in winter for caravans without the shelter afforded here; and a fear of the inhabitants abandoning a post so essential to the communications, prevented their experiencing the usual quantum of vexation and spoliation.

From Manjelik to U'lásh, a distance of about thirty miles on a a general bearing of north by west, the same sort of pastures are to be found as described from Ghurun to Manjelik, without however a single village; but there did not appear to me any other impediment to both villages and cultivation than the depredations of the Kurds.

*U'lásh* is inhabited solely by Armenians, and contains sixty families. It stands about eighteen miles south-west of Sívás. The soil is deep and rich, wheat yielding ten to twelve fold. In a hollow in the plain, which is filled to the depth of a foot or two with water in winter, but was now dry, were incrustations of salt. The people appeared to be very much at ease in their circumstances.

On the road from hence to Sívás there are two large salt-works: the salt is procured from springs; the surrounding country is supplied from them, and the government is said to derive considerable revenue from the works, which belong to it. The country from U'lásh till I reached the plain of Sívás was mountainous, not entirely without cultivation, but I did not pass any village.

*Sívás*<sup>36</sup>, situated in a plain from four to six miles in breadth by perhaps sixteen to twenty in length, is remarkable for producing good crops of grain of a very superior quality. The plain is watered by the Ḳızıl İrmák<sup>37</sup>, which though not remote from its

<sup>35</sup> Kaïsar, for Kaïssariyyeh, is only used by the common people.

<sup>36</sup> Sívás is on the site of the ancient Sebaste, and is capital o Γ the Páshálik (Eyálet) of the satne name.-  
Ed. la Armenian Sepasdia, Sevasdia, and vulgarly *Sevasd*.

<sup>37</sup> Red River (Halys).

sources, is here a considerable stream, and within a distance of five or six miles has two broad stone bridges over it. Timber for building and fuel is brought down by it, from the forests in the mountains in which the river rises. The climate is severe though remarkably healthy.

The town covers a large area, but within it are many ruins; it contains about 5000 Turkish and 1200 Armenian families.

Many of the old mosques and kháns prove the town to have been once under Persian dominion.

The position of Sívás is a very excellent one for an important commercial city. The access to it from the Black Sea is easy, and has been facilitated by the military road made by Reshíd Moḥammed Páshá. It is situated in the centre of a district abounding in the first necessities of life, and of a country which would require extensive supplies. The route by Sívás is certainly the best to reach Malátíyah, Kharpút, and Diár-bekr, and I may add Baghdád.

The bázárs are extensive and the kháns numerous, both being well, supplied with goods.

From Sívás, after quitting the plain, the road crosses a country abounding in extensive plains, separated by ranges of mountains generally of a low elevation. The distance to Kaïsariyyeh is about eighty-four miles in a direction nearly south-west. The plains are well cultivated and the country better peopled than most other parts; the soil is fertile, and wheat yields a return of from ten to sixteen fold.

I reached Kaïsariyyeh two days after it had been visited by an earthquake, and I found it nearly deserted. The inhabitants had taken refuge in the villages, or were outside the town under tents. It was fortunate that the calamity occurred at a period of the year when so many of the inhabitants reside in the country, or the loss of life would have been more considerable. About 150 persons were killed in the town, and it was calculated that in the villages about 400 perished. Many houses were shaken down, and scarcely one escaped damage.

*Kaïsariyyeh*, the ancient Cæsarea<sup>38</sup>, is situated at the foot of the mighty and constantly snow-capped Mount Erjish (Argæus) rising probably to the height of 10,000 feet above the sea<sup>39</sup>; the ruins of a more ancient town are close by, which was destroyed by an earthquake. The city is surrounded by a wall quite dilapidated, and has a castle within, on the same level as the city; neither could offer any resistance to cannon. In the environs, as well as within the town, there are many buildings which bear evidence of a Persian occupation.

<sup>38</sup> Capital of Ancient Cappadocia, and then called Mazaca; afterwards changed to Cæsarea, in the time of Tiberius. -ED. In Armenian, Mazhag or Mishag, from its founder Meshag.

<sup>39</sup> In the year 1834, a gentleman from the United States, travelling in this country, ascended Mount Erjish; he was accompanied by guides, and they reached the summit in safety. In descending, the traveller, against the advice of his guides, took what appeared to him a shorter path; the rest of the party followed the track of their ascent. The unfortunate gentleman fell, and was so severely hurt, that, although his comrades conducted him alive to the village where he resided, he soon died of the injuries he had received.

The climate is warm in summer and not severe in winter, yet it is not reckoned very healthy. There are to be found here the productions of a warm climate, as melons, figs, pomegranates, grapes, &c. The plain did not strike me as either fertile, or well cultivated, except just around the town. The base of the mountain is covered with gardens, which produce fruits and the yellow berry<sup>40</sup> used in dyeing, for which *Ḳaïsariyyeh* is so celebrated.

The mountain supplies timber for building, firewood and charcoal, all which are reasonable in price. The town contains 8000 houses - 5000 Turkish, 2500 Armenian, and 500 Greek. The villages in the neighbourhood are large and populous, and the Christian inhabitants display their riches and luxury in their country residences more than in any other part of Turkey.

This is the principal commercial mart in the central part of Asia Minor; its natives are remarkable for their enterprise and activity, and they are found assiduously following their pursuits in the remotest corner of the empire. Of late years the importance of the place has very much declined, owing to the insecurity of the country on account of the Kurds.

The central part of Asia Minor is generally deficient in wood, for except in some of the recesses of the mountains, where scattered forests may be found, scarce a tree is to be seen throughout the country. Dried cowdung is the fuel principally used in cities by the poorer classes, and universally so by the villagers.

Throughout Asia Minor it is very usual to find rye growing among wheat, but I never saw a whole field of rye.

The distance from *Ḳaïsariyyeh* to *Yúzgát*<sup>41</sup> I reckon about 96 miles on a general bearing of north by west. The country is neither fertile, populous, nor well cultivated, but there are parts in which both villages and cultivation are found, and without doubt this would be the case more generally, were it not for the Kurds, those destroyers of everything like civilization.

Twice during this part of my route I fell in with bands of Kurds; the villagers were all obliged to watch their fields during the night, lest the sheep and cattle should be turned into them, or the grain which was cut should be carried away. In the spring migration of the Kurds, the young crops are often eaten by their sheep, which are so numerous that a field is speedily cleared, and thus the poor peasant's hopes of a harvest are totally destroyed, or perhaps his crops, which had escaped the danger in spring, are reserved only to be plundered in the autumn.

At *Boäslían*, a village on the road, a great deal of nitre is produced. The soil is strongly impregnated with it.

<sup>40</sup> *Rhamnus infectorius*.

<sup>41</sup> *Yúz-kát*, i.e. hundred roofs? It is spelt *Yuzghat* by M. Lapie, and was not known to Major Rennell. There are several different and nearly parallel routes from Angora to *Tókát*.-F. S.

The land here is very arid, and wheat only yields five fold: indeed the whole tract from Kaïsariyyeh to Yúzgát is one of the least productive parts of Asia Minor, and as deficient in trees as all the high land of Armenia.

Yúzgát grew into importance under the fostering care of the Chapán O'ghlú family, who fixed their residence here, and from an insignificant village it became a considerable and flourishing town. It is the neatest and cleanest I saw in Turkey, and is walled. There were some guns to protect the gates, but when the family were removed, the guns were conveyed to Constantinople. The walls served only to protect the inhabitants from the attacks of marauders or irregular troops. The town is in a narrow valley, and is commanded on all sides.

The founder of the Chapán O'ghlú family was a petty Turkomán chief, who by superior address and courage raised himself to the rank of a powerful Dereh Bey, commanding a district which extended over a great portion of Anatolia, and might be called a small principality, which he ruled with sovereign sway. The family maintained its position for two generations, but the third generation were created páshás, removed from their hereditary possessions, and from that moment lost their influence, while their riches became the prey of the Sultán and his court. The father of the present generation was a liberal and magnificent chief, and he spent his princely revenues in supporting his station with dignity and boundless hospitality. Yúzgát is now governed by a rapacious Musellim,<sup>42</sup> and having no manufactures, and no other produce than grain, is reduced to an insignificant provincial town, while the inhabitants regret their former munificent lords.

A little to the right of the direct road to Tokát from Yúzgát, and about thirty or forty miles from the latter, there is an argentiferous lead mine, called Aḵ Dágh Ma'den<sup>43</sup>, from the mountain in which it is situated. I saw the director at Yúzgát, and he informed me that about 300 families were employed in the various operations connected with the mine; that since he had the direction it had produced considerably more silver than before, and that he believed a more scientific method of mining would be the means of extracting a much greater quantity of ore at less expense.

I think the quantity of silver he stated to have sent to Constantinople was 300 okes, or 825 lbs., valued at about 3000l. sterling.

From Yúzgát I made an excursion to visit some ruins, which were stated to be very extensive, and never to have been visited by any European. They lay in the direction of Boghaz Keuj, which I had determined to visit, as near it are some ruins and sculptured rocks, which had been discovered by M. Texier the preceding year. I reached the small village of Netiz, which is three hours from Yúzgát in a north-westerly direction. In the village itself are numerous blocks of marble, used in the construction of the cottages, and many of them have letters and words cut on them. In the burying-ground of the village are innumerable marble fragments of columns, and various parts of ancient buildings. There were two funeral inscriptions, of the Christian era, proved by the names

<sup>42</sup> Governor.

<sup>43</sup> White-Mount-Mine.

as well as by the form of the letters. On a conical hill near, called by the villagers the Castle, were two pieces of marble which had been discovered; they formed part of the cornice of a roof, and were handsomely sculptured. They had fallen together, and were still united; evidently showing that they must have belonged to a building on the spot. At the foot of this conical hill had been excavated the remains of a building, formed of large stones, which had been faced with marble. So small a part was excavated, that the purport of the building could not be ascertained. From another conical hill in face an immense quantity of marble blocks had been excavated, and used in building a mosk at Yúzgát. Not far from thence were some stones of immense size, which apparently have formed the posts of a gate and partly of a wall. The natives told me they found medals, but I could not procure any from them; they said they did not preserve them, as they were only copper. From this place I directed my course to Boghaz Keuj, which was about four hours distant. I reached it late in the evening; next morning I hired a guide, and visited, first the sculptured rocks, which are about a mile and a half from the village. This is a natural inclosure of immense masses of limestone rock, from forty to fifty feet high, apparently fallen from the mountains immediately above, and have assumed the form of a parallelogram, of twenty yards long by ten wide, on which are sculptured figures. They have been in many parts nearly obliterated by the effects of the weather; in some parts, however, the objects are quite distinct. The long line of smaller figures is about three feet in height, then come five larger figures; there are two principal ones joining hands. One of them is backed by three others, and all are standing on the backs of animals. Then comes a line of smaller figures, and at the end, on a rock by itself, is the principal figure standing on two mountains, and holding in its right hand an emblem like an Egyptian symbol of eternity - a circle with wings.

Monsieur Texier has made some beautiful drawings from these interesting remains, but they give you an idea of a greater degree of preservation than the figures are in.

From thence I crossed over a ravine, and at the distance of half a mile came to the site of a vast building. The lower foundations alone exist, but sufficient to trace the plan, which is in the form of a parallelogram. The stones are of great size, and are rough externally. Around the hills are remains of walls, buildings, and gates, but in a very dilapidated state, and of a very rough construction. Both these ruins are worthy the examination of an antiquarian, to which title I have no pretensions<sup>44</sup>.

The distance from Yúzgát to Tókát is about 100 miles, in an east-north-east direction. The country is a succession of plains separated by low hills. The plains are well peopled and well cultivated, entirely bare of trees, but they are as productive in grain as any I had seen. The climate is moderate in summer, and cold in winter. Wheat was said to yield, in the most fertile parts, ten to twelve-fold, and in others seven to eight-fold. I met with some tribes of Turkománs which do not migrate; they encamp in

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<sup>44</sup> I should have examined these ruins more thoroughly, but I was told at Erz-rúm, by a companion of M. Texier, that a full account of the ruins had been published at Paris.

the open plains from spring to autumn, and in winter retreat to some sheltered nook on the edge of the plain, building walls against the declivity of a hill and covering them with their tents, as a roof. They are not rich, do not plunder boldly, but are addicted to pilfering. The plains are well watered by small streams.

*Ard Ovah*<sup>45</sup>, the last great plain before reaching Tóḱát, contains about seventy villages, and produces an incredible quantity of grain.

After quitting this plain I came to a mountainous tract with less cultivation and more thinly inhabited, which finally led me through a long, steep, narrow and rocky defile, down to Tóḱát.

Tóḱát<sup>46</sup> is placed at the mouth of the defile, which widens a little on approaching the city, on the bank of a small stream, but so surrounded on three sides, by lofty mountains, that the heat concentrated in the narrow valley rendered the place, while I was in it, intolerable. The valley from about three miles above the town is filled with gardens and vineyards, and a number of rills of water run through it. The town is not esteemed healthy, autumnal fevers being very prevalent. It contains 6730 families, of which 5000 are Turks, 1500 Armenians, 30 Roman Catholics, 50 Jews, and 150 Greek. The Armenians and Catholics are in general very rich, or at least the wealthiest persons are to be found among them.

As a commercial mart, the importance of Tóḱát has passed away, the numerous fine kháns are empty, and there did not appear any symptoms of its being an active commercial city. The roads from thence to Constantinople and to Sámşún are very excellent. The military road from Sámşún to Kharpút passes through it.

From Tóḱát I bent my course to Trebizond with all possible dispatch, in order to meet the Right Honourable Henry Ellis there; and as I stopped only to rest and change horses, I had but little leisure to make inquiries on the road.

The line of road from Tóḱát takes an easterly direction running parallel to the Black Sea, amidst the ranges of the mountains which rise from the plains of Jáník, and which are scarcely lower than the central table-land of Asia Minor; the mountain contains large forests; many fine plains exist, and they are tolerably well peopled and cultivated. There are some considerable towns and numerous villages. The whole tract lies out of the route of Kurd migration, and there is consequently no want of security; altogether it is a beautiful, fertile, and prosperous portion of Asia Minor.

*Níksár* is distant about 27 miles east of Tóḱát: between them a range of well-wooded mountains intervenes. Níksár contains a population of about 1000 houses; it is situated on the eastern side of a very extensive and remarkably rich plain, watered by the very considerable river of Chár-shambah. Rice is cultivated extensively in the plain. The town is situated amidst a forest of fruit-trees. The climate is warm. There are the remains of the old Roman<sup>47</sup> town wall, and of a castle of the same period.

<sup>45</sup> Back-plain," pronounced Art-ova. The Turks throw the emphasis on the last syllable, and pronounce final soft consonants hard.-F. S.

<sup>46</sup> From the Armenian Evtogia (Eudocia).

<sup>47</sup> Neo-Cæsarea, *i. e.* New Cæsarea.-ED.

From Níksár the road ascends a very lofty range of mountains. The summit is far above the region of trees, and must be above 6000 feet high; crossing this, we continued among the mountains at a little lower elevation, and among forests and meadows, until we descended once more at Kuleh-*hişár* to the Chár-shambah Şú, along the banks of which the road continues until it quits them to ascend to the town of *Ķará-*hişár**, the position of which is very elevated.

*Ķará-*hişár**<sup>48</sup> is distant from Níksár about 70 miles; it contains 2500 houses, and has a considerable trade with the coast and the interior. Kerahsún is the port on the Black Sea with which its communications are most active, and is distant about 60 miles. There is an old castle on the summit of the isolated mountain, around which the town is built. Near this town there are extensive mines of rock-alum, from which the town takes the distinctive appellation of Shebb-kháneh<sup>49</sup>, there being several other cities in Turkey called *Ķará-*hişár**, or Black Castle.

At a small village called Uleh, in the district of Shírván, 48 miles east of *Ķará-*hişár**, I left the high eastern road leading through Erz-rúm, and turned northward towards Trebizond. Between Uleh and Gúmish-kháneh the mountains are more steep and difficult than any I had seen in Asia Minor, except in the Ajerah Valley.

*Gúmish-kháneh*<sup>50</sup>, a town on the banks of the river Kharshút, has grown up around the mines of argentiferous lead in the neighbourhood. The mines were once rich in silver, but the produce now is very small. The system pursued by the government, rather than the want of ore, has occasioned the falling off of the produce. At one time there were 40 furnaces in full employment, there are now only two.

The whole district abounds in ores of copper and lead; few mines are worked, and those which are produce little to the government, from the ruinous system of management pursued.

It is difficult, upon a hasty and extensive journey like this, to give a very accurate or concise summary of the different points I endeavoured to investigate.

The central table-land of Armenia is a fertile corn country, and abounds also in pastures. The slopes of the mountains supporting this table-land are wooded, and the plains at their base rich. The climate on the shores of the Black Sea is temperate, on those of the Mediterranean extremely hot, while in the central parts it is cold, on account of their great elevation. The country is throughout well watered with streams. The passes from the coast to the interior are difficult and easily defensible.

The population is scanty: the greatest portion of the inhabitants are Turks, who find employment as soldiers, civil functionaries, cultivators, merchants and artisans. The next in number, or perhaps not inferior to the Turks, are the Kurds, who live in separate tribes, and wander with their sheep and cattle over the country, from the mountains to the plains, according to the seasons, for the sake of pastures, without, in general, other

<sup>48</sup> Black Castle.

<sup>49</sup> Shebb-kháneh, the alum-office, or alum-works.

<sup>50</sup> Silver-works.

habitations than their tents. They are warlike, always wear arms, are addicted to plunder, and have been, until lately, scarcely more than nominally dependent on the Sultán. It is the object of Reshíd Mohammed Páshá's operations to reduce them to a more complete obedience.

The Armenians, the original inhabitants, are generally engaged in commercial pursuits in the towns, or are cultivators of the land; they are prohibited from carrying arms, and are not called upon to act in the capacity of soldiers or civil functionaries. They are Christians, and I estimate they may form about one-third of the number of the Turkish, and one-seventh of the whole population.

Besides the above, there are in various parts of Asia Minor a few tribes of Turkománs, the remnant of the conquerors who overran the country. They still preserve their pastoral habits, and very much resemble the Kurds.

The roads are merely tracks formed by the constant passage of travellers and of caravans; they are numerous, and in general sufficiently well marked. In the mountains they are always the same, but in the plains they frequently vary their course, according to the changes which occur in the cultivation of the land. The only exception is the military road lately made by Reshíd Mohammed Páshá, from Şámşún to Diyár-Bekr, a distance of nearly 400 miles, for the transport of his artillery.

The raw productions of the country are grains of various kinds, wool of sheep and goats, silk, gall-nuts, hides, skins, and gums.

The mines yield copper, lead, silver, iron, alum, and salt.

There is a good deal of manufacturing industry, and various articles are made both of cotton and wool, which are partly consumed in the country, and partly exported to Georgia and the Crimea.

By a series of barometrical observations in the city of Erz-rúm during the month of December, 1830, registered generally twice a day, we have-

English inches.		Thermom, attached.		Fahrenheit detached.
Highest	24.776	- 40	- 17 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dec.16, at 9 A.M.
Owest	24.552	- 47	- 33	21, ,,
Mean	24.620	- 44	- 26 $\frac{1}{4}$	

during which month the mean of 31 double observations at Trebizond gave,

Barometer	30.038	- 55.8	- 56.2
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If these observations may be relied upon (and there is no reason to doubt them), the height of the plain of Erz-rum above the sea cannot exceed from 5000 to 5300 feet, and which, we have very little doubt, will be found near the truth.

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#### ITINERARY.

From Trebizond to Batúm the distance is 60 hours, or as many leagues. It can only be performed in boats; there are no practicable roads.

## From Batúm to

	Hours.
Chórúksú	4
Jaghat	5
Didewaghi	7
Akho	7
Kulah	7
Danesvorola	5
Digwir	9
Louramel	5
Ardahán	8
Kars	16

There are no regular posts on this route, and the distances are stated as paid for. Sometimes they could not be performed in the number of hours, on account of bad roads and bad horses.

	Hours
Karahamza	8
Mezingherd	10
Khorassan	4
Hasanhaleh	8
Erz-rum	6
	-36
Yenkkeui	10
Karghan	10
Erzinghean	12
Kamakh	12
Herhemeh	10
Edin	12
Arab-gir	10
Kebban-Maden	10
Kharput	10
Argana Maden 12 hours	
Argana town	15
Diyar-Bekr	12
	-123
Eezoglu	12
Aspusi (Malatia)	6
	-18
Hakim-khan	14
Ghurun	15
Manjilik	9
Ulash	9
Sivas	6
	-53
Saghileh	12
Gemerck	6
Kaissar	12
	-30
Boäslan	12
Pasha keuj	10
Yuzgat	10
	-32
Mughalleh	9
Yangeh	6
Saleh Serai	6
Tókát	12
	-33
Niksar	9
Kuleh-hisar	12
Kara-hisar	12
Ulehsheran	16
Gumish-khaneh	12
Trebizond	18
	-79

There are posts established, hut the horses are bad.  
The hours on this part of the route are longer distances than usual, and could with difficulty be performed in the time.

The hours here are easily accomplished in the time, butr the horses are for the most part indifferent.

There is no change in

Post.  
No posts, being across the country.  
No horses.

Good road. and done within

Good road. and horses tolerable.

Excellent road, and fair horses.

To Ulehsheran the road is generally good, though mountainous, and the horses very fair. From thence to Tradizond the road is the worst I ever travelled; a continuation of precipitous mountains. The horses from Gumishkhaneh are wretched in the extreme.

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# BOOK REVIEWS

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**WESTERN ARMENIANS ON THE TARGET OF  
THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE  
(1878-1923), YEREVAN, NATIONAL SECURITY  
SERVICE OF RA, YEREVAN, 2016, 275 P. (IN  
ARM.)**

*by Hatikyan Hakob*

A book review by Ruben Sahakyan

The history of intelligence, that is special services, their structure, behavior and operations had been the goal of studies in different countries. Indeed, special services do not advertise their activities, and consequently their archives are out of reach of scholars. Anyway, periodically some studies had come into presence which focus on the activities of special services in the past, especially the methods used in the course of their struggle against hostile forces.

In the memoirs, studies, archival and other documents dealing with the struggle of Armenian national-liberatory movement against the Ottoman tyranny are referred to considerable number of examples regarding the activities of the Turkish intelligence, which were aimed to jeopardize the undertakings of Armenian organizations. The study of Hakob Hatikyan discusses this problem from the time span between the beginning of the Armenian Question until the creation of the Turkish republic.

H. Hatikyan stresses that the modern «Turkish National Intelligence Service» («Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı») is a direct heir of the two Ottoman special services - «Yıldız İstihbarat Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa» and «Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa».

The author focuses on the elucidation of several problems:

1. Forms and methods of the struggle of different Armenian organizations (secret societies, groups, national parties) against the Ottoman intelligence and secret police, and also to demonstrate their successes and failures, analyze their causes and consequences.
2. The structure of the Ottoman secret service, forms and methods of their activities.
3. The structure of the network of special services and peculiarities of their activities.
4. Activities of «Yıldız İstihbarat Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa» during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II.
5. The organization of «Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa», its structure, network and role in the Armenian Genocide, etc.
6. Armenian-Kurdish cooperation in 1920s.

One of the main valuable and important characteristics of the monograph is that the author had made use of Russian and Turkish archives recently opened for public.

In the National Archive of Armenia the author had find unic documents elucidating the activities of Armenian spies in the Russian-Turkish (Caucasian) front of World War I. This is mentioned by Russian general Nikolay Morel (1869-1920) who was the commander of the Armenian I special infantry brigade (memoirs are unpublished). He presents valuable information about the secret network created by Sebastatsi Murad (Murad Khrimyan), Chakhalyan, Ter-Vardanyan (both officers of the Armenian army) and others, and the information collected by them. The author especially stresses the activities of Tigran Devoyants, professional intelligence officer.

Studying the activities of the Armenian Intelligence Service H.Hatikyan concludes that in 1920, before the Turkish aggression the Armenian spies had collected and transferred to the government valuable information, which «due to some reasons either reach the government with delay or did not receive appropriate attitude by the government» (p.49).

The author pays special attention to the operation aiming at the penetration into Cilicia of Mari (Mikayel Ter-Martirosyan) organized by the ARF. According to him, Mari had successfully organized his undercover bypassing the Turkish police, in order to participate in national-liberatory activities in the territory occupied by the enemy. But consequently he was arrested by police due to betrayal.

H. Hatikyan mentions that the Ottoman intelligence had passed two phases in its development at the beginning and middle of the XIX century. This was achieved partly by France and Germany still in the XIV century. It is well-known that some European countries and the Ottoman empire had instigated the uprising of Yemelyan Pugachev in Russia (1773-1775). On this fact points the correspondece between F.Voltaire and Catherin II, Russian empress. During several wars between Russia and the Ottoman empire the intelligence of the latter mainly operate in the adjacent Russian provinces and Turkestan in Central Asia.

Until Abdul Hamid II the Ottoman special service does not have name; only from this time it was called «Yıldız». First reference to «Yıldız» goes back to 1891, when a book was published by order of the Sultan (later confiscated and destroyed by Enver Pasha). Fortunately, one copy of it was found in the French National Library. The content of this book shows that «Yıldız» was created by the Great Britain. Probably, this was one of the cases when Great Britain from time to time showed enmity towards national minorities of the Ottoman empire, Armenians in this list, and aided the Ottoman government.

«Yıldız» had a wide network of agents. They were looking for the members of the Armenian national-liberatory organizations (they called them revolutionaries). For example, in March 22, 1891, member of the staff of the Russian consulate in Karin (Erzurum) reports that 70 Armenians were arrested who were eager to become Russian subjects, and that the person who traited these people, was called to «Yıldız» and given some office.

Some documents and memoirs give an impression about the structure of «Yıldız». The latter consists of three departments. The main department, standing above two others was that led by Fehmi Pasha. He actually experienced unlimited authority. Fehmi Pasha have had a right to search the house of any person, regardless of his office and social rank.

The Berlin congress of 1878 seriously stimulated the Armenian liberatory movement. After the Congress secret organizations and parties had come into presence. Initially they were far from professionalism, due to which sometimes the Ottoman secret agents were inserted into their structures. By the time these organizations became more experienced, uncover spies and even insert their own into the Ottoman police. This is recorded in the memoirs of Nazim Bey, Ottoman Interior minister. Besides this, members of the Armenian national-liberatory movement enter from Eastern Armenia to Western Armenia supplied with trustworthy legends.

Armenian liberatory forces also were relying upon the enemies of the Ottoman Empire. It is well known that after the Berlin congress Bulgaria was regarded as the vassal state of the Ottoman Empire and thus supporting anti-Turkish forces. Bulgarians supply Armenians with false passports, their baggages were never checked. Moreover, the Bulgarian government secretly lets the Armenians to organize a school for military officers first in the region of Dubnitsa, then in Rodomet in November 1906. Becoming aware of it the Turkish intelligence demanded from Bulgarians to close the school. The Russian consul in Bulgaria acted likewise. It is worth to say that early in the XX century Russia had demonstrated anti-Armenian policy, which could be seen in the context of the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907 (anti-Russian activities of Armenians, Armenian-Tartar confrontation in the Caucasus etc.). And finally the Bulgarian government was forced to close the school.

Analyzing the causes of the officers school' closing H. Hatikyan explains it by 1) inner-party confrontation, 2) a lack of conspiracy, 3) wide resources of the Ottoman intelligence and secret police (they use the resources of the Turkish enclave in Bulgaria). Besides that, the Ottoman intelligence and secret police gain their information about the Armenian liberation forces from their diplomatic services in different countires.

It is also well known that the World War I became a fine opportunity for the Young Turk Ottoman government to fulfill its program of the Armenian genocide. In this undertaking an important role was played by the "Special organization" whose first victims were Russian Armenians living in the districts of Kars and Batumi (November-December 1914). This fact is evidenced by the Russian authorities.

The Ottoman intelligence which had established contacts with Russian Bolsheviks, in 1918-1922 constantly receives information from them and even supplies the Muslim bands acting against the Republic of Armenia with arms (p. 228).

After World War I ARF had succeeded to secretly organize the operation "Nemesis". Turkish intelligence was unaware of it and could not warn the leaders of the Young Turks who had escaped to Europe and other countries.

H. Hatikyan discusses the activities of the Armenian intelligence and counterintelligence of the First Republic and also the Armenian-Kurdish cooperation against the Kemalist Turkey.

H. Hatikyan's monograph was evaluated positively by colonel N. Minasyan, head of the Veteran's Council of the National Security of RA and Prof. V. Virabyan.

Concluding our review some considerations are worth to present.

1. The monograph is not supplied with indices.
2. It lacks the mention and the role of Alexander Parvus, a well-known German and Ottoman agent, who acted against Armenian liberatory movement.
3. The cooperation of German and Ottoman intelligence during World War I services is omitted.
4. The author did not discuss also close cooperation of Kemalist and Bolshevik intelligence which lasted well through the early 1930s.
5. The author did not use the documents kept in the archive of the National Security Service, RA.

It should be stressed that further studies of H. Hatikyan may benefit by using more special literature, for example, M.K. Baskhanov, The Armenian Question in Turkey in the materials of the General staff of the Russian empire, Ankara, 2013 (in Russian); A.A. Kolesnikov and M.K. Baskhanov, Before World war I: the Russian military intelligence on the Turkish front: Documents: Commentary, Tula, 2014 (in Russian); N.K. Ter-Oganov, From the history of the SCMD in Turkey and Iran (1870-1918), Tel Aviv, 2015 (in Russian).

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**GRIGOR KAPANTSYAN AND THE HITTITE STUDIES, YEREVAN, "GITUTYUN" PUBLISHING HOUSE, 2016, 196 P. (IN ARM.)**

*by Hmayakyan Hasmik*

A book review by Robert Ghazaryan

Grigor Kapantsyan has a unique place among the prominent Armenologists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Several works<sup>1</sup> authored by him have not lost their significance till today and are subject to further studies. Among his works of special value are those devoted to the Hittite-Armenian linguistic interrelations. His works in Armenology were preceded by N. Martirosyan's studies devoted to Hittite-Armenian lexical correspondences<sup>2</sup>.

The study, analysis and valuing of Grigor Kapantsyan's works, relating to the Hittite-Armenian historical and cultural correspondences are extremely important, as these issues remain problematic together with other unequivocal questions. Such are the localization of the Indo-European homeland, definition of the period when the Hittites penetrated into Asia Minor, time frames of the ethnogenesis of the Armenian people, direct or indirect character and chronology of Hittite-Armenian linguistic and cultural interrelations, acceptance or denial of some common features of the Armenian language with the Hittite-Luwian languages, identification of the Armenian endonym "hay" with the name of the political unit Hayasa, localization of Hayasa and other issues, straightly related to the ethnogenesis of the Armenian people.

In the mentioned field of paramount value are the fundamental works by G. Jahukyan who thoroughly examined the Hittite-Armenian parallels that circulated in science before him, clarified, classified and discussed the collected materials from the point of view of comparative linguistics<sup>3</sup>. In this field should be mentioned also the

<sup>1</sup> Kapantsyan Gr., General linguistics, vol. I, Yerevan, 1939 (in Arm.); Kapantsyan G., Hittite deities among Armenians, Yerevan, 1940 (in Russian); Kapantsyan Gr. The cult of Ara the Handsome, Yerevan, 1944 (in Russian); Kapantsyan G., Hayasa - the Cradle of Armenians. Ethnogenesis of Armenians and their early history, Yerevan, 1948 (in Russian); Kapantsyan Gr., Towards the origins of the Georgian ethnonym Kharthveli, Historical-linguistic studies, vol. II, Yerevan, 1975, p. 45-52 (in Russian); Kapantsyan Gr., Historical-linguistic studies (henceforth HLS): Towards the early history of Armenians. Ancient Asia Minor, vol. I, Yerevan, 1957 (in Russian); Kapantsyan Gr., Common elements between Hittite and Armenian, HLS, vol. I, Yerevan, 1957, p. 331-408 (in Russian); Kapantsyan G., Anatolian (Asianic) deities among Armenians, in HLS, vol. I, Yerevan, 1957, p. 267-327 (in Russian); Kapantsyan G., History of Armenian language: ancient period, Yerevan, 1961 (in Arm.); Kapantsyan Gr., HLS, vol. II, Yerevan, 1975 (in Russian); Kapantsyan Gr., About one Hittite myth concerning Grus and the spring deity, HLS, vol. II, Yerevan, 1975, p. 174-190 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> Martirosyan N., Relation of Armenian to Hittite, Handes Amsoreh, 1924, n. 9-10, p. 453-459 (in Arm.); Studies in the names of Asia Minor, PBH, 1961/3-4, p. 82-107 (in Arm.); A benefit to Hittite and Armenian lexis, Patmabanasirakan handes, 1972/2, p. 163-186 (in Arm.).

<sup>3</sup> Jahukyan G., Genetic correspondences of Armenian and Hittite-Luwian lexis, Patmabanasirakan handes, 1967/4, p. 57-74; Jahukyan G., Armenian ancient Indo-European languages, Yerevan, 1970 (in Arm.); Jahukyan G., History of

studies of N. Mkrtchyan and A. Kosyan who enriched the data on Hittite-Armenian parallels<sup>4</sup>. A number of foreign Armenologists have studied this issue as well, and they revealed new remarkable Hittite-Armenian lexical correspondences. Specifically, J. Greppin's works should be mentioned: they are distinguished also by an unpreconceived approach to the controversial issue of Hittite-Armenian interrelations, which is crucial for this problem<sup>5</sup>. The studies of Schultheiss, Puhvel and others are of great significance as well<sup>6</sup>.

In the field of the study of Hittite-Armenian linguistic interrelations the works by Hasmik Hmayakyan, senior researcher of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, have their unique place as well<sup>7</sup>, especially her monograph "Grigor Kapantsyan and the Hittite Studies".

The topic "Grigor Kapantsyan and the Hittite Studies" is being introduced in the scientific circulation for the first time and this is its novelty. Some aspects of Grigor Kapantsyan's studies (history, linguistics and mythology) reviewed in this monograph as well as some of his suggestions have been introduced by various researchers in their papers, depending on to what extent these suggestions concerned their subject of studies and opinions expressed. However, this is the first time that such a holistic, generalizing approach simultaneously with a number of queries shaped by the author

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Armenian language. Pre-literary period, Yerevan, 1987, p. 311-321 (in Arm.); On the contacts of Armenian and Hittite-Luwian languages, World culture. Traditions and modernity, Moscow, 1991 (in Russian).

<sup>4</sup> Mkrtchyan N., Some Hittite-Armenian lexical correspondences, *Patmabanasirakan handes*, 1969/1, p. 238-246 (in Arm.); Hittite-Armenian correspondences, *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitutyunneri*, 1970/7, p. 59-60 (in Arm.); Kossian A., An Anatolian-Armenian Parallel, *Annual of Armenian Linguistics*, vol. 15, 1994, pp. 63-65 : A Note on Anatolian-Armenian Linguistic Contacts, *Annual of Armenian Linguistics*, vol. 19, 1998, p. 41-42.

<sup>5</sup> Greppin J., One Hittite-Armenian correspondence, *Patmabanasirakan handes*, 1972/3, p. 221-222 (in Arm.); A Note on Hittite TARLĀ, *Revue Hittite et asianique*, tome XXXIII, 1975, pp. 55-57; Luwian Elements in Armenian, *Drevnij Vostok*, N. III, 1978, Yerevan, p. 115-126; The Anatolian Substrata in Armenian - An Interim Report, *Annual of Armenian Linguistics*, 1982, vol. 3, pp. 65-72; A Note on Armenian zurna, *Folia Orientalia*, 1990, Tome XXVII, p. 185-198; Idem, Book review, Jaan Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, vol. 3, Words beginning with H, Berlin, 1991, *Annual of Armenian Linguistics*, vol. 13, 1992, p. 85-90; Kurilowicz J., Hittite h and further extensions on to Armenian, *Analecta Indoeuropea Cracoviensia*, Vol. II: Kurlowicz Memorial Volume, Part. 1, Cracov, 1995, p. 313-315.

<sup>6</sup> Schultheiss T., *Hettitisch und Armenisch*, *Kühne Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 1961, 77, pp. 77-220; Puhvel J., Reed and Arrow in Anatolia and beyond, *Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol.II, 2007, p. 85-87. Van Windekens A.J., *Quelques confrontations lexicales arméno-hittites*, *Annual of Armenian Linguistics*, vol. 1, 1980, p. 39-43.

<sup>7</sup> Hmayakyan H., Some Hayasaean toponymic suffixes in the cuneiform place-names of the Armenian Highland, Middle East, 2002, p.3-9 (in Arm.); The goddess Hebat in Armenian and Greek pantheons, *MMAEZH*, 2003, n. XXII, p.210-216 (in Arm.); Hayasaean <sup>d</sup>U.GUR and Ara the Handsome, *MMAEZH*, 2004, n.XXIII, p. 381-394 (in Arm.); Inheritance of spiritual traditions (From the cult of fertility to christianity), XXI century, 2005, n. 2(8), p.165-175 (in Arm.); Hittite marnuwa, *MMAEZH*, 2007, n. XXVI, p. 45-51 (in Arm.); The worship of the Sun in the Van lake region, Middle East, 2008, n. 5, p. 93-98 (in Arm.); Hittite-Armenian linguistic interrelations, Middle East, 2009, n. 6, p. 307-313 (in Arm.); Reflexions of the name and character of Hurrian goddess <sup>d</sup>Ša(w)uš(k)a in Armenian epic and linguistic materials, *MMAEZH*, 2011, n.XXVIII, p. 239-252 (in Arm.); The Hittite god Hasamili, *Ancient Orient*, 1(6), Yerevan, 2014, p. 57-65 (in Arm.); On some common features between Greek Artemis and Armenian Astxik, Middle East, 2012, n. VIII, p.88-101 (in Arm.); On some common features between Hittite and Armenian religious beliefs concerning the cult of the Sun, International conference. Abstracts of papers dedicated to the 125th birthday of Hovsep Orbeli, Yerevan, 2012, p.54-57 (in Arm.); The merit of Nshan Martirosyan in the field of Hittite-Armenian interrelations, Historical-cultural heritage of the Armenian Highland. Materials of an International conference. June 24 – July 1, 2012, Yerevan – Stepanakert, Yerevan, 2012, p.32-33 (in Arm.); The toponym Turuberan in the context of the Hittite-Armenian interrelations, *Haykazuns. Myth and History*. International conference, Yerevan, 2013, p.80-82 (in Arm.) etc.

regarding these aspects, discussed and valued in the context of the achievement of the modern science, is being applied.

The book consists of three chapters, conclusion, bibliography and the Annex.

The Introduction justifies the choice of the topic of the book, defines the targets and tasks of the study, explains the scientific novelty, underlines the methodological base and the practical significance of the work as well as gives a brief review of the used sources and literature.

Chapter I (“The Hayasaean Hypotheses of the Ethnogenesis of the Armenian People”) consists of four paragraphs. The first paragraph “Hayasa-Azzi” briefly touches upon the Hittite cuneiform texts of the XV-XIII cc. BC, which mention the political formation of Hayasa-Azzi as well as the Assyrian sources of the XIII-XII cc. BC, containing important data about the political situation in the Armenian Highland. Here the author also makes a detailed presentation of Hayasa’s localization by Kapantsyan and etymology of its toponyms, their analysis from the point of view of modern science. Special attention is paid to the discussion of Kapantsyan and other researchers’ opinions on Hayasaean toponymic suffixes that allows the author to draw preliminary conclusions; according to her, the Hittite-Luwian linguistic elements prevail in the Hayasaean toponyms. In the second paragraph (“Etymology of Hayasaean Personal Names”) the author makes a detailed review of five personal names that have reached us (Anniya, Hukkana, Karanni, Mariya, Mutti). In the third paragraph (“The Hayasaean Theonyms”) the author discusses in detail Kapantsyan’s views on the structure of Hayasaean pantheon and etymology of its theonyms. The fourth paragraph (“The Issue of the Ethnogenesis of the Armenian People”) presents Kapantsyan’s concept on the complex process of the ethnogenesis of the Armenian people, in which he assigns the main role to the political formation of Hayasa and the language of Hayasa. Trustworthiness of this hypothesis can be supported by the following facts: the name of Hayasa clearly corresponds to the ethnonym “hay”, Hayasa is located on the Armenian Highland (in Upper Armenia, Turuberan and adjacent territories according to the recently suggested view). Another serious argument will appear in case of this localization: the ancient cult centers of the pagan deities of Armenians are also located in the above-mentioned region that suggests a definite spiritual and cultural heritage between the Armenian and the Hayasaean pantheons.

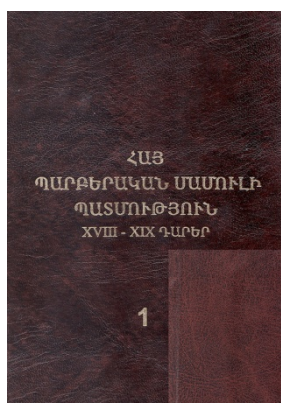
Chapter II of the book (“The Hittite-Armenian Ritual-Mythological Interrelations”) consists of three paragraphs. The first paragraph named “The Peculiarities of the Hittite and the Armenian Mythologies” briefly presents peculiar features of the Hittite and Armenian pantheons and mythologies as well as common elements in the two peoples’ beliefs that trace back to the Indo-European unity and the author makes an attempt of typologizing the Hittite-Armenian ritual and mythological correspondences. In the second paragraph (“The Hittite-Armenian Ritual-Mythological Interrelations”) the author addresses Kapantsyan’s ideas found in his studies, that she has reviewed in the context of modern science, making a number of her own observations and putting forward

relevant hypotheses. The third paragraph ("The Hattian-Hittite Myth of the Deity Telepinus") discusses Grigor Kapantsyan's article "Around a Hittite Myth related to Crane and the Spring Deity".

Chapter III ("The Hittite-Armenian Linguistic Interrelations") consists of two paragraphs. The first paragraph ("The Issue of the Hittite-Armenian Linguistic Interrelations") makes a detailed presentation of Kapantsyan's views on a number of linguistic problems, especially relating to the Armenian and Hittite languages, which he considers to be "Asiatic". At the same time falsity of the "Asiatic theory" as well as Kapantsyan's view on 'mixed languages' are shown, proved by the modern linguistics. The author brings to the attention the greatest merit of the scholar - raising the issue of the Hittite-Armenian linguistic correspondences, his studies and observations related to the fields concerned, many of which continue to be discussed in the scientific studies of Armenian and foreign authors, finding its place in etymological dictionaries of the Hittite language. In the next paragraph ("The Hittite-Armenian Lexical Parallels") the author for the first time gives a complete and integral list of the Hittite-Armenian lexical correspondences in Kapantsyan's works with references. Each correspondence is presented in the form of a dictionary entry with views of other authors regarding the given correspondences. For the first time a breakdown of the Hittite borrowed lexical stratum in the Armenian language based on semantic groups has been done, which enables us to do preliminary suggestions.

This remarkable and important work definitely adds to the good traditions of Armenian Hittitology which was established in the Soviet period and still continues by the scholars of the Department of Ancient Orient of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA.

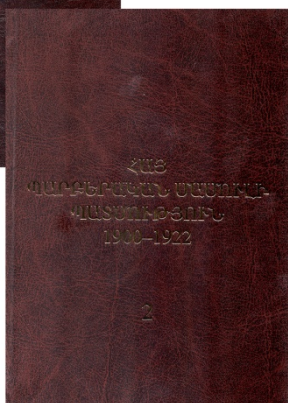
**Robert Ghazaryan**  
***Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA***



**«THE HISTORY OF ARMENIAN PERIODICAL PRESS» (I VOLUME, XVIII- XIX CENTURIES, 2006, P. 701), (II VOLUME, 1900-1922, 2017, 787 P.), YEREVAN, (IN ARM.)**

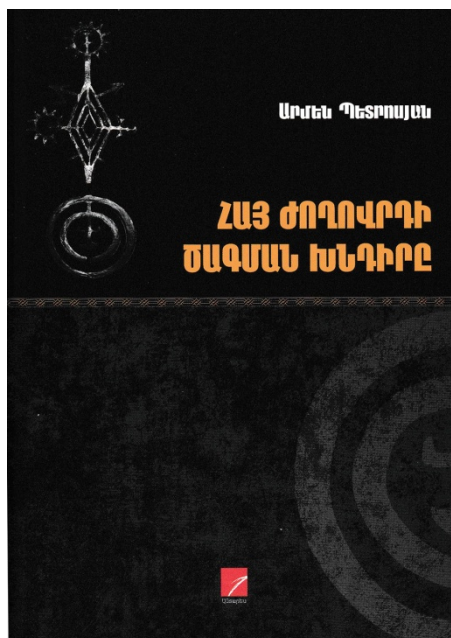
*by Kharatyan Albert, Gevorgyan Lida*

A book review by Petrosyan David



In 2006, the first volume of «The History of Armenian Periodical Press» (XVIII- XIX centuries) was published in Cairo owing to the joint efforts of the Armenian press historians. The most popular periodicals of the mentioned period of Armenian journalism have been studied and valued through the method of historical

investigation. The authors of this difficult but very grateful work recorded the next significant achievement with the initiative of the Department of History of Public and Political Thought of the Armenian Periodical Press, Institute of History NAS RA (Head of Department - Corresponding Member of NAS RA, Albert Kharatyan): recently the second volume of «The History of Armenian Periodical Press» (1900-1922) was published.



**THE PROBLEM OF ARMENIAN ORIGINS. MYTH, HISTORY, HYPOTHESES, INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY, NAS RA, YEREVAN: "ANTARES PUBLISHING HOUSE", 2017, 248 P. (IN ARM.)**

*by Petrosyan Armen*

A book review by Kosyan Aram

The recent study by Armen Petrosyan is the last one among his numerous studies, which were devoted to the Pre-History of Armenian people<sup>8</sup>. As the author mentions in the Introduction, his goal was to summarize all that was achieved by Armenology

during the last century and up to date.

<sup>8</sup> Petrosyan A., The Myth of Aram in the context of Indo-European Mythology and the Problem of Armenian Ethnogenesis, Yerevan, 1997 (In Arm.); Armenian Epos and Mythology, Yerevan, 2002 (In Russian); The Indo-European and Ancient Near Eastern Sources of the Armenian Epic, Washington DC, 2002 (= JIES Monograph No 42); Ancient roots of Armenian pantheon, Patmabanasirakan handes, 2002/2, pp. 205-233 (In Arm.); Problems of Armenian Ethnogenesis, Yerevan, 2006 (In Arm.); Aramazd, Yerevan, 2006 (In Arm.) etc.

The study is built on the analysis of several interconnected levels - biological, cultural, linguistic, religious-mythological, and historical. It consists of four chapters, where the reader finds the analysis of main problems of early Armenian ethnogenesis and statehood.

In the first chapter («Traditional data of Armenian ethnogenesis») the author introduces primary sources of his study - etiological myth, Armenian epos (discussed under the light of comparative mythology), ethnographic, linguistic data, as well as the studies of Classical Greek, Roman and medieval historiographers (Strabo, Josephus Flavius, Leonti Mroveli, Jakut etc).

The second chapter («Earliest tribal and state organizations of the Armenian Highland and the problem of their inheritance») discusses the early state formations of the Armenian Highland (III-I mill. B.C.), supplemented with the problem of inheritance or possible links between them.

In principal the methodology used by the author is without doubt, scientific and thus convincing, since he is trying to build his reconstructions referring to similar models gained from the study of other ancient civilizations. Most probably, the appearance of different ethnonyms in synchronous and diachronous sources for the population of a given geographical area could not be taken as a proof for the existence of different ethnic groups (p.74-77). The examples referred by the author are more than satisfying: the names of Mittani (Egypt. Naharina, Hitt. Hurri, Assy. Hanigalbat), Urartu (Assyr. Nairi and Urartu, Urart. Biainili, Urashtu in Babylonian, Akkadian variant of the Behistun inscription, Armina and Harminuya of the Persian and Elamite versions of the same text).

In this regard it would be of interest to mention that exonyms used in regard to early state formations or population groups could not be taken as an argument for the linguistic affiliation/ethnic background of their population. Most of these ethnonyms are arbitrary since they were formed according to the external features of the population existing in the mentality of their neighbors (name of the settlement, a mountain or mountain range, lake or river in the neighborhood, true or fictional forefather etc.). As a rule, the endonyms and exonyms differ from each other. In this regard some cases are worth to mention. For example, Lithuanians call Russians *krievs* (this was the exonym which denotes the eastern Slavic tribe of *Krivichi*, neighbors of ancient Lithuanians). Or *Tedeschi* which means Germans used by Italians (the name given to a small group of Jews settled down in Venice in the XVI century A.D.), not to mention French people, whose name originally denotes the German tribe of Franks. In this regard it would be worth to refer to the widespread practice in some studies where the authors were looking for the ethnonym "hay" or "armen" in ancient sources, neglecting others who probably could have been also Armenian-speaking.

In regard to the problem of political and spiritual-cultural inheritance the paragraph devoted to the Upper Armenia is of utmost importance. Here it is shown that this region is attested to in the written sources as a prominent cultic center still in the II mill. B.C. Strikingly, the main religious-cultic centers of Pre-Christian Armenia were located exactly here (in Ekexeac, Daranaxeac and Derjan gavors). It is not accidental that the ancestral tomb of the Armenian Arshakids was located in the fortress of Ani along with

the part of the state treasury, not to mention that with the adoption of Christianity the district (gavar) of Ekexiac was given to Gregory the Illuminator as the domain of his family. Actually, in the case of the Upper Armenia we deal with the prominent region of the early Armenian statehood and the consolidation of the people.

In the case of the ancient Armenian province of Ayrarat the author also is inclined to see a considerable level of inheritance from most ancient period. He refers to the Armenian etiological myth, where this province figures as the center of "Armenian universe". Here used to live and rule Aramaneak, the elder son of the forefather Hayk and his offsprings.

Another variant of inheritance is suggested for the province of Vaspurakan (Lake Van area). Despite the absence of pan-Armenian state or religious centers in this region (capital cities, temples of prominent deities), here used to live the forefather Hayk (the battle at Hayotsdzor against Bel), and also "Mheri dur" of the "Daredevils of Sassoun" epos is located; other personages of the epos also are connected with the south. So, Vaspurakan, as well as Sassoun and Taron are considered to be the centers of ancient Armenian epos.

At the end of this chapter the civilizational role of Urartu is discussed. Indeed, the author rightly mentions that Urartu is to be understood as being an artificial political organization which includes different political, economic and linguistic components, where the ruling elite comprised a minority.

In the third chapter A. Petrosyan («Ethnolinguistic situation in the Armenian Highland in the II-I mill. B.C.») discusses the problem of ethnolinguistic composition of the Armenian Highland. Here the author lists a large group of proper names attested in the Mesopotamian and Anatolian cuneiform texts, where one could see clear traces of Indo-European and non-Indo-European population (Hurrian-Urartian, Indo-Iranian, Hittite-Luwian, Kaskaean, Semitic, Armenian etc.). In this panorama the original place of the Armenian speaking tribes, before their spread into other regions of the Armenian Highland, A. Petrosyan locates on the northern shores of Lake Van, in the upper streamflow of Aratsani and adjacent regions, a view already proposed long ago<sup>9</sup>. It is worth to mention that the above-mentioned situation is fixed long before the formation of the Urartian state. This is exactly the area where the forefather Hayk had settled down after his departure from Babylonia - Hark, which was entitled as "Primary Armenia" in some Armenological studies. This could explain the existence of some Armenian words in Urartian texts.

The last chapter of the monograph («Scholarly hypotheses of the identification of Armenians») represents an overview of different theories (migratory and autochthonous) dealing with the formation of the Armenian people. Further he goes on to discuss the background of all these theories under the light of modern scholarship.

The monograph is supplied with extensive bibliography and indices.

The monograph of A. Petrosyan is one of the most complete studies dealing with the Pre-History of ancient Armenia. It brings together a large quantity of sources and

<sup>9</sup> T. Gamkrelidze and V. Ivanov, *Indo-European language and Indo-Europeans*, Tbilisi, 1984, vol. II, p. 956, Map.

references to other authors with minimal suggestions, thus leaving space for further studies on each topic discussed in the monograph.

The evaluation of A.Petrosyan's monograph would be incomplete without some ideas concerning the problems of Armenian Pre-History aimed to future studies in this field.

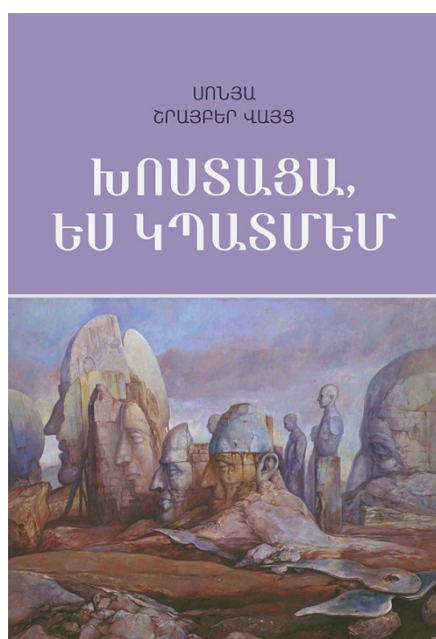
The first and most important point in the understanding of ethnolinguistic processes is the civilizational diversity of the Armenian Highland. Although the three main regions pointed by the author (Upper Armenia, Ayrarat, Van-Vaspurakan) reflect the political and spiritual-cultural situation before the creation of the first pan-Armenian kingdoms (Urartu and Greater Armenia), these same areas were definitely divided into several smaller units. It is extant particularly in the case of the south. The northern and eastern shores of Lake Van and Axdznik, and the southern shores of the lake could be united at best only on the epic level. The same is true for the Upper Armenia.

The second point regards the cultural background of the inheritance. Local migrations were one of the most important features of the ancient societies of the Armenian Highland beginning at least from the late IV mill. B.C., which could and should have constantly re-shape the linguistic and cultural identities of the population. For example, several large migrations from the Kura-Araxes homeland (Ayrarat and adjacent regions) towards Upper Armenia, Tsopk, also to the Lake Van and Urmiya basins.

The third and last point is the poor discussion of the external factor while studying the problems of early Armenian statehood and ethnogenesis. The impact of our ancient neighbors - Mesopotamian, Anatolian, and Iranian cultural milieus on the formation and development of Armenian political, economic and cultural realities is well known and could not be neglected.

**Aram Kosyan**

**Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA**



**“I PROMISED I WOULD TELL” (TRANSL. FROM ENGLISH INTO ARMENIAN BY AELITA DOLUKHANYAN), YEREVAN, 2017: ZANGAK PUBLISHING HOUSE, 156 P. (IN ARM.)**

*by Sonia Schreiber Weitz*

A book review by Dolukhanyan Aelita

### **SONIA WEITZ'S LESSONS ARE FOR ETERNITY**

Sonia Schreiber Weitz's book detailing her story of Holocaust survival shocked me and stayed with me. Hence, I decided to bring this book to the Armenian audience.

In Boston, USA, I was fortunate to meet Sonia Weitz's daughter, Sandra J. Schreiber Weitz, a generous, charming, and life-affirming woman who has dedicated much of her professional life to helping youth and promoting social justice. When we met, Sandy, as Sandra goes by, was preparing to move to Israel where her twin sister had been living for a long time with her family. I want to express my deepest gratitude to Sandy Weitz, the Executor of Sonia Schreiber Weitz's estate (1928-2010), for giving me permission to translate this book from English into Armenian.

As a student, I remember reading Anne Frank's "The Diary of a Young Girl," and recall loaning my copy of that book to friends and family, practically forcing them to read it. In 1962, as a young student, I visited the Auschwitz concentration camp, which is a living condemnation of Nazism. At Auschwitz I had a hard time not passing out, and was haunted by the images of the hills of children's shoes, eyeglasses, and human hair, all belonging to the victims of the camps, most of them Jews. At Auschwitz we saw how the Nazis carried out medical experiments on humans without any anesthesia. Then we saw the unspeakable horror of handbags and lampshades made of human skin. The crematory with gas chambers left us all wondering how this devastation can be brought on by one human on the other.

And Sonia Weitz lived through the horrors of the Krakow Jewish Ghetto, Auschwitz, and four other concentration camps. Of Sonia's 84-person family, only Sonia and her sister Blanca survived the Holocaust.

Sonia Weitz's book "I Promised I Would Tell" is a documentary of her experiences. Sonia tells it like it was, without exaggeration and hyperbole, and it is the power of this documentary approach that communicates the enormity of the inhumanity, calamity and devastation brought on by the Holocaust. At the same time, Sonia Weitz's book communicates hope by showing the power of the human spirit to survive, to see the beauty of life. Sonia Weitz also condemns bigotry and racism. Reading this book will help humanity become better by learning from the mistakes of the past, and live up to the divine mandates of doing good and rejecting evil.

In the preface to her book, Sonia Weitz refers to the "Armenian Genocide" as historically forgotten. As Hitler famously said in 1939, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" And we all know that what followed the "historically forgotten" Armenian Genocide, as Sonia Weitz characterized it, is the unspeakable horror of the Holocaust.

In his novel "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh," great humanitarian and author Franz Werfel documented the plight of Armenians at the hands of Turks who savagely slaughtered them with the intent of emptying Armenia's historical homeland of its native population and expropriating their wealth. As a result of such brutality, more than one and a half million Armenians perished in the Armenian Genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire. Lack of condemnation by world powers led to A.Hitler following the Ottoman script of annihilation, and more than six million Jews perished in the Holocaust

perpetrated by Nazi Germany. Sonia Weitz's hope is that we will learn from the memory of these atrocities, and the memory will "shield us from repeating such unthinkable evil."

"I Promised I Would Tell" is full of poetry because Sonia was a poet. Her poetry is striking and full of lyricism, light, life affirmation. Through her poems, Sonia touches on issues of human grief, loss, desperation. At the same time, her poetry is hopeful.

In this book, Sonia brings to life the stories of other Jewish victims and survivors. We come to know her Father, Mother, Blanca, Norbert, Giza, and others.

How beautiful and inspiring is the image of Blanca, Sonia's sister, who takes Sonia under her wing. Blanca was eight years older than Sonia, and loved the latter more than her own life. The power of their sisterly love helped them survive the valley of death and find themselves in the world of the living.

Neither the Holocaust, nor the Armenian Genocide should ever be forgotten. It is books like this that help accomplish that mission, and Sonia Weitz's book is a major contribution to the body of literature on the subject.

A significant amount of scholarship has been conducted on the Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide. One of the recent books that particularly stands out is scholar, diplomat, and human rights advocate Samantha Powers's Pulitzer prize-winning "A Problem from Hell" where she documents both the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust in great detail. It is the testimony of survivors like Sonia Schreiber Weitz that has helped advance scholarship on the subject, and give voice to the victims and survivors.

Sonia Weitz's book is also an eloquent and resounding requiem for the millions of Jews that became victims of the Holocaust. This requiem honors their memory, and communicates faith and hope that the day will come when humanity regains its consciousness and realizes that atrocities like this are unacceptable, and must be universally condemned. And we should never allow annihilation of people in the name of a super-race, blind authority, quest for power, and obsession for control.

Sonia Weitz teaches us all not to be indifferent bystanders. She starts out by asking where was God, but ends asking where was man. In Sonia's eloquent words:

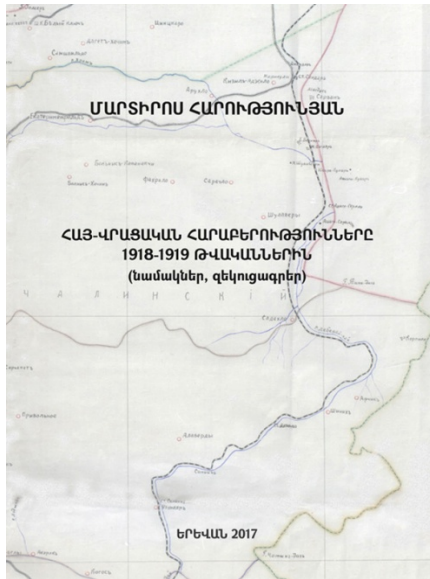
"But now I feel God wasn't dead  
And *where was man* I ask instead?

**Aelita Dolukhanyan**  
**Corresponding member of NAS RA**

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## NEW BOOKS

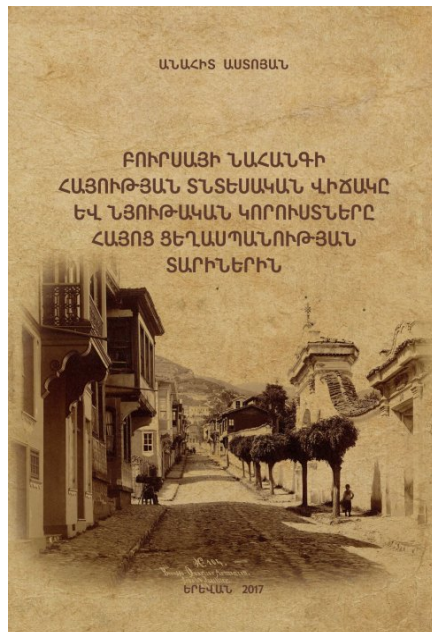
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**ARMENIAN-GEORGIAN RELATIONS IN 1918-1919 (LETTERS, REPORTS), YEREVAN, 2017: INSTITUTE OF HISTORY OF NAS RA, 153 P. (HAMO SUKIASYAN) (IN ARM.)**

*by Harutyunyan Martiros*

The publication includes the letters and reports of Martiros Harutyunyan, an outstanding Armenian political figure, who headed the Armenian delegation in the 1919 Tbilisi peacemaking conference. The letters (about 30) are dealing with the efforts to stabilize the relations between Armenia and Georgia during 1918-1919.



**ECONOMIC SITUATION AND MATERIAL LOSSES OF THE ARMENIANS OF BURSA DURING THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE, GITUTYUN PUBLISHING HOUSE, NAS RA, 2017, 320 P., 40 PHOTOS. (IN ARM.)**

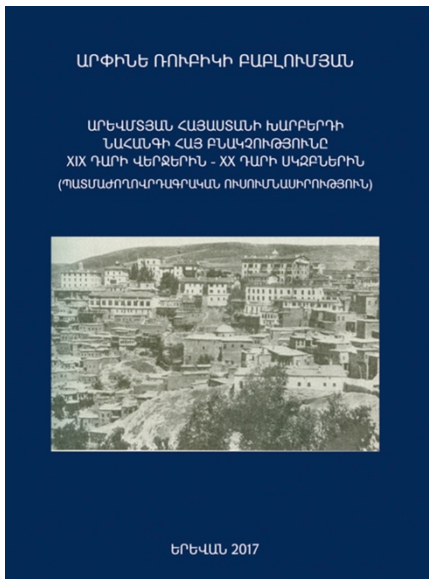
*by Astoyan Anahit*

The monograph presents the study of A. Astoyan, senior researcher of Matenadaran, which deals with the economic situation and prominent role of the Armenian population of the province of Bursa prior to World War I. The sources for this study are archival materials kept in Matenadaran, publications of Armenian press (newspapers and magazines), Turkish

and European sources as well.

The author discusses also the material losses of the Armenian population suffered during the Armenian genocide - houses, real estates, economic and other facilities (factories, hotels, mines etc.).

The study is supplied with solid archival materials which gives sufficient information for the calculation of material losses of Armenian population.



**ARMENIAN POPULATION OF THE KHARBERD VILAYET OF WESTERN ARMENIA IN THE LATE XIX - EARLY XX CENTURIES (HISTORICAL-DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY), YEREVAN, 2017: INSTITUTE OF HISTORY, NAS RA, 283 P. (IN ARM.)**

*by Bablumyan Arpine*

In the monograph several aspects of the history of Kharberd region in the late XIX - early centuries are discussed - estimates of Armenian population, their impact on the economic life of the area, tendencies in the demographic developments, especially the emigration to the USA. The author makes an attempt to study the number of the Armenian population of Kharberd vilayet.



**ARMENIAN-JAPANESE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS, YEREVAN, 2017: INSTITUTE OF HISTORY OF NAS RA, 286 P. (IN ARM.)**

*by Bakhchinyan Artsvi*

The monograph discusses all aspects of interrelations between Armenia and Japan - historical, cultural, scientific etc. It includes also the history of the presence of Armenians in Japan.



**ARMENIANS IN CHINA. ARMENIAN-CHINESE HISTORICAL-CULTURAL RELATIONS, YEREVAN, 2017: INSTITUTE OF HISTORY OF NAS RA, 358 P. (IN ARM.)**

*by Bakhchinyan Artsvi*

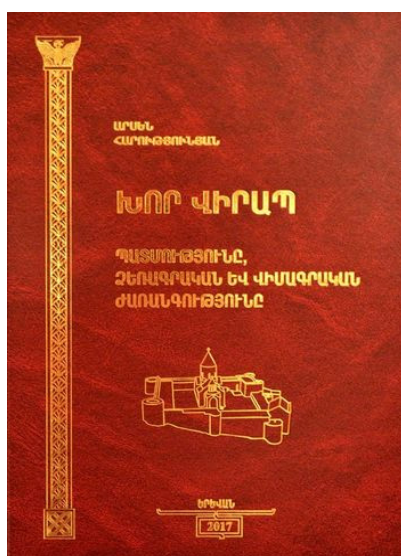
In the monograph are represented the centuries-long relations of Armenian and Chinese peoples, the history of Armenians living in China in the past, as well as that of Armenian community in China in the XX century.



**ESTABLISHMENT OF ONE-PARTY REGIME IN SOVIET ARMENIA (1920'S), YEREVAN, 2016: INSTITUTE OF HISTORY, NAS RA, 366 P. (IN ARM.)**

*by Hakobyan Ararat*

The monograph is focused on the study of the establishment of one-party governance system in Armenia during the sovietisation and following years (1920's). Here several key-aspects of this process are presented - the character and structure of the Soviet Armenian state, voting system, establishment of party nomenclature, discussions and confrontation between different wings of the communist party and their peculiarities in Armenia, etc.

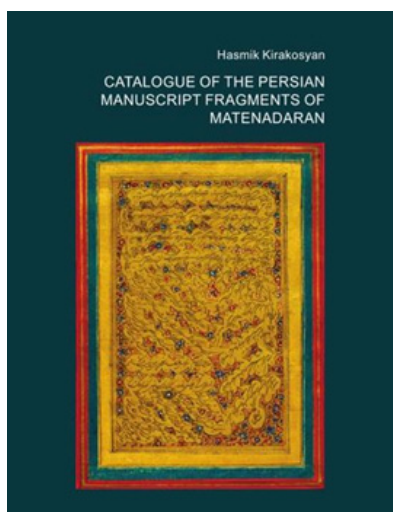


**KHOR VIRAP. HISTORY, MANUSCRIPT AND EPIGRAPHIC HERITAGE, YEREVAN, INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF NAS RA AND "MATENADARAN" MASHTOTS INSTITUTE OF ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS: "TIGRAN METS PUBLISHING HOUSE", 2017, 192 P. + 72 PHOTOS. (IN ARM.)**

*by Harutyunyan Arsen*

The monograph presents a complete history of Khor Virap, the prominent sanctuary of Armenian Christianity since its beginning. In the study all manuscripts and references, as well as monumental inscriptions concerning Khor Virap are collected, which serve as sources for its history from the VII century onwards. From

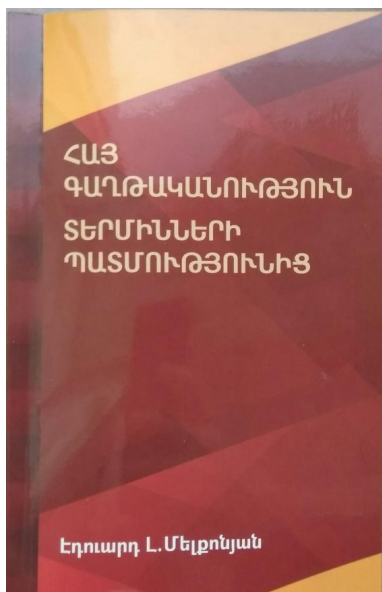
about 70 monumental inscriptions until now only 16 were published. The study is supplied with indices (personal names, toponyms etc.).



**CATALOGUE OF THE PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS OF MATENADARAN (EDITOR GOHAR MURADYAN), NAIRI PUBLISHING HOUSE, YEREVAN, 2017, 86 P.**

*by Kirakosyan Hasmik*

The volume includes all fragments of Persian manuscripts kept at Matenadaran. The list includes, besides fragments of manuscripts, also personal letters and calligraphic samples. Every fragment is supplied with description (date, number of pages and lines, material, state of preservation) and content, some are published with translation.

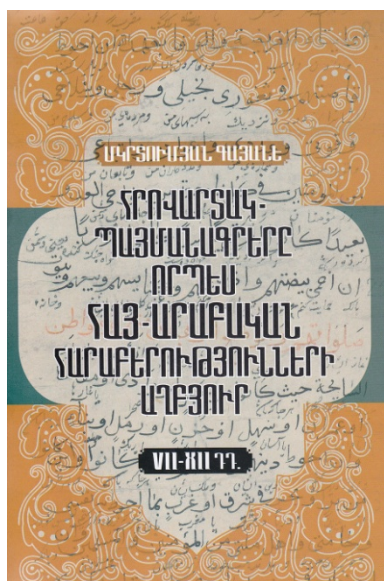


**ARMENIAN EMIGRATION. A HISTORY OF THE TERMS, YEREVAN, 2017: "COLLAGE PUBLISHING HOUSE", 188 P. (IN ARM.)**

by Melkonyan Eduard

The monograph of the renowned specialist in Armenian Diaspora presents a unique study dealing with terminology used in scientific, political and other literature in regard to the tragic period of Armenian history.

In four chapters of the monograph ("Emigration from the Motherland", "Immigration to Motherland", "Migration as a social phenomena", "Diaspora") the author discusses the origins of various terms, their transformations during the last century. He stresses the necessity of the unification of terminology since different authors treat one and the same term according to their approach to the topic. The monograph of Ed. Melkonyan is a study which definitely could further our knowledge of the migratory processes, especially in regard to the modern Armenian history.



**EDICT-AGREEMENTS AS SOURCES OF ARAB-ARMENIAN RELATIONS (VII-XII th CENTURIES)**

by Mkrtumyan Gayane

The monograph is dedicated to the edict-agreements issued by the Arab Caliphate over the populations of conquered nations, through which the relations of Muslim conquerors with people of other religions were regulated. The author has highlighted the agreements, which, according to medieval historical Armenian tradition, have been issued to Armenian and other Christian communities by Prophet Muhammad and his successors. Those agreements were known in Armenian chronology as Ali

Manshur (edict, decree) and were aimed at establishing and maintaining the ethnic and religious rights of Christian communities.



### **ORIENTAL STUDIES IN ARMENIA. VOL. I-III, YEREVAN, 2015-2017 (IN ARM.)**

**(Oriental Studies in Armenia. Vol. I.** Topical Issues of Iranian Studies (The Collection of papers in honor of Prof. Dr. Vahan Bayburdyan on the occasion of his 80th birthday) (ed. Ruben Safrastyan), Yerevan, “Gitutyun” publishing house of NAS RA, 2015, 119 p.

**Oriental Studies in Armenia. Vol. II.** Current problems of Arabic Studies (The Collection of papers in honor of Prof. Dr.,

Corresponding Member of NAS RA Nikolay Hovhannisyan on the occasion of his 85th birthday) (ed. Ruben Safrastyan), Yerevan, “Gitutyun” publishing house of NAS RA, 2017, 199 p.

**Oriental Studies in Armenia. Vol. III.** Ancient and Medieval Armenia and its neighbors (The Collection of papers in honor of the Member of NAS RA Gagik Sargsyan on the occasion of his 90th birthday) (ed. Aram Kosyan), Yerevan, “Gitutyun” publishing house of NAS RA, 2017, 215 p.)

In 2015 the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA initiated the publication of a series of collections dedicated to the researchers of the Institute who had a great contribution to the development of Oriental studies in Armenia.

The first volume is dedicated to Prof., Dr. Vahan Bayburdyan, head of the department of Iran of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA. The collection includes the materials of the scientific conference “Topical Issues of Iranian Studies” held at the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA on April 16, 2014. The first part of the volume contains the biography of Vahan Bayburdyan, outstanding Iranologist and diplomat, his scientific activities, and articles about him, as well as the bibliography of his published works. The second part of the collection includes articles covering the ancient, new and modern history of Iran, the Persian documents of the Matenadaran and regional issues.

The second volume is dedicated to corresponding member of NAS RA Nikolay Hovhannisyan, head of the department of International Relations of the Institute of Oriental Studies, NAS RA. The collection includes the materials of the scientific conference “Current Problems of Arabic Studies” held at the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA on October 29-30, 2015. The collection presents the bibliography of outstanding Arabist Nikolay Hovhannisyan's monographs, his scientific degrees, titles and rewards. The second part presents also the articles of the conference dedicated to Nikolay Hovhannisyan's scientific activities and problems of Arabic studies.

The third volume is dedicated to the long-time director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Member of NAS RA Gagik Sargsyan. The collection includes the materials of the scientific conference “Ancient and Medieval Armenia and its Neighbors” held at the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA on May 19, 2016. The beginning of the collection presents articles dedicated to intellectual and scientist Gagik Sargsyan, his scientific activity and merit, as well as the list of his works. The collection includes articles covering the problems of ancient and medieval history of Armenia and its neighboring countries and peoples.



**CILICIAN ARMENIA AND THE AYYUBID STATES  
(1171-1260), YEREVAN, “TIR PUBLISHING HOUSE”,  
266 P. (IN ARM.)**

*by Ter-Ghevondian Vahan*

The monograph is dedicated to the relations of Cilician Armenian kingdom with the Ayyubid states and covers a period from the establishment of the new Sultanate in Egypt by Salah ad-Din (1171) until the downfall of the Ayyubid kingdom in Syria (1260). The author especially focuses on the foreign policy of the Cilician kingdom in regard to Ayyubid states of Northern Syria and Jazirah.

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# PERSONALIA

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## PAVEL AVETISYAN: ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY



Pavel Avetisyan, a modern leading Armenian archaeologist, a specialist with wide international acknowledgment, was born in Tbilisi, but spent his childhood and youth in Talin, Aragatsotn Region, Republic of Armenia - one of the first shelters of the Armenian refugees from Mush.

The first, educational phase of conscious biography of P. Avetisyan includes secondary and middle school in 1965-1975 in Yerevan and further study at the Faculty of History, Yerevan State University during 1975-1980. After graduating from the University he “lost” only a year by working in the company “Knowledge” in 1980-1981. After that, chronology of his life is only archaeological: “Erebuni” Museum of History of Yerevan, Chair of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Yerevan State University, Scientific Research Laboratory of Archaeology of the same University and finally since 1993 - member of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of Republic of Armenia, the main scientific research center of Armenian archaeology.

In 2003 P. Avetisyan got his PhD and in 2014 Habilitation degrees, after which one more fact was attested towards his scientific progress: he was elected a Corresponding member of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia.

Taking into consideration scientific-organizational and administrative skills of P. Avetisyan, his colleagues trusted him the post of the director of the Institute since 2006.

The scientific-organizational skills of P. Avetisyan have been demonstrated also in his activities beyond the Institute. In this regard worth mentioning is his work at Yerevan State University as a lecturer. He has active participation in several commissions of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Armenia, as vice-president of Archaeological Commission, member of Scientific-Methodological and Expert Councils of the Ministry, etc.

For his productive activities P. Avetisyan was awarded the state medal of Movses Khorenatsi (2010).

P. Avetisyan should be introduced hereafter in more detail as a scholar.

The scientific heritage of P. Avetisyan, represented by several books and more than 100 articles, can conditionally be divided into two main groups. In the first one are included practical publications towards the excavations and research works of different archaeological sites during the last 30 years. The second group combines theoretical works which came out as a result of the above-mentioned field works, in which the corresponding archaeological material is considered in the context of historical and cultural developments of ancient Armenia and the Near East.

Moreover, the logic of the above-mentioned publications corresponds mainly to the phases of scientific biography of P. Avetisyan. Particularly, the first period of his activity is characterized by continuous field works (1980-1990s), and the second one relates to theorizing of accumulated data in conjunction with the field work (2000-2010s).

During his scientific biography P. Avetisyan took part in the study of numerous sites (cemeteries and settlements). Those works were realized in the frames of both Armenian and international expeditions. The main field works were directed to the study of the Bronze and Iron Age sites (ca. 3500-500 BC), which is the main axis of scientific interests of P. Avetisyan. The next target of works was the research of the sites of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods (ca. 6000-3500 BC).

P. Avetisyan started with excavations of the Bronze and Iron Age sites on the slopes of the Mount Aragats. Particularly, the first excavations led by him took place in the cemeteries of Mastara and Talin in 1980s. Actually these excavations became an initial point for further activities of P. Avetisyan and formation of his scientific worldview.

Especially the excavations of the Bronze and Iron Age site of Agarak in 2000s led by P. Avetisyan became an important stage for the development of his opinions. The research of the multilayer rock-cut settlement and the sanctuary essentially increased the imaginations of Armenian archaeology towards landscape archaeology.

P. Avetisyan's contribution is essential in the works of the Armenian-American project "Aragats", since the beginning of 2000s. For the first time in the history of Armenian archaeology that project had carried regular research in a compact region, in the Tsaghkahovit plain, as well as excavations in several important settlements of that zone.

Among numerous excavations of other Bronze and Iron Age sites carried out with the participation of P. Avetisyan the works in Lori-Berd are remarkable.

Especially important are the excavations carried out during recent years under the leadership of P. Avetisyan in the Early Bronze Age high altitude settlement Tsaghkasar and the extensive excavations in the Middle and Late Bronze Age cemetery of Karashamb. These endeavors provide a fundamental basis for understanding the Bronze Age social developments in Armenia.

In the context of research of the Bronze and Iron Age Armenia a valuable contribution the compact monograph concerning the archaeological sites of the mountain system of Aragats, which introduces the important archaeological units of that region by a detailed catalogue and maps is worth to mention. The book was published in Oxford in 2007 and is one of the most referred works of Armenian archaeology.

P. Avetisyan's contribution to the research of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic period is also very essential. In this connection excavations of the Armenian-French expedition in the settlement of Godedzor should be mentioned, which takes place under his leadership since 2004. From the one hand this site reveals transitional Chalcolithic to Bronze Age features, from the other hand it demonstrates the process of relations of Armenia to the Near East and the Iranian Plateau. P. Avetisyan made an essential

contribution also to the research of such sites relating to the periods under consideration as Aratashen. These studies may definitely complete our imaginations towards the origin and development of early agricultural societies in the Armenian Highland.

The main targets of theoretical studies of P. Avetisyan were formed on the basis of the above-mentioned field works. Among them especially worth mentioning is the problem concerning chronology and periodization of Armenian archaeology. Till the end of 1980s early archaeology in Armenia was guided by the famous work of H. Martirosyan dedicated to the Bronze and Iron Ages, which was published still in 1964. After that work many years passed, a great number of new materials were accumulated, on the basis of which the new generation of Armenian archaeologists had to reconsider the traditional scales of chronology and periodization. The first attempts in this task were made in 1990s, with direct participation of P. Avetisyan. In his further studies he deepened the investigation of the problem and brought it to a high theoretical level. The results of this work were summarized in the PhD ("Chronology and Periodization of the Middle Bronze Age of Armenia") and Habilitation ("Armenian Highland during the 24-9<sup>th</sup> centuries BC: The Dynamics of Socio-Cultural Transformations, according to Archaeological Data") works.

In contrary to other authors studying the problems of chronology and periodization, P. Avetisyan formed his opinions on the basis of a great number of radiocarbon data and by creating a corresponding theoretical and methodological basis. For the first time he introduced the problem under consideration in the context of common developments of the different periods, transformation of social environments and culture sequences, which naturally made his opinions towards chronology and periodization more probable. Instead of Marxist and purely evolutionary theories he suggested to use modern sociological methods, which infer not only logical sequences of cultural developments but also their coexistence and crossings in various niveaux of time and space.

The studies of P. Avetisyan towards fundamental archaeological problems of ancient Armenia gradually shifted the accent of problems to the meta-archaeological levels. Particularly for clarifying the position of the Armenian Highland in the context of the ancient world and in particular the ancient Near East the author recurs to the "world-system" theory, and by analysis of its main concepts (such as borderland, marginal zone, frontier) he substantiates the thesis, according to which the ancient world-system was dissolved in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, resulting in the formation of new regional systems which grew to the Bronze Age world-systems.

Theoretical studies of P. Avetisyan touch also problems concerning the formation and development of complex society in the Armenian Highland, demonstrating the features typical to regional developments within the common Near Eastern context.

Also several other problems, such as ceramic typology, burial rite, palaeodemography, sacred landscape, etc. have been considered in the works of P. Avetisyan.

Theorizing of present day archaeological problems, application of precise methodology and selected terminology, multidisciplinary way of working are typical to the above-mentioned studies. From this point of view, the works of P. Avetisyan stand out by their scientific value and help to rise Armenian archaeology to an international level. This fact is attested by thousands of references of those works both in Armenian and in international scientific circles.

The archaeological activities of P. Avetisyan coincided with the recreation of the Armenian statehood as well as with radical change of directions in scientific relations and in worldview. In this sense, the name of P. Avetisyan undoubtedly lies at the basis of the Armenian new archaeological school.

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