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HISTORY

HISTORICAL AND SPIRITUAL PERCEPTION OF ARMENIA IN THE MAPS OF FRENCH RESEARCHERS OF XVII-XIX CENTURIES

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Among other countries, Armenia occupies a significant place in antique and medieval maps. In the maps of the Greek geographers Hecataeus of Miletus (about 540 BC - 489 BC) and Eratosthenes (about 276 BC - 195/194 BC) of the ancient world the country of Armenia lies on the territory to the east of Asia Minor, between the Black, Caspian and Mediterranean Seas. Especially noteworthy are the maps of Strabo (about 64 BC - 24 BC) and Ptolemy (90-168), which give a detailed description of Armenia and reveal its geographical and national integrity.

A.J. Saint-Martin (1791-1832), the founder of Armenology in France, after thoroughly studying ancient Greek and Latin sources and guided by a complete understanding of the historical geography of Armenia (Great Armenia and Armenia Minor) wrote: «Armenian, as well as Greek and Latin geographers mainly divide Armenia into two major parts: Great Armenia, stretching from the Euphrates to the Caspian Sea and Armenia Minor, located to the west of Great Armenia»¹. Based on the reports by Movses Khorenatsi and Procopius of Caesarea² Saint-Martin characterized the southern part of Armenia and its adjacent territories with the term *Armenian Mesopotamia* (Mésopotamie arménienne)³.

The geographic and historical descriptions of Armenia by Greek and Latin geographers contributed to the development of cartography in Armenia. A vivid proof of this is «Ashkharatsuyts»⁴, which according to S. Yeremyan is the first work in geographic and cartographic literature which continues the traditions of the science of geography of antique times⁵. However, the grave political and economic situation as a result of raids by Arabic (7th-8th cc.) and later by Seljuk-Turkic (11th century) tribes suspended the further development of these branches of science in Armenia for a long time.

¹ Saint-Martin 1818: v. I: 17.

² According to Procopius of Caesarea «*The [land] located at this side of the river, between [the Euphrates] and the Tigris, is naturally called Mesopotamia, part of which has another name too: thus, the [regions] situated up to the city of Amid are called Armenia by some, and Edessa with its neighboring regions is called Osroene, named after Osroes who used to rule there when the country was the Persians' ally*» (Procopius of Caesarea 1967: 45).

³ Saint-Martin noted that Armenian Mesopotamia included Mtsbin (= Nisibis), Edessa and Adiabene (see Saint-Martin 1850: 113; Cf. Dulaurier 1858: VII): According to Josephus Flavius, Artabanus, king of Parthians, for the goodness done for him gave Izates, king of Adiabene «a vast and fertile land taking it from the king of Armenia. The land is called Nisibis and previously the Macedonians had built there the city of Antioch» (Foreign sources about Armenia and Armenians 1976: 85):

⁴ Different opinions have appeared in historiography in regard to the period of the creation and authorship of «Ashkharatsuyts». Studies show that in the 5th century Movses Khorenatsi created «Ashkharatsuyts» which Anania Shirakatsi edited and continued in the 7th century (Danielyan 2000: 37; Musheghyan 2007: 111, 124).

⁵ Yeremyan 1963: 12.

In the 11th-14th centuries Cilician Armenia created favorable conditions for Europe to establish political and economic ties with the East. After the Seljuks' invasions, the routes that were passing from the Black Sea through major trade centers of Armenia, such as Trabzon, Artsn, Kars, Ani and other cities, were not active. According to T. Hakobyan, after the unification Mountainous and Lower Cilicia, the border of the Armenian state stretched along the Mediterranean for 400 km and had a free access to northern Italian city-states of Genoa and Venice⁶. The new trade routes were passing through Cilicia and enter the territory of Asia Minor which was occupied by the Seljuks⁷. The seaway charts - portolans, drawn by European seafarers, traveling merchants of that time also give important information about Ayas, Corycus and other Armenian ports of Cilicia. In his work R. Galchyan, referring to seaway charts, writes that the portolans that mark Armenia in the East of the Mediterranean generally depict here Ararat with Noah's Ark and the mountains of the Armenian Highlands, from which the Euphrates and Tigris rivers originate⁸. Among valuable portolans portraying Mount Ararat with the Ark are the famous Catalanian charts of Angelino Dulcert of 1339, as well as that of Mecia de Viladestes of 1413, and the 1450 chart known as «Estense»⁹.

The references to the location of Paradise in the book of Genesis, the location of the rivers originating from there, particularly the Tigris and the Euphrates, and the Ararat as the resting place of Noah's Ark were in the center of attention of French theologians, missionaries, researchers, particularly cartographers. In this sense, the Map of Terrestrial Paradise engraved by P. Starckman in 1675 is important; it was republished by French-Armenian hydrographer Z. Khanzadian in his «Atlas of Historical Cartography of Armenia»¹⁰. On the map Eden is located to the east of Lake Van where Mount Ararat is depicted.

In 1724 French cartographer Pierre Moulart-Sanson's «Map of Paradise According to Moses' Book of Genesis II»¹¹ was published. There the Terrestrial Paradise - Eden¹² is located in the center of Armenia. The map depicts Adam and Eve and the tree of life embodying the eternal life¹³ «And the Lord God made to spring up also out of the earth every tree ..., and the tree of life in the midst of the garden and the tree of learning the knowledge of good and evil»¹⁴.

⁶ Hakobyan 1968: 348.

⁷ Zulalyan 1990: 10-11.

⁸ Galchyan 2005: 23.

⁹ Galchyan 2005: 94, 98, 99.

¹⁰ Khanzadian 1960.

¹¹ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8490536w/fl.item.r=carte%20du%20paradis%20terrestre.zoom>

¹² In historiography Eden was viewed as a geographical name and its location was looked for in different places. But its meaning in the Hebrew «gab eden» and Greek «παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς», as well as Armenian texts of the Bible is «heavenly softness» (Gen. B 15-16) and «it is the description of the paradise planted by the God, not the name of a country as was later thought» (Danielyan 2000: 19). In the same way it is used in Genesis III. 23-24 (Bible 1860).

¹³ Armenian Medieval poet Azaria Jughayetsi uses the expression of the Word tree (Meitikhanyan 2001: 232).

¹⁴ Genesis II. 9.

French theologian¹⁵ Dom Augustin Calmet (1672-1757) in the map published in 1748, located Paradise in Armenia referring to the Genesis (Genesis, II. 8-10; VIII. 4). According to A. Calmet: «The sources of the rivers of Euphrates, Tigris, Araks and Pison are in Armenia (Gen., II. 11-15)... where, we believe, the Terrestrial Paradise was located...»¹⁶. Alluding to the Roman poet Virgil, who described the Araxes as a river not tolerating bridges¹⁷, Calmet mentioned that the Araxes was the same Gihon referred to in the Book of Genesis which in Hebrew means «fast-flowing»¹⁸.

Calmet attached special importance to the concept of the East as the place from where the humanity spread, which, according to him, should have been the country of Armenia¹⁹. This notion comes from the Bible which says that the paradise is in the East: «And God planted a garden eastward in Eden, and placed there the man he had formed» (Gen. II. 8). By quoting the information given by Eusebius²⁰ and Berossus²¹ about the floods and the Noah's Ark resting in Armenia, as well as interpreting the references to the East in the prophecies of Isaiah and Daniel²², he concluded: «the truth is that these countries, especially Armenia, are situated in the north, but to the East of Palestine»²³.

The concept of the East has deep roots. According to E. Danielyan, «in the early days of piety, 'the East' was referred to as a place where the sun rose and rested. In Sumerian (3rd millennium BC) and Hittite (2nd millennium BC) sources as such was considered the region of Lake Van and Urmia»²⁴. This view is based on the Armenian tradition where it is said that Lake Van was considered to be the resting place of the sun: «Those who climbed the top of the Mount of Varaga would see the sun plunging in the twilight and take a bath to clean and take a rest from the trip made. ... Its bed is made under the sea on foam»²⁵.

In the «Small Pocket Atlas» drawn in 1762 by the cartographer Gilles Robert de Vaugondy (1688-1766), Armenia is represented as the land of the Paradise and Ararat, the resting place of the Ark. On the map both the old and modern toponyms are given. Here Armenia borders on Assyria and Mesopotamia in the south, Atrpatakan in the south-

¹⁵ Exegetist - interpreter of Biblical texts

¹⁶ Dictionnaire historique, archéologique, philologique, géographique et littéral de la Bible 1846: 586-587.

¹⁷ Vergil, Aeneid, lib. VIII. 728.

¹⁸ Dictionnaire historique, archéologique, philologique, géographique et littéral de la Bible 1846: 534-535.

¹⁹ Calmet 1720: 144, 145.

²⁰ A small part of the ship, which came to rest in Armenia, can still be found in the mountains of the Cordyaei in Armenia (Eusebius 1818: 36-37).

²¹ «They say that till now a part of the ship is in Armenia, near the Kordvats mountains, and that some reap pieces of tar (from it) and bring them, and people carry them upon themselves as an amulet» (Foreign sources about Armenia and Armenians 1976: 55).

²² Isaiah, XLVI. 11; Daniel, X. 44.

²³ Calmet 1720: 145.

²⁴ Danielyan 1997: 18.

²⁵ Srvandztyants 1874: 107, 109-110.

east and Georgia in the north. The Terrestrial Paradise is located in the north-western part of Lake Van²⁶.

In the early Middle Ages the Christian historiographical concepts were harmonized with the Bible. Movses Khorenatsi linked the origins of the Armenian genealogy with the biblical genealogy. According to him, Hayk the Patriarch descended from Thorgama, one of the descendants of Japheth, one of Noah's three sons: «Tiras gave birth to Thorgama, Thorgama gave birth to Hayk»²⁷. In this regard, the map drawn by the first French geographer Philippe Buache (1700-1773) is noteworthy: on it the countries are listed according to the genealogy of Noah's sons. Eden is located in Armenia and of the four rivers originating from there, Pison is the River Araxes and the Gihon flows to the south, joining the Tigris and the Euphrates.

It is worth mentioning the map of «Terrestrial Paradise, Mount Ararat and Babylon» by Louis Brion de la Tour (1743-1803), King Louis XV's (1715-1774) cartographer, which is composed based on astronomical data²⁸.

Armenia is known in spiritual history by the name «Aratta, the country of sacred rites (or laws)»²⁹, «the mountains of Ararat»³⁰. In his work about the Aryans, 19th century author Charles-Joseph-François Wolff wrote: «Mount Ararat was regarded by the Aryans as the sacred cradle of humanity» (montagne que les arias regardaient comme le berceau sacré de l'humanité)³¹.

In his work Saint-Martin referred in detail to the compliance of historical-geographical environment of Armenia with some reports of the Holy Scriptures, noting that the study of different parts of the Bible, where the lands inhabited by Thorgama's descendants are mentioned, indicates that some of them «correspond to the country named Armenia». Saint-Martin noted that «Eusebius and some ancient interpreters located the place of residence of the patriarch in this country, although other authors located it in different parts of Asia Minor»³².

The scientist notes that although in Armenia Ararat was always used in the sense of a province, it probably was initially the name of the entire Armenia which «was used in the Holy Scripture only referring to the mountain range where Noah's Ark stopped»³³.

Saint-Martin paid attention to the fact that in the Septuagint translation, in Josephus' «Jewish Antiquities», in Vulgate and in the Armenian translation of the Bible the name «Ararat» has been preserved. It is either translated as *the mountains of Armenia* or *the*

²⁶ Galchyan 2005: 212.

²⁷ Movses Khorenatsi 1991: 19.

²⁸ <http://westernarmeniatv.com/en/media/armenia-forgotten-paradise/>

²⁹ Kramer 1952; Petrosyan 1974: 123; Movsisyan 1992: 29-32.

³⁰ Genesis, VIII. 4.

³¹ Wolff 1893: 128.

³² Saint-Martin 1818: 258.

³³ Saint-Martin 1818: 260. Gh. Inchichian rightfully identified the name of Mount Ararat with the name of Ayarat province in «Ashkharatsuyts», and according to the interpretation of the Bible with all Armenia (Inchichian 1835: 56-57).

land of Armenians (les mots de Montagnes d'Arménie ou de Terre des Arméniens)³⁴. Saint-Martin wrote: «All the translators and interpreters that translated the Holy Scriptures into Assyrian, replaced the name of Ararat by the expression³⁵ 'the mountains of Kurds'³⁶ the original expression 'Ararat' was not preserved». By refusing to identify Ararat with the Kordvats Mountains, Saint-Martin noted that the two types of translations resulted in two different interpretations when determining the location of the Ark after the flood. According to him, the viewpoint that the Ark rested in the north of Mesopotamia and Syria was mainly held by «Eastern Christians, Assyrians and Arabs»³⁷.

It should be borne in mind that in the Syriac Peshitta and later in Arabic translations of the Old Testament the name *Qardu* was used instead of the name *Ararat*. The manuscripts discovered in one of Qumran caves in the north-western side of the Dead Sea in 1947, show that the text of the Bible is much newer than the manuscript of Qumran, in which Noah's Ark came down in the Ararat Mountains³⁸.

The spirituality of Ararat was reflected in the memoirs of the missionary William of Rubruck (1220-1293), travellers Jean-Baptiste Chardin (1643-1713), Amédée Jaubert (1779-1847), Frédéric Du Bois de Montperreux (1798-1850) and others.

William of Rubruck, a Franciscan monk who was sent to the East by the order of the King of France, Louis IX (1226-1270) in the second half of the 13th century, also travelled through Armenia. He referred to the Bible's information about Assyrian princes who killed their father and escaped to the land of Ararat, which is the same Armenia³⁹.

Rubruck presents with great reverence the legend told by an Armenian elder about why it is not allowed to climb the top of Mount Ararat-Masis: «No one can climb Masis because she is the mother of the world»⁴⁰.

In his notes the French traveller Jean-Baptiste Chardin (1643-1713) addresses in detail the source information about the flood and Noah's Ark. He mentions that wherever Armenia is referred to in the Bible, it is called Ararat. Chardin speaks of Armenia with great admiration and considers it to be the land of Paradise because «this is one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in Asia. Seven rivers irrigate it⁴¹, that is why the interpreters of the Old Testament place the Terrestrial Paradise here»⁴².

³⁴ Saint-Martin 1818: 261.

³⁵ Saint-Martin 1818: 176.

³⁶ Saint-Martin mentioned the expression *mountains of Kurds* following the erroneous opinion of his time. The confusion connected with the «Kurds» arose because their tribal name was wrongly associated with the name of the Armenian province of *Korduk*. (Saint-Martin 1818: 176). However, while writing about the use of the Kurdish element in the policy of occupation pursued by the Ottoman Empire in Western Armenia, N. Adontz noted that the migration of Kurdish tribes began in the second decade of the 16th century, when Sultan Selim seized most part of Armenia and «appointed Kurds as governors...» (Adontz 1989: 64-65).

³⁷ Saint-Martin 1818: 261.

³⁸ Les textes du Qumran 1963: 225; Fitzmyer 2004: 83. See also Abgaryan, Abgaryan 2005: 112-113.

³⁹ Rubrouck 1877: 281.

⁴⁰ Rubrouck 1877: 286.

⁴¹ Probably the author bears in mind the rivers Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, Kura, Chorokh flowing from the Armenian Highland and the rivers Halys and Gayl which flow from the western and southern slopes of the Pontic mountains

Based on the notes of French travellers, maps were drawn up, which are valuable sources for studying the geography and history of political, economic, spiritual and material culture of Armenia.

In this sense, especially important is the work by the orientalist Pierre Amédée Jaubert who travelled to Persia on a secret mission given by Napoleon. At the end of the book there is a map drawn based on his notes, which is valuable especially in terms of toponyms⁴³.

Thus, in the XVII-XIX centuries the civilizational appreciation of Armenia in France has taken place in the light of the biblical perceptions of world historical and spiritual phenomena. The Book of Genesis served as a basis for European, particularly French cartographers and geographers, to identify Armenia as a country of Eden and of the mountain where the Ark dwells.

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pouring their waters in the Black Sea (Hakobyan, Melik-Bakhshyan, Barseghyan 1986: 90, 253, 400, 779, vol.3: 284, vol. 5: 94). The upper stream of Halys (Alys) was in the Armenia Minor (Yeremyan 1963: 32).

⁴² Chardin 1711 : 151.

⁴³ Jaubert 1821.

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**THE K.G.B. DOCUMENTS ABOUT THE REPRESSED CLERGYMEN
OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ARMENIA
(1928-1937)**

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During the Stalinian period (1924-1953), hundreds of clergymen, without denominational distinction, including the Armenian Catholic priests, were martyred along with the innocent population of Armenia.

The cases relating to 8 Armenian Catholic priests (Fathers: Nerses Yakub Akinian, Petros Harutyun Davtian, Hakob Petros Antonian, Anton Sahak Petoyan, Alexan Petros Ghazarian, Barsegh Kerob Minassian, Alexan Poghos Hakobian, Stepan Mkrtich Ter-Martirosian) repressed in the years 1928-1937 were being kept in the Archive of the Ministry of National Security (previously: State Security Committee - SSC [Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti - KGB - in Russian]) of the Republic of Armenia, in the Fund of Quashed Cases (AMNS RA FQC)(there is also mention of other repressed Armenian Catholic priests, but information about their subsequent fate was not found).

I was given the opportunity to get acquainted with these documents directly on the spot thanks to the kind assistance of Armenak Manoukian, the State Security Colonel, Doctor of Historical Sciences, (previously: the Head of the Service of Relations with the Public and the Press of the MNS RA). In parallel with his responsible service, Dr. A. Manoukian has achieved a gratifying job by picking out from the MNS RA archives, studying and publishing the documents relating to the repressed clergymen of the Armenian Apostolic Church, as well as those relating to the individuals of the other strata of the society subjected to political persecutions.¹

Thoroughly analyzing the whole Stalinian period in Armenia and its tragic consequences on all the strata of the Armenian society and based on statistical data and other sources of information, Dr. A. Manoukian has not neglected, besides the repressed Armenian Apostolic clergymen, to refer also in his works to the statistics of political oppressions perpetrated against the representatives of the other religious denominations present in the county, namely, the Armenian Catholic and the Armenian Evangelical Churches, as well as against the representatives of the various sects. However, the first-hand documental cases referring to the persecuted, repressed and exiled Armenian Catholic, as well as to the Armenian Evangelical² clergymen in the years 1920s-1930s were in need of special investigation and publication.

That is why I have undertaken the job of bringing to light the present KGB documents concerning the repressed Armenian Catholic priests, which are presented for the first time.

¹ See the following books of the author - Manoukian 1997; Manoukian 1999; Manoukian 2002.

² About the repressed Armenian Evangelical clergymen see Avagean 2003: 441-498.

* * *

In the 1920s, the communist-atheist raid, started by the closure, plunder and ravage of churches all over the Soviet Union, including also Armenia, spread very soon also to the Armenian clergymen.

As a consequence of the 1917 October coup and under the all-embracing atheistic conditions prevailing in the county, many of the Armenian Catholic priests were shot, expelled from Armenia, or were exiled to distant Siberia, where most of them died.

In the top-secret circular No. 37, concerning «The Condition and Prospects of the Ecclesiastical Movement», approved on March 22, 1930 by Henrikh Yagoda, the vice-chairman of the Unified State Political Administration (USPA), it was written:

«The colossal impetus of socialistic construction, the rapid growth of the collective farming movement and the process of abolition of the *kulaks* (affluent peasants - A.K.), as a social class, demand certain modifications in the work we have conducted thus far with regard to the clergymen.

Linked with the intensification of class struggle, many ecclesiastical organizations have exceeded, to a fairly large extent, the limits of their activities, in which they were engaged so far and have become obvious antirevolutionary organizations setting political goals before themselves.

...The closure of the places of worship, the taxes upon the services of worship, the ruthless application of the kulak-abolition system very rapidly stirred to activity the clergymen of all denominations. They started very actively to oppose those measures. We can assert that, in the regions of general collectivization, where the campaign of the abolition of the church was conducted at a brisk pace, the affiliation to the various ecclesiastical denominations was practically of no importance in the political attitudes toward the clergymen, and all priests and preachers were represented there as the infuriated and active enemies of the socialistic construction, and every distinction between the denominations was virtually non-existent».³

The examination materials and records in the KGB archival cases are composed and classified rather carelessly without the maintenance of a chronological order, often with mutually contradictory writings, while the predominant part of the records is presented in semi-literate Russian. The records are the arbitrary translations of the examinations made in Armenian. Consequently, I have tried, in my scrupulous and literal translations from the Russian to the Armenian language, to preserve the primitive style of the compilation of records written by the KGB interrogators, the Russian-mixed language characteristic of that period, the syntactic and terminological errors (ignorance of ecclesiastical and religious terms, inability to distinguish between the denominations, etc.).

The mere fact of incorrectly presenting the pieces of evidence and the data contained in the cases «...is the best testimony of the way the law enforcement machine

³ Manoukian 1997: 28-29, 35.

worked in the years of Stalinian autocracy and is, at the same time, a warning to the researchers to approach with great reserve to the contents of the documents of the mentioned and other cases of those years».⁴

In getting acquainted with the materials of the examination, it became clear with what tendentiousness, insidiousness and tortures the ruthless and inhuman interrogators, speaking in the name of the law, had extorted statements from the naïve and innocent accused people, had converted these statements into charges bringing them to conformity with their model worked out in advance, had drawn up records in Russian, without the help of a translator, had extorted signatures, had wrested desirable and colored statements from the witnesses and had sent the similarly fabricated cases to the judgment of the Three-men-Committee, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (PCIA).

Some of the pious Armenian Catholic priests, devoted to their religion, faith and Motherland, admitted, under constraint, the blame put on them, while others did not. However, the verdict was irreversible. Dr. A. Manoukian has written in this regard: «...It is a fact that the use of torture was confidentially permitted to the investigation bodies and, if we add, that the mere confession of the accused for 'the offence he had committed,' provided for the jurist sufficient grounds to sentence him, then it becomes clear what 'brilliant' results could the interrogator, who had lost his conscience and morality, achieve in disclosing 'the People's Enemies'».⁵

At the same time, pinning hopes on the «Stalinian Constitution», the repressed people and their relatives continued, in quest for justice, to appeal with their petition-letters to the high-ranking leaders of the country, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union of the Soviet Socialistic Republic (USSR), Joseph Stalin, to the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, Lavrenti Beria, to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, Mikhail Kalinin, with the hope of getting an acquittal, but - in vain.

The charges imputed and the punitive measures applied to the Armenian Catholic priests were, on the whole, similar to the charges imputed in that period to their other repressed fellow-countrymen (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, religious preaching, *kulak*-Dashnak anti-revolutionary activity, espionage in favor of foreign imperialism and fascism, etc.) and to the applied punishments (imprisonment for 3-10 years, exile or execution).

Nevertheless, the charges imputed to the Armenian Catholic priests had also their distinctive peculiarities. Thus, they were accused of receiving spiritual literature from abroad (Europe, USA, etc.), as well as of receiving foreign currency as a salary, of being born or having lived abroad, of meeting with foreigners, of promoting spiritual and spying activities, of promoting denominational and pro-Catholic preaching, of representing the Soviet Union as a country of unbelievers and of inveigling the wide

⁴ Manoukian 1999: 126.

⁵ Manoukian A., Persecuted Clergymen of Armenian Apostolic church. 1930-1938, p. 14.

sections of the society (also the teenagers, young people, women) into anti-Soviet propaganda, etc.

Following Stalin's death, it was allowed to apply, personally or through relatives, to the corresponding bodies to reconsider the cases of the groundlessly repressed people and to restore their good name. The Supreme Court of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) reconsidered in the years 1955-1960s some of the KGB cases, including also those of the repressed 8 Armenian Catholic priests. The cases relating to these priests were quashed in the absence of corpus delicti, and they were all rehabilitated posthumously.

Thus, the priests of the Armenian Catholic Church have also shared all the hardships and persecutions of the period fallen to the lot of their fellow-countrymen. These persecutions, irrespective of the number of the repressed people, were crimes perpetrated against humanity and deserve a universal condemnation, in order that similar events are never repeated in history.

I present below experts from the cases, kept at the Archive of the MNS RA FQC, of some of the repressed Armenian Catholic priests.

* * *

AMNS RA FQC, Case No. 4233, paper 86-89, 96.

Nerses Yakoub Akinian,

was born in 1883, Batouni Region, Ardvin Province (Western Armenia - A.K.), ([now:] Turkey), Armenian, c[itizen] of the USSR, literate, was graduated from Vienna

Mkhitarian Seminary,

studied at the university for 3 semesters, non-partisan, literate-priest.

1917-1924, lived in Vienna, was the editor of the «Handes Amsorya»

(«Monthly Journal» - in Arm. - A.K.) journal,

member of Mkhitarists' Congregation, librarian, literary man,

1924-1928, worked at Edjmiadsin State Library, classified the Armenian manuscripts, specialization - literary man-priest, is not married.

The order for arrest is given on April 28, 1928.

Resolution

22.04.[19]28

Deputy Chairman of the Transcaucasian SPA

[Lavrenti] Beria

Case No. 4919 against citizen Nerses Yakoub Akinian, who was arrested in Erivan (now: Yerevan - A.K.) C[ity], on charges of fraud (illegal healing practices) [and] of

spreading superstitious feelings among the masses in violation of the Arm. SSR Criminal Code article No. 149.

Investigation, as well as documentation has exposed that citizen Akinian Nerses, arriving in Arm. SSR, in 1923, with the intention of civil service to the Soviets, as a historian-philosopher made his way to the Armenian Archaeological Committee, operating under Arm. SSR People's Commissariat. Getting Soviet citizenship, Akinian started his civil service and, as he was a Catholic priest of the Mkhitarist Order, carried out extensive lobbying activity.

It is documented that c[itizen] Nerses Akinian worked in Armenia with the consent, appreciation and directions of Catholic Church's Higher Spiritual authority, i.e. under the full command of the Tiflis (now: Tbilisi - A.K.) Apostolic Board, the Vienna Mkhitarist Abbot and the Rome (Vatican) Congregation of Eastern Churches.

Under the cover of civil service to the Soviets and [Soviet] citizenship, pretending to carry out philosophical researches in the Edjmiadsin Museum, Akinian, without revealing his religious assignments and functions, rapidly spread his activities in two different fronts: first, mass indoctrination of members of other Christian faiths (the Gregorians) converting them to Catholicism and, second, leaded secret talks with the Armenian Gregorian Church Council, leading high clergymen to the effect of creating a union between the Gregorian and Catholic Churches.

The main route and goal of preacher Akinian's activities was to take advantage of the Armenian Gregorian Church's shattered state and convert the working population of Armenian SSR into Catholicism.

To carry out Vatican's mentioned plan in Armenia «the Erivan Catholic Mission» was established, with Akinian at its head. It had already accomplished the following activities:

1. By mass conversion of people into the Catholic faith, through his efforts only in Erivan this organization has converted 500 families into Catholic Community, which doesn't exist before. They were called «schismatics» (i.e. Catholics); [2.] An area was rented to be used as a church, and carried out active Catholic preaching; [3.] Following the Vatican Mkhitarist Abbot's instructions, was suggested to carry out clerical-pedagogical activities in orphanages, schools and other educational establishments. [4.] At the same time, great attention was paid to [importing] reactionary-Catholic education of young people, for they were the «future of the Armenian Republic». [5.] Besides these, considering the present Soviet state of Armenia, it was suggested that all possible opportunities and means should be used to easily mislead the masses into reactionary Catholicism, without making hasty steps to provoke the authorities' political doubts.

Taking into consideration that the Soviet government of Armenia needed a well-organized publishing business, permission was requested (and granted) to open a printing house in Leninakan (now: Gyumri - A.K.) C[ity], for which Akinian demanded from the Mkhitarist Fathers to designate an organizer.

Furthermore, considering the Soviet State's purposeful approach to set up collective working forms, Akinian suggested that agricultural workshops be established in Armenia, especially for poor refugees, and to unit Erivan C[ity] retailers by setting up small credit systems. With a view to enlarging the activities beyond the orphanages, he proposed opening a permanent high-school in one of the old Armenian churches (the Sanahin Monastery).

It is also documented that through unique clerical skills c[itizen] Akinian proposed to preach Catholicism from the pulpits of Armenian Gregorian «schismatic» churches.

All this come to assert that Vatican's Erivan mission has fully accommodated himself, even at the cost of unfavorable political conditions for him.

...Along with various other methods implemented by Catholic preachers to be accepted by masses, Akinian used also healing methods which aimed at gaining people's sympathy. Akinian healed many people and even offered alternative medicine free of charge. During interrogations Akinian asserted that he had given advice and medical aid to a great number of citizens. But because he had no medical education and experience, nor a license from Soviet health organizations to practice medicine, we have to consider his efforts in that field as «healing activities» aimed at kindling spiritual feelings among the masses.

Was decided to stop the investigation against c[itizen] Akinian, who was charged for violating A[rm.] SSR Criminal Code article No. 149, to consider Akinian's «healing activities» towards medication of the popular masses as kindling spiritual superstitious feelings; to accept the indictment proved. But as Akinian's missionary activities had an intention to convert the USSR population into Catholicism, [and] had a character of a well organized project, was find proper to send the interrogation materials, together with his case, to Moscow, to the U[nited]SPA. The decision No. 333034 of the ARD of the U[nited]SPA is available from 13.07[19]28...

Moscow's decision: To send Nerses Yakoub Akinian to the Siberia exile through the U[nited] SPA for 3 years, counting the date from April 22, 1928. The exile can be exchanged with deportation from the USSR, in a case the visa would arrive within 1 month.

The case to be sent to the archive.

On February 5, 1929, Father Nerses Yakoub Akinian leaved the USSR State border to Poland.⁶

* * *

AMNS RA FQC, Case No. 12084, paper 2, 21, 22-24, 26.

⁶ Amrikian [Manoukian] 2005: 53.

Father Petros Harutyun Davtian,
was born in 1874, ex-priest, is married, literate,
resident of the Kavtarlou Village,
Leninakan (now: Gyumri - A.K.) Region, A[rm.]SSR.
Is earning his living on bee-keeping.
Is arrested on 9.02.1930 (February 9, 1930 - A.K.).

BILL OF INDICTMENT

Case No. 883 against c[itizen] Father Petros Harutyun Davtian, 57, an inhabitant of the Kavtarlou Village, n[on]-p[artisan], Catholic vice-deacon of the Len[inakan] Region, vote-less (not having right to vote - A.K.). Charged for violating A[rm.]SSR Criminal Code articles No. 16-78.

During the collectivization of the Len[inakan] Region, Father Petros Davtian advocated against the process of forming collective farms, complained of the Sov[iet] authorities saying that they were stifling the villagers with/by taxes. In order to discredit the authorities, he closed the church announcing that the authorities would not let him serve god, knowing full well that the authorities had not deprived him of his right to carry out religious services. On this ground he was called to responsibility, and during the investigation it became apparent that besides the above mentioned offences, during the process of collectivization he had asked the people to kneel down and pray to god 6-7 times a day, thus diverting their attention from collective farms [to religion]. He had held night meeting in his house in Kavtarlou Village with 4-5 anti-Soviet elements and after consulting with them had decided to abort the collectivization process by every possible means. It was through their subversive activities that the collective farm was destroyed. In order not to disclose his role in that failure, Davtian had appealed to the villagers to organize collective farms. Davtian himself admitted that throughout the same period he had asked the people not to forget god and faith "in these hard times." Through his lobbying activities the number of church goers had increased. At the same time it became obvious that previously Davtian have advocated for the destruction of the All-Union Young Len[in] Committee cell in order to orient the Young people towards the church. Through the interference of the head of Armenian Catholic apostles in Rome, he had received loans, which he did not declare (to evade tax payment) and secretly distributed the amount among other clergymen, who were under his deaconship. He received [letters] from the head of apostles and himself wrote discrediting letters to him...

On the basis of the above mentioned, Father Petros Davtian is accused of carrying out anti-collectivization activities, thus destroying the foundations of the Soviet State, i.e. of felonies that are punishable under A[rm.]SSR Criminal Code articles No. 16-78.

Investigations have thus been considered over, and [the case has been] sent to the Arm[enian]SPA prosecutor's discretion in accordance with Criminal Code article No. 201. - 26.08.1930

Was heard the Case No. 88 vs. c[itizen] Father Petros Harutyun Davtian...

Was decided to send to the Siberia exile for 3 years, counting from the date of provisional arrest, that is, 9.02.1930. -- 26.10.1930

Father Petros Harutyun Davtian was exonerated posthumously on December 30, 1989, by the January 16, 1989 Decree of the Presidium of the SC of the USSR.

* * *

AMNS RA FQC, Case No. 1362, paper 17-18, 20.

Father Hakob Petros Antonian,

[was born in 1888,] 45,

resident of G[reat] Gharakilissa Village, Stepanavan Region,

priest-vote-less (not having right to vote - A.K.), married, literary-man.

In 1931, the Stepanavan people's court sentenced him to 1 year imprisonment
for his ill-intentions to fail the sowing duties.

Is arrested on April 12, 1933.

BILL OF INDICTMENT

Alongside his religious duties, Catholic priest Father Hakob Antonian, a resident of the G[reat] Gharakilissa Village of Stepanavan Region, periodically led anti-Soviet propaganda among the Catholic population of G[reat] Gharakilissa, spreading all kinds of provocative news against the Soviet authorities...

One of the witnesses testified: «...Antonian openly announced the following to the faithful congregation gathered in the church, 'No matter how much they torture us, they cannot force you get into the collective farm system. ...The Pope of Rome has declared war against the Soviet authorities... Sov[iet] authorities are prosecuting the faithful and arresting the priests, etc...'».

Another witness commented: «...During services in Church Father Hakob Antonian oriented the villagers against the Soviet authorities by saying that they had to endure a little more for religion and faith were sure to win in the near future».

Such announcements were made several times by Father Hakob [Anton]ian. Under the pretext of religious activities, he aborted many times, through his anti-Soviet dispositions, all Soviet initiatives in the village. Very often, hearing about a forthcoming meeting that the Village Council intended to hold to discuss different items - the storing up or other issues - with the villagers, he immediately sounded the church bells and invited the villagers to church for service, thus failing the meetings many times.

Hakob [Anton]ian's anti-revolutionary activities were affirmed by other people's testimonies as well.

During the interrogations Hakob [Anton]ian denied all the above mentioned anti-revolutionary accusations against him and pleaded not guilty.

On June 21, 1933, the Board of the SPA sentenced him to two years of imprisonment.

Data, which testify that Father Hakob Antonian was exonerated posthumously, aren't available in his file.

* * *

AMNS RA FQC, Case No. 9333, paper 180, 184-186, 187.

Father Anton Sahak Petoyan,
was born in 1859, in Eshtil Village, Bogdanovka Region, Georg[ian] SSR,
before the attachment lived in Kaykouli-Ghazanchi Village, Amassia Region.
Clergyman, is married, has 4 sons, 3 daughters.
Catholic, had graduated from Araratian religious high-school.
Is arrested on October 7, 1937.

BILL OF INDICTMENT

In 1928, Father Anton Sahak Petoyan established friendly ties with Father Alexan Hakobian (died in exile), a Dashnak member, and took part in Catholic clergymen's underground meeting, held in Leninakan (now: Gyumri - A.K.). Through mentioned Hakobyan he got in touch with Derlookian, a well-known authority, who rewarded him lavishly for carrying out various anti-revolutionary religious activities.

In 1936, with the adoption of the new Constitution, Petoyan, under the pretext of carrying out religious ceremonies, often rallied villagers around him and advocated for revitalizing religious activities and called for endowments to renovate the church. For that purpose he suggested to fundraise...

Was resolved to send Father Anton Sahak Petoyan's investigation case to the Arm. SSR PCIA Troika for further hearings.

On November 10, 1937, the above mentioned Troika heard Petoyan's case and sentenced him to be shot after confiscating all his personal belongings.

The Act issued on November 15, 1937, testifies to the fact that the execution actually took place on the same day at 2 A.M.

Father Anton Sahak Petoyan was exonerated posthumously on July 25, 1989, by the January 16, 1989 Decree of the Presidium of the SC of the USSR.

* * *

AMNS RA FQC, Case No. 9306, paper 89, 111, 117-120.

Father Alexan Petros Ghazarian,
was born in 1853, in Amassia Region,
clergyman of the Koraghbyour Village,
graduated from the Leninakan (now: Gyumri - A.K.)
Theological School, isn't married.
Is arrested on October 8, 1937.

BILL OF INDICTMENT

In 1928, Father Alexan Petros Ghazarian established friendly ties with Father Alexan, an active Dashnak member, and through him got in touch with Derlookian, a well-known Catholic authority, who rewarded him lavishly for carrying out religious activities.

In 1929, Ghazarian joined the Koraghbyour Village a[nti]-r[evolutionary] Dashnak group and kept close ties with arrested Dashnak members Simon Shahinian, Batikian and others.

In 1936, after the adoption of Stalin's Constitution, under the pretext of carrying out religious assignments, Ghazarian advocated strongly against the All-Union Communist (workers') Party and the Sov[iet] authorities. In the same year, under the influence of a[nti]-r[evolutionary] agitation he renovated the church on the villagers' account and thus, until the day of his arrest, carried out anti-Soviet propaganda, kindled religious and national feelings among the Catholic population.

On November 15, 1937, Ghazarian's personal belongings were confiscated, and he was sentenced to be shot by the Arm. SSR PCIA Troika.

The execution was carried out on the night of November 25, 1937.

Father Alexan Petros Ghazarian was exonerated posthumously on July 12, 1989, by the January 16, 1989 Decree of the Presidium of the SC of the USSR.

* * *

AMNS RA FQC, Case No. 12776, paper 13, 15, 16, 21-22, 25.

Father Barsegh Minassian,
was born in 1859, in Mousloughli Village, Talin Region,
Catholic clergyman, kulak, high-school education.
Lived in Leninakan (now: Gyumri - A.K.).
Before the last attachment, was arrested twice -
in 1931 and 1935, for religious activities.
Is arrested on October 8, 1937.

INTERROGATION TRANSCRIPT31ST OCTOBER, 1937

Question: Tell us in detail about your cooperation with «the Pope of Rome», in carrying out a[nti]-r[evolutionary] espionage activities until your arrest in 1937.

Answer: I plead guilty. Indeed, I, Father Barsegh Minassian, have served «the Pope of Rome» as his spy, since 1935. I have maintained relations through my fellow villager, Father Sargis Ter-Abrahamian, who is my close relative and lives in Rome, Italy. Through him I received money by post from the Pope of Rome, last year and in 1937, and I periodically got letters from him as well. I was recruited (through letter) to work for the Pope by Father Sargis Abrahamian.

I must confess that, though I was spy, I could not possibly carry out serious espionage work because all my letters sent to Italy were minutely checked by the post and I was afraid to include in them any serious information. Besides, I, Father Barsegh Minassian, testify to the fact that I have maintained relations with assistant priest Father Hovsep Dadoyan, from Batumi C[ity, Georgia], who was a representative of the Armenian Catholic clergy. From the latter I received 400 roubles in 1937, which I immediately gave to Catholic clergymen Peto Ter-Antonian, Ter-Mikaelian, Kotandjian of the Kor-Aghbyour Village of Amassia Region, and Fathers Alexan Ghazarian and Mkrtich Ignatian of the Darakey Village. The money was given them to revitalize their religious provocative activities and to reestablish the Armenian Catholic faith. After [the adoption of] the new Constitution Catholic clergymen, including myself, enhanced religious activities among the Catholic population of Leninakan and various villages of Armenia. [I] carried intensive a[nti]-r[evolutionary], religious activities against the All-Union Communist (workers') Party and the Sov[iet] authorities. As a clergyman I consider myself an enemy to the Soviet authorities and remain faithful to my a[nti]-r[evolutionary] ideas and religion...

Was heard the Arm. SSR PCIA Leninakan City Council's Case No. 27 [vs.] Father Barsegh Kerop Minassian, a former *kulak* and a clergyman, born in 1859, in Leninakan C[ity]. Is charged of carrying out espionage activities, in 1935, in favor of Italy, of having fascist-like tendencies towards the Sov[iet] authorities, and of propagating religious ideas until the day of his arrest. Was decided that Father Barsegh Kerop Minassian should be SHOT, [and] his personal belongings should be confiscated.

The execution was carried out on November 6, 1937.

Father Barsegh Minassian was exonerated posthumously on April 30th, 1991 by the January 16, 1989 Decree of the Presidium of the SC of the USSR.

Abbreviations

AMNS RA FQC - Archive of the Ministry of National Security of the Republic of Armenia, Fund of Quashed Cases

ARD - Anti-Revolutionary Department

Arm. SPA - Armenian State Political Administration

Arm. SSR - Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

Dashnak - Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnak) Party, Armenian national-political party, founded in 1890. During the communist period in Armenia the party was prohibited to function, because of its anti-Soviet orientation.

PCIA - People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs

SC - Supreme Council

SPA - State Political Administration

Troika - Three-men-Committee, a higher degree of jurisdiction, which was functioning in the system of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and was authorized to pass conclusive sentences

USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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

AROUND THE ASSASSINATION OF PETROS GAPAMAJYAN, THE GOVERNOR OF VAN

Avetis Harutyunyan

Armenian State Pedagogical University

after Khachatur Abovyan

In 1912 mayoral elections were held in Van and two renowned public figures of Van were nominated for the position of mayor: Avetis Terzibashyan and Petros Gapamajyan. Avetis Terzibashyan, who was a more educated person, secured a convincing victory. But soon he had to leave Van and gave his position to ambitious P. Gapamajyan who received a title of «bey» and was called Haji bey.

Petros bey Gapamajyan was one of the wealthy and distinguished merchants thanks to whom trade largely developed in Van and affiliates of trading companies were opened in villages and regions. He was also a district guardian, a trustee of monasteries and schools, and a member of the provincial administrative council (*mejlis idare*). At the same time, Gapamajyan founded the Van branch of the Charity, became its chairman, helped schools and played an important role in the opening of the Van seminary, donating a large amount of money and later also raising funds for that institution. Several hundred families in Van lived at his expense.¹

P. Gapamajyan was a successful mayor. As A. Yekaryan confessed, the city of Van had hardly seen such a good mayor as him.² In his article the writer Vahan Minakhoryan (Whip)³ wrote about him: «He sincerely and fearlessly expressed his feelings, was right and impartial in his position, and for this reason a lot of people envied him and he became their victim. As an impartial, straightforward person, he was never afraid to speak the truth and boldly spoke in front of the government as well as in the national circles; a virtue that was not given to many».⁴

Thus, everything went well until the Dashnaks decided to get a share from P. Gapamajyan's wealth. However, beautiful words and threats had no value for him. And

¹ The ARF press indicates that P. Gapamajyan was a highly arrogant, haughty and ambitious person: «He was an agha with old views and thoughts... he could not accept that others besides himself were recognized as governors of the nation». He took part in Vazgen's (Tigran Teroyan) and his friends' leaving of Van, and later in the arrest and banishment of revolutionary youth. With his personal resources P. Gapamajyan made a military uniform for a part of soldiers of the Turkish army that had suppressed the rebellion of Sasoon in 1904. In 1908, during Davo's treachery he helped the police to discover the hiding place of weapons. P. Gapamajyan did not contribute to the settlement of the land issue and elimination of oppression. See Horizon, March 2, 1913, N 47 (in Arm.).

² See Armenak Yekaryan 1947: 169.

³ Hovakimyan 2005: 302.

⁴ Mshak, January 17, 1913, N 11 (in Arm.).

he responded to the Dashnaks: «I disagree with your actions that I find damaging and thus, I cannot have any financial contribution to your sins».⁵

Later, his relations with the Dashnak committee of Van became more strained and P. Gapamajyan had to send a heart-to-heart letter to the Archbishop Hovhannes Arsharuni, the Patriarch of Constantinople and complained of the nation-damaging activities of Dashnak leaders, Aram and Ishkhan, and asked him to expel those two «stranger rebels» from Van. Vahan Papazian sent the news of the contents of the letter to Arshak Vramyan in Van, at the same time expressing his surprise: «Is this man still alive?» In his turn, the short-sighted Patriarch H. Arsharuni sent that heart-to-heart letter to the Van vicar general bishop Hovsep Sarajian, who discussed the letter with the Van City Council, most of the members of which were Dashnaks.⁶

Several days after these developments, on the evening of December 23, 1912, on the holiday of Prophet David, when the 72-year-old mayor Petros Gapamajyan was heading for the celebration in his own sledge-chariot to the house of his relative Marjitjyan (Tchitazyán), the conspiratorial terrorist group killed him with four handgun bullets in front of his house.⁷ The incident was very shocking for the Armenian and Turkish population of Van, because P. Gapamajyan was a very influential man, was the mayor and had an active participation in the social and state affairs of the city.⁸

P. Gapamajyan's funeral took place on December 25, 1912, in the Norashen church of Van, under the chairmanship of diocesan leader H. bishop Sarajian and with the participation of more than 1,000 people, representatives of the Van governor, commander of the troops, foreign consuls and missionaries. All the representatives who delivered eulogies - the priest, the American missionary Reynolds, the German Speo, the inspector of the Van seminary - M. Minasyan, Mihran Tevkants and Abraham Brutyan pointed out that P. Gapamajyan's murder was carried out by «black hands» that had long-term goals.⁹ And H. bishop Sarajian openly claimed that the crime was committed by Armenians.

There are two approaches in the press of that time in regard to P. Gapamajyan's murder: a) that he was killed by the Dashnaks by the order of Aram and Ishkhan, and b) the authorities had him killed in order to seize the mayor's position (*pele die reisî*).

The fact that in 1905 the ARF threatened to kill P. Gapamajyan and his beautiful house was burnt, was not denied even by their press. «Kohak» wrote the following in its editorial: «It is a general belief that the Dashnaks have killed Haji bey ... Because unpleasant whispers spread by the political current that the Turks killed him and other such childish distortions».¹⁰

⁵ Armenak Yekaryan 1947: 169.

⁶ Armenak Yekaryan 1947: 170.

⁷ See Bithynia, December 26, 1912 - 1 January 8, 1913, N 18 (in Arm.).

⁸ See Horizon, March 2, 1913, N 47.

⁹ See Mshak, January 17, 1913, N 11.

¹⁰ Kohak, February 23/26, 1913, N 5 (in Arm.).

At the same time the ARF did not regard the deceased as a powerful rival of the party¹¹. In fact, «Azatamart» wrote about it: «The Government that wants to see Dashnaktsutyun's fault in everything, immediately imputed this to the same party, though it has officially done nothing. They did not take into account the rumors in the society that on the occasion of the New Year Gapamajyan intended to donate a large sum of money to some national institution and thus, has become victim of conspiracy of his own people»¹².

The Government and particularly Goneal Mustafa, the head of the police of Van, who had punished dozens of Armenians for the assassination of one Kurdish bandit did not start an investigation into the murder of the Mayor at first, but on the contrary defended the ARF, so the murder investigation went on silently. The ARF Committee tried to justify themselves saying they had no information on that murder, that P. Gapamajyan was killed by a former Dashnak soldier who had acted on his own initiative. Certainly, no one believed it. In order to avoid further doubt, besides, taking the opportunity to persecute the Dashnaks, Izzet Bey, the governor of Van, ordered to arrest Garegin Voskerchyan and Shirin Hakobyan, the members of ARF, accusing them of selling weapons for self-defense in villages¹³. Some Dashnaks from Van were also persecuted, namely Tevos, Ales and Panos, and their number soon rose to 10-15¹⁴.

Taking advantage of the fact that there were serious disagreements between P. Gapamajyan and the ARF, the authorities spread the news that he was killed by his opponents. The Turkish press («Allemtari» and «Iphhami»), at least, accused ARF pointing out that the crime was committed near their office and that the victim was the Dashnaks' adversary¹⁵. Thus, in his letter dated with Nov. 20, 1913 addressed to the Central Committee of ARF in the United States, A. Vramyan stated: «Gapamajyan's murder by unknown hands seemed favorable for the governor to begin the persecution. That assassination was committed on Dec. 23 whereas I left on Dec. 4, and my friend Aram was very ill and was in the hospital in America for several months. Finally, they sent a notification to me and Aram, accusing both of us of the murder. We denied it, sent a complaint by the telegram, 1 day later the governor resigned and soon after the case was closed»¹⁶. Nevertheless, attributing the mayor's murder to the ARF was only a result of suspicion which the Dashnaks deny, even though there was no official response to the charges against them¹⁷.

There are also arguments regarding the authorities' involvement in Gapamajyan's murder. Olferev, the Russian Deputy Consul to Van, being well-aware of the events, considered it necessary to inform the Russian Ambassador to Constantinople that P.

¹¹ See Horizon, March 2, 1913, N 47.

¹² Azatamart, January 29, 1913, N 1123 (in Arm.).

¹³ See Horizon, March 2, 1913, N 47.

¹⁴ See Azatamart, January 29, 1913, N 1123.

¹⁵ See Bithynia, December 26, 1912 - January 8, 1913, N 18.

¹⁶ The documents for the history of the party of Dashnaktsutyun: 289.

¹⁷ See Kohak, March 13/26, 1913, N 9.

Gapamajyan was killed not by the Dashnaks, but by Turkish officials in order to use up the huge sum that only the deceased knew about.¹⁸

In his secret telegram No. 245/39 dated with March 8, 1913 addressed to Garroni, the Ambassador of Italy to Constantinople, Gorini, the Consul General of Italy to Trabzon, also states that Gapamajyan's murder was dictated by the authorities and was carried out by the Kurds: «even the Van Mayor Kapamajian's murder has not been disclosed yet ... Recently a clash took place between the gendarmes of Van and a Kurdish gang. The Armenian gendarme killed the Kurdish chieftain to whom Kapamajyan's murder was attributed. The Armenian gendarme is now arrested and convicted».¹⁹

For the purpose of disclosing the murder, ARF offered Set Gapamajian, P. Gapamajyan's son to set a friendly court. The latter recommended P. R. Shatvoryan and H. Gondaktchyan as members of the court. However, the Dashnaks objected to their candidacy, after which S. Brutyan and Paramaz were suggested as members. But the Dashnaksutyun did not make any move this time either.²⁰

The secret of P. Gapamajyan's murder was left undisclosed. In the face of P. Gapamajyan Van-Vaspurakan lost a distinguished mayor who had played an important role in the improvement of advancing education and economy of Van-Vaspurakan.

To replace P. Gapamajyan, Vahan Ef. Marutyan was appointed as acting mayor and the new mayor's elections were to be held in March, 1913 with the participation of citizens having the right to vote.²¹

After the attack on P. Gapamajyan several other new murders were committed in the province of Van. A. Yekaryan attributes them to the Dashnaks. As a result of party conflicts and disagreements melik Markos of the Gortsot village (Berkri region) was murdered. He had managed to keep Gortsot away from Kurdish persecutions to some extent. A. Yekaryan wrote about him the following: «He was an influential man and during the past years had a lot of conflicts with Kurdish chieftains. He was brave, firm and resolute and thanks to these qualities was always victorious in the mentioned conflicts. He was also a wealthy man. He was the head of a traditional family whose door was always open to travellers of all nations, whose table was always laid and whose fire was always burning to feed travelling guests».²²

In similar conditions Harutyun, the head of the Anggh village of Hayots Dzor was killed. He was a clever and experienced person and the villagers were pleased by his actions. The village was in a good state until Ishkhan went to Anggh and demanded that Harutyun «take orders from him from now on and act the way he demanded».²³ And

¹⁸ See Central State Military-historical Archive. Russian empire, Fund 1300, list 29, p.96, N 8.

¹⁹ Baloyan 2008: 24.

²⁰ See Kohak, May 1/14, 1913, N 16.

²¹ See Mshak, February 8, 1913, N 30.

²² Armenak Yekaryan 1947: 170.

²³ Idem: 171.

Ishkhan demanded that the head of the village make all the villagers buy weapons. But they did not reach an agreement and Harutyun was killed by his own son (who was under the influence of the ideas of the new generation) and by his accomplices.

A question arises against whom the ARF wanted to secretly arm the Armenian villagers, being a state party and having its deputy mandates in the Parliament - Mepusan. Outwardly the Dashnak chiefs of Van - Ishkhan, Aram, V. Papazyan, Rapael, Teos and others formed mixed Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-Kurdish armed groups against the seeming threat of *Ittilaf*, but according to A. Yekaryan it was directed against Russia since during the days of the Balkan war Russian-Turkish relations were tense.²⁴

Then, according to the order of the ARF, Nazaret Tndukhyan, one of the district governors of Aygestan, in Van, was killed just for saying that he knew a lot about the ARF's internal affairs which were very disgusting. A. Yekaryan cited the testimony of Harutyun Chavush, one of the organizers of the murder, writing the following: «A conspiratorial group of twelve people hid themselves in the ruins near the house of Atom Agha. A man called Harutyun Chavush who was unknown to the people of Kharberd and Van, presented himself to Nazaret and invited him to the police station of Kentrchi under the pretence of some business connected with his position. Without having any doubt Nazaret followed him. When they reached the agreed place the eleven conspirators attacked the unarmed man, tied him, put a sack over his head, took him to a faraway garden and slaughtered him like a sheep. Before being butchered the poor man begged something from these brutal villains - to tell his only son not to testify before the government. But of course the criminals would not deliver this message».²⁵

These people were killed because they had great influence among the population in their provinces and did not want to become toys in the hands of the ARF. These assassinations took place in Van and prominent centers of the province, and what was going on in distant villages, no one knows.

In March, 1913 brothers Hayk and Yervand Ter-Mkrtchyan were attacked and injured in Van. The general opinion was that the purpose of the attack had been to hinder the publication of «Van-Tap», the periodical of the Ramkavar party (Armenian Democratic Liberal Party) (the two brothers were the typesetters and proofreaders of the periodical). «Mshak» called what had happened a barbaric act and reproached the ARF which considered itself the most viable element of the Armenian people: «We do not believe that the Dashnaktsutyun party could have directly decided on and ordered such ferocious attacks and we do not believe that their purpose was to kill. But the party has created such an atmosphere that the attacks and ferocities can take place and they take place even by themselves all around by separate comrades or a group and this is even worse because it proves that the party is deprived of order and discipline and the

²⁴ Idem: 172.

²⁵ Idem: 172-173.

comrades are prejudiced with lamentable thoughts and it is their fault that they have created such a contagious atmosphere».²⁶

In March 29, 1913 there was an attempt to threaten Avetis effendi Terzibashyan, one of the Armenian prominent people of Van, by demanding 50 golden coins from him. Suspecting the Dashnaks, A. Terzibashyan turned to Ishkhan for help. But during the discovery of the crime the two villains that made a terror attempt were neutralized and the real motive of the crime remained unknown.²⁷ A. Yekaryan wrote that when Deli Ghazar, a Dashnak chieftain realized that the extortionists were from among themselves he immediately «ordered to stop the fire, they took the one killed, made the one injured disappear and the issue was closed...».²⁸

Such activity disunited the people and they were not able to organize their self-defense.

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²⁷ Mshak, April 24, 1913, N 86.

²⁸ Armenak Yekaryan 1947: 155.

ON THE GENEALOGY OF ZABEL QUEEN OF CILICIA

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The article is an attempt to bring together historical data regarding the genealogy of Zabel, queen of Armenian Cilician kingdom (1226-1252), particularly her maternal lineage. Generally the sources refer to Zabel's mother as the representative of the Royal dynasty of Cyprus. But some interesting facts in the genealogy of the latter point to the existence of both Armenian-Byzantine and Armenian-French lineages.

The statement consists of 4 parts:

Part A: Taronites

It is well known that after the second separation of Armenia in the VI century AD a substantial part of the Armenian nobility gradually moves to Byzantium as a result of the absence of unified statehood in Armenia, also as a result of the targeted policy of the Byzantine empire. This movement was intensified even more in the following centuries, and although the Bagratid Armenian state managed to restrain it at least temporarily, after 1045 the Armenian nobility spread across Byzantium and neighboring countries in search of more powerful suzerains; some had managed to create their own small principalities (like Philaretos Brachamios, Gabriel of Melitene etc.). Perhaps, one of the most influential and renowned among them were Taronites descending from Ashot Bagratuni who moved to Byzantium in 966. Taronites played a major role in the political life of Byzantium; this is described in detail in the works of Nicholas Adontz and Alexander Kazhdan.¹

Maria, one of the five children born to Anna Dalassene's² and Byzantine nobleman John Komnenos' (future emperor Alexios I Komnenos) marriage, had married to **Michael Taronites**.³ Byzantine sources mention a young lady, who supposedly was the **daughter** of one of Michael's sons, **John** or **Gregory**. She married John Komnenos, duke of Cyprus, the cousin of Manuel I Komnenos⁴. The 12th century poet Theodore Prodromos refers to Komnenos' fiancée as «Euphrates Offshoot» and «Taronites Glory». Kazhdan assumes that she could belong not to the Taronites of

¹ Adontz 2012a: 260-324; 2012b: 325-331; Kazhdan 1975: 17-24.

² Possibly, also having Armenian roots, see discussion and literature in Kazhdan 1975: 92-97.

³ Adontz 2012a: 303.

⁴ «Taronitissa, daughter of [IOANNES] Taronites [III] & his wife --- ([1125/30]-after 1176)... According to Rüdiger Collenberg, she was the daughter or granddaughter either of Ioannes Taronites [I] or of his brother Gregorios (both sons of Mikhael Taronites)», Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, Byzantium 1057-1204, Chapter 1. Komnenos, online <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTIUM%2010571204.htm>
#MariaKdied1217

Constantinople, but to their branch⁵ which had domains in the vicinity of the Euphrates river. We are not aware of her name, it is only known that after her husband's death she joined a convent under the name of Maria.⁶

Isaac Komnenos and this lady belonging to the Taronites dynasty had three daughters named Maria, Eudoxia and Theodora. In 1167 Maria married Amalric I, the King of Jerusalem.

Part B: The Royal Family of Jerusalem

Baldwin II, the king of Jerusalem had married Morphia,⁷ the daughter of Gabriel, the Armenian lord of Melitene in 1101. Morphia blessed Baldwin with four daughters. It is noteworthy that Baldwin was close to divorce Morphia and take a new wife in order to have a male child. However, according to historians, Baldwin loved Morphia so much that he adamantly renounced his desire. Morphia was crowned as the Queen of Jerusalem in 1120. She never interfered into political issues, her range of interests seemed to be limited with the palace and raising the children. Nevertheless, when her husband was captured in 1123, Morphia took resolute actions. Firstly, she sent a group of mercenary soldiers to find out where her husband was kept, after which personally headed negotiations, and, eventually Baldwin and other prisoners were released thanks to 50 Armenian soldiers, who, dressed as merchants, penetrated into the fort, killed the guards and rescued the captives.⁸

Morphia died in October 1126 or 1127; her remains were buried in the Abbey of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat that was believed to be the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, not far from the Old City of Jerusalem. Interestingly, this monastery now has nine cloisters, of which three are Armenian, but Morphia and later her daughter Melisende were buried in the Orthodox cloister. Morphia's daughter's Melisende's gravestone is in the stairs of the monastery (23-rd step).

After Morphia's death Baldwin didn't marry. He decided to declare her elder daughter **Melisende** the heir to the throne.⁹ Before her father's death Melisende acted as his co-governor. Baldwin turned to Louis VI for advice on the choice of a husband for Melisende and the King brought forward one of the most powerful French noblemen, Fulk, Count of Anjou. Melisende and Fulk had two sons: Baldwin III and Amalric I. In 1163 Amalric I (who didn't have male successors after his brother's death) was put to the throne. He will marry twice, first to Agnes of Courtenay, who will give birth to

⁵ Kazhdan 1975: 54.

⁶ Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, Byzantium 1057-1204, Chapter 1. Komnenos, online <https://goo.gl/XBXjsa>

⁷ Mutfian 2012: I, 374-375.

⁸ Mutfian 2012: I, 375.

⁹ See Mutfian 2012: I, 376.

Baldwin IV and Sybilla. His second wife was **Maria Comnena**, and their daughter - **Izabella**.

Part C: Lusignans

Lusignans were one of the noble families in Western France, leiges of the Dukes of Aquitaine. Representatives of this family repeatedly took part in the Crusades and established close ties with the nobility of the eastern Outremer. Probably, that is why Amalric Lusignan who was a participant in the uprising against Henry II, had to escape, and, after a long displacement, he reached the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Here he made every effort to ensure that his brother Guy de Lusignan married Sybilla, the heiress to the throne (daughter of King Amalric I and Agnes de Courtenay). He married **Isabel**, Sybilla's stepsister and Maria Comnena's daughter. In 1198 Amalric Lusignan (3rd marriage) and Isabel (4th marriage) had a daughter, named **Sybilla**. In the same year in Tarsus Leo II was declared the «King of Cilicia and Isauria», while in Cyprus, in the House of Lusignan, Sybilla, Leo's future wife was growing up.

Part D: Zabel¹⁰

Leo's first wife, Isabel, was the daughter of Isabel, the third wife of the brother of Bohemond III of Antioch. The marriage had a political context and was aimed to defend the Duke of Antioch from actions harmful for Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia¹¹.

The marriage took place in 1189. Isabel gave birth to a daughter who was named **Rita-Stephanie**. However, this marriage had an unfortunate end. Regardless the reason, we only know that in 1206 Leo beat his wife badly and ordered the death of her inner circle¹², after which the queen was imprisoned in the fortress of Vahka where she died a year later.

Their daughter Rita-Stephanie, was handed over to the care of her grandmother, madam Rita, and later she was deprived of all the hopes for rights to the throne succession. In 1209 Leo, upon his mother's advice, declares Raymond-Ruben, the son of his brother's daughter Alice, as his heir and in the next year married a second time. This time, he marries **Sybilla, the daughter of Amalric Lusignan**.

In this marriage Zabel, the daughter of Leo II was born, who was put on the throne in 1222.

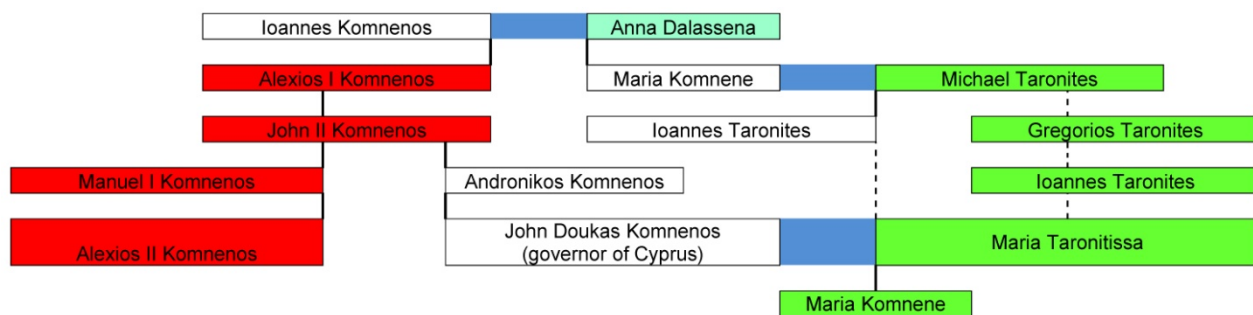
Thus, to summarize Zabel's genealogy (see family tree), it is obvious that the maternal line branches of both Komnenos' and the Royal Family of Jerusalem are, actually, Armenian-Byzantine and Armenian-French. If we also took into account Leo's ancestors, among which was prince Leo I's mother, Thoros I's wife, and granddaughter of Vard Phokas, also of Armenian origin, and her mother's line (Hetumians) descended from Oshin of Gandzak, who moved to Artsakh from Northern Cilicia, Armenian component obviously gain a predominant position among Zabel's ancestors.

¹⁰ About Genealogy of Rubenides see Rüdte-Colenberg W.H.1963, Mutaftian C. 2012, tome II.

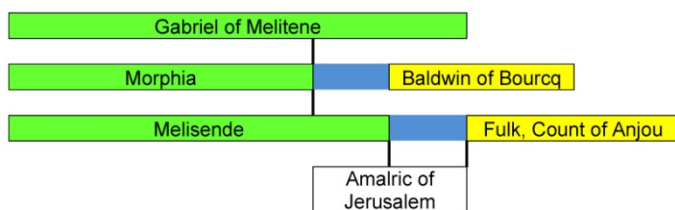
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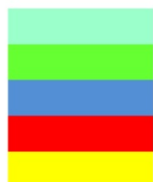
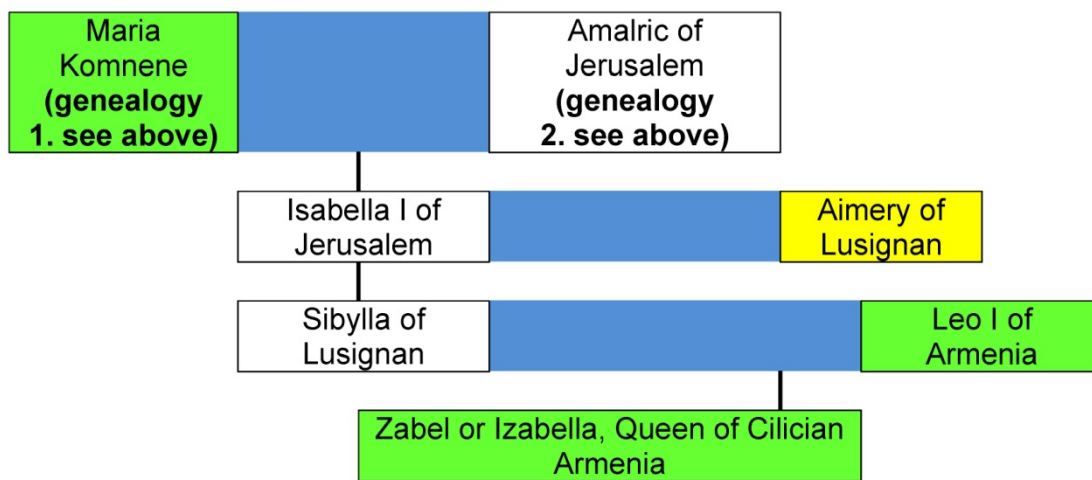
GENEALOGY OF MARIA KOMNENE, GRANDMOTHER OF SYBILLA OF LUSIGNAN, SECOND WIFE OF LEO I OF ARMENIA



2. GENEALOGY OF AMALRIC OF JERUSALEM



1. GENEALOGY OF AMALRIC OF JERUSALEM



Probably of Armenian origin
Known to be of Armenian origin
Marriage
Byzantyne emperors
French origin

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DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The Melisende Psalter is an illuminated manuscript (dated between 1131 and 1143), ordered by King Fulk for his wife Queen Melisende. Now in British Library. Source <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/melisende-psalter>
2. Mary's Tomb - Melisende of Jerusalem chapel in Abbey of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Source https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mary%27s_tomb,Melisende_IMG_0251c.jpg
3. Abbey of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat Source <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/87/66/64/876664818c2841449c87f9334f4be17d.jpg>
4. Coronation Fulk and Melisenda, from manuscript XIII c. Source https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fulko_melisenda.jpg
5. Queen Melisende marries Fulk of Anjou, Miniature, William of Tyre, Histoire de la Conquête de Jérusalem. Found in Tate, The Crusaders, Warriors of God, p. 71. Source https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C3%A9lisende_de_J%C3%A9rusalem#/media/File:Melisende_and_Fulk_of_Jerusalem.jpg
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1.a The Melisende Psalter



1.b The Melisende Psalter



2. Mary's Tomb Melisende of Jerusalem chapel in Abbey of Saint Mary



3. Abbey of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat



4. Coronation Fulk and Melisenda, from manuscript XIII c.



5. Queen Melisenda marries Fulk of Anjou



6.a Marriage of Maria Komnene and Amalric I



6.b Marriage of Maria Komnene and Amalric I

TRAVELLERS, NATURAL PHILOSOPHERS AND HISTORIANS VISITING ARMENIA IN THE V CENTURY BC - XVIII CENTURY

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Since late 1970s the author began to study the geotectonic ideas of antiquity and Middle ages. In the mid - 1980s I came to a conclusion that only a thorough review and analyses of studies not only on natural philosophy, but also geographers, poets and play writers could give a chance for the complete understanding of the initial stages of geotectonic ideas.¹

Recently I began to study the initial phases of the geological ideas in Armenia,² as well as the writings of Armenian historians, poets and novelists, foreign travellers who visited Armenia and studies of the historians of geography, devoted to the latter (J. Baker, I.Yu. Krachkovskij, I.P. Magidovich etc.). In 2013 appear the studies of D.Yu. Beknazaryan and R. Galichyan dealing with this problem. Strikingly, in any of these studies is mentioned Xanthus, the Lydian historian of the V century BC, the first researcher of Armenia, and some other authors. Due to the specialization of the present author (history of geology), we shall limit our survey with the description of travels which could be useful for the historians of geography for their studies in the future.

In the article we shall focus on 58 travellers, natural philosophers and historians who visited Armenia from the V century BC until the end of the XVIII century. The study reaches until early XIX century, since exactly beginning from this period (Caucasian expedition of A.A. Musin-Pushkin, studies by F. Dubois de Montpéreux and H. Abich) a thorough geographical and geological study of Armenia took place. In our study are emphasized those authors who wrote about the natural phenomena or to its natural resources. It should be mentioned that in most cases we do not possess with full texts of authors (a task that must be done in the future).

Xanthus (V c. BC). A Lydian historian who wrote «that in many places he had seen a long way from the sea fossil shells, some like cockles, others resembling scallop shells, also salt lakes, Armenia, Matiana, and Lower Phrygia, which induced him to believe that sea had formerly been where the land now was.³ Some 100 years before Xanthus only Xenophanes of Colophon had expressed an idea that the fossil animals and floral remains found on earth proves that those parts were flooded by the sea.⁴ It should be mentioned that Xanthus was the first scholar who had come to the idea of Xenophanes in regard to Armenia. This idea became fundamental for the development of geological and palaeontological thought.

¹ Khomizuri 2002.

² Khomizuri 2016; Jrbashyan, Khomizuri, Harutyunyan 2017.

³ Strabo 1964, I, III, 4.

⁴ Hippolytus 1868: I, 14.

In the «Anabasis of Cyrus» **Xenophon** narrates about the famous retreat of 14,000 Greek army in 401 BC from Asia Minor. In two chapters he tells how the Greek army had proceeded through the territory of Armenia.⁵

Strabo (64/63 BC-24 AD). In his «Geography» the author tells that «he personally travelled from the western part of Armenia to the regions of Tírrhenia».⁶ Armenia is mentioned over 100 times, and the Chapter XIV of Book XI is devoted exceptionally to the geography and brief history of Armenia. In this chapter he wrote that «There are gold mines in Syspiritis near Caballa, to which Menon was sent by Alexander with soldiers, and he was led up to them by the natives. There are also other mines, in particular those of sandyx, as it is called, which is also called 'Armenian' colour, like chalcê.⁷ Strabo was the first who had studied the waters of Lake Van: «There are also large lakes in Armenia; one the Mantianê, which being translated means 'Blue'; it is the largest salt-water lake after Lake Maeotis, as they say, extending as far as Atropatia; and it also has salt-works. Another is Arsenê, also called Thopitis. It contains soda, and it cleanses and restores clothes; but because of this ingredient the water is also unfit for drinking».⁸

Ammianus Marcellinus (IV c. AD). A Roman historian who in the late IV c. had participated in the war against Persians, i.e. on the territory of Armenia. In this study Armenia is mentioned 46 times, in the context of military operations. Indeed the information contained in the study of Ammianus is trustful, since he wrote that «So far as I could investigate the truth, I have, after putting the various events in clear order, related what I myself was allowed to witness in the course of my life, or to learn by meticulous questioning of those directly concerned».⁹

Sallam at-Tarjuman (IX c.). An Arab traveller whose account of the 845 journey in Armenia was used by Ibn Khordadbeh (of Iranian descent).¹⁰

Ahmad al-Ya'qubi (IX c.). Arab historiographer, geographer and traveller. Until 873 he lived in Armenia and Khorasan (Iran). His study Kitab al-Buldan («Book of the Countries», 891) contains the description of Armenia, unfortunately of which only very few was preserved.¹¹

Abu Ishaq al-Istahri (850-934). In 930-933 he had travelled through Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Persia and southern regions of Armenia. The account of his travels appeared in the study Suwar al-Aqaaleem ("Shapes of the Climates").¹²

Al-Mas'udi (896-956). Arab historiographer and geographer who visited Armenia («The Meadows of Gold».¹³

⁵ Xenophon 1951: Book IV, ch. IV-V.

⁶ Strabo 1964: II, V, 11.

⁷ Strabo 1964: XI, XIV, 9.

⁸ Strabo 1964: XI, XIV, 8.

⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus 1906-1908: XV.1.1.

¹⁰ Ibn Khordadbeh 1986: § 77.

¹¹ Hitti 1916: 305-332 (Russian edition Al-Ya'qūbī 2011).

¹² Ebn Haukal 1880: 156-161; in this edition of the text the study erroneously was ascribed to Ibn Haukal.

Abu Dulaf al-Hazraji (X c.). Travelling through Armenia in 942-943 he observed that «there flows a river which disappears underground», and also several times mentions underground waters. He wrote also about natural resources of Armenia: «There exist salt mines where an excellent salt is extracted, also mines of the anderan salt¹⁴ magnesite and copper mines <...> in Armenia are springs from where a sour, acting as laxative water comes; most of these is located around this mountain [Masis]. On its eastern part, in a single mine is an ample concentration of aurupigment. In Armenia the sulphate of copper and sulphur is not abundant, and there does not exist neither silver nor gold mines <...> there is a mine of yellow markazite». ¹⁵

Shamsuddin al-Mukaddasi (946-947-after 1000). An Arab traveller who visited North Africa, Arabia, Central Asia and Transcaucasia in 970-80s. In his study «The Best Divisions in the Knowledge of the Regions» al-Mukaddasi gives a brief account of travel through Armenia. Most of what he wrote concerns the trade, beliefs and customs of peoples (also in the case of Armenia).¹⁶

Nasir Khusraw (1004-1088). A Persian poet and philosopher. In the course of his travels through the Near East he visited also Armenia in 1046.¹⁷

In 1160-1173 the Spanish **Rabbii Benjamin of Tudela** (בנימין מטודלה) visited Armenia during his journey from Zaragoza to Baghdad.¹⁸

In 1174-1185 on his durative trip along the Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Near East the Chech Rabbii **Petachiah of Regensburg** visited Armenia.¹⁹

About 1240 the Syrian Christian monk **Simeon Rabban Ata** visited Armenia during his mission to the.²⁰

In 1255 r. the Flemish monk **Guillaume de Rubrouck** on his way back from Mongolia proceeded through Armenia.²¹

The Arab historian and geographer **Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī** proceeded through Armenia in 1267.²²

During his famous travel in 1271 and return trip in 1295 Armenia was visited **Marco Polo**. Two chapters of his book (XX and XXII) are entitled as «Here is described Lesser Armenia» and «Here is described Greater Armenia». But it lacks any information regarding the nature and natural resources of Armenia, although in many chapters

¹³ Mas'udi 1989.

¹⁴ Crystalline rock salt.

¹⁵ Abu Dulaf 1960: 38-40.

¹⁶ Al-Muqaddasi 1994 («The climate of ar-Rihab»).

¹⁷ Khisrow 1933.

¹⁸ Veniamin 2004.

¹⁹ Petachiah 2004.

²⁰ Kirakos Gandzakeci 1976: Ch. 33.

²¹ Magidovich 1955: 167; Rubruck 1957.

²² Krachkovskij 1957: 354.

devoted to other regions (XXXV, XXXIX, XLVI, XLVII etc.) are described in detail natural resources and precious stones mined there.²³

A Nestorian monk **Rabban Bar Šawma** and his pupil **Marcos** (from 1280 - **Mar Yahballaha III**) began a durative pilgrimage to the Near East in 1278 and around 1286 they «reached the city of Ani».²⁴

In 1292 the Arab historian and geographer **Abu al-Fida** had participated in an expedition to Armenia Minor.²⁵

At the beginning of the XIV century Persian historian and geographer **Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī** visited Armenia. He describes the water of the Lake Sevan as follows. «The waters of the Lake Gokca Tangiz are useful, and the population living in these places, drinks its water. It is not bitter taste and salty, as in most other lakes. Its circumference is equal to 20 parasangs».²⁶ Ḥamdallāh Qazvīnī was interested also with Armenian lazurite. «Armenian stone is of the the color of lazurite and ruby. After washing they use it for colouring instead of natural lazurite».²⁷

About 1320 Armenia was visited by Italian traveller **Odoric of Pordenone** (Odorico da Pordenone).²⁸

In that same year his compatriot, **Jordan de Sévérac** (Jourdain de Severac) an Italian traveller-missionary, visited Armenia, who, as witnessed by him, “crossed the whole country”.²⁹ In the chapter of his book entitled as “About Armenia” de Severac writes that “in Armenia there is a dead sea having the most bitter water in the world. He bears in mind the Lake Urmiya. As it was established by geologists, the Lakes Urmiya and Van, as well as Aral and Caspian seas were splinters of the prehistoric ocean of Thetis.

In 1377 the monk **Johannes de Galonifontibus** from Normandy was appointed as the bishop of Nachijevan and occupied that position until 1398. During this period he travelled many regions of Armenia and Persia. The account of his travels was published in 1404.³⁰

In 1404 **Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo**, a Spanish diplomat and traveller, had passed through Armenia on his way from Cadiz to Samarkand.³¹

A German soldier **Johann Schiltberger** (Johannes Schiltberger), who was imprisoned by the Turks, crossed Armenia together with his masters during their military campaigns about 1405.³²

²³ Marco Polo 1955: 54-57, 66, 69, 74.

²⁴ Mar Yabalaha 2000: III, Ch. 3.

²⁵ Krachkovskij 1957: 388.

²⁶ Qazvīnī Ḥamdallāh 1963, Ch. XX, Part 5.

²⁷ Idem, Ch. XVII, Part 3.

²⁸ Odorico Pordenone 1968.

²⁹ Jourdain de Severac 1968.

³⁰ Galonifontibus 1979.

³¹ De Clavijo 1990.

³² Ivan Schiltberger 1866.

In 1466 a Russian tradesman **Vasili Mamirev** visited the region of Adana (Cilicia) during his journey to the Near East.³³

In 1466-1472 famous Russian tradesman **Afanasij Nikitin** had conducted a durative journey through the eastern countries and Armenia as well, but did not left any valuable information.³⁴

In 1474 **Iosafat Barbaro**, a diplomat from Venice had passed through Armenia on his way to Persia.³⁵

In 1476 an Italian diplomat and traveller **Ambrogio Contarini** was in Armenia during his diplomatic mission.³⁶

Some authors, beginning with J.P. Richter (1881) until D.Ju. Beknazaryan³⁷ think that Armenia was visited by **Leonardo da Vinci** in 1480's, referring to his text from the Atlantic code: «When I was in these parts of Armenia ...». ³⁸ J.P. Richter refer to the fact that in the biography of Leonardo there are gaps for the years 1481-1486. During this period he probably could have travelled to the Cilician Armenia. But most scholars assume that Leonardo's words are no more than literary fantasy, based on the reports of other travellers.³⁹ We also share the position of sceptics, since the referred passage is a part of his alleged book: «About the Taurus mountain. Chapters of the book. Gospel and an appeal to the faith. Sudden flooding until the end. Collapse of the city. Death of inhabitants and despair <...> Description of the Taurus mountain and the Euphrates river. To Dioderius of Syria, viceroy of the holy sultan of Babylonia ...». ⁴⁰

About 1517 the Arab geographer and traveller **Joannes Leo Africanus** (born **al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi**) visited Armenia during his durative journey to the eastern countries.⁴¹

In 1562 an English diplomat **Anthony Jenkinson** had passed through Armenia on his way to Persia.⁴²

In 1603 **John Cartwright**, another Englishman had been in Julfa during his trip to Persia.⁴³

In 1604 the German diplomat and traveller **Georg Tectander von der Jabel** had passed through Armenia during his diplomatic mission from Prague to Persia.⁴⁴

³³ Vasilij 1884.

³⁴ Afanasij Nikitin 1960.

³⁵ Iosafat Barbaro 1970.

³⁶ Contarini 1971.

³⁷ Beknazaryan 2013: 55.

³⁸ Leonardo da Vinci 1955: 55.

³⁹ Zubov 1955: 978; Zubov 1962: 296-297.

⁴⁰ Leonardo da Vinci 1955: 470-471.

⁴¹ Krachkovskij 1957: 446.

⁴² Anton Jenkinson 1884.

⁴³ Cartwright 1611: 35 (apud Galichyan 2013).

⁴⁴ Tectander 1896.

In 1620 on his journey from Moscow to Persia the Russian merchant **Fedot (Feodor) Afanasefich Kotov** travelled through Armenia.⁴⁵

In 1630-1633 **Jean-Baptiste Tavernier**, the merchant from Prague conducted his first journey to the East, in the course of which he had resided for a long period in Armenia, including Yerevan and Echmiadzin. The first volume of his memoirs (693 pages) are devoted to Armenia - its attractive places, customs of Armenians, their religion.⁴⁶

In 1635 the German geographer and traveller **Adam Olearius**, the member of the Holstinian embassy sent to Russia and Persia, had visited Armenia. Only in one passage he touched upon the nature of the country: «That high mountain (Ararat – G.Kh.) - maybe due to an earthquake, has been fractured in different parts, so that due to wide and deep gorges it is impossible to reach to the place where rests the arch».⁴⁷

In 1636 **Vassilij Yakovlevich Gagara**, the Russian merchant and traveller, had passed through Armenia on his way back from Egypt; he describes the beauty of the Mount Ararat.⁴⁸

In 1630s-1640s **Francesco Maria Maggio**, an Italian catholic missionary, had been in the East, including Armenia.⁴⁹

In 1646-1647 the Turkish traveller **Evliya Chelebi** had conducted a durative journey to the Transcaucasia and several times passed through Armenia. He describes the hot healing springs on the western part of the Erzurum vilayet and 7 hot springs in the region of Hasankale, and also springs of Sederge (in the region of Nakhijevan).⁵⁰ He writes also about the mineral resources he saw there: «In these mountains (Kagizman - G.Kh.) viretashi, a painkiller stone is extracted, from which surgeons make healing ointment in order to put on wounded or ailing parts of the body, drills for the goldsmiths, grindstone for the barbers; tiles for the roofs. In these places there are mines of gold and silver. But due to wasteful mining and exhaustion now they are deserted».⁵¹

In 1648 **Alexandre de Rhodes**, the French clergyman visited Nakhijevan, Erzurum, Yerevan and Echmiadzin during his journey to Persia.⁵²

In 1650 the Russian clergyman **Arsenij Sukhanov** had been sent to Greece and Armenia by the patriarch Yosif and the king Aleksej Mikhailovich in order to study and describe customs of church in these countries.⁵³

In 1654 the Turkish historiographer **Mustafa Abdullah** (he is known mostly as **Kyatib Chelebi**) several times had been in Armenia and was an eyewitness to the

⁴⁵ Kotov 1958.

⁴⁶ Tavernier 1676.

⁴⁷ Olearius 2003, Book IV, Ch. 14.

⁴⁸ Beknazaryan 2013: 77-78; Polievktov 1935: 35.

⁴⁹ Polievktov 1935: 146.

⁵⁰ Evliya Chelebi 1983: 83-84, 102-103, 105, 113.

⁵¹ Idem: 199.

⁵² Galichyan 2013: 97- 98.

⁵³ Beknazaryan 2013: 81-93.

conquest of Yerevan by the Sultan Murad IV in 1635. He concluded his historical-geographical study «Jihan Numa» which had been initiated in 1648. In the chapter 41 dedicated to Armenia, he had made use of his observations, and that of other authors as well. He reports that «in 644 [1246-1247] most of the houses (of Akhlat - G.Kh.) were collapsed due to terrible earthquake» and that in the town of Erzinjan «repeatedly occur earthquakes and most of the houses are destroyed». On several occasions he writes about cold and hot springs, also that through the town of Khnus «two rivers flow: from one white salt is extracted, and from the another - red one». He mentions also about minerals, mined in Armenia: «There is a mine of silver near the town Urma <...> From the ore silver, copper and gold is extracted». Near the town of Shebhane (the vilayet of Erzurum) «alum is extracted», and near the town of Tortum (in the same vilayet) «there are mines of nitrates».⁵⁴

In 1664-1668 on his journey through the East the French traveller **Francois de la Boullaye le Gouz** visited Erzurum, Echmiadzin and Yerevan.⁵⁵

In 1665-1675 Armenia was visited by the French jeweller and writer **Jean Chardin** during his journey to the Near East. In the manuscript of A.I. Mesropyan, S.T. Tigranyan and A.P. Demekhin it is stated that J. Chardin (c. 15) «in his essay dedicated to Armenia among other things, touches upon its geological structure». The authors do not give any references. It is known that J. Chardin had spent two weeks in Armenia, of which one week in Yerevan. Any observation regarding the geology of Armenia is extant in his book.⁵⁶

In 1670 **Jan Jansen Struys**, a Dutch traveller was in Armenia, who had climbed the summit of Ararat during 6 days.⁵⁷

In 1685-1686 a French Jesuit **Philippe Avril** was ordered to scout out the overland (but not maritime) routes to China for the Jesuit missionaries to be sent there. Departing from Livorno, he proceeded by the route Erzurum - Kars - Echmiadzin - Yerevan - Astrakhan.⁵⁸

In 1688-1708 **Jacques Villot**, a Catholic missionary, visited Kars, Erzurum and Yerevan several times during his journeys in the East.⁵⁹

In 1693-1698 an Italian traveller **Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri** had proceeded through Armenia during his around-the-world journey.⁶⁰

In 1700-1702 the French botanist **Joseph Pitton de Tournefort** had conducted studies in the region of the Mount Ararat and had established the vertical zonal character of the climate here.⁶¹

⁵⁴ Kyatib Chelebi 1973, Chapter 41.

⁵⁵ Polievktov 1935: 120.

⁵⁶ Chardin 1686.

⁵⁷ Struys 1935.

⁵⁸ Polievktov 1935: 77.

⁵⁹ Polievktov 1935: 190.

⁶⁰ Polievktov 1935: 114.

⁶¹ Gehtmann 1962: 281.

In 1726 the German naturalist **Johann Christian Buxbaum** had passed through Armenia during his journey to Asia Minor.⁶²

In 1728 the German geographer and ethnographer **Johann Gustav Herber** had drawn up the map of the Caucasus and gave its detailed description.⁶³

In 1734 the Russian statesman **Sergej Golitsin** who was appointed as the ambassador of Russia to Persia, on his way to Persia had passed through Armenia via the Caucasus. On his way to Persia he visited Yerevan and Echmiadsin.⁶⁴

In 1743-1745 the English businessman **Jonas Hanway** conducted a durative travel in Persia. The book 3 of his 4-volumed study describes Armenia.⁶⁵

In 1770-1773 **Johann Anton Güldenstädt**, a Baltic German on the Russian service, naturalist and traveller, had conducted an expedition to the Caucasus. The description of this expedition was published after his death by P.S. Pallas in Saint-Petersburg in 1787 and 1791. A. Güldenstädt mostly travelled through Georgia and only several pages of his study dealing with the geographical, geological and ethnographic description of Georgia were devoted to the foothills of the Mount Ararat.: «The mountains or their rock constituents, that is sandstone and limestone are often mixed, partly are embedded with other rock samples such as feldspar, quartz, Muscovy glass, schorl etc., of that they looks like different <...>. On the foothills of Ararat not only oilfields, but also different ore veins and mines, iron ore are extant <...>. Copper green, copper blue, the mirror iron ore and rude bloodstone are mixed in the ore of one fathom (2,13 meters) in width near the monastery of Akhtala, on the mountain of about 60 fathoms high».⁶⁶

In 1781-1783 **Jacob Reineggs**, a German adventurer, physician and mineralogist had organized 5 expeditions to the Caucasus on behalf of the Russian government. He states that in January and February, 1783 occurred an eruption of o Mount Ararat.⁶⁷ From the text it could not be deduced was he an eyewitness to this event. R. Porter, an English traveller and diplomat who in 1817 had checked this information and interviewed the clergymen of Echmiadzin, convincingly evidenced that nothing had happened neither in 1783, nor a thousand years before or 40 years after it.⁶⁸

In 1795, Armenia was visited by the Georgian diplomat and traveller **Raphael Danibegashvili** on his journey from Tbilisi to Madras.⁶⁹

In 1790s **Semen Bronevskij**, the Russian military leader and statesman was in the Caucasus and collected materials for the history of this region. In 1823 he had published a book with the title «Latest geographical and historical news about the

⁶² Polievktov 1935: 87.

⁶³ Gerber 1728.

⁶⁴ Polievktov 1935: 35.

⁶⁵ Hanway, 1753.

⁶⁶ Güldenstädt 2002: 210.

⁶⁷ Reineggs 1796: 30.

⁶⁸ Porter 1821: 185.

⁶⁹ Danibegashvili 1969.

Caucasus», where brief information about the rock samples and natural resources of the Ararat foothills are given. Below only two passages of this book from the total 4 pages devoted to Armenia are cited:

«The Northern Ararat foothills are like the southern Caucasian mountains, with their layers, clayish covering and rock-formation which everywhere consists of sandstone; on a medium heights it consists of limestone which in many places is absolutely exposed and contains plenty of sandstones <...>. In the Ararat foothills a mountainous oil and salt mines are found, also different ores, large shales of iron <...> bloodstone and granular copper green, and shale are obtained in great quantities».⁷⁰

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THE PROBLEM OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF TRANSCAUCASIA AND POLITICAL PARTIES

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The Formation of the new Government of Transcaucasia and the Discussion of the Problem of Independence at the Seim

As a separate intermediary period in the activities of the Transcaucasian Seim could be regarded the formation of the new government.

In March 13 (26), 1918, at the 17th session of the Seim N. Chkheidze, the chairman reported that the «praesidium of the Seim was requested to invite a person who could take the responsibility to form the government».¹

As such became Yeugeni Gegechkori, the chairman of the Commissary, who immediately presented the team of the new government – Ye. Gegechkori (chairman and defence minister), A. Chkhenkeli (foreign minister), E. Ramishvili (interior minister), N. Khomeriki (minister of agriculture), Kh. Karchikyan (minister of finances), N. Usubekov (minister of public education), Kh. Melik-Aslanov (minister of communications), F. Khan-Khoiskij (minister of justice), A. Khatisyan (minister of food supply), M. Hajinskiy (minister of trade and industry), V. Gobechia (marine minister), G. Ter-Ghazaryan (minister of employment), L. Behbutov (minister of post office and telegraph), H. Ohanjanyan (minister of state care), I. Haydarov (minister of state control) and H. Qadzaznuni (minister without portfolio).²

Reminding the deputies that the new government follows the program-declaration of the Seim, E. Gegechkori presented the priorities of the government.

At first place was the problem of «firm peace and restoration of neighborly relations with Turkey».³

Beforehand let us distinguish two circumstances; first it was obliged that now the unitary Transcaucasia who did not recognize Soviet Russia, used to have «neighborly relations» with the Ottoman empire still at the eve of World war I. Once more the Georgian interests and approach was given priority in regard to this question. It should be remembered also the anti-Russian Georgian-Turkish secret treaty, which violates the legal status of unitary Transcaucasia. Menshevik Ye. Gegechkori easily buried in oblivion the important legal starting point, according to which Georgians, and even «Georgia» being incorporated into the Russian empire could not have relations with Turkey. Anyway, delicately was pursued the old program of separation from Russia through the aid of Turkey, which once more proves our statement that for the Socialist-

¹ See Transcaucasian Seim, Hearing 17, March 13, p. 28.

² Idem 29.

³ Idem: 29.

Menshevik Georgians the Bolshevik coup became a favorable occasion for the realization of their program.

The next contradiction was how Ye. Gegechkori understands the signature of the «honorary peace» with Turkey, who at that moment already had reconquered Western Armenia and was approaching the Transcaucasia. The fall of Erzerum and the shameful handover of Kars to Turks fully reveal the tendencies of the Georgian policy and perspectives, particularly the strategy according to which the «honorary peace» was going to be signed at the expense of Armenian territories and Armenian interests in Transcaucasia. Moreover, Ye. Gegechkori's speech was based on the controversial statement that the «honorary and firm peace is given to those peoples who are ready to fight back the assault of the enemy directed against their territory and vital interests».⁴ It is remarkable that still in March 13, when the independence of Transcaucasia was not declared yet, the chairman of the Transcaucasian government assures that «relying upon the Transcaucasian peoples' firm determination who came out to defend **their independence** and liberty until the last drop of the blood, the government shall do everything to fight back them all» (highlighted by the author).⁵

As the second important problem was regarded the improvement of revolutionary achievements for all peoples of Transcaucasia including the uprooting of the remains of feudalism, improvement of the condition of working classes. The third problem was the improvement of the government structure; for example, it was supposed to establish state monopoly on items of everyday life, nationalization of some branches of industry, establishment of control on banks by means of their forceful unification, revision of the whole system of taxation. For Ye. Gegechkori only a strong authority could secure these undertakings who «will be able to overwhelm criminal opposition». Indeed, he have in mind the activities of St. Shahumyan and, particularly the threat of the Bolshevik troops of Sarikamish who were proceeding towards Tbilisi.

The next important problem was, according to Ye. Gegechkori, the creation of real power, that is the army, when «the troops of the disunited region due to the existence of national councils and other organizations directly obey to the government».⁶ It seems that this was not the fourth but the first problem for the «Georgian government» and Georgian-Tatar alliance which could give an opportunity to reach the independence of Transcaucasia. That is why, greeting Ye. Gegechkori with ovations the Seim likewise met the speech of I. Tsereteli. He was concerned with two problems; how the situation of the new authorities could be evaluated and what kind of resources does it have. Highly appreciating the fact that seemingly the government has no opposition in the Seim, he suggested as a directive that «this body of representatives does not have more or less influential group connected with the population which could declare to the

⁴ Idem: 30.

⁵ Idem 30.

⁶ Idem 32.

peoples of Transcaucasia that it would not aid this government and shall direct its power towards other combination of public force, the creation of other political program».⁷

The position of I. Tsereteli was based on the fact that, regardless his political affiliation, the Georgians had occupied all important and decisive positions in the government, and also, benefiting from the «goodwill» of Dashnakcutyun (hereafter ARF) and Musavat, the representatives of national democratic parties, and especially the Armenian people's party, loyal to the government, were not included in the Commissary. The same tendency, as we saw above, was extant in the case of the program pursuing the creation of a homogeneous-socialist government, which ultimately might actually subdue, under the leadership of Georgian Mensheviks, Dashnakcutyun and even the Muslim «Socialists».

Being a conscious and forward-looking politician, I.Tsereteli was aware of the «depths of the state» where the opposition «digs a hole under this government».⁸ In this case he means the necessity of a united front in the context of the Turkish invasion, and like a skilful demagog, brings the example of Georgia. «while in Transcaucasia the democracy collects forces and declares mobilization in Georgian villages and cities, there appear people who agitate to renounce the performance of their civil duties».⁹

He uses the epithets «Dark forces», «ultra-revolutionaries» in regard to the Bolsheviks, and, referring to the existence of a new common enemy after Russian Tsarism, delicately tries to take under the wing of Mensheviks the Georgian nationalism, which, as it is well known, did not proceed further beyond bombastic declarations, transgressing appeals of Ye. Gegechkori and others connected with the united army, defence of the motherland etc. In this background looks tragic that while the Bolsheviks act in accordance with their program and slogans, the so-called Transcaucasian social-democrats, who clearly realize currently unsolvable and hostile interethnic relations, did nothing except declarations of solidarity and brotherhood between nations. «When we read the report of general Andranik, - exclaimed I.Tsereteli, who writes that the troops sent in order to defend the Transcaucasia, through away their weapons and escape in panic, when we read that in the Yerevan province the troops defending the country are directing their weapons against the peaceful population, then in this situation we can say that exactly in this manner a good ground comes into presence for dark activities. And when we hear that in the Muslim neighborhood happen inadmissible and criminal acts against the government, the presence of elements who try to prevent the movements of troops proceeding towards our borders, sowing of national hostilities, we shall say that the opposition is hiding there also, who helps the external and internal enemies with its dark dealings»¹⁰.

⁷ Idem 33.

⁸ Idem 33.

⁹ Idem 34.

¹⁰ Idem 34-35.

I. Tsereteli concludes that the only means of salvation is the existence of the united government composed of the representatives of all peoples, which should be given extraordinary credentials.

He did not hide that this extraordinary measures are necessary against the Bolshevism.¹¹

Every word or praise at first glance were endowed with absolute logics taking into account the war conditions. But it should be mentioned that during this period anti-Bolshevism of I. Tsereteli, other Mensheviks, Muslim-socialists and Dashnakcutyun prevails in respect to the Turkish threat. No matter how much I. Tsereteli and others speak of the Turkish threat, about the unity and solidarity, in the same context they mean the Bolshevik threat, especially in the situation of latest developments.

Speaking about the Turkish invasion and its possible consequences I. Tsereteli forecasts the same dangers for Armenians and Georgians. It became known that before the dialogue between Zhordania-Khatisyan in May 1918 («not to be drown together»), still in March I. Tsereteli had suggested the thesis, according to which «in the critical moments we should not forget that any of the three most numerous Transcaucasian nations is able to destroy the others and himself, and none of them could save himself if he refuse to provide its forces in order to save them».¹² First, in May 1918 N. Zhordania did not follow the advise of I. Tsereteli. Surprisingly, none of the national fractions of Seim did not respond to this conclusion. It appears that there was nothing unexpected; still from the spring of 1917 for the Georgians it was clear that Western Armenia should remain under the authority of Turkey (and now they were going to do everything for the fulfillment of that program - V.M.), and now speaking exclusively about Transcaucasia I. Tsereteli actually denies the existence of Armenian question, the problem of the defence of Western Armenia and the Turkish front and he did not even think that the Dashnak fraction could resist his position and have its own opinion.

To the culmination of the conflict remains at most one month when A. Chkhenkeli would give Kars to the Turks.

Only Cadet Yu. Semenov opposed who got angry for the absence of Russians among the main nations; he also bypassed the fact that in that case anti-Bolshevism and anti-Russianism were regarded as identical. This position of I. Tsereteli was aimed at the program of the separation of Transcaucasia from Russia and the creation of independent Transcaucasia.¹³

Instead of opposing, on behalf of the Dashnak fraction held a speech S. Harutyunyan who told that the party «**submits** all the physics and mutual influence which it has among the Armenian people **to the mission of the Transcaucasian**

¹¹ Idem 35-37.

¹² Idem 39.

¹³ Idem: 41-42.

government according to all paragraphs of the Declaration specified by the government»¹⁴ (highlighted by the author).

All parties responded to the establishment of the new government.

The non-party newspaper «Kavkazskoe slovo» (Caucasian word) writes that this act «brings some certainty in the actually formed political structure. From this point of view, in regard to the formation of the new Cabinet, **in the Declaration of the government we see a new step which was made towards the independent and sovereign statehood** (highlighted by the author)¹⁵. The newspaper sees a progress even in the fact that instead of former commissars now was introduced the term *nakhharar* which speaks in favor of the increase of the competency of the new representatives of the state and concludes that from the state-legal point of view this is «the first cabinet of Transcaucasian ministers». The newspaper regards as the testimony of the change of the constitution the responsibility of the cabinet. The difference and progress are seen in the next; while formerly the formation of the Commissary was arranged by the approval and agreement of the regional center of the representatives of workers and soldiers, from now on the government would be accountable only before the Seim as the supreme legislative body. In this regard the newspaper points to an omission concerning the next; if Transcaucasia has chosen the parliamentary principle, then these innovations should be made through legislative manner.

The newspaper especially attached importance to the character of the government, in this case to the principle of coalition and tries to understand the peculiarities of the Transcaucasian form under the light of European and Russian ones.

In the period of the February revolution coalition meant the cooperation of socialist and bourgeois elements in the same cabinet. Meanwhile, the European vision of coalition means the introduction into the cabinet of the representatives of different political parties. In normal conditions European governments were mostly homogeneous, i.e. they consist of one party, which comprises majority in the parliament (for example, England).

During exceptional situations, in order to consolidate the state, was permitted to organize coalitionary, interparty cabinets.

In the Transcaucasian new government the principle of coalition was put into practice according to European and Russian models. «The formation of our cabinet, concludes «Kavkazskoe slovo» - is a result not of the agreement between two compact socialist and non-socialist groups but of more compound combination - socialist, bourgeois-feudal and national ones»¹⁶.

The Armenian Revolutionary party of Dashnakcutyun confesses that «the Menshevik program was realized, that is to form the state power from some people who

¹⁴ Idem: 42.

¹⁵ See Caucasian word, March 15, 1918, N 59.

¹⁶ Caucasian word, idem.

'join the revolutionary program'.¹⁷ ARF was satisfied with the fact that socialists and revolutionary forces resemble majority in the government. ARF did not conceal also that it was not their expectations, and believes that it is possible to establish a strong and homogeneous state power.¹⁸

This opinion was shared also by Armenian social-democrat Mensheviks. Regarding the Coalition government as a result of the composition of deputies of Seim, S. Arkomed (G. Gharajyan) mentions that «the homogeneous democratic power about which the democratic circles and media continuously writes and orates during the last months, was not vaccinated in our country». ¹⁹ He finds that the formation of the homogeneous socialist power had failed partly since in the Seim the fraction of the Social-revolutionaries actually was absent, likewise the People's socialists, Bolsheviks, hence it was impossible and absurd to form a government exceptionally consisting of Mensheviks.

«Anyway, stresses S. Arkomed, the majority of the new government could be regarded as democratic. If it would be possible to subdue those members of the new government (he bears in mind Musavat and other Muslim parties - V.M.) who do not belong to progressive democratic parties, to the policy of the majority, adapt and be loyal to its Declaration, then a productive work could be expected from the new government». ²⁰ Moreover, he thinks that although the portfolio of the Minister of Public Education has not «military» significance, it is not appropriate to lend it to a Musavatist, since the Turkish people and especially its Musavatist representatives means backwardness and slowdownnes, which is the greatest enemy to the education». ²¹

Thus, in March 13, 1918 the new government of Transcaucasia was formed. It was a coalition which brought together three authoritative Transcaucasian political parties, the latters expressing the interests of the three main peoples of the region. The program of the homogeneous post-October socialist government was not realized and it was impossible since many parties which consider themselves as socialist-revolutionary, were mostly nationalistic, especially Tatar-Muslim groups.

It could be said that after the Bolshevik coup the «socialist» complexity of ARF was released from its chains and the national tendencies began to prevail.

The classical Georgian socialist-Menshevik elite, in the context of the departure from Soviet Russia, the termination of the Bolshevism in Baku and separate negotiations with the Turkey, also had gained absolutely nationalistic character; in fact, these forces who had formed the power and government under the socialist and

¹⁷ See Horizon, March 15, 1918, N. 55.

¹⁸ Idem.

¹⁹ See Payqar, March 16, 1918, N. 55.

²⁰ Idem.

²¹ Idem.

revolutionary slogans, finally declared the national character and perspectives of this state.

The debates in the Seim regarding the Problem of the Independence of Transcaucasia

In the Transcaucasian Seim the problem of the independence of the region first was debated in February 22, in the 9th session.

The debates had begun with the suggestion of S. Vracyan who says that the problem should be discussed beforehand in the fractions and only after it should be included in the agenda. N.H. Zhordania argued against motivating that «if we discuss this important problem behind the scenes, then the people would be unaware; in order to prepare the people we must do it today».²² It appears that, according to N.Zhordania, the already unified and solidary Transcaucasian «people» should have an active role in the solution of this fatal problem and such statement itself would not force the people to face the fact.

With more argued statements made a speech **S. Tigranyan**. He says that the solution of this extremely important question should be linked with numerous connected topics. «The decision to declare the independence of Transcaucasia is only an exposed phrase, - mentions he, - which could be pronounced but the independence could not become a fact».²³ S. Tigranyan was right when he concludes that the formation of the state is a process where the political body is becoming independent. As a first step of actions of this process the deputy of ARF points on the armistice signed with Turkey, a fact which means that Transcaucasia had gained the status of an independent state. As a continuous second phase he considered the possible signing of a treaty in Trapizon. S. Tigranyan fully appreciated the negotiatory process carried out by the Seim and regional government with Turkey, labelling it as «an extremely important fact» on the path leading to independence.

It is worth to note the diplomatic and political turnround in the formulation of S. Tigranyan, who said that the war was inherited from Russia: **«the war was initiated by Russia and Transcaucasia as a part of Russia inherited it; in fact, Transcaucasia became hostile to Turkey»**²⁴ (highlighted by the author).

We think that this statement represents the new concept of the political orientation of ARF, that is a turnover towards Turkey. In this case after the adoption of the decree of the Council of the Peoples' Commissars (*Zhoghkomkhorh*) «About Turkish Armenia», namely in the context of the Turkish invasion Armenian national party fundamentally draws back from Russia and in the forthcoming negotiations with Turkey was not relying on the aid of the latter. It could be suggested also that the ARF was hopeful on the

²² See Transcaucasian Seim, 9th session, February 22, p. 14.

²³ Transcaucasian Seim: 14-15.

²⁴ Idem: 15-16.

negotiations in Trapizon and it is regrettable that their failure and an absolutely distinct situation were out of question. At the same time, referring to the allies of *Entente*, S. Tigranyan was sure that after the peace treaty there would be no more allies but «equally neutral relations». In the case if the peace treaty would not signed he was puzzled with the relations between Transcaucasia and England, USA and others: «how could we say that we are neutral towards England but not the same towards Turkey, to what extent is expedient our alliance».²⁵

And, finally, S. Tigranyan who regarded the region as a part of the certain political body, the declaration of independence connects with the financial condition of Transcaucasia.

N. Zhordania suggests²⁶ to discuss the problem taking into account the current situation in the region. As such starting point he regarded the war. He rightly says that the territorial issues everywhere were solved through the sword, and only the Bolsheviks who withdraw their troops from the Western and Caucasian fronts, think that «the terms of peace is possible to dictate without military force».²⁷ After the Bolshevik coup he already the second time repeated the idea that during the last one hundred years Transcaucasia was involved in war without the participation of Russia, moreover, it has no army and is going to defend the region against the Turkey and other hostile countries. Recalling the shameful issues of the Brest treaty, N. Zhordania concludes that the only path is the consolidation of the peoples of Transcaucasia based on the common political framework.²⁸

Regarding the Muslims he stresses also that «we, Christians, used to pull the Muslims towards Russia and had pro-Russian orientation. Now, when the war had changed the situation, it might be said that **the Muslims also have right to form their own orientation** (highlighted by the author). If we, Christians, have Christian orientation, why the Muslims could not have Muslim orientation».²⁹ In this case it was pan-Turkism.

Smartly and at the same time simply, through the Muslim fractions N. Zhordania fully was legalizing the cooperation between the Georgian Menshevik and Tatar nationalistic forces and on their behalf and means now was going to change the political orientation of Transcaucasia, not even taking into account the Armenian viewpoint. For N. Zhordania, the term «unified Transcaucasia» embraces the Georgian and Tatar population (i.e. Muslim majority) and all others except Armenians. N. Zhordania was not even asked the main question, how he imagines the unified region which already have pro-Turkish orientation and in this «perfect situation» the condition of Armenians, especially the problem of the Turkish front. «If there is a dilemma - Russia or Turkey, he

²⁵ Idem: 16.

²⁶ See Zhordania 1919: 74-79.

²⁷ Transcaucasian Seim: 18.

²⁸ Idem: 18-19.

²⁹ Idem: 19.

concludes, - then we chose Russia, **but if there is a dilemma Turkey or Transcaucasia, we chose the independence of Transcaucasia**³⁰ (highlighted by the author).

The doubledealing and political falsification is seen clearly in the fact that the independence of Transcaucasia exactly was associated with Turkey, more to say, that was the demand of Turkey in the negotiations at Trapizon. This time N. Zhordania was tangled in his political formulations when he insists that «the problem is placed as the next; here it should be the Turkish orientation and Turkish invasion, or we must declare our independence in order to avoid it».³¹ The denial of the Russian orientation he tries to justify with the absence of the «Russian bayonet», again neglecting the Armenian factor. According to N. Zhordania, «Russia himself had gave up its own orientation and suggests us to stand on our own feet».³²

At the moment the only and mighty argument of N. Zhordania was the next: the Transcaucasian region deals with the Soviet Russia jointly and just this Russia had signed the treaty of Brest. Here he masterly but also with apprehension tries to avoid the fact that there exists one more Russia leading by A. Denikin and others which later, in 1919-1920s seeks for the cooperation with Armenians and their military and political forces against the anti-Russian Georgian-Tatar union.

In his speech N. Zhordania even exclaimed: «long live independent Transcaucasia, down with Turkey»³³, and this in the situation when at that moment the «united» delegation of Seim was negotiating in Trapizon. Raffling the playing card of Batumi and Kars, N. Zhordania once more tried to blackmail saying that «not only those territories but also the whole Transcaucasia could have been devoured by the shift of the Muslim masses»³⁴. He even assures the Muslim deputies with confidence that the joining of Muslims to Turkey does not meet their interests and they must offer something else to their people. N. Zhordania mentions: «If they say that they do not accept neither Russian nor Turkish orientation, the Muslim population will follow them».³⁵ He shares the idea that the declaration of independence possibly will follow the process of negotiations at Trapizon when the region might be required unacceptable conditions. This could secure the international character of the decision. Unlike the Armenian side, N. Zhordania and others clearly imagine their position and were aware of the possible political developments.

As to the final part of N. Zhordania's speech, it contains a context full of terrible perspectives and danger. Taking into account its importance let us cite the full passage: «In order to be understood and accepted not only by other countries but first of all by

³⁰ Idem: 20.

³¹ Idem 20.

³² Idem.

³³ Idem: 20.

³⁴ Idem: 21.

³⁵ Idem.

the peoples of our region, it is necessary to have warranties that the declaration of our independence shall not become a signal for total national fire. If we discuss the main nations, then we see that the Muslims and Georgians in any case can live in solidarity. It is warranted that these two peoples shall not violate the peace, although there are some contradictions in the province of Akhaltskha; and I shall say that I have been there and everybody can say that not the Muslims of Akhaltskha are guilty but the Georgians. Further, you know that the Georgians and Armenians indeed can live in solidarity and between these peoples national conflicts never existed and now there are not such. **But how could be harmonized the interests of Armenians and Muslims»**³⁶ (highlighted by the author).

F. Khan-Khojskij representing the fraction of Musavat finds that the problem of the independence of Transcaucasia arouse after the Bolshevik coup and the tension regarding it he connects with the elimination of the Caucasian front and later with the problem of the treaty with Turkey. The declaration of independence of Transcaucasia he regards as the only solution to the problem.³⁷ Stressing that all Muslim fractions are determined to keep the solidarity by means of the Seim, he reminds that it must be obligatory for all parties of the Seim that during the negotiations with Turkey to regard the 1914 borders and also the borders of the pre-war Transcaucasia as a starting point. F. Khan-Khojskij masterly includes Dagestan within the boundaries of Transcaucasia.³⁸

Cadet Yu. Semenov stresses that declaring the independence Transcaucasia would fall under the Turkish yoke, since immediately after the Bolshevik coup the Turkish government appealed to the authorities of Transcaucasia persuading them to declare independent states. It is worth to mention the idea of Yu.Semenov; the negotiations at Brest are nothing else but the continuation of war by means of other methods. They negotiate with one part of Russia and continue military operations against another part through Turkey. The Cadet deputy says that «All these leads to the dismemberment of Russia and when the Transcaucasian government answers to Turkey that he is with Russia, Turkey and Germany reply with violence and in the negotiations at Brest was added the paragraph concerning the regions of Batumi, Kars and Ardahan. Now declaring independence you think that you avoid the Turkish yoke? In fact, your independence is a compensation for Batumi and Kars. Turkey desires to have warranties that this independence would become a pro-Turkish orientation. Zhordania, against the regions of Batumi and Kars you give a real profit - the independence of Transcaucasia. But already eleven months (since the February revolution - V.M.) you stress that Russia should throw away the sword, you repeat peace, peace and peace. What means your peace? Peace means to put the sword in the scabbard and after reaching this you say that Russia has abandoned us, set

³⁶ Transcaucasian Seim: 23.

³⁷ Idem: 25.

³⁸ Idem: 26-27.

Transcaucasia in a situation, that he is forced to declare independence. Eventually it turns out the result to which Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were aspiring - the disintegration of Russia. With your independence you will fulfil the aim of Germany; finally are you sure that you could secure the unity in your country».³⁹ Yu. Semenov was targeting the weak position of N. Zhordania - the false slogan of friendship and solidarity, moreover, he stresses the circumstance that the Turks say «give us Batumi and Kars, you answer that not only we should not give Batumi and Kars but shall keep the borders of 1914 and want the autonomy of Turkish Armenia».⁴⁰ To this follows the main argument of Yu. Semenov, is Transcaucasia ready to fight against Turkey, while declaring the independence it will lose the Northern Caucasus, would become a new administrative unit and thus appearing on the edge of a havoc and turn into a vassal of Turkey. He reminds also that in this manner Transcaucasia involuntarily would become hostile to *Entente*, while the part of Russia who fights against Bolsheviks remains on the side of the allies. In this regard we find necessary to focus on the announcement of the provisional bureau (petition) for assembling the Russian national congress. There it was said: «Taking into account that the Seim could not be ruled as a body of the State Duma, the Provisional Bureau of the Russian national council does not recognize the jurisdiction of the Council of peoples' commissars (*Zhoghkomkhorh*) to sign a treaty and the regulations of the borders of Transcaucasia. The Provisional Bureau of the Russian national council regards impossible the handing over of Kars, Ardahan and Batumi to Turkey. The Provisional Bureau finds that the detachment of Transcaucasia from Russia is not a necessity, it is inadvisable and would be destructive for the Russian population and for the Transcaucasian democracy as well».⁴¹

S. Tigranyan tries to clarify some aspects regarding the formation of an additional commission in order to organize a detailed discussion.

National-democrat V. Tevzaya labeled the concept of Yu.Semenov as expected since that party did not tolerate not only the separation but even a wide decentralization of the state. Here the dangerous nuance was that the deputy was trying to transfer into political arena the decisive and most vital problem and thinks that Cadets need Batumi, Kars and Ardahan in the case of further attack and for the justification of the ideology of their party. Not concealing his hatred towards Russia V. Tevzaya does not see any difference between Russian and any other tyranny and concludes that «when we face the alternative of the enslavement or destruction of Transcaucasia, we choose our independence since the Turkish empire is eager to see Transcaucasia as becoming a buffer state just for the self defence of Turkey. After all, it should be remembered that although Russia is weakened but not destroyed and the future Russia could become such as it used to be»⁴². V. Tevzaya compares the future independent Transcaucasia

³⁹ Idem: 29-30.

⁴⁰ Idem: 31.

⁴¹ Idem: 17-18.

⁴² Idem: 36-37.

with Switzerland, identifying the existence and sharpness of Armenian-Georgian-Tatar problems with the geopolitical situation in Swiss republic.⁴³

In this regard we can once more mention that while dealing with important problems the Georgian Menshevism and national ideology were in full solidarity, complementing each other.

On behalf of the fraction «**Hummet**», which was a part of Menshevism, held a speech **S. Aghamalov**. He was surprised that with the case of independence of the region Armenians and Tatars should confront each other, and even more, in this regard ARF and Musavat have no doubt. He came to the next fairy conclusion: «if Seim would say that Transcaucasia is independent, that word would become a fairy beginning of the unification of peoples; these peoples would think - we are a unitary people, unitary nation».⁴⁴ Further, he tries to argue with confidence that the Muslims of Transcaucasia does not have Turkish orientation and that the Armenian-Tatar confrontation is artificially inflated. As to the falling into the arms of Turkey he finds that «the separated brother is the same as an alien man». He was hopeful that the independence could save from annihilation and inter-ethnic confrontations⁴⁵.

S. Vracyan from ARF calls attention on the circumstance that although the peoples dreamed of the independence it is strange that the representatives of all Transcaucasian peoples speak of it with rough sense. He noticed that the well founded answers were not given to three aspects of the problem: could the independence a) allow to wrestle against anarchy, b) change the attitude towards the front, and c) could the stance towards Turkey undergo changes.⁴⁶ S.Vracyan focused also on the question that in the case of Turkish invasion there is no guarantee that the Turkey would be satisfied with the 1914 border.

«Who says that the declaration of independence would be the guarantee which will save us from the demands of Turkey», concludes the ARF deputy.⁴⁷

It is worth to mention also the questioning of S.Vracyan where he blames N. Zhordania and F.Khan-Khoiskiy that the attitude towards Russia does not bother them; everybody bears in mind the feasibility and the demands of life. He says: «In that case we shall clarify is really the life enforces to act in that manner and **really Transcaucasia would remain unified, unseparated**»⁴⁸ (highlighted by the author). S.Vracyan concludes that until the final solution of the problem we shall wait the report of the Trapizon negotiations and since the only argument regarding the declaration of the independence of Transcaucasia is the demand of Kars, Ardahan and Batumi, therefore

⁴³ Idem: 37.

⁴⁴ Idem: 38.

⁴⁵ Idem: 39.

⁴⁶ Idem: 40.

⁴⁷ Idem: 41.

⁴⁸ Idem: 42.

it is premature to come to solution.⁴⁹ According to S.Vracyan, because of the Armenian opposition the solution of the independence was postponed.⁵⁰

I. Gobechia of SR party, introducing their approach says that they are unequivocally for the Russian orientation and finds out that the declaration of the independence of Transcaucasia should be carried out in the peace summit. He was seriously concerned that the greatest threat during the Turkish invasion should come from the Muslims, which would be difficult to keep back. In addition, I. Gobechia, on behalf of the SR fraction suggests «not to give up the announcement of the independence of Transcaucasian republic».⁵¹

On behalf of the Muslim Socialist group held a speech **A. Kantemirov**. He complained that the character of the Muslim self-determination is not specified and concludes that the independence of the region is not a necessity. On the contrary he suggests their approach according to which democracy should put an upper hand on the state power. «For us it is not important to see Western Europe as a single political unit but that the power their be at the hands of democracy».⁵²

As an argument A. Kantemirov stresses the harmony between the unified economic and political-legal fields of the Caucasus. «From this point of view the problem of the Transcaucasian independence could be easily solved, without fear and a glance towards Russia ... we find that the peoples of Transcaucasia shall be self-determined and become a historical totality».⁵³ Realizing that in the near future it is impossible to predict the fate and goals of Turkey and Russia, he, falling into contradiction, began to assure that the threat comes not from the Turkey but from the north.⁵⁴

G. Oniashvili of Menshevik fraction reproached those who hand over this very important problem to the discussion of the commission, and, understandingly, among them to ARF. Falling into exaggeration he was trying to assure that Transcaucasia is independent since long and the only thing that remains is to give it a legal content. Regarding the process of negotiations with Turkey a necessity but not an alternative strategy, he gave an importance to the declaration of independence of Transcaucasia.⁵⁵ Worth to mention the questioning of D.Oniashvili regarding the new slogan which should consolidate Transcaucasia. He finds that in the case of the «self-defence» it would lead «only the Armenian population and part of the Georgians». As to the Muslims, he does not rule out the possibility that «they probably will fight against us than with us against

⁴⁹ Idem.

⁵⁰ See S. Vracyan, Republic of Armenia: 79.

⁵¹ See Transcaucasian Seim: 43-44.

⁵² Idem: 45.

⁵³ Idem: 46.

⁵⁴ Idem.

⁵⁵ Idem: 47.

the Turks», at better would keep neutrality.⁵⁶ At the same time he was not hopeful that it would be possible to stop the Turkish troops, after which he again comes to an incomprehensible and controversial conclusion that the only means of salvage is the declaration of independence. If D. Oniashvili clearly distinguishes the anti-Turkish position of Armenians and Georgians and an unhidden sympathy of Muslims towards Turkey, then where did he see the profits of that independence, better to say how.

The hopelessness of situation is stated by the **ARF deputy M. Arzumanyan**. His argumentation was the next; if the Bolsheviks give the regions of Batumi and Kars to Turkey, then the declaration of independence remains the only means of negotiations with the Turks. Comparing with the declaration of independence of Ukraine, in the case of Transcaucasia did not see ceremoniality, but, on the contrary, rumors and contradictions. Referring to N. Zhordania, M. Arzumanyan states the argumentation of the commission, regarding it as a result of the majority of the Muslims. Only with the achievement of consensus in the commission will be possible to come to a common decision and then there would remain only to «hear the act of the declaration of independence, raise up the hands and declare the Caucasus independent».⁵⁷ «When we were speaking about the economic activities of our members of the Seim, we elected a commission which worked five days and reported about the results - rations. This small topic was connected with one hundred people, but when we deal with the independence of the whole region, we do not want to use some days for the detailed discussion by the commission. I suggest this question to be transferred to the commission which should report about the results and we shall make our decision»⁵⁸.

It is interesting that after this fundamental and consistent suggestion Ye. Gegechkori, the chairman of the Commissary, decided to transfer the discussion to the «major events» which took place in the Yerevan province, seemingly with the aim to press on the implacable and aggressive position of the ARF⁵⁹.

Anyway, even after discussing it N. Ramishvili, on behalf of the Menshevik fraction suggested the Seim the next formulation: «discussing the question of the declaration of Transcaucasia as an independent, democratic republic, the Seim, regarding the positive solution of the question possible, instructs the special commission to comprehensively work out the question within a short period»⁶⁰.

While making the final decision Musavat announced that until the independence of Transcaucasia is not declared their fraction refuses to participate in the activities of the commission⁶¹. In the context of this short announcement the true approaches of Musavat and Muslim fractions in general, were manifested, that is do not take into

⁵⁶ Idem: 47-48.

⁵⁷ Idem: 50-51.

⁵⁸ Idem: 51.

⁵⁹ Idem.

⁶⁰ Idem: 56.

⁶¹ Idem: 58.

account the opinion of Armenians, in our case the ARF and ultimately tear off Transcaucasia from Russia, declare the independence of the region.

Finally, the commission was elected by the principle of including two members from bigger and one from smaller fractions. N. Ramishvili announced 12⁰⁰ as a time for the assembling of this commission.

So, in February 22, 1918 (after May 5 - V.M.) first time the Seim had discussed the problem of independence on the level of state and the government.

It directly was connected with the «shameful» territorial concessions at Brest-Litovsk, negotiations at Trapizon, a possible Turkish invasion and the alternative of the Sovietization of Transcaucasia.

In this discussions were fully revealed the positions and strategy of three leading political forces of Transcaucasia.

The Georgian Mensheviks were confident that after the elimination of the All-Russian Constitutional Assembly there remains nothing that connects Transcaucasia with Russia. The Bolsheviks of Brest-Litovsk conceded to Turkey vast territories and in the case if the statehood of Transcaucasia would fail to recognize the attachment of Batumi, Kars and Ardahan to Turkey, the latter needs one authorized independent voice, i.e. the fact of its independence. Let us add that Turkey has made a similar suggestion still in the context of the armistice at Erzinka.

According to the logics of speeches, the position of the Muslim groups could be divided into two parts; on the one hand the unhidden position of loyalty towards pan-Turkism, which usually masterly was camouflaged with rhetoric of phraseology of the democracy and solidarity of peoples, and from the other side the political line of the Georgian Mensheviks under the leadership of N.Zhordania was receiving full credence.

The position of ARF expresses the whole course of events and logics of the post-October period, the isolation of Armenians and their political forces. An unsolvable knot of contradictions came into presence; from the one side the anti-Bolshevism directs the ARF to the joining of the regional authorities and to the strategy of a joint front against the Turkey, from the other side, the impossibility to solve some problems by means of own resources does not allow the Armenian politicians to burn down all bridges connecting them with Russia, especially in the situation of the upcoming Turkish invasion. This was the reason that the Soviet government at Baku lead by S. Shahumyan, about a month later, especially in the context of the failure of the Trapizon negotiations, was regarded as a short-termed but irreplaceable ally on the way of the solution of Armenian problems.

The immediate declaration of independence was directed to the prevention of that «threat», which, according to the Georgian-Tatar union, could ultimately cessate the region from Soviet and the traditional Russian imperialistic ambitions in favor of the desired «peaceful» Turkey.

The media of Armenian parties included in the Seim responded the question of the independence.

«Horizon» of ARF referring to the existence of preconditions of the independence (the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the absence of authority in the region) discussed in February 22, at the same time mentions that these «go beyond the world of guesses». The newspaper writes that «These guesses are as possible as the opposite ones and asks why the independence of Transcaucasia shall force the Turks to recognize the 1914 borders and not the opposite. Is there any argument to think that declaring independence we could make easy the invasion of Turkey into Transcaucasia. Who could guarantee that our independence should satisfy the Turks whose appetite is well known. Why not imagine that the Turks should try to extend their rule until the Caucasian mountains which is their old desire. **And it is at least levity and unforgiveable for the amenable politicians to discuss such a serious and crucial question based only on guesses**»⁶² (highlighted by the author).

In the face of «Mshak» the Armenian peoples' party, stating that Transcaucasia, not recognizing the Bolshevik state, actually acts independently and finds that «in the current situation the independence could lead to the total disintegration of Transcaucasia, the total development of anarchy and bloody inter-ethnic clashes».⁶³ H. Arakelyan was confident that currently this question should be removed from the agenda.⁶⁴

The Armenian social-democrats expressed their position in the special meeting summoned in March 15. Among the participants were G. Gharajyan, Ar. Zurabyan, A.Bekzadyan, A.Vardanyan and S. Pirumyan.

In his report Ar. Zurabyan spoke against the idea of the independence of Transcaucasia, justifying it with the perspective of the separation from the Russian proletar family and the impossibility to join the Turkish one. A.Bekzadyan rules out this separation, taking into account the factor of the noticeable influence of Turkish-Tatar Musavatism in the Transcaucasian government which could inevitably put this region under the influence of Turkey. Only Gh. Ter-Ghazaryan spoke in favor of the independence.⁶⁵

In March 9 in the Armenian section of the socialist-revolutionaries held a speech L. Atabekyan. Pointing on the principles «The disintegrated Russia could not be a balsam for the illness of Transcaucasia» and the «Independent Transcaucasia is a fiction» his own position and that of his party he connects with the Georgian Mensheviks and Tatar socialists, suggesting the way out in the «close union between Armenian, Turkish and Georgian democrats». As to the cooperation with the Bolsheviks L. Atabekyan suggests convenient preconditions: a) if they shall go to defend the front, b) do not declare a struggle against Armenian and Georgian democrats in the face of Mensheviks and

⁶² Horizon, February 25, 1918, N. 42, also Molot, February 27, 1918, N 41.

⁶³ See Mshak, March 8, 1918, N. 49.

⁶⁴ Idem.

⁶⁵ See Payqar, March 18, 1918, N. 57.

ARF), 3) if during the struggle against counter-revolutionary forces do not exploit the SR organizations.⁶⁶

It is important but also tragic that the theory and the party-bound templates does not halt this forward-looking and dedicated man who some days later was killed in Baku, proving by his deeds the behavior of the Armenian politician.

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Translated from the Armenian by Aram Kosyan

⁶⁶ See Ashkhatanqi droshak, April 1(14), 1918, N. 19.

THE NATIONALIST ACTION PARTY AND THE IDEOLOGY OF PAN-TURKISM

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The military coup of 1960 brought new realities in the political life of the Republic of Turkey. The nationalism was recovered after the coup, as well the right-wing nationalist groups motivated their activity. Until the 1960's the nationalism and its extreme Pan-Turkic ideas couldn't be organized as an ideology of the political party. After the adoption of the constitution in 1961 there were formed more than 10 parties in Turkey including Republican Peasants Nation Party (RPNP, *Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi*). Turkish researchers A. Çınar and B. Arıkan evaluate this party as the coalition of small «fascist» and «pro-fascist» currents.¹

In March 1965 Alparslan Türkeş joined the RPNP with some former members of «the Fourteens».² A. Türkeş already had some Pan-Turkic views in the early 1940's. He has been convicted to imprisonment for Pan-Turkic activity with a group of Pan-Turkists in 1944. A. Türkeş energetically participated in the military coup of 1960 and was a member of the Council of National Unity (*Milli Birlik Komitesi*). During this period he prepared a program with a topic «Turkey Ideal and Culture Union», the purpose of which was to spread its influence on the cultural life of the society. In the general congress on August 1, 1965 A. Türkeş was elected as the head of the RPNP. From this period until the 1969 Adana Congress RPNP had entered the process of transformation. As a result of these transformations was changed the political and ideological direction of the party. A. Türkeş had a major role in these processes, particularly in the formation of ideology.

A. Türkeş succeeded to organize the nationalism as an ideology of the political party. Besides he was trying to institutionalize it in some systems, with the goal to gain authority in the future. Under the leadership of A. Türkeş the party adopted nationalism and Turkism, as well as were visible the elements of fascism. We can say that the entrance of A. Türkeş and his supporters into the party contributed to the strengthening of Pan-Turkic and even fascist-Turanian ideas. In this period the party's ideology was developing which was adopted during the congress in 1967. Accordingly, the ideology of the party was based on the «Nine Lights» (*Dokuz Işık*) of A. Türkeş, which was included in the same work. A. Türkeş has been proclaimed as *Başbuğ* at this congress,

¹ Çınar and Arıkan 2002: 26.

² Firstly, Muzaffer Özdağ, Rifat Baykal, Ahmet Er and Dünder Taşer joined. In addition, after the election of A. Türkeş to the Inspector General, Mustafa Kaplan, Fazıl Akkoyunlu, Şefik Soyyüce, Numan Esin and Münir Köseoğlu of the Fourteen joined the party.

which means a leader and he made his famous statement: «who join to the cause and becomes a traitor, kill him».³

The «Nine Lights» or the principles of the party are as follows: nationalism, idealism, morality, a scientific mentality, socialism, peasant care, freedom and personality, development and democracy, industry and technology.⁴ The main ideological direction of the «Nationalist Action Party» (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*) could be characterized as the most extreme Pan-Turkic direction of the Turkish nationalism.⁵ From this point of view the dominant principles are nationalism, idealism and morality. Namely, the ideology of the «Nationalist Action Party») has been based on nationalism which A. Türkeş (Temel Görüşler) had described in his work «*Main Views*» as follows: «Everything for Turkish nation, together with Turkish nation and to describe Turkish nation with such words as the independent of Turkish nation, love and service and loyalty to the Turkish state».⁶ In fact, the first transformation of the party has been connected with the nationalism and the Pan-Turkism and these were organized around the party and were represented in its ideology. All this has already been legalized during the congress in 1969, when the party was renamed NAP. The party's emblem became three crescents instead of the «Grey Wolf». However, the party's elite and the intellectuals have been known as the «Grey wolves». They are much more concerned with the pan-Turanic past and the ethno-racial definition of the Turkish identity.

During the discussion period there was one important transformation inside the party, which was related to Islam. The NAP from racist-Turkish orientation turned to Islam; NAP adopts Anatolian Islam. Thus, the party adopts a new ideology, which was called Turkish-Islamic Synthesis and its goal was to attract the conservative-nationalist electorate. Certainly, the NAP understands Islam in the context of the Turkish nationalism. The party didn't adopt radical Islam, but it chose the Turkic-Islamic ideal.⁷ From this point of view they consider Islam as the part of Turkic history, culture and identity, therefore the component of Pan-Turkism. In this regard A. Türkeş gave the best definition: «We are as Turkish as Tengri Mountain (located in Central Asia, the place where the NAP believes the Turks' ancestor migrated from), and as Muslim as Hira Mountain (located in the Muslim Holy Lands in Saudi Arabia), both philosophies are our principles».⁸ Thus, the party accepted Islam as an historical and cultural component. Hence Islam didn't have radical significance for the party. In our opinion it is the second component in the Turkic-Islamic Synthesis since Turkism has a primordial significance for the party. It is necessary to point that the NAP adopted Islam, but it isn't considered an Islamic party.

³ Arian 1998: 123.

⁴ Türkeş 2010: 20-24.

⁵ Dumanyan 2006: 104.

⁶ Türkeş 1975: 44.

⁷ Cizre-Sakallioğlu 1992: 148.

⁸ Tanil and Kemal 2004: 54.

The Islamic factor became more evident in the activities of the party in 1970's. At that time the factor of political Islam was strengthened in Turkey, which had some impact on the party's transformations. NAP's ideology is described as *idealism* (*ülküçülük*), which was connected with the formation of «*Idealist Hearts*» (*Ülkü Ocakları*) youth organizations. The «*Idealist Hearts*» began to operate under the influence of A. Türkeş at the end of 1960's. They didn't belong to the party system, but were controlled by the party.⁹ They were called idealists, because they followed NAP's nationalism and were ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of that purpose or idea. The organizations of «*Idealists*» consisted of young people and they were mainly propagandizing and spreading the Pan-Turkic ideology. Their main purpose was the idea of the *Great Turan*. The idealist's idea was also to serve to the state and to be devoted to it. They identified the interests of the state with the interests of the nation. In essence here they presented the idea of nation-state. There were three consistent parameters in the ideology of the NAP: the state, the homeland and the nation. First of all the state is necessary for protecting the homeland and the nation must preserve the state.¹⁰

The NAP had also armed groups under its control, which were called «*Grey Wolves*» (*bozkurtlar*). All supporters of A. Türkeş' Pan-Turkic ideology called themselves «*Grey Wolves*». The NAP and particularly the groups of «*Grey Wolves*» were more active in 1970's. During this period «*Grey Wolves*» were united around A. Türkeş's Pan-Turkic ideas.¹¹ They were retraining in the special summer camps¹² and called themselves «*commander*». It is important to mention that in these camps the young people were also passing ideological preparations in accordance with the Pan-Turkish spirit. It is no secret that the state structures were supporting and sponsoring them.¹³ In 1970's the NAP through «*Grey Wolves*» has started a real war on the streets of Turkish cities against the left-wing forces and against all those who disagree with their ideas. It is known that at the end of 1970's the NAP was able to mobilize about 200.000 people in a short time if necessary.¹⁴

The NAP hadn't important role in Turkey's political life in 1969-1974. NAP had collected 0.3 % of votes in the parliamentary elections of 1969 and got 3.4 % in 1974. It had participated in the formation of the first and second coalition government of Suleyman Demirel in 1970's.¹⁵ NAP gained considerable reputation in 1974-1977, which became evident during the elections of 1977.

⁹ Safrastyan 2004: 254.

¹⁰ Yavuz 2002: 211.

¹¹ Dumanyan 2016: 68.

¹² According to the Soviet researcher A. Aksenenko there were established such 28 camps in Turkey in the late 1970s and there were trained more than 1,5 million young people (Aksenenko 1986: 84).

¹³ Dumanyan 2016: 70-71.

¹⁴ Safrastyan 2004: 256.

¹⁵ Landau 1982: 592.

As a result of the military coup of 1980 the activity of all parties, including the NAP, was prohibited. A. Türkeş and the ruling members of the party were arrested. In July 1983 when the parliamentary orders were restored in Turkey, the former members of NAP headed by Ali Koç formed the Conservative Party (*Muhafazakar Partisi*). According to Ruben Safrastyan the Conservative Party became the basis for the revival of the NAP.¹⁶ It was renamed the Nationalist Working Party (NWP, *Milliyetçi Çalışma Partisi*) by the decision of the party congress in 1985.¹⁷ In 1987 A. Türkeş's rights were recovered and he again became the leader of the party.

During the elections of 1987 the NWP couldn't overcome the threshold of 10% percent. During the elections of 1991 the NWP formed a coalition with the Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*) and as a result it got 19 seats in the parliament. The NWP was self-dissolved by the decision of the congress of December 27, 1992. The Nationalist Action Party was formed by the decision of the extraordinary congress of January 24, 1993. Actually, the restoration of the former name of the party meant that the NAP had returned to the political system with previous ideas and programs.

The collapse of the USSR and the emergence of the Turkic independent states had a certain impact on the NAP. In this period the Pan-Turkic ideas began to revive, hence the role of the NAP was more important. The NAP obviously began to advocate the ideas of Pan-Turkism and the Turkic Union which were based on the ideology of Turkism.¹⁸ The NAP also to some extent allocated to the Pan-Turanism which was the final ideal for the party. The main goal of the party was to form a joint united platform with the Turkic republics. We can note that the Turkish government also adopted the same policy, therefore in this case the official nationalism coincided with the nationalism of the NAP and they had the same Pan-Turkic goals. Regarding the relations with the Turkic states the NAP emphasizes the important place of the common historical past, religion, national culture and racial similarity. The presence of a political party with the Pan-Turkic traditions such as the NAP was important for the Turkish state and government. Both the NAP and the Turkish state were propagating the historical, cultural, religious and linguistic similarities with the Turkish-speaking republics. These similarities should be laid on the basis of the cooperation of both sides. In other words, the cooperation with the Turkish-speaking states on this basis was a new means to introduce Pan-Turkism, because the goal of this cooperation was to create cultural, economic and, in future, political alliances.

The above mentioned «Nine Lights», the national doctrine of A. Türkeş again became the main ideological basis of the party at the beginning of 1990s.¹⁹ This is testified by the fact that the nationalism and Pan-Turkism continue to be the party's ideological basis. At the same time a great place was given to the «external Turks» and

¹⁶ Safrastyan 2004: 255.

¹⁷ Yavuz 2002: 206-207.

¹⁸ Yaşli 2014: 243.

¹⁹ Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi Programı 1993: 16-18.

to the issues of cooperation with them in the party's program of 1993.²⁰ In the NAP's program of 2000 was specially emphasized the economic, social and cultural cooperation with the Turkic republics.²¹ In the party's program of 2009 was separately presented the section of the «*Turkic world*» and mentioned that it is one of the priorities of Turkey's foreign policy.²² In fact, the Pan-Turkism and its new formulations continue to be one of the important directions of the party's activities.

With the death of A. Türkeş in 1997 the NAP lost its charismatic leader. This was hit to the party-leader-doctrine trilogy. Devlet Bahçeli was elected as the leader of the NAP.²³ There was some difference between the goals and ideas of two leaders. First of all they were different people by nature: A. Türkeş was distinguished by his bellicose nature while D. Bahçeli is a scholar. The ideological difference between these two leaders was the next: A. Türkeş mentioned the «devotion to the ideology» and for D. Bahçeli is important the «devotion to Turkey». D. Bahçeli's slogan was «the first is my country, then my party, after that I», but A. Türkeş's slogan was «the main goal is for the Turk and by the Turk». In fact, D. Bahçeli gave a great importance to the statism and he gave priority to the interests of the state and only after that of the party, but the ideology of the party was more important for A. Türkeş. But with this in mind we can say that the party didn't suffer changes in the ideological sense. Nationalism and the new approaches of Pan-Turkism continue to stay at the base of the party's ideology.

The NAP headed by D. Bahçeli actively participates in the country's political life. The NAP got 18% of the votes and accordingly 129 deputy seats during the parliamentary elections of 1999. The party couldn't get 10% of the votes during the elections of 2002. The NAP got 14.3 % of the votes and 71 seats in the parliament during the elections of 2007²⁴. The party gained 13.2% of the votes and 53 parliamentary seats during the elections of 2011²⁵. The NAP got 16.29% of the votes and 80 seats during the elections of June of 2015²⁶. Finally, the party got 11.90% of the votes and 40 seats in the parliament during the elections of November 1 of that same year.²⁷ Namely, the presence of the NAP in the legislative body of the country shows that the nationalism and the Pan-Turkic ideas of the party perceive in some parts of the Turkish society.

²⁰ Ibid.: 79-80.

²¹ Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi Programı 2000: 96-97.

²² Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi Programı 2009: 126-127.

²³ Heper and Ince 2006: 874.

²⁴ 1983-2007 Yılları Arasında Yapılan Milletvekili Genel Seçimleri, For more see: <http://www.ysk.gov.tr>

²⁵ 12 Haziran 2011. XXIV. Dönem Milletvekili Genel Seçimi <https://goo.gl/KBsAHc> (last accessed 18 October 2017).

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²⁷ 1 Kasım 2015. 26. Dönem Milletvekili Genel Seçimi <https://goo.gl/4sgCWc> (last accessed 18 October 2017).

Conclusion

Thus, the nationalism and its extreme Pan-Turkic ideas were organized as an ideology of the Nationalist Action Party in the late 1960s. These ideas became the ideological basis of the party, therefore they were a part of the political program. Pan-Turkism as a party's ideology had undergone some transformations, in particular, the factor of Islam had flourished. But the latter didn't contradict to Pan-Turkic ideas and adopted the part of Turkic culture and identity. The activity of the NAP was banned after the military coup of 1980 but soon began the process of reconstruction of the party. By the establishment of the Turkic independent states Pan-Turkic ideas and programs were highlighted in Turkey. In this regard the role of the NAP is important in Turkey and this testifies her political activity. We can note that under the leadership of D. Bahçeli significant changes haven't been done in the ideology of the party. Today the main principles and views of A. Türkeş and therefore also the Pan-Turkism continue to stay in the ideological basis of the party. On the other hand, the Pan-Turkic ideas are introduced by the new approach and they correspond to the modern developments. In fact it means a closer establishment of cooperation between Turkey and the Turkic republics and in the future to try to create any union of the Turkic-speaking states on the basis of the historical, cultural, religious and ethnic similarities.

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ON THE ROLE OF ARMENIANS IN THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE DURING TANZIMAT

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The problem of the role of Armenians in the process of the political modernization of the Ottoman empire during the reforms of Tanzimat (1830-1870s) yet has not been a subject of special complex study. The common view which circulates among Osmanists and Armenologists which considers them as «subjects» of reformatory activities is a result of predominantly empiric approach with using quite limited facts and does not take into account essential peculiarities of the functioning of the complicated structure - the multi-religious and multi-ethnic Ottoman society of the period of intense formative processes.

Our paper represents only a preliminary approach to the problem mentioned above. From amongst the diversity of problems connected with this topic we have chosen only three, fairly «representable» ones. We have considered and analyzed the facts according to following themes:

1. Cases of continuous personal contacts between Armenians with the prominent Ottoman officials of that period - initiators and leaders of the Ottoman political modernization (Mustafa Reshid-pasha, Mehmed Emin Ali-pasha, Mehmed Fuad-pasha, Ahmed Jevdet-pasha and Ahmed Midhat-pasha). These relations are conditionally classified as «friendship».
2. Armenians - members of the so-called «modernizing» Ottoman bureaucracy, particularly in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
3. The participation of Armenians in the struggle for the declaration of the first Ottoman constitution.

* * *

Below we shall discuss these problems separately.

1.1.

Armenian as well as Turkish sources offer a considerable number of facts speaking in favor of the «friendship» as it was classified above. We had identified about two dozen such cases. Choosing as a criteria the character of personal relations these could be classified as follows:

- The Ottoman official - his personal banker.
- The Ottoman official - his personal (or family) physician.
- The Ottoman official - his closest employee.

Before we turn to the analysis of peculiarities of these relations in the groups mentioned above it should be stated that in the period preceding the reforms of Tanzimat in the Ottoman empire Sultans and highest officials have a tradition to use

Armenians belonging to the so-called class of *amira*, rich Armenians of Constantinople who had made huge fortunes due to industrial and commercial-moneylending activities, as their personal bankers. The latter are called also *sarrafs*. According to Armenian sources, in 1830s, the period of the highest power of the *amira* class, of about total 200 nearly 80 could be classified as *sarrafs*. One of the peculiarities of Armenian *amiras* and *sarrafs* in particular was their determination to stay out of political activities on the imperial scale (at the same time *amiras* almost completely regulate political processes inside the Armenian *millet*). Some cases are recorded when they refuse to be appointed on high offices in the traditional Ottoman hierarchy.

The situation had begun to change with the initiation of Tanzimat. During the celebratory act of *Gülhane hatt-e-sherif*, along with the spiritual leaders of *millets*, who according to the Ottoman tradition were the leaders of the non-Muslim communities, the delegation of Armenian *sarrafs* was present (unfortunately their names remain unknown) - an unprecedented phenomena! Here noteworthy is not only their invitation but also that the *sarrafs* had accepted it, which could testify in favor of the abandonment of their traditional positions of non-interference in the political life of the Ottoman state.

It is highly likely that this was the initiative of Reshid-pasha, the author of *Hatt-i sherif*, who willingly use the services of Armenian *sarrafs* (at least the names of three Armenian *sarrafs* are known). Later in 1850-1860s the participation of Armenian *amiras* and *sarrafs* in different *mejlises* (councils) of the central administration created by the leaders of Tanzimat in order to accelerate and deepen the reformatory process, it became a common practice which witnessed for the conscious change in their position. Of these let us mention only the case of Hovhannes Tingir, who did not belong to the top of the class of *amira*, but who was the personal banker of Fuad-pasha, one of the leaders of the second phase of Tanzimat. After the persistent efforts of the latter he became a member of the highly authoritative *Mejlis-i Vala-i Ahkiam-i Adliye* (Supreme council of legislative decrees), which, according to the Turkish historian Ali Akyildiz, was an «essential weapon at the hands of the Tanzimatists» in the realization of their program of reforms. Two more Armenian members of this *mejlis* were representatives of the well-known *amira*-families (Hovhannes Dadyan and Mihran Duzyan), who traditionally were connected with the sultans. The political rationale behind the appointment of Hovhannes Tingir is beyond doubt.

To our mind, the most noteworthy is the case of Mkrtich Muradoğlu, who was the banker of the prince Murad, known as holding liberal views (who later became sultan as Murad V), and Namik Kemal, one of the leaders of the «New Ottomans» - first Turkish constitutionalists as well. As it was demonstrated by the Turkish historian M. Kuntay who based his study on archival materials, Mkrtich Muradoğlu subsided on favorable conditions and often did not demand to return his money back.¹ There is information that this money was used for the financing of demonstrations of *softa* (students of the Muslim religious educational institutions) directed against the Sultan Abdul-Aziz and

¹ Kuntay 1944: 262-263.

enthronement of Murad, which have also anticonstitutional character. According to information prince Murad and Mkrtych Muradoğlu were discussing the problems of the future constitution.² Mkrtych Muradoğlu was a graduate of the «Murad Rafaelyan» school at Paris, where he had studied most of the Armenian liberals of 1850s-1870s and which had a decisive impact on the formation of their attitude.

To our mind, here we face the evolution of the nature of relations mentioned above, filling it with new content. The analysis of other types of contacts shall allow us to reach a more accurate assessment of the nature of this evolution.

1.2.

During the traditional period which precedes Tanzimat, there were many Armenians among personal physicians of the Ottoman sultans and officials of highest rank. We lack information in regard to their political activities. This situation had drastically changed in 1840-60s.

On the one hand, the doctors Servichen (Serovbe Vichenyan) and Nahapet Rusinyan - personal physicians of Ali-pasha and Fuad-pasha, who were educated in Paris, were the leaders of the movement for the declaration of the so-called Constitution of Armenian *millet* and Armenian liberals who struggle for the democratization of inner *millet* life as well.

On the other hand, they participate also in the political sphere on the imperial scale; they accompany their high-ranked patients in the trips to the conflicting regions (Lebanon, Crete) and, according to the sources, often carry out the role of advisors. Besides that Dr. Servichen was a personal friend of Midhat-pasha and had participated in the discussions of the declaration of constitution. Later he was elected as a member of the Ottoman parliament from Constantinople and appointed as a member of its upper house - senate.

1.3.

Among the closest staff members of the Ottoman officials in the period of Tanzimat were numerous Armenians. All they occupy different high posts in the Ottoman bureaucratic hierarchy and actually were active participants of the political modernization process (as it was shown by several scholars, particularly by Carter Findly, the Ottoman bureaucracy of the period of Tanzimat was the main driving force of the process of reformation), and were distinguished persons of liberal attitude in the inner *millet* political life.

Among them Grigor Agaton is worth to mention, who became the first Christian minister in the Ottoman history.³ Another example: one of the closest employees of Reshid-pasha was Hakop Krchikyan who later had become a prominent diplomat.

² Öztuna 1967: 54.

³ Before he would assume the office, he died in Paris a few months after the appointment. See: H. Asatur, Ashkharhabar matenagitutyan patmutyun [History of Bibliography in New Armenian], p. 177 (manuscript). - Ye. Charents Literature and Art State Museum of RA, Fund T. Azatyan, B. 1, 17.

But the most noteworthy case is, certainly, the long-lasting friendship of Grigor Otyan with Midhat-pasha. Otyan was the director of the department of foreign affairs of the Danube vilayet during the period when Midhat was the governor,⁴ and later he had played an active role in the struggle for the Ottoman constitution of 1876. (The problems of the participation of Armenians in the constitutional struggle we shall discuss later). Here it should be mentioned that the Armenian sources report on frequent visiting of the house of G.Otyan by Midhat-pasha, where he communicate with Dr. Servichen and other Armenian activists.⁵

It could be suggested that they belong to the group of «intellectuals» who by means of their discussions contribute to his work on the planning of the reorganization of governance of some European regions of the empire on federative principles, as it is written by Niyazi Berkes in his well-known study dealing with the history of the development of secularism in the Ottoman empire and the Republican Turkey (unfortunately without references to sources).

Very few is known about this project. Some fragmentary information is extant in the memoirs of Nikolay Ignatev, the Russian ambassador to the Ottoman empire. Although that project was not implemented, it is important from the point of view of the complete characteristics of the views of Midhat-pasha regarding the possibilities of realization of more cardinal reforms in the Ottoman empire and the influence on the formation of these views by some circles of non-Turkish peoples, including Armenians as well.

Gr.Otyan was a recognized leader of Armenian liberals of the Ottoman empire and was regarded as one of the key persons of the Armenian millet. The aim of his activities inside the millet and also in the national scale was the establishment of the «rule of law and justice» according to the European example, he dreams for the times to come when «Armenian people could say to all peoples of the East – ‘We are brothers’». His hopes on the improvement of the condition of the Armenian people he connects with the success of the policy of pro-western transformations in the system of the political governance of the Ottoman empire, particularly he was hopeful on the declaration of constitution.

Worth noting that Armenian sources mention also about other well-known public figure of liberal attitude, agronomist G.Stimaradjyan, who cooperated with Midhat-pasha during this period.⁶ Besides them, as advisors and assistants of Ali-pasha and Fuad-pasha could be mentioned officers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Hamamdjyan, Seferyan, Apro, and well-known jurist Vahan-efendi, a prominent expert in Ottoman legislation, who was the advisor of Djevdet-pasha.

⁴ Annuaire diplomatique de l'Empire Ottoman. Première Année, 1289 (1872-1873), Constantinople, 1872, p. 72-72.

⁵ Kasmararyan 1910: jd.

⁶ Sardaryan 1910: 126-127.

Indeed we did not mention all cases of close personal contacts of the leaders of Tanzimat. But the studied cases let us conclude of their specific transformation: relations built on *pure business grounds* (banker-client, physician-patient) during Tanzimat acquire the character of *cooperation on ideological one*.

2.

Many Armenians were involved in the Ottoman «modernizing bureaucracy» of the period of Tanzimat. Most of them (52 people) were in the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereafter MFA). Indeed, this is not accidental. MFA used to be the most «westernized» establishment of the Tanzimat period and had played the role of a specific «catalyst» in the process of modernization.

During this period Armenians comprise 14% of the staff of MFA and were the largest non-Muslim group; for example, Greeks comprise only 8%. Especially many Armenians work in the department of external correspondence (69% of the total staff of that department). Relatively high presence of Armenians is fixed in the department of consular relations.

Many Armenians included in the Ottoman diplomatic service at the same time were also liberally oriented activists and took part in the inner-millet struggle with conservators. Besides Hakop Krchikyan and Grigor Otyan mentioned above, the names of Sarkis Hamamjyan, Stepan Arzumanyan, Minas Minasyan and others could be referred to.

Let us focus more detailed on the case of Sahak Apro. He held the position of the chief of the department of external correspondence for 10 years and was regarded as one of the leading officers of MFA. He was not only an Ottoman bureaucrat but also had left a significant mark in the history of Armenian public and political thought being the publisher and author of the journal «Noyyan aghavni» («Noah's pigeon»), the first liberal publication not only among Armenians but also in the whole Ottoman empire. In his publications he acts as a convinced advocate of reforms in the political structure of the Ottoman empire and supports the policy of Tanzimat. Like other Armenian liberals, he was confident that by means of the liberally oriented transformations the Ottoman empire could be revitalized and the condition of Armenians improved as well.

The co-publisher of «Noyyan aghavni» was Grigor Markosyan who later became the officer of MFA.

3.

During the first half of 1876 were initiated active efforts for the dethronement of Sultan Abdul-Aziz, enthronement of prince Murad and the declaration of constitution, which was triggered by the rapidly expanding Eastern Crisis, in which were involved to some extent hundreds of people of different nationalities and confessions, representatives of various social strata, political groups and organizations. Armenian

liberals, according to some data, had played considerably significant role. Some directions of their participation could be highlighted.

This was, first of all, the work on different documents of constitutional movement undertaken under the guidance of Midhat-pasha, including the projects of the constitution, often backstage and remaining anonymous. Here, indeed, first of all should be mentioned Grigor Otyan. According to some sources, he had participated in the preparation of the «Manifest of Muslim-patriots», one of the significant documents of the struggle for the constitution.⁷ Or, as it is written in Armenian sources, he was the author of articles, which were published signed by Midhat in the Paris and London based newspapers.⁸ Interestingly, even Sultan Abdulhamid II wrote in his diary that Otyan was Midhat's «compass» in the Constitutional struggle.⁹

There are testimonials that Otyan had played a decisive role in the work on the text of the constitution.¹⁰ In all likelihood, here not the final text of the constitution is to be understood which was accepted by the special constitutional commission, since although he was its member, he was not included in the subcommission which worked on the text of the constitution. About the «great credits» of Grigor Otyan on the work over the project of the constitution which was prepared by Midhat-pasha wrote prominent Turkish historian Enver Ziya Karal, who unfortunately does not mention his source.¹¹ In the special literature is said about the existence of two variants of Midhat's project; in both cases is extant the principle of «decentralization»: was considered the granting of every confession the right to be proportionately represented in the future parliament, equal rights for Muslims and Christians, the access of the latter into high state offices, including the post of the Grand Vizier. It is easy to note that all these provisions meet the aspirations of Armenian liberals.

During the struggle for constitution Grigor Otyan was performing also important diplomatic duties. Thus he was sent to Paris by Midhat-pasha with a secret mission.¹²

To the list of the backroom work of Armenians during the constitutional movement belongs its financing by the liberal *sarrafs* (bankers); this episode was already mentioned. Another field of the pro-constitutional activities of Armenian liberals was the active participation of their leader Otyan in public political struggle for the declaration of constitution. He participated in the demonstrations of Midhatists demanding the dethronement of Sultan Abdul-Aziz,¹³ and joined the discussions in the constitutional

⁷ N. P. Ignat'ev - N. K. Girsu, Konstantinopol', 24 maya/5 iyunia 1876 goda [N. P. Ignat'ev - to N. K. Girs, Constantinople, May 24/June 5, 1876]. - Archives of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, Fund Kantselaria MID, file 25, sheet 204.

⁸ Cheraz 1929: 21.

⁹ [Abdülhamit II], İkinci Abdulhamidin hatıra defteri. İstanbul, 1960, s. 117.

¹⁰ Nurikhan 1907: 355.

¹¹ Karal 1982: 391.

¹² Baykal 1948: 470-477; Beylérlian 1994: 54-55.

¹³ Minas Cheraz 1929: 23.

commission, being a part of its liberal members along with Namik Kemal, Ziya-pasha and others.¹⁴ By the way, other Armenians also were among this commission.

The support of Armenian liberals to Turkish constitutionalists is highlighted in Armenian media of 1875-1876s. They began to write more blatantly about the necessity of fundamental transformations in the Ottoman empire. The liberal newspaper «Noragir», which was publishing in Constantinople, stresses: «The absolute aim of an Armenian is to see the victory of equality and merit in Turkey»,¹⁵ and the leading liberal newspaper «Masis» wrote about the necessity to introduce the principle of the «balancing of the government».¹⁶

After the government of Sultan officially recognized the necessity of constitutional reforms, actually all Armenian newspapers, not only liberal ones, appreciated the fast declaration of constitution. Liberals continue to assure their readers and Turkish authorities as well that Armenians had binded their future with the Ottoman empire and explain that since the majority of Armenians live in Asia and always must be «citizens of Turkey», they can defend their interests only by means of «close union with Turkey and friendly co-citizenship with the Turks».¹⁷ Patriarch Nerses of Constantinople who was under their influence, in the summer of 1876 applied to Armenian people with a message, where he persuaded them to help strongly the Ottoman government who took the path of reforms.¹⁸ However, in 1876 in the deeds of Armenian liberals new tendencies emerge. In August Minas Cheraz, who became one of the liberal leaders, in an article published in a francophone newspaper, unequivocally mentions that Armenians had more right for rebellion than Balkanic peoples, but they know that «there are many diseases which could be cured by time».¹⁹ In the Autumn of that same year the leaders of Armenian *millet* which mostly consist of liberals, undertook several initiatives (drafting and delivering of petitions to the Ottoman government dealing with the persecution of Armenian population in the vilayets of Western Armenia, the meeting of the Patriarch with Midhat-pasha and the ambassadors of Russia and Great Britain).

In all likelihood, the main purpose of these actions was the desire of liberals to press on the Ottoman government and achieve the implementation of the principle of decentralization of governance. They pursue also the secularization of the state legislative system, restriction of the sphere of the usage of *shariat* only as religious law for the Muslims.

In fact, it was about different interpretations of official political doctrine of Osmanism. Liberals were against imperialist and assimilatory tendencies in the

¹⁴ Davison 1963: 48.

¹⁵ Noragir [Newsletter], October 23, 1876.

¹⁶ Masis [Masis - Armenian name of the Mount Ararat], 1876, No. 1835.

¹⁷ Masis, 1876, No. 1895.

¹⁸ Sarukhan 1912: 115-117.

¹⁹ Alpoyajyan 1927: 114.

treatment of this doctrine among some governmental and public circles and were trying to reach legislative processing of those regulations which may give a chance to carry out reforms in the spirit of «brotherhood and equality» of the peoples of the Ottoman empire.

In this regard is typical the speech of S. Papazyan, a well-known figure in the session of the National Assembly (supreme consultative body of Armenian *millet*) in December 1876, some days before the declaration of Constitution. He declared: «Let us openly say to our Ottoman compatriots and try, so that they understand that we are Armenians and that we shall keep our nationality even under the Ottoman flag. The desire to merger would not be useful for none of us ..., but we [he mean peoples of the Ottoman empire - R.S.] have a unity of interests, this is why we are an integrated whole as the citizens of the Ottoman empire ...».²⁰ To that date this idea was shared by many representatives of the Armenian elite.

* * *

Let us summarize the results of our study. The problem of «Armenians and the process of the political modernization of the Ottoman empire» could be represented as follows:

1. Armenians were involved in that process;
2. The *tendency of the graduate activization of their role in the political modernization* most vividly was manifested during the struggle for the first Ottoman constitution.

However, during that period emerges a desire to *influence* in some way on the process of modernization in order to reach its adjustment in the right direction.

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²⁰ Atenagrutyunq Azgayin zhoghovo [Minutes of the National Assembly], 1876-1877, Constantinople, 1876, p. 326.

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Translated from the Armenian by Aram Kosyan

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE POLICE SCHOOL OF YEREVAN

(Dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the Police of RA)

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Like in other languages, where the term «police» originates from the word «city», in Armenian also *vostikan* is formed from *vostan* «capital city, royal city». Thus, the police and the city life are inseparable. Hence, the leading police educational centres were operating in the cities, particularly in the capital cities.

The 2800 years old Yerevan has a hundred years' tradition of training policemen. This is fully supported by the archival materials of the First Republic of Armenia. Soon after the declaration of independence in May 28, 1918 was established the Interior Ministry, which included also the police. The government does its best to secure this office with own personnel, thus in July 9, 1919¹ were organized the «Judicial-legal courses». Here it was taught to give military orders in mother tongue. The goal of the courses was to teach the policemen laws, introduce them to there rights and obligations.

Initially it was assigned to involve in the courses 20 members of the staff. These were thought to be «unstained and literate» people, who would know, besides Armenian also Russian and Turkish.

The following disciplines were included in the courses.

1. State and police law
2. Criminal procedure
3. The statute of Transcaucasian guard
4. Instructions of the prosecutor of RA
5. Legislation of the government of RA

Besides this it was assigned to organize in the provinces police courses with the duration of 8 months.² For this purpose in July 12, 1919 the government decided to give additional 80.640 roubles to the Interior ministry. The safety inside the country demands skilled police specialists.

The solid grounds laid at that period later was used for training policemen during the second republic. In 1930s the policemen were trained in Tbilisi, and only from 1936 in Yerevan the school of the secondary command began to operate. Later, here the teaching process was continually improved, and the material-technical base enriched. On this background in 1980s in the police school were organized all-union courses, where studied policemen of 15 Soviet republics.

¹ Virabyan 2003: 13.

² Idem.

According to the N.500 order of A. Gyulkhandanyan, the Interior minister, In December 4, 1919 was established the police school, with Zohrap Bagrevanyants as its chief-lecturer. The minister evaluates the role of police too much to order the chief of the Yerevan police, Commissar, the director of the warehouse of the ministry to actively support the school. About this order were informed the «Bulletin of the government», the body of the State control, the city hall of Yerevan etc. Due to active preparations, in December 28, 1919 the newly appointed director of the school submitted a program, according to which at the school should work 3 trainers-officers, 5 non-commissioned officers, had to study about 150-200 policemen-soldiers; their age shall not exceed 20-25, they shall be literate, physically healthy, with no criminal past, supplied with food; the duration of courses varies from 3 to 5 months.

The following disciplines were assigned to be taught.

1. Military training,
2. Military education,
3. Inner police statute,
4. The body and structure of the state,
5. Consize legislation,
6. Relations between policemen and their competence,
7. Consize anatomy and health care,
8. Factual account and factography.³

In the financial planning in July 1, 1920 was assigned a sum for the staff of the «Police School». The staff consists of chief of the school, head of the economic body, teachers (three), and listeners (100).⁴

In December 2, 1920 in Armenia was established Soviet rule. The power had passed to the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia. With the first order of the Committee was organized the Peoples Commissary of Inner Affairs (PCIA), which was headed by Isahak Dovlatyan. On behalf of the Revolutionary Committee PCIA took the whole authoritative functions. Due to the extreme commitment of revolutionary forces were released from their duties numerous professionals of the former government. Shortly after this became the most important problem for PCIA, the main solution being the return of former staff, since it was not possible to organize teaching courses and prepare professionals during such a short period. Hence, in August 29, 1921 with the special decision of the Presidency of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic the former policemen and gendarms who had restored their civil rights, could be taken into police and criminal intelligence service. This decision was accepted also by the Soviet republics. Moscow instructed the executive committees to be extremely careful in regard to the restoration of civil rights of such people, since some of them might have been discredited during the Tsarist period.

³ NAA, Fund 201, l. 2, file 236, p.1-20.

⁴ The archive of the training center's museum of the police of RA, Interior ministry, July 1, 1920 until January 1, 1921. Personnel, p. 38 and reverse.

In Soviet Armenia were also made some steps, but they were directed on the «releasing the police of untrustful and socially unrelated elements». In the USSR the police was «purified» twice, in 1922-1923 and 1929-1930. It should be mentioned that in some cases the leadership of Soviet Armenia, especially in 1920s, makes more strict decisions, sometimes contradicting the instructions of Moscow. Was felt the desire of the so-called «revolutionary» spirit and fundamental changes. The obvious example of this situation are the statistics and facts which we give below.

At the **beginning of 1922 30%** of the staff of the police of Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic was withdrawn.⁵ For this purpose were organized «purging commissions». In 1922 the central office of PCIA consists of **353** and police - of **1450** people. Most of them were peasants and workers, predominantly illiterate and they does not have professional skills.

In 1923 the personnel of police reaches **1041**. Of these **106** were illiterate, **554** semi-literate, **315** had primary and **66** secondary education.

In 1924 the number of policemen was **872**, of which **23** were illiterate, **521** semi-literate, **280** has primary and **48** secondary education.

In 1925 the number of policemen was **798**, of which **13** illiterate, **536** semi-literate, **210** has primary and **39** secondary education.⁶

The reduction of the PCIA and police personnel took place throughout the USSR.

The reduction of the police personnel had negative impact. In June 12, 1922 the chief of Zangezur police reports that in the province remain only **150** policemen. He mentions that the watch house does not have any comfort, policemen sleep on the floor and due to this about half of them are ill and are not ready to perform their duties. The sum given to the police, 777.000 roubles is not enough to meet the needs; many policemen does not have uniforms, and even weapons and bullets.⁷

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF STAFF. ORGANIZATION OF THE POLICE COURSES

The Soviet authorities pay special attention to the elimination of illiteracy. This problem did not bypass also the police. This was the reason that PCIA and the General department of police ordered their staff to abolish the illiteracy within a short period but also to supply the law-enforcement authorities with qualified and literate persons, since the police recruited from the working class mostly was illiterate, and the illiterate policemen (especially in the Soviet country), indeed, could not perform their duties.⁸

⁵ NAA, Fund 116, I. 1, file 52, p. 9.

⁶ Soviet Armenia. 1920-1925. Five years. Published by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of the Peoples' Committee of ArmSSR, Yerevan, 1926, p.66.

⁷ NAA, Fund 116, I. 3, file 163, p. 33 and reverse.

⁸ Soviet Armenia. 1920-1925: 64.

For this purpose next to the general department of PCIA was formed Political secretariat, in the regional centers were appointed commissars, and in the regional sections – political leaders. Due to this, already in 1922 **85%** of the police personnel became literate⁹. It makes possible to organize courses for the commanding personnel of police. PCIA and the General department of police organized six month courses where, along with the general educational principles, were taught special subjects¹⁰.

Were organized six month courses for the policemen where studied 40 people. In **November 12, 1922** the school gave first graduates. **That day became the day of the celebration of Armenian police¹¹**. At the same day the trainees solemnly swore in the presence of the police staff. In their honor was published the book «The Day of the Red police» where were included different articles and letters describing everyday life of the police¹².

In 1923 the second group had graduated the school. Thus, PCIA and the General department of police had succeeded to partly solve the problem of the associate commanding staff¹³.

At the fall of 1922 was organized a depot battalion for confronting the criminal bands. In January 1, 1925 the battalion was liquidated and instead a police depot-school organized. Here the duration of courses was six months. In 1925-1926 it was supposed to organize two month and three week courses for police in the regions¹⁴.

By the decision of the Transcaucasian commission of staff in October 1, 1925, the police, criminal intelligence and correctional-working sub-sections of the PCIA administrative department of the Soviet Republic of Armenia became autonomous bodies (community policing, central criminal intelligence, place of imprisonment). The number of personnel was increased reaching 57 instead of 34. The police reserve became the **police school**.

THE STAFF OF THE POLICE IN 1925

	Region	Commanding personnel	Police men	Total	Number of sub-regions	Number of Cities	Number of people 1925	Number of people Per one policeman
1	Reserve school	7	48	55	-	-	-	-

⁹ Apiyan 1979: 53.

¹⁰ Soviet Armenia. 1920-1925: 65.

¹¹ Idem.

¹² Idem.

¹³ Idem.

¹⁴ Idem.

2	Yerevan regional police	36	138	174	6	2	170600	980
3	Leninakan regional police	31	117	148	7	2	193743	1309
4	Echmiatsin regional police	11	62	73	5	-	114620	1570
5	Lori-Pambak regional police	8	65	73	5	-	133601	1830
6	Dilijan regional police	9	70	79	5	-	80096	1014
7	Nor Bayazet regional police	8	50	58	3	-	103008	1776
8	Daralagyaz Regional police	4	33	37	1	-	29904	814
9	Zangezur regional police	8	83	91	3	-	73280	749
10	Meghri regional police	1	8	9	-	-	8603	956
Total		123	674	797	35	4	907455	113 ¹⁵

In January 9, 1936 for the personnel of the correctional-working bureau were organized short courses consisting of 24 days. The lessons were expected to organize daily, except Sunday, twice a day, from 10:00 until 14:00 and from 19:00 until 21:00, on the whole territory of the republic.

At the same time the teaching of the following principles for the commanding personnel was regarded as obligatory - Russian language, mathematics, modern history, history of the USSR and geography.

By the order of April 13, 1936 in PCIA four educational groups were organized for the commanding and operative personnel. The duration of the course for the first group

¹⁵ Soviet Armenia. 1920-1925: 66.

was established as one year (16 people), for the second - two years (24 people), for the third - three years (22 people), and for the fourth - one year (25 people). The lessons was expected to begin in April 1, 9:00 AM until 22:50 PM. After finishing the course the students had to be examined.

Such courses were necessity but their organization was not purposeful on account of their leisure time. Indeed, it had a negative impact on the quality of their service.

Such general educational groups were organized also in subsequent years, until the World war II.

Even so, the educational and professional level of policemen remains unsatisfactory quite a while. In PCIA, particularly in the police the selection mostly was based on social principle and party membership. As a result, police was replenished with people having low educational and professional level.

At the end of 1925 and early 1926 the Communist party, in order to secure its presence in the public-security bodies, provided them with quite a big number of communists. As a result, about **60%** of the Yerevan police and **47%** in the republic comprise communists and Komsomols. Since the replenishing was the goal of securing the influence and control, the educational level of policemen was not regarded as essential. Due to this, like in the past, the police again was replenished with people having low educational level. Only **5%** of them had secondary and **30%** primary education.

In order to fill this gap was organized a Central secretariat, which was ordered to deal with the «the educational work of the police», and the elimination of illiteracy.

In August 1921, next to the General department of police in Yerevan were opened two month courses for the police.¹⁶ In April 19, 1922, by the decision of the PCIA board, the General department of police was ordered to organize three month courses for the commanding personnel.¹⁷

In April 30, 1923 the number of listeners at the Yerevan school of police was 36. The duration of the course reaches 16 weeks, of which two weeks for repetition and examinations. The following disciplines were taught:

1. Armenian language,
2. Russian language,
3. Mathematics,
4. Geography,
5. Biology,
6. Hygiene,
7. Military training,
8. Administrative training,
9. Political literacy.¹⁸

¹⁶ NAA, Fund 116, list 1, file 528, p. 67.

¹⁷ Idem: 756, p. 2.

¹⁸ Sargsyan, Sahakyan 2015: 94.

The second institution for the preparation of personnel was the «Depot of police» established at the end of 1922, an equestrian unit against the banditry. In November 1924 the warehouse-school was reorganized as a **warehouse-school of the police**.

In 1925-1926s in the regional centers every year were organized three month courses for ordinary policemen, and two month - for commanders. From September 1, 1926 until April 20, 1927 next to the PCIA functioned the **school for the lower personnel**¹⁹, with five months duration of teaching.²⁰

In January 1928 next to the PCIA of the Russian Social Socialist Federative Republic were established six month courses of scientific-technical specialists, where Armenian policemen also were sent.

Beginning from 1929, those policemen of Azeri nationality who were not familiar with Armenian and Russian languages, were sent to attend the courses for the secondary commanding personnel to Azerbaijan.

From September 1, 1931 began to function the Yerevan school of police. Bardugh Ghazar Petrosyan, a person who was fully devoted to his field, was appointed as the director of the school. His inborn qualities later were revealed during the World War II when he, being imprisoned by the enemy, along with his supporters, had succeeded to organize an anti-Nazi group in the concentration camp, then had joined the French partisans (MAKI). For his heroic participation in the military operations against the Germans he was awarded with highest order of the French government - «Legion of Honor»²¹.

¹⁹ NAA, Fund 116, l. 1, file 172, p. 31.

²⁰ Idem, file 789, p. 1.

²¹ Pahlavuni 2014: 10. Armenian partisans were distinguished in August 22-30, 1944, during the battles near the French towns of Alès Florak and La Calmette. In August 30 the battalion of B.Petrosyan liberated the city of Nim. After the war they returned home as heroes. Unfortunately, when the legionaries came back to their motherland, many of them were imprisoned and sent to concentration camps or were exiled to remote regions of the USSR due to false documents and facts.

Only after the death of I.Stalin in 1953, along with the arrests of L. Beria and their minions in the republics, it became possible to revise the criminal dossiers of some legionaries. In April 18, 1955 by the decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR were released 1134 people including 877 members of the ARF and 700 legionaries.

In June of that same year Sh.Arushanyan, the Chairman of the Supreme Council of Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic applied to K.Voroshilov, the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the USSR regarding the case of the legionaries. He wrote: «On contrary to the 1946 decision of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, where was decided to sent into exile the legionaries for 6 years, without their families, the Ministry of State Security of Armenian SSR organized also the deportation of Armenian legionaries». 103 people from the staff of the National security were honored with orders and medals. The Chairman of the Supreme Council of Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic suggests to withdraw the orders from 6 people.

Indeed, only the Ministry of State Security and personally the minister were not guilty for the lawlessness in regard to the legionaries. The highest party officials and other people also had participated in this action. In our case the personnel of the security service was regarded as scapegoats. More detailed about this see NAA, Fund 207, list 10, file 105, lists 1- 3.

In 1935 the police schools of Transcaucasia were united and was established the «United Transcaucasian school (the Tbilisi Interregional school of PCIA)»²² or the Tbilisi school N.2, which was located in the Armenian-populated district of Havlabar. After the adoption of the new constitution of the USSR and elimination of the Transcaucasian Federation in 1936, in September 1, 1937 the Yerevan interregional school for the commanding personnel of the PCIA was re-opened. In summer 1938 the courses began at the summer camp of Tsakhkadzor. The teachers were distinguished officers-in-charge of PCIA. The summer camp was attended also by the students of the primary commanding personnel headed by B.Petrosyan.

The summer school has the following structure:

1. One year courses for the secondary commanding personnel. The number of listeners - 90.
2. One year courses for the secondary operative personnel. The number of listeners - 30.
3. One year courses for the local policemen and combatant commanders. The number of listeners - 30²³.

The following disciplines were taught:

1. General educational
2. Special
3. Military

The school returned to Yerevan from Tsakhkadzor and was located at Mayisyan street 31 and 32²⁴, and the assistant commanding school was closed. In 1940 the school gave its first graduates.

During 1938-1941 the two year courses had graduated 180 and one year courses - about 200 people.

During World War II the school continued to function despite the fact that most of the leading staff and lecturers went to the front. In November 1943 Abgar Bozinyan was appointed as the director of the school. The number of listeners was 30, of which 7 women.

In order to compensate the decreased staff the officers of police department and the school of police were travelling through the republic, meet the people, hold lectures in order to find disciplined and educated young people to join the police courses. Due to it the number of applicants was increased and the school became a real center for the preparation of qualified policemen. It is not accidental that Hrachik Petros Petrosyan who had graduated the school with credit in 1947, in 1966 was appointed as the chief of the

²² Until 1937 officially was known as interregional school of the PCIA of Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, then the Tbilisi school of the central department of State security of PCIA.

²³ The archive of the museum of the police educational center, Dayants Mikhail Anushavanovich, The Police school during the 1938-1941s, I. 2 (in Russian).

²⁴ Is located between Amiryan, Saryan streets and the Mashtots prospect.

same school, and the other graduate, lieutenant-general Hovhannes Kim Varyan is the head of the educational center of the RA police since 2009.

In 1951 the school was renamed as the Yerevan police school of the Ministry of National security²⁵. In 1953, after the unification of the Ministry of National security and Interior ministry the school functions under the guidance of the Department of Educational institutions of the Interior ministry of the USSR. In 1947-1953 the school has also a system of distance education. As to October 17, 1953 the school had two departments:

1. Re-training of the commanding personnel (one year)
2. Training of the commanding personnel (two years).

The school was closed in **January 29, 1955**.

In August 14, 1956 the Central committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union decided to establish police school in the republics. In September 17 of that same year in Yerevan was opened the republican educational center for the primary and secondary commanding personnel of police which later was renamed as the **Educational center of the Interior ministry of Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic**, then - teaching center of police of RA which now functions in the Educational center of the RA police.

The police of most of the Soviet republics including Armenia does not have special educational institution. Policemen were forced to study in different professional institutions of the USSR, which was connected with additional expenditures. In order to close this gap, in February 18, 1966 the government of the USSR (Council of ministers) decided to establish new police schools in the republics²⁶. On this background, in June 16, **1966 the government of the ArmSSR makes a decision to establish a secondary professional school of the police** (for the primary and secondary commanding personnel)²⁷. The number of listeners was established 100²⁸, the duration of teaching - two years. Military service in the army was obligatory for all applicants. The entry exams include Armenian language and literature (composition) and history of the USSR (oral). The monthly scholarship was established as 40 roubles. The graduates receive the rank of the second lieutenant²⁹. The number of students by correspondence was established as 25 persons³⁰.

²⁵ By the order of the Minister of State security of the USSR in October 17, 1949 some functions of republican structures, including also that of the Interior ministry of Armenian SSR, were subordinated to the Ministry of State security; the Yerevan school of police was among them. See Police archive of RA, Fund 16, I. 39, 1949 № 001-0037/00374, p. 2.

²⁶ NAA, Fund 116, I. 6, file 273, p. 25

²⁷ NAA, Fund 116, I. 6, file 275, p. 5-6

²⁸ By the order of the Interior minister in December 3, 1966 the number of listeners was established as 80 people, See NAA, Fund 116, I. 6, file 284, p. 284.

²⁹ NAA, Fund 116, I. 6, file 297, p. 100-103. According to the order of the Ministry of public order of December 3, 1966, the number of listeners for 1966/1967 was established as 80, see NAA, Fund 116, I. 6, file 284, p. 206.

³⁰ NAA, Fund 116, I. 6, file 283, p. 55.

The search for the new, more advanced forms and methods for the preparation of the qualified personnel of the Interior affairs were ongoing. For this reason in 1985 the Yerevan police school of the USSR Interior ministry was closed and on its base in the next year were established higher courses of the Interior ministry of the USSR. The courses began in November 3, 1986. All 173 listeners were divided into two divisions and eight groups.

The higher school of the Interior ministry and National Security ministry of RA was reorganized into the higher educational institution on the base of the former higher courses of the Soviet Interior ministry (1990-1991) and the secondary professional police school of the same ministry (1966-1990); in 1991-1995 it had functioned as the higher school of officers of the Interior ministry of RA, and from September 26, 1995, according to the decision of the Prime-minister of RA, the higher school of police of the Interior ministry of RA and the higher school of officers of the interior forces were attached to the higher school of the Interior ministry of RA; in 1996, in connection with the needs to prepare specialists for the realization of the criminal detentions and the establishment of departments of the officers of interior forces this institution was renamed as the higher school of the Interior ministry of RA.

By the decision of the government in July 16, 1993 the military-applied college after King Varazdat was taken from the department of physical culture, sports and youth of the Government and put under the authority of the Interior ministry.

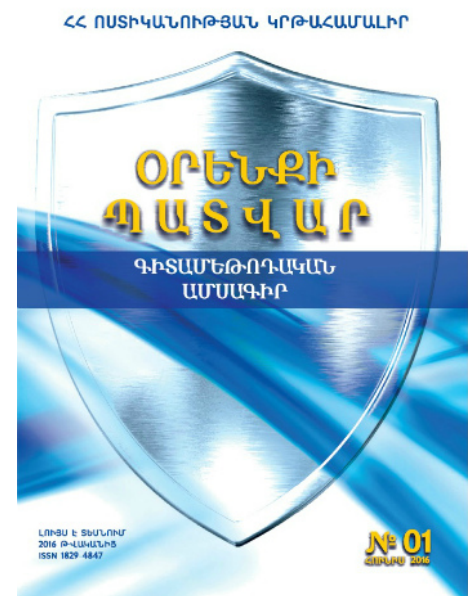
By the commissioning of the Interior ministry and Ministry of National Security the school prepares juridical specialists:

- detective/investigating
- operative and intelligence activities
- traffic police
- the system and departments of criminal detention, as well as officers of pedagogical profile for the interior forces.

The goals of the High school are the following:

1. Preparation of professionals for the Interior ministry and Ministry of National Security with deep theoretical and practical knowledge,
2. Scientific work for the Interior ministry and Ministry of National Security,
3. Training and improvement of professional skills of the senior commanding personnel.

In August 18, 2000 the educational institution



was renamed as the Academy of the Interior ministry of RA, and in April 28, 2011 - Educational center of police of RA³¹.

In 2013 to the Educational center was given the museum of police. From March 25, 2016, by the order of the director of the Educational center was established the «Stronghold of Law», a scientific-methodological journal where are publishing articles dealing with the field of jurisprudence on three languages (Armenian, Russian and English).

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³¹ See the decision № 615-M of April 28, 2011. <http://www.e-gov.am/gov-decress/item/19547>

PHILOSOPHY AND LAW

SEN AREVSHATIAN AS SYSTEMATIST OF ARMENIAN PHILOSOPHIC THOUGHT OF THE 5TH - 6TH CENTURIES

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The latest version of the systematization of Armenian philosophical thought of the 5th - 6th centuries, which is now in scientific circulation and has not lost its monumental significance, is described in the work *Formation of Philosophical Science in Ancient Armenia (5th - 6th centuries)* by academician Sen Arevshatian. The author wrote it in Russian, presenting his deep research comments to a wider circle of scientists.

Sen Arevshatian was not only a skilled researcher of Armenian philosophical thought of the 5th - 6th centuries, but also of the entire Middle Ages, as the Armenian Middle Ages began from the Golden Age and lasted until the 17th - 18th centuries.

It is extremely important that the works of the Armenian philosophers of the 5th - 6th centuries were investigated in the context of ancient and all-Christian philosophical thought. This is a scientific requirement that Sen Arevshatian conscientiously carried out. He was also one of the unique specialists who mastered the ancient Armenian language grabar and deciphered medieval manuscripts, revealing crucial facts.

The views of ancient and Christian authors that have influenced philosophical thoughts of the 5th century are continuously compared in Arevshatian's books.

After the creation of Armenian letters by Mashtots in 405, Armenia experienced a spiritual uplift in literature, historiography, theology and science. At that very time philosophy became a separate branch of science and its first representative, as Sen Arevshatian has actually stated, was Mesrop Mashtots in his *Faithful Speeches*.

All the specialists of the Armenian Middle Ages know that *Faithful Speeches* have been and are published under the name of Gregory the Illuminator.

Basing himself on the testimony of *The Life of Mashtots* by Archimandrite Koriun, the German Armenologist Vetter proved that the author of the speeches was Mashtots. At the time of Gregory the Illuminator, the Armenian Arshakuni Kingdom was in a flourishing state. In the *Dictionary* by F.A. Brockhaus and I.A. Efron we can read about this: «Tiridate III the Great, the son of Khosrow I, Armenian king of Parthian origin, ruled by 286-342, and successfully fought against the Sassanids (the new Persian kings).

In 302, Tiridate adopted Christianity, replaced pagan temples with churches and cathedrals, invited many clergymen from Syria and Asia Minor and proclaimed Christianity State religion. The period of his reign is the brightest period in the history of the Armenian people»¹.

¹ Brockhaus and Efron 2012: 691.

This fact was well-known to Vetter, so he mentioned that the *Faithful Speeches* spoke about the decline of the Arshakuni dynasty and there was a hint about the last King Artashes IV (422-428)².

Sen Arevshatian presents how the development of philosophic thought was accompanied by the apparition in Armenian of words expressing philosophical terms. The translations into Armenian of the works by Greek philosophers and early Christian thinkers contributed to the apparition of these terms. First of all, new words were introduced in the Armenian language through the translation of the *Art of Grammar* by Dionysius Thrax and the works of his Armenian commentators.

In his book *Dionysius Thrax and his Armenian commentators*, Nikoghayos Adontz has an apt remark about the interconnection of grammar, philosophy and rhetoric: «Though the science of grammar was from long ago a separate and an independent subject, but in ancient times it was studied together with rhetoric and philosophy, and was considered in general as a necessary link in the scientific meditative system»³.

The translation of the works by Greek philosophers began in the 5th century and got great development thanks to the formation of the Hellenophil School at the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century.

The Armenian philosophical thought of the 5th century was influenced by the writings of Philo Judaeus, Hermes Trismegistus, Augustus the Blessed, Porphyry, Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras and other thinkers of the ancient world.

Mesrop Mashtots was acquainted with these works; his speeches were theological and ethical, and also examined philosophical questions.

According to Arevshatian, Mashtots' *Faithful Speeches* are examples of typical patristic philosophy. In his speeches Mashtots is examining a number of philosophical problems, one of which is the problem of the relationship between evil and good. And Eznik Koghbatsi contradicts the dualism of the Zoroastrian religion, according to which the evil is from Ahriman, and the good from Ahura Mazda⁴.

According to Mashtots, God created every good thing. He has given the human and the angels the right of free will, which can lead man either to the good or to the evil.

Freedom of choice granted to man is the greatest gift that a person should use to do good deeds.

According to Arevshatian, from the viewpoint of idealistic monotheism Mashtots does not regard God as a participant in the evil works of the world. This approach identifies his doctrine with Christian canonic conclusions⁵.

Mashtots attaches great importance to the human mind, which lives in the brain and directs all organs of the human body⁶.

² Arevshatian 1973: 46.

³ Adontz 2008: XV.

⁴ Arevshatian 1973: 61.

⁵ Ibid: 65.

⁶ Ibid: 71.

Faithful speeches clearly explains the role of the soul in human life: «The mouth is speaking, the eyes are seeing, the ears are listening, the nostrils are smelling, the hands are touching, the feet are walking; the heart moves with the soul, glorifies God with the vivifying soul, every sensation is moved by the Lord. And when the soul is parted from the body, the body dies and the members of the body are divided one from another»⁷.

Sen Arevshatian pointed out that immediately after the adoption of Christianity, the Armenian philosophical thought used Persian, Greek and Syriac scriptures and used them for state and religious needs⁸.

Based on these premises, the Armenian philosophical thought of the 5th century began to emerge, the first prominent representative of which was Eznik Koghbatsi.

In 1940 V. Chaloyan published in Russian the monograph *The Issue of the Doctrine of Eznik Koghbatsi, Armenian philosopher of the 5th century*, in which he says that in his book *The Refutation of Sects* Eznik is struggling against the materialistic and atheistic views of Epicurus⁹. Chaloyan stresses that according to Eznik the world consists of four elements: fire, air, water, soil. «In another place, Eznik uses the words warmth, coldness, moisture and drought under the influence of Aristotle. In these two types of enumerations Eznik sees no difference, and he presents either the first one or the second by the word element»¹⁰.

In Chaloyan's opinion, Eznik defined in the 5th century the material as Paul Holbach, German philosopher of the 18th century, and, of course, it will be absurd to think that Holbach was acquainted with Eznik, but the fact is that the German philosopher says the same thing as Eznik¹¹.

Chaloyan appreciates Eznik as a highly advanced philosopher who does not accept the fate of the destiny and insists that the destiny of a man is in his own hands¹².

Sen Arevshatian thinks that Eznik, the brilliant representative of the Armenian «School of Translators», probably did not write a single philosophic work, even if the *Refutation of the Sects* is the most important source of philosophical thought in the first half of the 5th century¹³.

In his research, Arevshatian mentions the sources Eznik used to write his masterpiece:

- 1) Matthew of Olympia – † 312
- 2) Aristides the African – 2nd century
- 3) Epiphanius of Cyprus – 315-403

⁷ Gregory the Illuminator: 1838: 155.

⁸ Arevshatian 1973: 51.

⁹ Chaloyan 1940: 27.

¹⁰ Ibid: 30.

¹¹ Ibid: 32.

¹² Ibid: 43.

¹³ Arevshatian 1973: 76.

- 4) Basil of Caesarea, or the Great – 330-379
- 5) Hippolytus – 170-235
- 6) Theodore of Mopsuestia – 4th – 5th centuries
- 7) Origen Adamantius – 185-253
- 9) Diodore of Tarsus – 4th century
- 10) Ephrem the Syrian – 306-373
- 11) Irenaeus – 130-200
- 12) Cyril of Alexandria – † 444

Besides these works, Eznik also used Mashtots' *Faithful Speeches* and Grigor Parthev's *Book of Questions*.

Eznik Koghbatsi's *Refutation of the Sects* was translated into several European languages in the 19th and 20th centuries and is well-known in international armenology.

Especially French armenologist Louis Mariès was interested in Eznik's work. After the translation of Vaillant de Florival he once again translated Eznik's *Refutation of the Sects* and during his entire scientific career his attention was concentrated on it¹⁴.

On the occasion of the translation and commentaries by Louis Mariès in 1924, N. Adontz wrote an extensive and remarkable article entitled *Critical Remarks about Eznik* (on the occasion of Mariès' work). He writes: «Among the ancient writers, Eznik Koghbatsi is one of those unique figures who have kept at last until now their traditional fame strong and impeccable. ... Not only by the style and content, but also from the viewpoint of credibility, the little work by Koghbatsi is considered the pride of the Armenian literature»¹⁵. Eznik's work has reached our days without title. Arsen Bagratuni has called it *Refutation of the Sects*¹⁶.

Mariès changed this title and turned it into *De Deo*. Adontz does not accept this title. The title *De Deo* would have been unacceptable for Eznik for the simple reason that in his preface he found it necessary to emphasize that the essence of God is inaccessible and incomprehensible¹⁷.

According to Adontz, in Part I of his book, Eznik denied the famous Gnostic Valentianus and did not need to call *De Deo* his contradiction¹⁸.

Arevshatian dedicates a separate fragment to the problems of Eznik's book. He cites the opinion of German armenologist Heinrich Geltzer (1847-1906) who says that Eznik is more an antic Armenian than a Christian archimandrite¹⁹.

Confirming the priority of the Divine substance and the secondary nature of the material world as God's creation, Eznik denies the viewpoints of Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Stoics and Epicureans²⁰.

¹⁴ Mariès 1924; 1928; 1959.

¹⁵ Adontz 2006: 131.

¹⁶ Ibid: 134.

¹⁷ Ibid: 135.

¹⁸ Ibid: 135.

¹⁹ Arevshatian 1973: 85.

Eznik strongly condemns pagan superstitions, animism and Satanism²¹. The Armenian philosopher does not accept Plato's view of immortality of the soul. He accepts the viewpoint of the Christian doctrine that the human soul is immortal and continues to live in the inner world, deprived of its body and earthly desires²².

Naturally, Arevshatian touches upon the strict criticism of the Persian religion and the Chaldean astrology by Eznik.

One of those who shaped the philosophical thought of the 5th century was also Eghishe, in whose views some manifestations of the Neo-Platonist doctrine appear for the first time²³.

The examination of the theological and philosophical works of Eghishe reveals the truth that his mentality shared the doctrines of the predecessors of Neo-Platonism Philo of Alexandria, Hermes Trismegistus, as well as Neo-Platonists Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus and others²⁴.

Following the predecessor of Neo-Platonist Hermes Trismegistus, Eghishe writes: «There are three worlds, God, nature, man. God is the spiritual world, nature the sensual world, man is the spiritual and the sensual world»²⁵.

Arevshatian's examination of the philosophical-scientific terminology of the 5th-6th centuries is important for the systematization of the Armenian philosophical thought of that period. Philosophical neologisms especially increased thanks to the activity of the Hellenophil School. New words such as 'acquire a skill', 'skillfulness', 'homonym', 'sexuality', 'logically reasoning', 'philosophy', etc. were introduced in Armenian²⁶.

Arevshatian substantiates: translations of the works by Dionysius Thrax, Antonius, Theon of Alexandria, Philo Judaeus, Irenaeus, as well as *Definitions* by adjoining them Hermes Trismegistus, the *Romance of Alexander of Macedonia* by Pseudo-Callisthenes and other translations were carried out in the 450s and end up in the mid-480s; they influenced the works of the writers of that time Eghishe, David the Grammarian, Movses Khorenatsi and Mambre the Decipherer²⁷.

Arevshatian presents the division into periods of the Hellenophil School activities, dividing them into four periods²⁸. These translations have international value because the originals of some of them has been lost, and only the Armenian translations are known to the scientific world, as for instance, seven out of the fourteen works by Philo of Alexandria which have been preserved only in Armenian²⁹.

²⁰ Ibid: 88.

²¹ Ibid: 104.

²² Ibid: 108.

²³ Ibid: 120.

²⁴ Ibid: 120.

²⁵ Ibid: 128.

²⁶ Ibid: 158.

²⁷ Ibid: 166.

²⁸ Ibid: 186-188.

²⁹ Ibid: 151-152.

Arevshatian clarifies an important question: the time of the translation into Armenian of Plato's *Dialogues*. In his epistle addressed to Archimandrite Sarkis, Grigor Magistros, philosopher, statesman, translator, writer, pedagogue and scientist of the 11th century, writes that he has started translating Plato's *Timon* and *Phedon* dialogues, as well as the *Euclidean Geometry*³⁰.

In another epistle, addressed to two of his prominent disciples, Barsegh and Eghise, Magistros testifies that he recommended them to read Aristotle³¹. This means that the philosophy that originated in Armenia in the 5th century has already become a subject taught in advanced schools.

Sen Arevshatian considers as a basis to determine the time of translation of Plato's works their vocabulary and style, which clearly coincides with the linguistic mentality of the first half of the 6th century of the Hellenophil School and is contemporary with the Armenian versions of works by David the Invincible and Pseudo-Aristotle³².

At the same time, he notices a linguistic affiliation with earlier translations so that they could have been translated earlier³³.

Among the creators of the 5th century philosophical science, Arevshatian is giving a place, after David the Grammarian, to Movses Khorenatsi. This is not surprising because in his famous Epistle Ghazar Parpetsi names Khorenatsi «Blessed Movses the Philosopher (Khorenatsi), who, even if he was living in the flesh, was nearly a member of the heavenly army. Did not these Armenian monks persecute him from here to there?»³⁴.

In the part devoted to Khorenatsi, S. Arevshatian comes to a conclusion that is a powerful argument to prove that the Father of Armenian Historiography lived and worked in the Golden Age: «It was precisely in the 480s, when some of the feudal princes were ready for an armed struggle against the Persians, while among some other part of the society moods of despair and hopelessness appeared, Khorenatsi's *History of Armenia* was penetrated by a high spirit of patriotism and the idea of national independence»³⁵.

The last part of Arevshatian's book refers to David the Invincible, the most prominent representative of Armenian philosophical thought. Arevshatian devoted a lot of studies to this philosopher and translated his works into Russian.

In 1999, the scientist dedicated to the 1700th anniversary of the adoption of Christianity as State religion in Armenia in 2001 the publication of the *Definitions of Philosophy* of David the Invincible, his *Analysis of Porphyry's Introduction* and his *Analysis of Aristotle Analytics*.

³⁰ Ibid: 218.

³¹ Grigor Magistros 1910: 105.

³² Arevshatian 1973: 221.

³³ Ibid: 222.

³⁴ Nalbandian 1983: 320.

³⁵ Arevshatian 1973: 256.

«In the history of Armenian ancient philosophy, a most prominent role belongs to David the Invincible. His works marked a turn from ecclesiastic-theological thought to secularism, toward scientific orientation, based on antique heritage»³⁶.

David defines what philosophy is and what its role is in human life. In these issues he opposes skeptics and agnostics, who rejected the philosophy as science and the possibility of knowledge of the world³⁷.

David the Invincible puts forward six philosophical definitions, relying on the ideas of ancient classics Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, who give the ultimate idea of the notion of philosophy, the essence and significance of the subject³⁸.

The first definition is that philosophy is a science about the being; the second that philosophy is a science about the divine and the human; the third that philosophy is the thought of death; the fourth that philosophy is to be similar to God in the limits of human possibilities; the fifth that philosophy is the art of arts and the science of sciences, and finally the sixth that philosophy is the love of wisdom³⁹. Arevshatian presents separate explanations for these six definitions.

David divides the philosophy into two parts, theoretical and applied. The supreme degree of knowledge relies on human conscience, and that is philosophy, as the supreme form of intelligence knowledge, generalizing in it the whole perception of the surrounding world⁴⁰.

David the Invincible defines very correctly science and art. Science is precise, while art is flowing. According to David, philosophy helps a person to reasonably recognize and achieve divine heights by restraining himself from the beastly nature. The ultimate goal of David's philosophy is «to be similar to God in the limits of human possibilities»⁴¹.

The Neo-Platonist philosophical orientation also exists in Grigor Narekatsi's *Book of Lamentation*, in which the genius thinker laments on the remoteness of man from divine commandments. The reference to this phenomenon can be met near French illuminators, as well as near German philosopher I.Kant.

In Voltaire's articles in the *Philosophical Dictionary* we see the sharp criticism of the Christian thinker on atheists and pagans. «Atheism – defect of some intelligent people, lack of faith - defect of stupid people; and what are deceivers? Well, just deceivers»⁴². Or «The misfortune of the Romans was that they were not acquainted with the Law of Moses, and later upon the law of the disciples of our Savior Jesus

³⁶ Ibid: 269.

³⁷ Ibid: 297.

³⁸ Ibid: 298.

³⁹ Ibid: 298.

⁴⁰ Ibid: 302.

⁴¹ Ibid: 307.

⁴² Voltaire 2004: 603.

Christ, that they had no faith and mixed the supreme divine worship with Mars, Venus and Apollo, gods that did not exist»⁴³.

The concept of David the Invincible about the man being a benefactor exists in Emmanuel Kant's philosophy: «It is the duty of every human being to make charity, that is to say, to help people and to contribute to their happiness, without any hope of receiving any reward»⁴⁴.

In nominalist problems, David the Invincible is a follower of Aristotle's doctrine, followed by the late Armenian nominalist philosophers Vahram Rabuni, Hovhan Vorotnetsi, Grigor Tatevatsi. The latter followed David's views and created their own nominalist doctrine relying on it⁴⁵.

In his book *The Formation of Philosophical Science in Ancient Armenia (5th-6th centuries)* Sen Arevshatian presents the development of Armenian philosophical thought from the period of the adoption of Christianity in Armenia to the first half of the 6th century. The scientist precisely systematizes the periods of patristic philosophy, marking it's the transition of the latter to scientific philosophy. The most important achievement of this systematization is to make it evident that at the end of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century the Armenian philosophical mind was keeping pace with the philosophical thought of civilized Christian countries and in its time aspect, it was professing such progressive ideas that have not lost their relevance even today.

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FOREIGN SOURCES AND AUTHORS ABOUT ARMENIA AND ARMENIANS

Armenia
A year at Erzerum, and on the frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia.

By the Hon. Robert Curzon*
New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers. 1854.

CHAPTER XIV.
PRESENT CONDITION OF ARMENIA.

Impassable Character of the Country.-Dependence of Persia on the Czar. - Russian Aggrandizement. - Delays of the Western Powers. - Russian Acquisitions from Turkey and Persia. - Oppression of the Russian Government. - The Conscription. - Armenian Emigration. - The Armenian Patriarch. -Latent Power of the Pope. - Anomalous Aspect of religious Questions.

The description of Armenia and the adjacent districts in the foregoing pages will have sufficed to give a general idea of the many difficulties to be encountered by those whose business leads them through this inhospitable region, where they meet with impediments at every step, from the lofty mountains traversed by roads accessible only to mules and horses, the extreme cold of the high passes and elevated plains, the impossibility of obtaining provisions, and the savage character of the Koords and other wandering tribes who roam over this wild country. If a traveler, accompanied by a few followers, and assisted by firmans from the Sultan, finds this journey arduous in the extreme, how much more so must it prove to the general in command of an army, with many thousand men to provide for, with artillery and heavy baggage to encumber his march, on roads inaccessible to carriages or wheeled vehicles of any kind! and if to these is added an enemy on the alert to cut off supplies, to harass the long, straggling line of march, and to attack the passing army in narrow defiles from behind rocks, and from the summits of precipices, where they are safe from molestation, it will be understood that the difficulties presenting themselves to military operations in these regions are almost insuperable. It is the inaccessible nature of Circassia, even more than the bravery of its inhabitants, which has enabled them to resist the overwhelming power of Russia for so many years. On the approach to Erzerum these difficulties increase. From Georgia, Persia, and Trebizond, there is no other city or entrepot where

* Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche (16 March 1810 - 2 August 1873), was an English diplomat and traveller. In 1842-1843 Curzon was joint British Commissioner in Erzurum as part of the British-Turkish-Persian-Russian boundary commission sitting to delineate the Turkish and Persian frontier.

The passages extracted from the account of his long-termed stay at Erzurum are devoted mainly to Armenians, their political history, church, and script, including manuscripts (Preface and pp.191-253). Although the sources used by the author are not cited and several suggestions contradict to modern scholarship, the book of R. Curzon submits new details to the understanding of the Armenian history and culture several decades before the tragic early XX century.

an army could rest to lay in stores and collect supplies for a campaign, with the exception of Erzeroum, which is the centre or key to all these districts. If it was strongly fortified, as it should be, or was, at any rate, in the occupation of an active, intelligent government, the power who possessed it would hold the fate of that part of Asia in its hands.

No caravans could pass, no mercantile speculations could be carried on, and no large bodies of troops could march without its permission. They would, in all probability, perish from the rigors of the climate if they were not assisted, even without the necessity of attacking them by force of arms. At this moment, the greater part of the artillery of the Turkish army is, I believe, buried under the snow in one of the ravines between Beyboort and Erzeroum from whence it has no chance of being rescued till next summer. It was the impassable character of country, and the treacherous habits of the robber tribes of Koordistan, which made the retreat of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand through the same regions the wonderful event which it has been always considered. While this is the case of the elevated lands and mountains, the valleys which surround the snowy regions are absolutely pestiferous: in many of them no one can sleep one night without danger of fever, frequently ending in death. The port, or roadstead, of Batoum is so unhealthy as to be utterly uninhabitable to strangers during all the hot season of the year. I wish to draw attention to these circumstances, in order to explain the almost impossibility of dispossessing any power which had already obtained a firm footing in this district; and it is in order to fix herself firmly in this important post that Russia is now advancing in that direction, with a perfect knowledge of the advantages to be derived from this barren and unfruitful region, while she has the advantage of being able to send supplies to her forces by the Caspian Sea; for, once within her grasp, Persia is no longer independent; and, fettered as she is by her Russian debt, and what, in private affairs, would be called her heavy mortgage on her only valuable provinces on the shores of the Caspian-Geilaun and Mazenderaun - she must sink into the state of a vassal kingdom, subject to the commands of her superior lord the Czar.

The sum she owes to Russia is said to be about two millions sterling; far more than she could ever raise at a short notice, while she would receive no assistance in war from any of the neighboring Sooni tribes, whose religious feelings are so much opposed to the Sheahs; therefore, unless supported by Great Britain, Persia is now almost at the mercy of Russia. Russia is altogether a military power, and, as in the Dark Ages, the Czar and his nobles affect to despise the mercantile class, and, instead of doing what they can to promote industry and commerce, by opening communications, making roads and harbors, establishing steamers on rivers, and giving facility to the interchange of various commodities, the productions of distant quarters of her own enormous empire, she throws every obstacle in the way of her internal trade, and by heavy import duties, exactions of many oppressive kinds, and the universal plunder and cheating carried on by all the government officials in the lower grades of employment, she has paralyzed both her foreign and domestic resources. The Czar prefers to buy his

own aggrandizement with the blood of his confiding subjects, to the more honorable and less cruel course of enriching his empire by the extension of his commercial relations abroad, and the development of the peaceful arts, industry, science, and general improvement of the nations subjected to his rule. If it was not for this utter disregard of commerce, and the undivided attention of the Russian government to everything connected with military glory, the navigation of the great rivers would have poured many more roubles into the treasury of St. Petersburg than will be gained by any territorial accessions previous to the taking of Constantinople. Even under present circumstances, it is wonderful that a canal has not been made from Tzaritzin, on the Volga, to the nearest point upon the Don, a distance of not more than thirty miles, for by this means the silk of the northern provinces of Persia would be brought with the greatest facility into the Black Sea. In a mercantile point of view, Russia would gain more by the construction of that canal by the conquest of Armenia, for it would enable her to develop the great resources of Geilaun and Mazenderann, virtually belonging to her at this moment. The trade which in former times enriched the famous cities of Bokhara and Samarkand would be carried by caravans through Khiva, either now, or soon to be, the head-quarters of a Russian governor; from thence they would, with any encouragement, pass on their rich bales of merchandise to the Russian posts of Karagan, or Krasnovodsk, on the eastern shores of the Caspian, or to Asterabad on the south, and at these ports, now unknown to European navigators, ships might be laden which would discharge their cargoes at Liverpool, St. Petersburg, or New York.

I have said above that Russia has but little to gain by her territorial conquests in Asiatic Turkey until she takes Constantinople. I say this because, if things are permitted by the Western Powers to continue as they have done for some years, the Czar will most certainly be enthroned in the capital of the Byzantine emperors, principally by the assistance of England and France. It is a question only of time: for that the Patriarch of Constantinople will give his blessing to the Christian emperor under the dome of St. Sofia sooner or later, and before many years have passed, have hardly any doubt; and when once fairly seated on that throne, the Powers of Europe will not shake him in his seat. The acquisition of the Crimea, with the strong naval arsenal of Sevastopol, gave the Czar the command of the Black Sea. The wonderful business of Navarino, where the English and French admirals fought his battle for him, and crippled his enemy and their own ancient ally for many a year, was the next important step. The third seems to be taking place at this moment, if indeed sufficient advantages have not been gained already to suffice for the present emergency. It matters little whether Russia does or does not retain the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, which she has several times occupied before; she has almost drained the treasury of her enemy, now straining every nerve to avert the impending evil. Turkey will hardly be able to support the expenses of the war for any length of time from her own resources. Even if a diplomatic peace is concluded, it will, in fact, amount only to a truce, during which the Czar will have time to strengthen his position, and prepare his forces for another and a more vigorous assault

on the first convenient opportunity which occurs, from any dissension which may arise between the leading powers of the West; and the Sultan, having received nothing from his ancient allies but fair words, will be less able to defend himself than he is at present.

The greatest of blessings in this world is peace, and everything should be done to avoid the breaking out of war, with all the horrors and sufferings which" are brought upon mankind by that dreadful scourge. I think it was the Duke of Wellington who said that, next to a defeat, the most awful of all calamities was a victory. Every endeavor should be made to secure the happiness of peace. To those, however, who have no further means of information than what they read in newspapers, it would seem that, while we might have put out the candle, we have waited till the chimney is on fire, if not the house itself, and then who can tell how far and wide the conflagration may extend?

If England and France had shown a determined front, and informed the Czar that, being bound by treaty to preserve the integrity of the Turkish empire, they should consider the passage of the Pruth by one Russian armed man as a violation of that treaty and a declaration of war, and that they should act accordingly without delay, in all probability no war would have commenced, no blood would have been shed, no ruinous expenses would have been incurred. War having commenced, heavy and exhausting sums of money have been drawn from the treasury of the Sultan. When the ice set in upon the Baltic, what was to prevent the allied fleet from taking possession of the stores of corn, and occupying or destroying the city of Odessa? Sevastopol, impregnable by sea, is not-or was not two years ago, and, I believe, at this day is not-defensible on the land side. The Bay of Streleskaia offers a convenient landing-place about three miles in the rear of the fortifications of the arsenal, where a Turkish army might be brought in two days from Constantinople to try its fortunes with the Russian force; or, if that was not judged expedient, Sevastapol could have been blockaded till some advantageous terms were gained for our ally. Failing this, a French army, convoyed and assisted by their own and our fleets, would have settled the question without doubt, and may do so still; but, unless an indemnity for the expenses of the war is exacted from Russia for her most unjust and unjustifiable aggression, very little advantage will be gained for Turkey, a great step will have been accomplished by the Czar, and the possession of the Crimea almost insures him the possession of Constantinople some day, perhaps at no very distant period. The restoration of the Crimea to the Turkish empire would, I imagine, be the only means of checking the advance of Russia in that direction. This, accompanied by a forced treaty, releasing Persia from her usurious debt, would restrain the encroachments of the Czar within certain bounds for some years to come. The present aspect of affairs in the East becomes more alarming every day. If negotiations are protracted till the ice of the Baltic melts in the spring or early summer, things will assume a much more grave appearance, and it will depend on many circumstances over which we have no control where the conflagration then may spread and where the war will end.

It is impossible to look back upon the history of Russia for the last 150 years without admiration and astonishment at the enormous strides which have been made by the giants of the north since that period. When Peter the Great acceded to the throne of Muscovy, there was no maritime outlet to his empire excepting in the icy shores of the Northern Ocean. The ground on which the metropolis of St. Petersburg now stands was not in the possession of Russia till the year 1721. Since the year 1774 Russia has acquired, quite in the memory of man, a territory from Turkey equal in extent to the whole empire of Austria, and much larger than the present possessions of the Turks in Europe. The following table of the progress of the Russian arms in the East will show at a glance how rapidly and steadily she has extended her power, her grasping hand, and her outstretched arm in that direction; and it can not be expected that, when she has rested and strengthened herself, and consolidated her resources in her newly-acquired territories, she will be prevented by any slight obstacle from farther aggrandizement.

RUSSIAN ACQUISITIONS FROM TURKEY.

Country to the north of the Crimea	1774
The Crimea	1783
Country round Odessa.....	1792
Country between the Sea of Azof and the Caspian, at the same period as the Crimea.....	1783
Besarabia.....	1812

RUSSIAN ACQUISITIONS FROM PERSIA

Mingrelia, on the Black Sea	1802
Immeritia, the same year	1802
Akalzik	1829
Georgia	1814
Ganja	1803
Karabaugh	1805
Erivan, Mount Ararat, and Etchmiazin	1828
Sheki.....	1805
Shirvan.....	1806
Talish, on the Caspian	1812

Few of these conquered or deluded nations have been able to bear the intolerable oppression of the Russian government, arising from the insolence of the petty employés, and more particularly the dreadful scourge of the conscription, by the aid of which, at any moment, children are remorselessly torn forever from their parents, whose sole support they were; families are on a sudden divided; one half sent off no

one knows whither, never to meet again; none of these unhappy slaves knowing whether it will be their lot to become soldiers or sailors; but, in either case, they are driven off, like beasts, in flocks, by cruel, savage tyrants, who steal, as a matter of course, the money provided by the superior government for the food of the despairing conscripts, while they-brutal and drunken though they may are distinguished for their love of home, and the affection and respect they bear for their parents.

The Nogai Tatars abandoned the Christian religion, and too refuge in the territories of the Khan of the Crimea, becoming Mohammedans in hopes of obtaining the protection of the milder rule of Turkey.

In 1771 a still more extraordinary event took place. The Kalmuks, a people who had emigrated from the frontiers of China, unable to endure the insults and oppressions of the Russian tyranny, made up their minds to return to the dominions of the Celestial Empire, from whence their ancestors had originally come. They fought their way through all the hostile tribes intervening between them, and their whole nation arrived safely under the wing of the Emperor of China, who afforded them protection, and gave them great tracts of land for the pasture of their flocks and herds. The ambassador of the Empress Catharine, who had been dispatched to desire the surrender of the fugitive tribe, and-as at this day in Turkey-to demand a "renewal of treaties" between the two countries, received the following answer from the court of Pekin: "Let your mistress learn to keep old treaties, and then it will be time to apply for new ones;" an answer which might have been given in our day to Prince Menschikoff, who was lucky in meeting with a milder reception at Constantinople than his predecessor received from the stout old mandarin at Pekin.

In the year 1829, Kars, Bayazeed, Van, Moush, Erzeroum, and Beyboort (which is coming very near) were occupied by the Russians, who evacuated that portion of the Turkish empire on the conclusion of the treaty of Adrianople. Trusting to the protestations of a Christian emperor, sixty-nine thousand Christian Armenian families were beguiled into the folly of leaving Mohammedan dominions, and sitting in peace under the paternal protection of the Czar. Over their ruined houses I have ridden, and surveyed with sorrow their ancient churches in the valleys of Armenia, desecrated and injured, as far as their solid construction permitted, by the sacrilegious hands of the Russian soldiers, who tried to destroy those temples of their own religion which the Turks had spared, and under whose rule many of the more recent had been rebuilt on their old foundations. The greater part of these Armenians perished from want and starvation; the few who survived this sharp lesson have since been endeavoring, by every means in their power, to return to the lesser evils of the frying-pan of Turkey, from whence they had leaped into the fire of despotic Russia.

By the treaty of Turkomanchai, 1828, the Czar became possessed of Persian Armenia, of which the capital is Erivan. In this district are contained the two great objects of Armenian veneration, Etchmiazin -and Mount Ararat. This noble snowy mountain takes the place, in the estimation of the Armenians, that Mount Sinai and

Mount Zion do among the followers of other Christian sects.

The foolish legends which disgrace the purity of true religion usually relate to the object of local tradition which may be met with in the neighborhood of the monastery; consequently an attack of indigestion in an Armenian monk generally produces a vision of some nonsensical revelation about Noah's ark, which is still supposed to remain, hidden to mortal eye, under the clouds and snows of Mount Ararat.

Etchmiazin is an ancient fortified monastery, within whose walls resides the Patriarch of the Armenian Church, the spiritual head of that body, and who is looked up to indeed as the temporal chief of that scattered nation whose industrious children are settled in India, Constantinople, and in many other parts of the world, so that those who live and thrive abroad are much more numerous and more wealthy than those who reside in Armenia itself. The possession, therefore, of the person and residence of the Patriarch is a fact of no small importance in the history of Russian advancement. To undertake a pilgrimage to Etchmiazin is a meritorious act among the professors of the Armenian faith; and the influence exercised over the Patriarch is diffused, through the obedient medium of bishops, priests, and deacons, through all parts of Turkey, and many of the cities of India, to an extent which would surprise those who never have troubled themselves with the affairs of the Armenian jeweler or silver-smith in an Eastern bazaar, for they are almost invariably dealers in jewels and precious metals; or serafs, bankers, among the native population; a position which renders their influence of no small consequence in every city where they reside. By these means, among others, the political interest of the Czar is nourished and extended on the Persian Gulf, at Bombay, Bushire, Madras, and many another place, in the same manner as the sway and power of the Roman pontiff is upheld, and that by no weak and trembling hand, in Ireland, England, London, and the House of Commons. And yet we pretend that there is no such power as the See of Rome; we ignore the existence of the Pope, and sneer at the prince of a petty Italian state supported by French bayonets, who is in that rotten and decaying state that we or our children are to see his end.

But my belief is, that the power of Rome is by no means in a falling state, nor would it be so even if the rule of some band of miscreants usurped for a little while the misgovernment of the Eternal City. The power of the Pope is now, at this moment, one of the greatest upon the earth; and as irreligion and *dissent* increase, so will the most wonderfully clever institution of the temporal power of the Roman Church increase. Its minute and marvelous organization, the perfect understanding and subordination of the inferior to the superior officer, its fixed and certain purpose, give the Pope the command over such a united and well-disciplined army of trained and fearless soldiers as never could be brought together by Caesar, or Napoleon, or our own old Duke. The peace of Europe in this direction arises not from the slightest want of power or means on the part of the See of Rome, but from the jealousy of the body in whose hands the election of the Supreme Pontiff lies. For many years they have elected a good old monk, who has passed his whole life in a state of supreme ignorance of the world in general, and

the whole art of government in particular. In his hands the mighty power at his command remains inert - a slumbering volcano. But should the ivory chair of St. Peter ever sustain the weight of a young and energetic man of genius, with some years of life before him, no one would laugh at the tottering state of Rome.

As for the petty principality of a state in Italy, I have been told, in the Pope's own ante-room, that it is a burden to him. His extended sway does not depend on the doubtful loyalty of half a dozen regiments of Italians, or on the more honest obedience of two or three thousand Swiss guards, but on the hearts and hands of many millions, who look up to him as their spiritual superior at all times, and their temporal superior; whom they are bound to obey in opposition to all other sovereigns, when anything occurs "*ad maiorem Dei gloriam*," and for the advancement of the Church of Rome.

A power such as this, which in our trafficking and money-making country is thought little of a power such as this lies dormant, in the hands of the Grand Lama of Thibet, whose followers form almost half of all mankind-in those of the Patriarch of Constantinople-and to an inferior degree in those of the Patriarch of Etchmiazin. They are all paralyzed and quiescent from the same cause, namely, that the chiefs of these mighty institutions are old, ignorant men, whose minds have not the energy, or their hands the power, to work the tremendous engine committed to their care. That the Czar is perfectly aware of the uses to be made of the religious feelings of the inhabitants of other governments to further his own ends, we see from the numerous magnificent presents ostentatiously forwarded by him to churches in Greece and Turkey, where the monks and priests by these means are gained over to his interests. From his generous hand, extended to the borders of the Adriatic, about £5000 are annually dropped into the poor-box of that truculent specimen of the church militant, the Vladica of Montenegro. But the Czar is not an aged monk; he is not wanting in energy or strength; and he will not fail to pull the strings which hang loosely in the hands of the Armenian patriarch. If he pulls them evenly and well, he will advance his interests far and wide, even in the dominions of other princes, who may hardly be aware of the influence exercised in their states from a source so distant and unobtrusive. The danger in his case is, that he may use too great violence, and break the strings from too severe a tension, raising the storm against himself which he intended to direct against others. However this may be, the power of which he holds the reins is one which may be used for the advancement of the greatest or the most ignoble ends. For the most sublime and glorious actions, the most heroic and the most infernal deeds that have ever been accomplished by mankind, have been occasioned by the awakening of religious zeal, or by the fanaticism of religious hatred, from the earliest days, when the pen of history was first dipped in blood.

Nothing can be more anomalous than the present aspect of religious questions. The Christian Emperor of Russia is at this moment exciting the minds of his subjects to make war upon the infidel; and his armies march under the impression that they undertake a new crusade. Yet this crusade is carried on in direct contradiction to truth,

justice, honor, and every principle of the Christian religion, whose pure and sacred precepts are violated at every turn. On the other hand, the Mohammedan, or infidel, as he is called, displays, under the most difficult and insulting circumstances, the highest Christian virtues of integrity, moderation, and strict adherence to his word in treaties granted by himself or his predecessors; at the same time, the armies of the upright Sultan are commanded by a Christian renegade who has abjured his faith, and yet he fights against the Christian power in a righteous cause.

The terrible revolution which is the cause of such awful scenes of bloodshed and atrocities in China is carried on under the name of our merciful and just Savior, whose mild religion these rebels against their sovereign affect to follow.

The savage atrocities of the Holy Inquisition, the cruel massacres by the Spaniards in America, were perpetrated by men who made a cloak of the benevolent precepts of the Gospel for the perpetration of the most brutal crimes.

Those times we thought were past, but human nature is the same; and where the light of the Christianity has penetrated, we find a period of wonderful intelligence and appreciation of the truths of the doctrines of our Lord in some places; in others, where a nominal Christianity alone prevails, actions are committed by men in the highest stations which would disgrace the records of the Dark Ages.

CHAPTER XV.

Ecclesiastical History. - Supposed Letter of Abgarus, King of Edessa, to our Savior, and the Answer. - Promulgation and Establishment of Christianity. - Labors of Mesrob Maschdots. - Separation of the Armenian Church from that of Constantinople. - Hierarchy and religious Establishments. - Superstition of the Lower Classes. - Sacerdotal Vestments. - The Holy Books. - Romish Branch of the Church. - Labors of Mechitar. - His Establishment near Venice. - Diffusion of the Scriptures.

The ruins of Ani to this day attest the magnificence and antiquity of former dynasties which long since reigned and passed away in the highlands of Armenia. In the time of Cyrus, according to Moses of Chorene, the historian of that country in the sixteenth century, Greek statues of Jupiter, Artemis (Diana), Minerva, Hephæstion, and Venus, were brought to Ani and placed in the citadel of that town. Here the treasures and the sepulchres of the ancient kings were preserved in a fortress deemed by them impregnable. I will not pause to disentangle the records of Armenia before the time of our Savior, for even during the life of our Lord the annals of Armenia become remarkably interesting as connected with his holy faith, and the rise and progress of Christianity in the countries immediately adjoining the sacred soil of Palestine. Abgarus, king of Edessa, and sovereign of great part of Armenia, with the adjoining countries, is said by Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, the early historian of the Church, who flourished in the fourth century, to have written a letter to his court and to cure him of a disease under which he labored. The following is a translation of the letter which Abgarus is said to have written to our Lord:

"ABGARUS, King of Edessa, to JESUS the good Savior, who appeareth at Jerusalem, greeting:

"I have been informed concerning thee and thy cures, which are performed without the use of medicines or of herbs.

"For it is reported that thou dost cause the blind to see, the lame to walk, that thou dost cleanse the lepers, and dost cast out unclean spirits and devils, and dost restore to health those who have been long diseased, and also that thou dost raise the dead.

"All which when I heard I was persuaded of one of these two things:

"Either that thou art God himself descended from heaven;

"Or that thou art the Son of God.

"On this account, therefore, I have written unto thee, earnestly desiring that thou wouldst trouble thyself to take a journey hither, and that thou wilt also cure me of the disease under which I suffer.

"For I fear that Jews hold thee in derision, and intend to do thee harm.

"My city is indeed small, but it is sufficient to contain us both."

In the history of Moses of Chorene, this letter begins with the words "Abgar, the son of Archam," but the substance of it is the same as the above, which is taken from the pages of Eusebius, who lived a century earlier than Moses of Chorene. This author ascribes the answer to St. Thomas the Apostle, who was deputed to write an answer to the above in these words:

"Happy art thou, O Abgarus, forasmuch as thou hast believed in me whom thou hast not seen.

"For it is written concerning me, that those who have seen me have not believed on me, that those who have not seen me might believe and live.

"As to that part of thine epistle which relates to my visiting thee, I must inform thee that I must fulfill the ends of my mission in this land, and after that be received up again unto Him that sent me; but after my ascension I will send one of my disciples, who will cure thy disease, and give life unto thee and all that are with thee."

These two letters are generally considered to be forgeries, although they are mentioned by some of the earliest historians of the Church.

Some years ago I was informed, while at Alexandria, that a papyrus had been discovered in Upper Egypt, in an ancient tomb; it was inclosed in a coarse earthenware vase, and it contained the letter from Abgarus to our Savior, written either in Coptic or uncial Greek characters. The answer of St. Thomas was said not to be with it. I was told that the manuscript afterward came into the possession -of the King of Holland, but I have no means at present of ascertaining the truth of the story, or the antiquity of the papyrus of which it forms the subject.

The seeds of the Christian faith were sown in Armenia by the apostles St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas. According to Tertullian (adv. Judæos, c. 7), a Christian Church flourished there in the second century. St. Blaise and other bishops suffered martyrdom in different parts of Armenia during the persecution of Diocletian, about the year 310.

To St. Gregory, the Illuminator, is due the honor of having established Christianity in this region, and he is known by the title of the Apostle of Armenia. Toward the middle of the third century, having been himself a convert from Paganism, he first preached the doctrines of our Lord among the mountains of his native land. He had received his education at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where he was baptized. The zeal with which he was animated gave irresistible force to his words, and the people flocked to him in great multitudes, and were baptized by his hands. The King Tiridates, a violent persecutor of the Christians, touched by the piety and virtues of St. Gregory, embraced the Christian faith, and, with his .queen and his sister, received the sacrament of baptism in the 16th year of his reign, A.D. 274, and became the first Christian King of Armenia. St. Gregory was consecrated bishop by St. Leontius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, and continued his labors in propagating the faith all over Armenia, Georgia, and the nations living on the borders of the Caspian Sea. From this circumstance it became the custom for the Primate of Armenia to receive his consecration from the Archbishop of Cæsarea,

which continued to be the practice for several centuries. St. Gregory died in the year 336, in a cave to which he had retired, desiring to end his days as an anchorite, according to a custom much observed in the fourth century.

In those disturbed and unsettled times the religion of our Savior alternately rose and prospered, or was oppressed by the persecutions of various governors under the Emperors of Rome. Numerous heresies distracted the minds of the priesthood, and confused the doctrines of the Armenian Church. About the year 390 rose the most celebrated man in the history of this country: his name was Mesrob Maschdots. This personage was born in the town of Hatse Katz-Avan, in the province of Daron: he had been secretary to the Patriarch Narses, and to the Prince Varastad, who was dethroned by the Romans in the year 382. In the year 390, in conjunction with the Armenian Patriarch Sahag, he occupied himself in the extinction of the idolatry which still prevailed, and was the first person who arranged the forms of the Armenian liturgy.

Before this time the Armenian language had no written character; the inhabitants of the eastern districts used the Persian alphabet, while those of the west wrote in the Syriac character. Mesrob either restored the ancient Armenian letters according to the historian Moses of Chorene, who gives a long miraculous account of the event, or he invented an entirely new alphabet - a solitary instance, I believe, of such an undertaking having been accomplished by one man. The present Armenian letters were adopted by the commands of Bahram Schahpoor over the whole of that country in the year 406. The first complete version of the Bible was now arranged and promulgated by Mesrob, and written on parchment in his new characters; numerous copies of it were distributed to the churches and monasteries of Armenia, and the important circumstance of their being now able to read the Holy Scriptures in their own language tended to preserve their faith, and to unite them as a nation during the continual troubles and adversities which they have suffered ever since. This great benefactor to his country died in the year 441.

The Armenian hierarchy had till now been a branch of the Greek Church, but, unable to read their liturgy, troubled with diversities of opinion, and oppressed first by one neighboring tyrant and then by another, this helpless nation finally settled down into the heresy of Eutyches, and, under the guidance of their patriarch, separated themselves from the Church of Constantinople. They believe that the body of our Savior was created, or else existed without creation, a divine and incorruptible substance, not subject to the infirmities of the flesh. This schism took place about the year 535.

The Armenian era commences in the year 552, from which epoch their manuscripts and calendar are dated. The custom continues to the present day. By the council of Tibena in 554, they were confirmed in their persistence in the Eutychian heresy. The council of Trullo, 692, and the council of Jerusalem, 1143, condemned the errors of the Armenians. In the fourteenth century, Pope John XXII. sent a Dominican friar, called Bartholomew the Little, into that distant region, with several colleagues, to preach the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Bartholomew was consecrated bishop (of

Nakchevan?), and since that time the archbishop of that province has, with all his dependencies, continued a member of the Roman Church. The thunders of the Lateran have often since been directed against the perseverance of these distant heretics, but they have been of no avail.

The Patriarch of Armenia resides at Etchmiazin. He is styled Catholicos, and holds under his sway for-ty-seven archbishops, of whom the greater part are titular, having no jurisdiction or dignity beyond their titles; many of these reside in the monastery, and form a sort of court around their spiritual lord the Patriarch. They seem to hold the same position as the Monsignores of the court of Rome. Above the titular and actual archbishops are three Patriarchs, whose seats are at Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Diarbekir. The number of bishops and episcopal sees is very considerable, but I have not been able to enumerate them. The monasteries are also very numerous, and are scattered all over the mountains of Armenia, the islands of Lake Van, and other places in Persia, Georgia, and Turkey.

The ancient monasteries of their own land are of a peculiar construction; remarkable for the diminutive proportions of the churches and the small size of the monastic buildings, as well as their massive strength and the great squared stones of which they are built. They are little fortresses, and seem always to have been very poor, though some are larger and more wealthy, comparatively, than the generality. They have been erected to resist the incursions of the Saracens, Knights Templars, Koords, Turks, and Persians, who, from time to time, overran this abject principality. Their massive strength alone has saved them from being pulled down and utterly destroyed; the time necessary for such an operation could not be spared during the inroad of a chappow, or plundering expedition. Nothing worth stealing remains in the various monasteries which I have visited. A few dirty and imperfect church-books, some faded vestments and poor furniture for the altar, and the cells of three or four peasant-monks, were all the wealth that they displayed. Very few appear to have contained a library—none that I have seen. Their manuscripts were written in former days at Edeesa, Etchmiazin (which is a more extensive fabric), Tellis, Ooroomia, Tabriz, and other cities, and not usually in these outposts among the mountains. The little monastery of Kuzzul Vank possesses one ancient manuscript of the Holy Scriptures, written in the year, as far as I can remember, 422, which, if it refers to the Armenian era, would be 974; it is written in uncial letters, on vellum, in a small, thick quarto form.

Ignorance and superstition contend for the mastery among the lower classes of Armenia, whose religion shows that tendency to sink into a kind of idolatry which is common among other branches of the Church of Christ in warmer climates. The following anecdote will explain my meaning in advancing such a charge. One of my servants had a bad toothache; he was a Roman Catholic of Smyrna; he made a vow to present an offering to the shrine of St. George at Smyrna if his toothache was cured by the mediation of that saint, but the pain still continued. A friend of his at Erzeroom advised him to vow a silver mouth to St. George of Erzeroom; "for," he said, "St. George

of Smyrna is a Roman saint, and, of course, he can have no authority here; but our St. George is an Armenian, and he will hear your prayer." The advice was taken: a silver mouth was vowed to St. George of Erzeroum, and the toothache ceased immediately, the servant firmly believing that he had been cured by this saint, who, he considered, was another person, and not the same as St. George of Smyrna, and that his picture here was more powerful in working miracles than the others. In the same manner, the pictures or images of Our Lady of Loretto, Guadalupe, or del Pilar are believed to be endowed with peculiar powers, and are, in fact, worshiped for their own merits, and not for what they represent.

A curious episode in the history of Armenia took place in the time of Shah Abbas the Great, who established a colony of the natives of that province at Julfa, a village near Isfahan. He gave them many privileges and immunities, which a remnant of their descendants enjoy still. The forms and ceremonies of their worship resemble those of the Greek Church, from which they are derived. Their vestments are the same, or nearly so: and here I will remark that the sacred vestures of the Christian Church are the same, with very insignificant modifications, among every denomination of Christians in the world; that they have always been the same, and never were otherwise in any country, from the remotest times when we have any written accounts of them, or any mosaics, sculptures, or pictures to explain their forms. They are no more a Popish invention, or have anything more to do with the Roman Church, than any other usage which is common to all denominations of Christians. They are, and always have been, of general and universal - that is, of catholic-use; they have never been used for many centuries for ornament or dress by the laity, having been considered as set apart to be used only by priests in the church during the celebration of the worship of Almighty God. These ancient vestures have been worn by the bishops, priests, and deacons of that, in common with the hierarchy of every other Church. In England they have fallen into disuse by neglect; King Charles I. presented some vestments to the Cathedral of Durham long after the Reformation, and they continued in use there almost in the memory of man.

The parish priests of the Armenian religion are, I believe, permitted, if not obliged, to marry, as is the case in the Greek and Russian Churches; but they cannot, so long as their wife survives, be promoted to any of the higher orders of the hierarchy. Bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs are elected out of the monastic bodies who take the vows of celibacy; their fasts are long and rigorous, their food simple, and their style of life severe; their time is almost entirely taken up with the services of religion, and, as a general rule, their ignorance is extreme.

In their doctrine of the Holy Trinity, they believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone; that Christ descended into hell, from whence he reprieved the souls of sinners till the day of judgment; that the souls of the righteous will not be admitted to the beatific vision till after the resurrection, notwithstanding which they invoke them in their prayers. They make use of pictures in their churches, but not of images; they use

confession to the priests, and administer the Eucharist in both kinds.

In baptism they plunge the child three times in water, apply the chrism with consecrated oil prepared only by the Patriarch. They also touch the child's lips with the Eucharist, which consists of unleavened bread sopped in wine.

The Holy Scriptures contain more books than those of the Western Churches. In the Old Testament, after the Book of Genesis, occurs The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Sons of Jacob; then The History of Joseph and of his wife Asenath; The Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach. After these the order of the scriptural books succeeds as with us. In the New Testament, after St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, we find the Epistle of the Corinthians to St. Paul, which is followed by St. Paul's Third Epistle to the Corinthians. The remainder of the New Testament is the same as ours.

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, are well known; but I am not aware that the Book of Asenath has been printed in any European language. This curious book was translated into Italian, from an ancient Armenian manuscript of the Bible in my possession, by an Armenian friend, and translated from the Italian into English by myself: this I presume to be the only copy of the Book of Asenath in the English language. It is a work of considerable length, and is interesting, not only from the place it holds in the estimation of a numerous body of Christians, but also from the picture it presents of the manners and customs of Egypt, at some remote period when it was written. Several passages in it indicate that it must have been composed when what may be called the classic style of life was still in use. Whether it was included among the number of the sacred books collected by Mesrob I do not know: in that case it would date as far back as the fourth century after Christ, a period prolific in apocryphal books, several of which were forged about that time to support the authority of the various heresiarchs who promulgated their opinions in many countries of the East, and who, being unable to produce texts from the accepted books of the Sacred Scriptures which would prove the truth of their doctrines, invented others more suitable to their own purposes, and written more in accordance with their views.

The Epistle from the Corinthians to St. Paul, and the answer from the great apostle, is of a higher class, and bears much resemblance to his other Epistles. It has been published among Lord Byron's works. He took a few lessons in Armenian from Father Pasquale Aucher; a monk of the monastery of St. Lazarus, at Venice, a man of extraordinary learning, who speaks most of the European languages, as well as Turkish, Armenian, and other Oriental tongues. He translated these Epistles into English, with the assistance of Lord Byron.

The Roman Catholic branch of the Armenian Church has done much more for literature and civilization than the original body. Few Catholics are found in Armenia itself, excepting at Erzeroom and other cities, where a remnant remain, while at Constantinople a great number of the higher and wealthier Armenians give their adherence to that creed. Their minds are more enlarged, they are less Oriental in their ideas, being usually considered as half Franks by their more Eastern brethren. Their

churches bear a great resemblance to those of other Catholics, but they retain their own language in their ritual, with many of the forms and ceremonies of the Oriental Church. The Armenian Patriarch, with his long beard, and crown instead of a mitre, is one of the picturesque figures to whom attention is drawn in the ceremonies of the Holy Week at Rome, where there is a college for the education of priests of their nation. They have another college at Constantinople, and several handsome churches; but the most important establishment of this branch of their religion is that of the convent or monastery on the island of St. Lazarus, near Venice.

This society, as they themselves call it, was founded by Mechitar, an Armenian, who was born at Sebaste, in Lesser Armenia, in 1676. He received holy orders from the Bishop Ananias, superior of the convent of the Holy Cross, near Sebaste. He afterward studied in the convent of Passen, near Erzeroom, and at another on the island on Lake Van. His wish was to remain in the great monastery of Etchmiazin, to which place he traveled, but, finding no opportunities of study at the seat of the Patriarch, he proceeded to Constantinople, where he afterward founded a small society, of a monastic kind, at Pera, in the year 1700.

In the year 1708 he established a church and monastic society at Modon in the Morea, then under the government of Venice; but the Turks having taken that place, his companions were made prisoners and sold for slaves. He, with some others, escaped to Venice, where he received a grant, in the year 1717, from the Signory, of a small deserted island in the Lagunas, originally the property of the Benedictine order, who established a hospital for lepers there in 1180. In this island he set up a printing-press about the year 1730, for the production of Armenian religious books; and he had the satisfaction of seeing his convent increase in comfort, wealth, and respectability before his death, which took place on the 27th of April, 1749.

So high was the character of this establishment for usefulness and good conduct, that in 1810, when other monastic establishments were suppressed at Venice, the abbot of St. Lazaro received a peculiar decree, granting him and his community all the privileges of their former independence. So high also has been the character of this society since that time, that it has been usual for the Pope to confer upon each new abbot the title and dignity of Archbishop, although he has no province or bishops under him. The service they have rendered to their countrymen is very great: they have at present five printing-presses, from whence every year proceed numerous volumes of religious and historical character, as well as school-books, and a newspaper in the Armenian language. These are mostly sold at Constantinople, and among the scattered societies of their nation. The funds produced from this source enable them to establish a considerable school or college at Venice, and to send literary missionaries, as they may be called, to collect manuscripts and historical notices among the barren mountains of Armenia. Of these they make good use, compiling, from imperfect and mutilated fragments, authentic histories of their country; printing the almost hitherto lost

and unknown works of ancient Armenian authors, and distributing copies of the Holy Scriptures among their brethren in the wasted and benighted land of their fathers.

They printed the Armenian Bible in the year 1805; and, entirely by their energy, the small spark which alone glimmered in the darkness of Armenian ignorance in the East has gradually increased its light into a feeble ray, which now, seen faintly through the mist, draws every now and then the attention of some one endowed by nature with more intelligence than the rest, and incites him to inquire into those truths the rumors of whose existence had only reached him hitherto. Slowly enough, but we trust surely, the good work prospers: when curiosity and interest are awakened, the mind turns naturally to the sources from which information may be gained. The Holy Gospels, the New Testament, and, in some places, the whole Bible, may now be procured at a comparatively trifling expense; the leaven, once introduced, sooner or later will leaven the whole mass; truth and common sense will dissipate the clouds which ignorance and superstition have gathered over the face of the land, and the light of true religion will arise to set no more.

CHAPTER XVI.

Modern division of Armenia.-Population.-Manners and Customs of the Christians.-
Superiority of the Mohammedans.

THE country which was called Armenia in ancient times is now divided into two portions; the smaller of the two belongs to Persia, but the larger part is contained in the Turkish province or pashalik of Erzeroom. It does not possess any communication with the sea, and is a wild and mountainous district. Although not of any high importance for mercantile productions, it has continually been an object of jealousy to the neighboring empires of Persia and Byzantium-or, in our time, Persia and Turkey - from the high road between those empires necessarily passing through it; the power of cutting off supplies, and permitting the passage of caravans laden with the rich productions of other lands, being vested in the hands of the military governor of Erzeroom. The number of inhabitants of this pashalik is estimated at 1,000,000; there were probably more in earlier times. The principal cities are- Erzeroom, the capital, containing about 30,000 souls. The population of Kars is considered to be about 20,000, Van 20,000, Moosh and Beyboort about 8000 each. The Turkish governor of the pashalik has generally an armed force of 25,000 regular soldiers; but it would be easy for him, with sufficient funds, to raise a more considerable force of irregular cavalry, and infantry armed with rifles, the use of which weapon is well understood by the hardy mountaineers and hunters, whose manners in some respects resemble those of the Tyrolese. The greater half of the population are Mohammedan Turks or Osmanlis, followers of Osman. The word Turk is never used in this country, and is more generally applied to the Turkomans and some of the tribes on the Persian border, who are of Calmuc or Tartar origin, and a completely different sort of people from those whom we call Turks. The Christian population consists of a small number of Greeks, Nestorians, and Roman Catholics, the greater part being descendants of the ancient possessors of the soil, and professing the Christianity of the Armenian Church, which I have attempted to describe above. Their manners and customs are the same as those of the Turks, whom they copy in dress and in their general way of living; so much is this the case, that it is frequently difficult to distinguish the Turkish from the Armenian family, both in Armenia and at Constantinople; only the Armenian is the inferior in all respects; he would be called in China a second-chop Turk. He is more quick and restless in his motions, and wants the dignity and straightforward bearing of the Osmanli. More than 100,000 Armenians are settled at Constantinople. These are not so ignorant, and are, even in appearance, different from those of their original country, who are a heavy and loutish race, while the citizens are thin, sharp, active in money-making arts, and remarkable for their acuteness in mercantile transactions. Each Turkish village elects its *cadi*, a

sort of mayor; an Armenian Christian village elects its elder, who is called the Ak Sakal, or White Beard; he is the responsible person in all transactions with government, and sometimes holds an arduous post.

The women live in a harem, like the Turkish women, separate from the men. The mistress of the house superintends the kitchen, the making of preserves, and salting winter stores; they wear the yashmak, or Turkish veil, at Constantinople, where the Armenian ladies are celebrated for their beauty, and their fine eyes, and black, arched eyebrows. In Armenia, the women, when they go out, wrap themselves up in a large piece of bunting, the same kind of stuff that is used in Europe for flags; being of wool, it takes a fine color in dyeing. The ample wrappers of the women are sometimes of a bright scarlet, sometimes a brilliant white or blue. The effect of this veil is much more pleasing than those of Constantinople or Egypt. The Armenians are not bad cooks: some of their dishes are excellent; one of mutton stewed with quinces leaves a very favorable impression on the recollection of the hungry traveler. The country people live underground in the peculiar houses which I have described; they are an agricultural peasantry, tilling the ground, and not possessing large herds of sheep or cattle, like the Turkomans, Koords, or Arabs; they are a heavy-looking race, but are hardy and active, and inured from youth to exercise and endurance, but even in these respects they are excelled by the Mohammedan mountaineers.

The superiority of the Mohammedan over the Christian can not fail to strike the mind of an intelligent person who has lived among these races, as the fact is evident throughout the Turkish empire. This arises partly from the oppression which the Turkish rulers in the provinces have exercised for centuries over their Christian subjects: this is probably the chief reason; but the Turk obeys the dictates of his religion, the Christian does not; the Turk does not drink, the Christian gets drunk; the Turk is honest, the Turkish peasant is a pattern of quiet, good-humored honesty; the Christian is a liar and a cheat; his religion is so overgrown with the rank weeds of superstition that it no longer serves to guide his mind in the right way. It would be a work of great difficulty to disentangle the pure faith preached by the Apostles from the mass of absurdities and strange notions with which Christianity is encumbered, in the belief of the villagers in out-of-the-way places, among the various sects of Christians in the dominions of the Sultan. This seems to have been the case for many centuries, and it has produced its effect in lowering the standard of morality, and injuring the general character of those nations who are subjects of Turkey and not of the Mohammedan religion. For, of two evils, it is better to follow the doctrines of a false religion than to neglect the precepts of the true faith.

CHAPTER XVII.

Armenian Manuscripts.-Manuscripts at Etchmiazin.-Comparative Value of Manuscripts.-Uncial Writing.-Monastic Libraries.-Collections in Europe.-The St. Lazaro Library.

ARMENIAN manuscripts are of extreme rarity, not only in Europe, but in Armenia itself, at Constantinople, or any other place. The unsettled state in which that distracted province has from time immemorial been sunk, has prevented the development of the peaceful arts, and few of the monastic establishments of that country had wealth, or leisure, or convenience to copy and illuminate their books. The few fine manuscripts which I have met with seem to have been written for some Armenian princes, and were the works of scribes supported by exalted personages, who wrote under the shadow of their protection in the metropolitan cities, or in the patriarchal monastery of Etchmiazin. I was prevented by illness when in the neighborhood from visiting Etchmiazin, but there are preserved (or rather neglected) there, I have been given to understand, more than 2000 ancient manuscripts. These are completely unknown, unless within these few years they have been examined by any Russian antiquarian; no other traveler has been there who was competent to overlook a dusty library, so as to give any idea, not of what there is, but even what it may be likely to contain. This, as my bibliographical friends are well aware, is a peculiar art or mystery depending more on a general knowledge of the first aspect of an old book than a capacity to appreciate its contents. A book written on vellum implies a certain antiquity immediately recognizable by the initiated. If it does not appear to be ancient, it is then more than probable that it contains the works of some author of more than ordinary consideration, to have made it worth while to go to the expense and labor of a careful scribe and a material difficult in those days to procure. An illuminated, manuscript on vellum, if not a prayer-book, secures additional attention; independent of its value as a work of art, it must be of some consequence to have made it worth illuminating. A large manuscript, as a general rule, is worth more than a little one, for the same evident reason that its contents were considered at the time when it was written to have been of some importance, and deserving of more labor, time, and care, than if it was just written out cheaply by a common scribe. Uncial writing-that is, a book written in capital letters-is much more ancient than one written in a cursive hand, and the most ancient volumes were generally large square quartos. It is curious that this should be the case in almost all nations and languages surrounding the Mediterranean, though their customs may be so different in other respects. Manuscripts on paper, again, are sometimes of remarkable-interest, from their containing the works of authors then considered trivial and inferior, but now of much more value than the more ponderous tomes of the Middle Ages.

The majority of the volumes in an ancient monastic library are worn-out, imperfect church-books, which have been cast aside from time to time, and committed to the care of the mice and spiders, who alone frequent the shelves or the floor of that dusty lumber-room. It is uncommon to find a manuscript in more than one volume, unless it may be the works of St. Chrysostom, or another of the Fathers of the Church. In this case the volumes are hardly ever found together, and a complete set of three or four volumes is beyond hoping for, carelessness and neglect having been for centuries the librarians of the monastery. These and other circumstances combine to make a cursory examination of one of these original hoards of by-gone literature a task for which the learned student of some abstruse science, or dead or dying language, is totally incompetent. The translator of an almost forgotten tongue, the laborious compiler of unpublished history, requires that the musty chronicles, the splendid illuminated volumes bound in gold and velvet, the crabbed, ill-written works of antique lore, should be laid upon the table before him, so that, in the undisturbed silence of his study, surrounded with lexicons and modern books of reference, he may bit by bit extract the pith, and winnow off the chaff, from the venerable manuscripts of distant lands and other times. The bibliographical traveler, who is to provide these precious relics for his careful use, who is to drag them from their dark recesses, where they have been lying undisturbed 500 or 1000 years, has an entirely different task to fulfill. The professor would require months to look over each book one by one, to brush away the cobwebs, to ascertain by difficult and uncertain passages what the subject of those manuscripts might be which had lost many pages at the beginning and end, and to satisfy himself at last that it was worthless - a conclusion to which another would arrive at the first glance. This power of immediately appreciating the value of ancient manuscripts in the manner above mentioned will be understood by those who are aware that such is the usual jealousy of the ignorant monks for that which they can neither use nor understand themselves, that it hardly ever happens that a stranger is permitted to take more than a general survey of the worm-eaten and dusty mass which lies in heaps upon the floor, or is piled in the corners of the room which they call their library, but which they probably have never entered on any other occasion.

Such as I have described are the libraries at Etchmiazin, the monastery on Lake Van, those near Ooroomia, and the few places where more than the church-books are still remaining.

In England, the Bodleian Library contains about twenty volumes of Armenian manuscripts; the British Museum not so many, I believe; the Royal Library at Paris has about 200, which were collected by the emissaries of Louis XIV. Some of these are of considerable antiquity and beauty. In private collections very few are to be found. In my library there are about a dozen, of which two are the most splendid that I have met with in the East, or in any country. I possess also a number of loose leaves of the highest antiquity, which are so far curious that they display the progress of the art of writing almost since the days of Mesrob to the present time. But, with the exception of the

unknown treasures of Etchmiazin, the convent of St. Lazaro at Venice not only preserves, but makes good use of, the finest collection of Armenian manuscripts extant. Their number is about 1200, of which 100 are on vellum; the rest are written partly on ancient paper made from cotton, and partly on paper such as we use at present. Three volumes on Charta Bombycina are among the most ancient that I have met with that are written on that material: one contains commentaries on the Psalms and the Epistles, by Ephraim Syrius and St. Chrysostom, written in the year of the Armenian era 448, Anno Domini 999; the second is a small book of prayer, containing the date of A.D. 1178; the third is the romance of Alexander the Great: this curious volume is illustrated with numerous drawings, richly gilt and colored; it was written in the thirteenth century.

They have three copies of the Gospels, and one Ritual written in uncial letters (one of these ancient copies of the Gospels is illuminated with several large miniatures in a style resembling Greek art), as well as several others of inferior interest.

The library also possesses six or seven richly illuminated copies of the Scriptures, some splendid books of prayer, and a great number of other Armenian manuscripts, containing records of the history or the works of authors who were natives of that country, from which have been printed many volumes whose pages illustrate manners and events which were completely forgotten before the monks of St. Lazaro rescued them from oblivion.

CHAPTER XVIII.

General History of Armenia.-Former Sovereigns.-Tiridates I. receives his Crown from Nero.-Conquest of the Country by the Persians and by the Arabs.-List of modern Kings.-Misfortunes of Leo V.: his Death at Paris.

THE general history of Armenia contains but little that is interesting. It presents the picture of a line of sovereigns who have seldom been able to support their own authority, and who have constantly abdicated, embraced monastic vows, or been driven from the throne by rebellions of their subjects, and invasions of neighboring conquerors more talented and more powerful than themselves. Many of the Armenian kings seem to have lived almost on the charity of other states; the lines of their dynasties have been so often interrupted, and the changes from king to governors, dukes, and counts have been so frequent, that their history is most intricate; and, from the boundaries of the so-called kingdom of Armenia having never been the same for many years together, it is difficult to understand from the scattered notices which history has transmitted to us who should be considered as the head of the state, or which of the many vassal princes, under the great empires of the East, has the better claim to the title of sovereign of this ancient kingdom.

At the time of our Savior, Abgarus, king of Edessa, seems to have exercised sovereignty over great part of Armenia, on the southern and western sides. Tiridates I. is the first person styling himself King of Armenia after this period. He conquered the country from Rhadamistus, by the assistance of his brother Vologeses, King of Parthia. The Romans, however, who did not approve of the erection of an independent kingdom in those regions, sent an army against Tiridates, commanded by Corbulo, who forced Tiridates to abdicate, on condition of his proceeding to Rome to receive his crown from the hands of the Emperor Nero. He was received with the highest honors by the Roman emperor, who advanced as far as Naples to meet him. Tiridates won his good graces by the artful manner in which he flattered Nero on his skill in driving a chariot. They became great friends: the Armenian king received large sums of money from the emperor, with which he returned to his own country, and repaired his dismantled fortresses. He changed the name of his capital from Artaxarte to Neronia, in compliment to his imperial protector, and died in the year 75 A.D., after a reign of eleven years.

To him succeeded several princes who were vassals to the Roman empire, but whose actions do not seem to offer any thing of interest. *Tiridates II.* had received his education at Rome, and, assisted by the emperor, he was placed upon the throne of Armenia, by the general consent of the nobles of his country, in 259. He, as I have mentioned in the ecclesiastical sketch of this history, embraced Christianity, and died in the year 314. Other unimportant princes succeeded, among whom *John Nustaron*

governed Armenia, under the Emperor Maurice. The Persians conquered the country in the reign of the Emperor Phocas, but it was soon retaken by Heraclius. *Pasagnates* revolted against the Emperor Constantine II., who defeated him, and placed *Sabarius*, a Persian, on the throne, who also rebelled, and was beat in the year 658. Justinian II. concluded a treaty with the Caliph Abdol-malek, by which the two sovereigns divided between them the revenues of Armenia, Iberia, and Cyprus; and the same emperor, Justinian II., placed *Sablas* on the Armenian throne. This prince, being established in this mountainous kingdom, organized an army, and, having attempted to extricate his country from the power of the Caliph, was defeated by him in 687, and the Arabs became masters of Armenia. The Emperor Constantine Copronymus retook this province, and established *Paulus* as viceroy. Paulus was conquered by the forces of the Caliph, but he afterward re-established himself upon the throne.

After his reign, Armenia was governed by several dukes and counts, some of whom ruled over a larger, and some over a smaller, portion of the country. During this period constant battles and disturbances took place between the adherents of the caliphs and the Christian emperors in this distracted province. The Patriarch of Constantinople made every endeavor to break down the religious subjection of the Armenians to their heretical Patriarch. But the history of the numerous princes who succeeded each other, after periods of short and doubtful power, on the throne of parts only of Armenia, is so complicated and so doubtful, that I shall not attempt to speak of them, and proceed to the time of the first generally acknowledged king of modern times. The name of this monarch was

Philaretus Branchance. After resisting the forces of the Emperor Michael Ducas, he submitted to his successor, Nicephorus Botoniates, by whom he was supported through the rest of his reign. He flourished about the year 1080.

Constantine was succeeded by his brother

Taphroc, or *Taphnuz*. Under these two sovereigns appear numerous petty princes, who were feudatories to the King.

Leo, who was long a prisoner under the Turks, lived in 1131.

Theodorus, or *Thoros*, after a stormy reign, died in 1170.

Thomas, son of the sister of Thoros.

Milo, brother of Thoros. Under this reign the power of the Knights Templars was formidable. They had acquired large possessions in Armenia; and their numerous preceptories were in fact fortified castles, from which they defied the power of their suzerain. Milo waged war with the Templars, and succeeded in banishing many of their followers from his dominions. He died in 1180.

Rupinus was made prisoner by Bohemond, Prince of Antioch. He died in 1189.

Leo I., or *Livon*, concluded a treaty, by which he freed Armenia from the tribute which it had paid to the Prince of Antioch, instead of which he voluntarily paid homage to the Pope Celestinus III. He lived in perpetual war with the formidable body of Knights Templars, with various success, and died in 1219.

Isabel, daughter of Leo. In the reign of this princess the kingdom of Armenia became tributary to the Turkish Sultans of Iconium.

Aiton, or *Otho*, sent ambassadors to St. Louis, King of France, in the island of Cyprus. He made a visit to Mangou, Khan of Tartary, whom he converted to Christianity, and in alliance with whom, assisted by his brother, Houlagou Khan, he made war against the Mohammedans, and, having destroyed the castles of the Assassins, penetrated into the dominions of the Sultan of Aleppo, their further progress being stopped by the death of Mangou Khan, which occasioned the return of Houlagou to his own country. The Saracens or Mohammedans, on this change of affairs, in their turn overran Armenia, where they committed dreadful cruelties; and Aiton, having abdicated the crown in 1270, retired into a monastery, under the name of Macarius, where he died in the year 1272.

Leo, the son of Aiton, mounted the throne of his father in 1270, and was in constant war with Bondochar, Sultan of Egypt, who massacred 20,000 persons in Armenia. He was excommunicated for outrages committed upon the Patriarch of Antioch. After a reign of trouble and disaster, he died in 1288.

Aiton, or *Otho II.*, the son of Leo, with many of his nation, embraced the Roman faith, and demanded the assistance of Pope Boniface VIII. against the infidels who menaced his power. No effective assistance having been afforded him, he abdicated the throne, took the habit of a Capuchin friar, and, under the name of Brother John, died in the year 1294.

Thoros, or *Theodorus*, despairing of success against the incursions of the neighboring nations, also became a Capuchin friar. He died in 1296.

Sembat, or *Penihald*, the brother of Aiton and Thoros, usurped the throne in the absence of his brothers; he was dethroned by another brother, Constantine, and died in 1298.

Constantine sent his remaining brothers to Constantinople, with a recommendation to the Emperor to take care of them. The year of his death is uncertain.

Leo III. was murdered in the year 1307.

Chir Ossim, with the assistance of Pope John XXII., made an advantageous truce or treaty with the Kings of Sicily and Cyprus, with whom he was at war. This was accomplished through the mediation of the Genoese, who at this time appear to have been the principal traders in Constantinople, Persia, and Armenia. He died in 1320.

Leo IV. lived in continual war with the Saracens. This king sent ambassadors to Philippe de Valois, King of France, to beg assistance against the incursions of the Saracens. He married first Constancia, daughter of Frederick, King of Sicily, and secondly the daughter of the Prince of Tarentum, niece to Robert, King of Naples. Having provoked the jealousy of his countrymen by promoting numerous Frenchmen to high offices of government, he was assassinated in the year 1344.

After his death *Guy de Lusignan* was elected King of Armenia. He died in 1344.

Constans, or *Constantius*, apparently his son, succeeded Guy de Lusignan, and was killed by the Saracens in 1351. He had dispatched ambassadors to implore - assistance against the infidels to the courts of the Pope, the King of England, and the King of France.

Constantine, the next king, appears to have lived in continual troubles with his own subjects, as well as in constant alarm at the increasing inroads of the neighboring powers on both sides. The annals of his stormy reign are almost silent, and it is not known when he died. To such a state of misery and confusion was the kingdom of Armenia now reduced, that the existence of another king, who was probably his successor, is only known by the witness of a rare coin, which bears as legend DRAGO • REX • ARMEN • AGAPI. In the year 1368 the nobles of Armenia elected Peter I., King of Cyprus, king; but he was at Rome at that period, and never took possession of his precarious honor.

The records of the Armenian sovereigns are now drawing to a close. About this period, Leo V., of the family of Lusignan, was seated on his trembling throne. He was famous only for his misfortunes. Menaced on every side, his provinces and castles, one by one, fell before the victorious inroads of the Turks. The Genoese alone, who, in pursuit of trade, had fortified many strong places in Armenia, held out gallantly against the common foe, and the Mohammedan invaders were unable to gain possession of the town of Curco, or Corycus, in Cilicia, which was defended by the soldiers of the intrepid merchants. After a constant series of disasters and defeats, the unhappy king escaped with his life to the island of Cyprus, from whence he passed to Italy, and afterward to Castile, where he implored in vain for assistance from those Christian princes to reinstate him in the kingdom of his ancestors, which had fallen into the power of the infidel, and which, from that period to the present day, has continued to form one of the great pashaliks, or provinces of the Turkish empire. From Castile he took refuge in France, where he was received with distinguished favor and hospitality by King Charles V., who assigned for his residence the hotel of St. Ouen, near St. Denis. About the year 1378 Leo passed over to England, in the hopes of effecting peace between King Richard II. and the King of France, with whom he was then at war, and inducing the two sovereigns to embark in a crusade against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land, and for his own restoration to his kingdom. His overtures, like all his other acts, were unsuccessful; but from Richard, King of England, he received magnificent presents, and a pension of 20,000 marcs; which munificence was imitated by the King of France in an annual allowance of 6000 livres.

Leo, King of Armenia, was of small stature, but of intelligent expression and well-formed features. He lived in great magnificence, being richer from the presents of the Christian monarchs than he had been in his own beleaguered kingdom. The last of his royal line, he died, leaving no successor, at Paris, in the year 1393. His body was carried to the tomb clothed in royal robes of white, according to the custom of Armenia, with an open crown upon his head and a golden sceptre in his hand. He lay in state

upon an open bier hung with white, and surrounded by the officers of his household, clothed all of them in white robes. He was buried by the high altar of the church of the Celestines, where his effigy was to be seen upon a black marble tomb under an archway in the wall, and on the tomb was written

Cy gist le tres noble et tres excellent Prince, Leon de Lusignan, quint Roi Latin du Royaulme d'Armenie, qui rendit l'ame a Dieu a Paris le xxix. Jour de Novembre, l'an de Grace mcccxciii.

THE END.

PHILOLOGY

PORTRAYING ARMENIAN IN MODERN IRANIAN LITERATURE. NATIONAL AND CULTURAL PECULIARITIES

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Armenian-Iranian relations which originated still in the I millennium BC, include military-political, economic and cultural spheres. During the centuries Armenian intellectuals were greatly interested in Persian history, language and literature and their studies devoted to them enriched our historiography, philology and fiction. Later these studies provided a framework for Persian scholars for the evaluation of Armenian historiography and sources which contain numerous valuable information about the history and culture of Persia.

As mentions the prominent Persian literary critic S. Nafisi: «From my youth until now I am well acquainted with Armenian literary and scientific circles more than any other Persian of Teheran and do not think that they had as much converged and contacts with Armenian intellectuals and are familiar with old and new Armenian literature like me. I consider it as one of the pride of my life, since due to it I have noticed the linkage of Armenians to the history and literature of this country».¹

Centuries-long Armenian-Iranian literary relations contain innumerable realities testifying in favor of mutual understanding and evaluation, translations and influence, which are an important stimulus not only for the spiritual convergence of both peoples, but also for the development of the new literary thought. Deep respect towards the centuries-old cultural values and wisdom of Armenian people are reflected in the Iranian literature. Many valuable studies were carried out by Armenologists and Iranologists in regard to the Armenian topic in the classical Iranian literature, and to comparative analysis of Armenian and Iranian eposes.

Armenian topic and the image of an Armenian had found an original reflection in the works of the outstanding representatives of the early XX century «Persianist» nationalistic literary movement - Mohammad Ali Jamalzadeh, Sadegh Hedayat, Bozorg Alavi. It is noteworthy that during their exile in Europe all three novelists had close contacts with Armenian liberal intellectual circles. S. Hedayat and B. Alavi participated in the meetings of the philosophical group founded by the famous Iranian Armenian painter Andre-Darvish Sevrugian,² during which the latter was entitled as Darvish due to his Sufi behavior.

¹ Pahlevanyan 1989: 222.

² Andre Sevrugian is the son of Anton Khan Sevryugin, famous photographer of Late Qajar period, who in 1920s initiated the project of the series of pictures on «Shahname» of Firdowsi, about 10 years later organized an exhibition dedicated to the 1000 anniversary of the great poet. Worth to note also illustrations of O.Khayam's quatrains.

In 1915, during his journey from Berlin to Baghdad, Mohammad Ali Jamalzadeh, the famous expert of modern Iranian new novel, living for a while in Istanbul and Aleppo, became an eyewitness to the terrible events of Armenian genocide, miseries and hardships of Armenians which they experienced on their way to Mesopotamia; he wrote about it in his essay in 1917: «My personal reflections during the years of World War 1».³

While studying Armenian topic and the image of the Armenian in modern Iranian literature is of special interest the Armenian woman. «Iranian Armenian women as members of a religious and ethnic minority had retained their cultural distinctiveness for more than Iranian Armenian men, who were much more likely to come into contact with the dominant group of Muslim Iranians».⁴

As fully faithful to the traditional moral values of Armenian family the Iranian Armenian woman has been the symbol of femininity, who keeps the national and religious identity of Armenian community. By the way, one of the masterpieces of modern Iranian «new poetry», the love poem «Aida before the mirror» of famous poet Ahmad Shamlu, is dedicated to Armenian Aida Sargsyan, his beloved wife:

*And Your bosom
Is a small place for living
A small place for dying
And flight from the fraudulent city
Which shamelessly accuses the sky
Of impurity.*⁵

The image of Armenian woman is represented in the story of B. Alavi named as «The story of room» which is included in his collection of stories «Suitcase» (1934).⁶ Madam Hakobyan who had lost his husband 17 years ago, raised by herself her two sons - Artashes and Ashavir. Years later this active and smart woman (who like all Armenians speak Persian with Armenian accent), with inseparable sadness tells about the tragic story of her lovely son Arshavir's room. Many years ago a tall blue-eyed Russian woman who rented this room, has brought her handicapped German husband Mr. Schulz to Teheran in order to cure him. This blond woman had destroyed the life of young Arshavir and her own due to a light love affair. Madam Hakobyan could not even imagine how similar might be the relations between the young Russian woman, her handicapped German husband and well-mannered Armenian young man to the relations of heroes of the story «The wife of a scholar» which was bought for Mr. Schulz. The doors of her son's room were closed forever for anybody. For the mother who lost her son the room had become a longing sanctuary where even two faded bouquets remind sad memories on the eve of 1932.

³ Jamalzadeh Mohamad-Ali 20.10.2017. <http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/20.10.2017-Jamalzadeh.php>.

⁴ Berberian 2000: 74-75.

⁵ Nafisy 2007. <https://iranian.com/2007/03/13/love-in-persian-literature/>.

⁶ Alavi 1996: 36-44.

In the image of Armenian mother about the underlined positive peculiarities in the character, the behavior and honesty tells the famous post-revolutionary novelist Muniru Ravanipour in her story named «Hero» included in the collection «Satan's stones».⁷ It goes back to the tragedy of the mother experienced during the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq war, trying to see in her painful fate, especially stressing the peculiarities of national mentality. Hasmik whose children had chosen the way of emigration, could no more sustain loneliness and sadness. The walls of an empty and cold house and the memories of her children's childhood embraced the soul of the grieved mother with sorrow. For Hasmik had become also familiar the cemetery where her children's close friend, a Persian Ali was buried. She mourned his death as if he was her son. After she heard about his death, it seems that all doors back to life were closed for her forever. Hasmik carries her sorrow and misery silently and with great patience. But for the Armenian woman it was a heavy burden to feel alien glimpses of neighboring women and hear their ironic speech. They could not understand the sorrow and fragile soul of this seemingly moderate and balanced Armenian woman. «Let goodness be with you, madam, you are different from us».⁸

Sympathizing Armenians and dedicating his story to Janet Lazaryan, the Iranian Armenian literary celebrity, the author had tried to create a personage of a true and wise Armenian woman who is faithful to her national identity. Muniru Ravanipour stresses in full severe ordeals and agonies of the Iran-Iraq war, the pain and grief of human losses which embraced everybody who lives in Iran, regardless of his ethnicity and religion.

Noteworthy is the study of the image of Armenian woman in the historical novel of the early XX century. In the novel of R.Jula'i («The longest night of the year and the tale of the tippler», 1990)⁹ is told about the tragic end of the prohibited love between an Armenian lady and a Persian guy during the Russian-Persian war of the XIX century. Besides the historical facts, the author had revealed the traditional and moral description of the ethnic and religious minority – the Armenians, stressing the behavior of Armenian woman as faithful to the community.¹⁰

The image of Armenian women in Iranian prose is touched upon by Z. Behrouzi who is well-known by satiric works in his historical novel «The Shah of Iran and Armenian lady» (1927), and M. Kazemi in his novel «Terrible Teheran» (1922) which is familiar to Armenian reader. In the modern Iranian historical novel the positive image of Armenian is represented in the «Throneless and crownless king» of F. Farrokhi and M. Moti's «The Cross of Opal».

The Armenians are the largest Christian minority and probably the largest non-Muslim community in Iran. For much of the twentieth century as indigenous Christians, Armenians had cultural autonomy and relative respect.¹¹ The national coloring of Iranian

⁷ Muniru Ravanipur 1996: 43-51.

⁸ Ghanoonparvar 1996: ix.

⁹ Jula'i 1990.

¹⁰ Abramson and Kilpatrick 2005: 170-172.

¹¹ Sanasarian 2002: 39.

Armenian community is expressed in the works of the well-known post-revolutionary writer Zoya Pirzad who has Armenian origins. Z. Pirzad is among those female representatives of the Iranian novel who had won all honorary prizes in literature of Iran. In 2002 was published her novel «I will switch off lights», which immediately appeared on the radar of writers and literary critics. This is the first and most acclaimed novel by Zoya Pirzad and the second to be panned by an Armenian-Iranian writer, after Alice Arzumanian's «Hama az Yek» («All from one», Tehran, 1963).¹²

In the same year the novel was awarded with several honorary prizes in literature – the prize of the outstanding writer Hushang Golshiri, Yalda, Book of the year, Mehregan.

The events described in the novel «I will switch off lights»¹³ took place in 1960s in the refinery city of Abadan, in the south-west of Iran. In the description of everyday life of Iranian Armenian community and relationship between peoples the author pictures the permanent chain of human feelings - misery, nostalgia, dreams, love, separation. In the novel the central figure is Claris who devoted all her life to her husband and three children. The faded palette of this sensitive and dreamy Armenian woman was illuminated by the chilly and unrequited love which she kept deep in her soul.

Colorful pieces of Iranian Armenian community are represented in «On the Eve of Easter», the collection of stories by Z. Pirzad published in 2003.¹⁴ For the author the celebration of Easter is one of the most memorable events of her childhood, which is identified with the unfading feelings - the house of the grandmother, her light faced image, aromatic kitchen, carelessness, laughter, warmth of relatives.

«My childhood memories had always been rose-colored images of Muslim, Christian and Jewish children mingling together in an Armenian school, apparently free from constraints of ethnicity and religion, ... my return to a cycle of her short stories set in an Armenian school of our childhood, titled «A Day Before Easter», instigated for me an interrogation of these cultivated personal memories and questions about presumed ease with which the Armenian minority coexisted with the dominant Muslim Iranians of that time».¹⁵

Nor-Jugha is a prime example of the historical existence of the Iranian Armenian community.

It is one of the important centers of national culture, education, science, arts and book publishing outside the motherland. Armenians who were deported and settled down in an unfamiliar background, were not disintegrated under the influence of different religion, morals and customs, did not lose their national identity, but created an organized community, have got a collective life, kept unpolluted their mother language, national habits and religion¹⁶.

¹² Gheytonchi Elham 2012.

¹³ Pirzad 2002.

¹⁴ Pirzad 2003.

¹⁵ Rahimieh 2014: 121-122.

¹⁶ Bayburdyan 2007: 11.

The novel «He learned from the devil and burnt down» of Farhonde Aghaye, young writer of post-revolutionary period, is dedicated to Nor Jugha.¹⁷ The title of the novel is taken from the last two lines of the tragedy «History of Isfahan. Nor Jugha» (which is dedicated to the destruction of Nor Jugha). «He learned from the devil and burnt down, afterwards became mad and did not withstand».

The novel of Aghaye is the dramatic and tragic story of an Armenian woman from Nor Jugha based on her diaries.

The moral and honest characteristics of Armenian has been especially stressed in the post-revolutionary Iranian prose. In this regard is typical the story «The last loneliness» of E. Fasih.¹⁸ The old servant Armenak working in the pub-restaurant «Omar Khayyam» at Washington, enchants the clients by his noble stance. He works here already 27 years, and before that another 19 years in the caffee «Blue Moon» in New York. Now it was difficult for Armenak to perform his duties during the last hours of the day. Sixty-five years of life and forty-nine years of work. Like all Armenians he had passed the long and difficult ways from the Caucasus to Greece and from there to America on ship. Iranian Armenian emigrant Eric Bagajanyan, the owner of the restaurant, also was a nice man who behaved compassionately towards his compatriots. For the clients of the restaurant the presence of these two Armenians creates a specific background of warmth, respect and familiarity.

After the Islamic Revolution in Iran the topic of the Iran-Iraq war obtained special importance, which was based on the concern of heroism and martyrdom. To such topic is devoted the story «The Mystery of Masih» of Ibrahim Hasanbeigi.¹⁹ Among the Iranian war-prisoners in the Iraqi camp at Mosul was an Armenian Masih, a green-eyed, blonde, bantamweight guy,¹⁰ who was highly esteemed by his friends due to his heroic, unbending and brave behavior. For his disobedient behavior the Armenian soldier was transferred to the colony of «Rashide» where he became subject to inhuman tortures after he refused to applaud in honor of Saddam Hussein. After their return from captivity the death of Masih remained a puzzle for most of his friends. Honoring his memory they visited Masih's old parents and Armenian church. But years later nobody remembers the name of Albert Minasyan, the Armenian soldier who was ready to be martyred for Iran. The name of «Albert Minasyan» the author reveals only at the end of the story. It is worth to mention also the exciting poem «The death of Nazli» or «Vartan» of A. Shamlu which is dedicated to the Armenian soldier Vardan Salakhanyan martyred in the struggle against the Iranian monarchy.²⁰

Vartan was a violet,

¹⁷ Aghayei 2007.

¹⁸ Silk road 1996.

¹⁹ Hasanbeigi 2006: 12-22.

²⁰ Vartan Salakhanyan an Armenian-Iranian born in Tabriz. He was arrested during the coup in 1953 and cruelly assassinated; he did not betray his friends. In order to get rid of the tortured body he was thrown into the Jajrood river.

*He came into blossom
and gave us a good news
«Winter has fallen apart.»
and then went away.....²¹*

In 1989 was published «The Symphony of the Dead Man» of A. Maroufi, one of the masterpieces of modern Iranian novel.²² The composition of the novel is in accordance with the rules of the complex musical structure of a symphony. It is a saga about the family of Urkhani which is built around the tragic and sad fate of the father and his children, the topic of fratricide has close parallels with the Biblical story of «Cain and Abel». The author with extreme delicacy stresses the image of Surmelina, an untimely deceased Armenian wife of Aydin, one of the sons, whose tenderness and solicitude heals the wounds of Aydin's adolescence.

While studying the image of the Armenian undoubtedly is of special importance the novel «Asieh between two worlds» of Shahrnush Parsipur, the outstanding representative of the innovatory Iranian prose, which was published in 2008. This prosaic is known to international literary community through his novels «Tuba and the meaning of night» and «Women without men» published in 1990s, which became his literary visit card.²³ The novel «Asieh between the two worlds»²⁴ embraces wide chronological frames including the rule Pahlavi's until the Islamic revolution (1926-1979). The main character is Asieh – a maid-servant in rich families whose dream was to have her own house and feel the pleasure of the family. Being a *sighe*²⁵ during her all life this beautiful young woman only once had met with Artashes, an honest, kind and virtuous Armenian who was ready to marry her and take care of Asieh. Asieh who was not even educated, thinks that the Muslim woman could not marry a Christian man and thus she refused Artashes. Realizing her mistake years later Asieh tries to find him, but all in vain. Asieh mourns the untimely death of Artashes and weeps on his grave recalling those two days when the lonely woman with the newborn baby, disappointed by the indifference of the world, had find a shelter in the small hotel of Artashes where the Armenian man virtuously and kindly took care of this poor woman and surrounded her with love and warmth for the first time in her life.

The novel «Asieh between two world» is the expression of deep sympathy in regard to Armenians. The novelist creates the person of Artashes with great skill, stressing livelihood, honesty, kindness, love of the light and sciences which distinguish Armenians.

²¹ Rajabpour 2017.

²² Maroufi 2007.

²³ Women without men is a 2009 film adaptation of a Shahrnush Parsipur novel directed by Shirin Neshat. The director of the film won the 2009 Venice film festival Silver Lion for best directing.

²⁴ Parsipur 2009.

²⁵ A woman who is engaged in the temporary marriage (in Persian).

Summarizing our study it should be concluded that in the works of modern progressive Iranian writers the images of Armenians are distinguished by high moral characteristics.

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Translated from the Armenian by Aram Kosyan

DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

**The Documents regarding the atrocities of the
Armenian population of the Vilayet of Erzerum in 1915.**

**Extracted from “THE TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
(1915-1916)” (DOCUMENTS PRESENTED TO VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS by Viscount Bryce, with a preface
by Viscount Bryce), London, 1916, p. 221-255.**

VI. VILAYET OF ERZEROU.

The Vilayet of Erzeroum lies due north of Bitlis and Van, and is likewise a border province. It consists principally of the upper valleys of the Kara-Su (Western Euphrates) and the Tchorok. The fortress-city of Erzeroum itself is situated in a plain which collects the head-waters of the former river; Erzindjan, a place of almost equal importance, lies further west, about 120 miles down stream; while Baibourt, in the Tchorok valley, is the most important place on the high road from Erzeroum to Trebizond. The districts north of the Kara-Su are as civilised as the rest of Anatolia; but south of the river, in the great peninsula enclosed by the two arms of the Euphrates, lies the mountain-mass of Dersim, inhabited by wild, independent tribes of Kizil-Bashis and Kurds, who played an active part in the destruction of their Armenian neighbours.

In the Vilayet of Erzeroum the deportations began at the end of May and during the first days of June. Reports from a particularly trustworthy source state that, by the 19th May, more than 15,000 Armenians had been deported from Erzeroum and the neighbouring villages, and that, by the 25th May, the districts of Erzindjan, Keghi and Baibourt had also been "devastated by forced emigration." Our information concerning Erzeroum itself was at first somewhat scanty, but since its capture by the Russians it has been visited by representatives of various relief organisations in the Caucasus, who have obtained circumstantial accounts of what happened in the city and the surrounding villages. They report that, out of an Armenian population estimated at 400,000¹ souls for the Vilayets of Erzeroum and Bitlis, not more than 8,000-10,000 have survived - in other words, that 98 per cent. of the Armenians in these vilayets have been either deported or massacred.

We are also particularly well informed with regard to Baibourt and Erzindjan, and the documents in this section may be noted as a clear case in which independent testimonies exactly bear one another out.

¹ The author of Doc. 57 estimates them at 300.000 only; but consult Annexe D. to the "Historical Summary."

53. ERZEROUM: RECORD² OF AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE REV. H. J. BUXTON AND THE REV. ROBERT STAPLETON, A MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD, RESIDENT AT ERZEROUM FROM BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF WAR UNTIL AFTER THE CAPTURE OF THE CITY BY THE RUSSIANS.³

Up to 1914 the population of Erzeroum was between 60,000 and 70,000, of whom 20,000 were Armenians.

In 1914 Tahsin Bey was Vali of Erzeroum (whom Mr. H. J. Buxton had met, as Vali of Van, in 1913).

On the outbreak of war with Turkey (November, 1914) the British Consul, Mr. Monahan, received his passport; the Russian Consul was ejected; the French Consul was absent. All their servants and interpreters were Armenians; these were ejected likewise, and were sent to Kaisaria as prisoners. The three Armenian servants of the Russian Military Attache were hanged. The wife of one of these was sitting up knitting socks and putting things together for her husband's departure, when news came to her, early in the morning, that he was hanging on the scaffold.

In the spring of 1915 Passelt Pasha was Military Commandant of Erzeroum, and he suggested that all Armenian soldiers should be disarmed, withdrawn from combatant service and put on road gangs (yol tabour). These were men who had been conscripted, and, owing to the friendly relations between Turks and Armenians in this district (for the past ten years), had joined readily.

Teachers in the schools were first of all put into hospitals to do the work of dressers and nurses among the wounded. They were men with a good education, and did their work with intelligence. Then came the order that they were to be put on to the road gang, and they were replaced by totally incompetent men, so the soldiers had very poor attention in the hospital.

All through this period, up to May, 1915, military service could be avoided by men of all races and parties upon payment of an exemption tax of £40 (Turkish).

Even Turks themselves obtained exemption on these terms, and for a period (of, say, twelve months) the terms were faithfully observed; but, of course, eventually the need for soldiers made the authorities come down even upon exempted persons. In any case, this exemption only applied to military duties, and afforded no shelter to Armenians in the final crisis.

Stapleton managed to get one Armenian exempted by the payment of this tax.

19th May, 1915.

There was a massacre in the country round Khnyss. As the Russians advanced

² Undated.

³ Mr. Stapleton's total period of service at Erzeroum is thirteen years. For a letter from Mr. Stapleton himself, see Doc. 149, page 589. - EDITOR.

from the east a large number of Kurds fled in front of them, bent on vengeance, and carried out a raid on the peasantry which was quite distinct from the organised massacres later on.

Some of Stapleton's teachers, boy and girl students, were at Khnyss on holiday, and perished in this massacre.

6th June.

The inhabitants of the one hundred villages in the plain of Erzeroum were sent away by order of the Government at two hours' notice. The number of these must have been between 10,000 and 15,000. Of this number very few returned, and very few reached Erzindjan. A few took refuge with friendly Kurds (Kizilbashis), but all the rest must have been killed.

They were escorted by gendarmes, but the people responsible for the massacres would probably be chettis or Hamidia.

One of the Kurds was charged in court for murder, pillage and rapine, and he thereupon produced a paper and laid it before them, saying: "These are my orders for doing it."

It is not certain who gave these orders, but the presumption is that they originated with the Government at Constantinople.

About this time definite orders arrived, by which Tahsin Bey was instructed that all Armenians should be killed. Tahsin refused to carry this out, and, indeed, all through this time he was reluctant to maltreat the Armenians, but was overruled by *force majeure*.

On the 9th June

he issued an order that the whole civic population were to leave Erzeroum, and many Turks and Greeks actually did leave (the latter being hustled out).

The German Consul was now aware of what was coming, and wired protests to his Ambassador; but he was told to remain quiet, as the Germans could not interfere with the internal affairs of Turkey.

This is what he said to Stapleton, and his goodwill is borne out by his evident intention to help the Armenians. It is an established fact that, in the days following, he used to send bread tied up in large sacks to the refugees outside the city, conveying these large supplies in motor cars.

16th June.

The first company of Armenian deportees left Erzeroum on the 16th June, having got leave to go to Diyarbekir by Kighi. These were forty families in all, mostly belonging to the prosperous business community.

First of all, after starting, all their money was taken from them, "for safety." After a short halt, when some alarm was expressed, they were reassured of the complete

security of their journey, and shortly after resuming their journey (somewhere between Kighi and Palu) they were surrounded and a massacre took place. Only one man and forty women and children reached Harpout.

Evidence of this massacre comes from various sources: (1) letters to Stapleton from women survivors; (2) evidence of Americans who were living in Harpout at the time of the arrival of the survivors, and cared for them; (3) evidence of a Greek, who passed the scene of the massacre shortly after it took place and described it as sickening.

19th June.

About five hundred Armenian families left Erzeroum, via Baibourt, for Erzindjan; they were allowed time for preparations - a concession granted throughout the deportations from the town itself. At Baibourt there was a halt, and the first party of about 10,000 people was joined by later contingents, bringing the number up to about 15,000. A guard of gendarmes (up to 400) was provided by the Vali, and these doubtless took their toll of the Armenians in various ways, licentiously and avariciously.

The Vali went to Erzindjan to see after their security, and it is known that about 15,000 reached Erzindjan. Up to this point the roads were good enough to allow transport by bullock carts (arabas), but after Erzindjan, instead of being allowed to follow the carriage road via Sivas, they were turned aside to the route via Kamakh, Egin and Arabkir, where there were only footpaths. The arabas had, therefore, to be left behind, and no less than 3,000 vehicles were brought back to Erzeroum by an Armenian in the transport service, whom Stapleton met on his return.

At Kamakh, twelve hours from Erzindjan, it is reported that the men were separated and killed, their bodies being thrown into the river. Beyond this place letters come from women only, though Stapleton's account leads us to suppose that, from among thirty families of which he has news, ten men survive. Letters from women to Stapleton do not, of course, give details of what occurred; they only indicate what happened by such phrases as: "My husband and boy died on the road." The destinations reached by these Armenians, as definitely known to Stapleton in January, 1916, were Mosul, on the east; Rakka, on the south; Aleppo and Aintab, on the west. The need in these places has been urgent. German Consuls in Aleppo and Mosul are known to have assisted in distributing relief funds sent by Stapleton, per the Agricultural Bank at Constantinople, to Mesopotamia - in all about £1,000 (Turkish).

Stapleton had previously been able to distribute a sum of about £700 (Turkish), received from America, to poor Armenians before their departure. This he did in co-operation with the Armenian Bishop.

November, 1915.

Certain Roman Catholic "lay brothers and sisters" (Armenians), claiming to be under Austrian protection, were permitted to remain until November, 1915, when they left Erzeroum in arabas. They were known to have reached Erzindjan, and probably

Constantinople, in safety, where they were housed in the Austrian schools.⁴

From twelve to twenty families of artisans were left to the last, as they were doing useful work for the Government. Also fifty single masons, who were building a club-house for the Turks, being compelled to use gravestones from the Armenians' cemetery.

February, 1916.

These masons were sent to Erzindjan, where they were imprisoned for some days and then brought out and ordered to be shot. Four, however, escaped by shamming death, and one of them saw Stapleton on the 16th February and gave an account of what had happened.

The fate of the artisans is thought to have been similar, but we have no details, except that three families were able to return.

One of those to leave the town in the early days was a photographer. He would not wait. Ten hours out from Erzeroum he was surrounded by forty chettis, stripped naked and stoned to death. They mutilated his body. One child was brained. Of the other children, a girl was taken away and only escaped many months later when the Russians came. Very reluctantly she poured out her story to the Stapletons, from which it appeared that she had been handed round to ten officers after the murder of her husband and his mother, to be their sport.

Thirty-five families of Greeks remained in Erzeroum until near the end. They were then hustled out when the Russian approach was imminent, the Turks virtually saying to them: "We are suffering. Why should not you?"

These deportations went on in an almost continuous stream from the 16th June to the 28th July, when the Armenian Bishop left. He is supposed to have been put to death near Erzindjan.

The part which Stapleton took during these events may now be described. In addition to what we have already said about his relief work, he and Mrs. Stapleton sheltered eighteen Armenian girls. It was by the permission of the Vali that these were allowed to stay with him, and on only one occasion was his house actually threatened. This was just on the eve of the Russian arrival, when he was warned by the German Consul that a plot had been made to burn down his house and, in the subsequent rush of panic, to seize the girls. Nothing could have stopped this but the Russian entry, which took place on the very day for which it was planned. This plot, however, was an isolated act, and, on the whole, Stapleton speaks highly of the general conduct of the Turks in Erzeroum itself.

The Last Days.

On Sunday, the 13th February, the German Consul left. On Monday, the 14th February, the Persian Consul was forced to go with the Turks to Erzindjan. They

⁴ See Doc. 62.

maintained that, as he was a representative accredited to the Government, he must go with them when the Government moved its headquarters. He went reluctantly, as he was anxious to look after his fellow-countrymen.

On Monday evening (the 14th February) Stapleton was sent for by the Vali, and he went, expecting to be told to leave the town. The Vali said that he and the Turks were leaving on the morrow, but that Stapleton might remain.

Tahsin Bey requested him to ask the Russian Commander to spare the population of the city, as, in general, they had had nothing to do with the deportations.

And that is a fact.

On the 15th, Stapleton was asked by a deputation of all ranks of Turks in the town to go out (three hours' distance) and meet the Russian Commander. He refused to go, but he delivered Tahsin's message the following day, when the Russians entered the city.

On the 15th, Turkish troops fired the Armenian episcopal residence and the market. They also burned schools and arsenals, and looted in the city.

Wednesday, the 16th February.

The first Russian to appear was a Cossack with a white apron. He was accompanied by Russian and Armenian soldiers, who shouted: "We are Armenians. Are there any here?" Then the Cossack came into Stapleton's house, and wrote his name in the book as "the first Russian to enter Erzeroum." The house was soon filled, and Stapleton lent eight beds to Russian officers, and also supplied food.

When the Grand Duke came, a few days later (the 20th), the Russians asked for another bed; but this was refused.

Mr. H. J. Buxton asked Stapleton: "Was there a good deal of looting by the Russians?" Stapleton said: "No, I should not say a good deal of looting. They were very hungry, and the stores were all open but, for an invading army, they were quite mild. For the first twenty-four hours they were very short of food."

Armenian Volunteers began to search the city for Armenians, and they did not find very many. Four girls were held by Turks, and these, together with the eighteen with Stapleton, made the full quota of twenty-two Armenians in the town.

The appointment by the Russians of an "Old Turk" (a former agent of Abd-ul-Hamid at Bukarest, who had subsequently been banished by the Young Turks to Erzeroum) is now giving considerable satisfaction to the Moslem population.

In August, 1915, the Turkish Government appointed and despatched a Commission from Constantinople, ostensibly to protect the property of the deported Armenians. During August this Commission took possession of, and sold, this property, including valuables left with Dr. Case (Stapleton's colleague at that period). Stapleton asked the police for their authority, and was turned off his own premises by a high-handed secretary. However, he wired to his Government, and got the official removed, and from that time he was treated with respect and was able to exert considerable

influence with the Vali; in fact, he remonstrated with him on the brutal treatment of the women at the hands of the zaptiehs and Kurds on the road from Erzeroum.

Stapleton is not a Consul, but a Missionary. To the foreigner a "Missionary" always means a Government representative; and as Stapleton was the only American in Erzeroum, he was, *de facto*, Consul. In many ways he was able to do far more than if he had been officially a Consul, knowing the ways of the country and exactly how far he could go, but yet free from official fetters.

54. ERZEROUM: REPORT, DATED 25th SEPTEMBER, 1915, DRAWN UP BY THE AMERICAN CONSUL-GENERAL AT TREBIZOND, AFTER HIS RETURN FROM A VISIT TO ERZEROUM; COMMUNICATED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.

I left Trebizond on the 12th August on horseback, accompanied by kavass Ahmed and a katerdji with my travelling outfit, also two mounted gendarmes furnished by the Governor-General. I reached Erzeroum about midnight on the 17th August, and was allowed to enter the city gate only after communicating with the Commandant.

I found the two American families well. The Rev. Robert S. Stapleton, who is the director of the American Schools and Treasurer of the Mission Station, is living with his wife and two daughters in the upper storey of the Boys' School building. The lower part is used as a Red Crescent Hospital for lightly wounded or convalescing soldiers, accommodating on an average about 75 patients. Dr. Case and wife and two small children were living in the upper part of the Hospital building, the lower part being used as a Red Crescent Hospital for about 30 patients. The Girls' School building, with the exception of two rooms belonging to the teachers, which are locked up, is also used by the Red Crescent for lightly wounded soldiers, accommodating on an average about 200. These three fine buildings are on the same street, about 100 yards apart. The Red Crescent flag flies over the three buildings, and on Fridays and holidays the Turkish flag is also raised over the Girls' School building, which is entirely devoted to the Red Crescent work, with the exception of the two rooms mentioned above. Over the other two buildings, which are partly occupied by the Americans as residences, the American flag is hoisted, in addition to the Red Crescent flag, on Sundays and holidays, and there seems to be no difficulty raised by the authorities now in regard to the flag question.

I called upon the Governor-General, Tahsin Bey, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Stapleton and Dr. Case, and the Bey received us very cordially. He informed me that he had just received a report from the military authorities that the Russians, upon evacuating Van, had destroyed every building in the city, including the American buildings, in order that the Turkish army should not find shelter for the winter, and had taken the Americans from Van with them on their retirement towards Russia. This information I telegraphed to the Embassy on the 18th August as follows:

"All American buildings reported destroyed by Russians upon their withdrawal from Van, and Americans now in Russia."

He also informed me that all the Americans at Bitlis had gone to Diyarbekir.

The Vali said that, in carrying out the orders to expel the Armenians from Erzeroum, he had used his best endeavours to protect them on the road, and had given them fifteen days to dispose of their goods and make arrangements to leave. They were not prohibited from selling or disposing of their property, and some families went away with five or more ox-carts loaded with their household goods and provisions. The Missionaries confirm this.

Over 900 bales of goods of various kinds were deposited by 150 Armenians in Mr. Stapleton's house for safe keeping. There are also about 500 bales in Dr. Case's house and stable. The value of the bales is estimated by Mr. Stapleton at from £10,000 to £15,000 (Turkish). He has a good American combination safe belonging to the Mission in his house, and two safes of English make left by merchants, which he filled with paper and silver roubles and jewellery deposited by Armenians, for safe keeping. He gave no receipts and assumed no responsibility, however. The gold deposited by Armenians amounted to £5,559 (Turkish), and of this amount £5,000 (Turkish) was sent to Mr. Peet through the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Erzeroum by telegram. The roubles, however, the Bank refused to transfer, and so they were left in his safes in the shape received, namely, tied up in handkerchiefs or made up in small packages. Afterwards these packages were all opened, and an itemized list was made of the contents of each package. The paper roubles and jewellery were then packed into tin boxes and sealed with the Mission seal and deposited in the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Mr. Stapleton's name for safe keeping....

Many policies of insurance in the New York Life Insurance Company were found in these packages, upon which a separate report will be made. There were also deeds to house and lands, promissory notes and other valuable papers, which no doubt have now lost much of their value.

The Gregorian Armenian Cathedral and the Catholic Armenian Church at Erzeroum were filled with goods of various kinds which had been entrusted to the Imperial Ottoman Bank by the Armenians before they were deported. These goods were entrusted to the Bank, and the keys are in the possession of the Bank....

The Vali of Erzeroum informed me that he had received instructions from Constantinople to allow the Protestants and Catholics to remain where they were for the present. One of Mr. Stapleton's valuable teachers, Mr. Yeghishé, was taken some time ago for military service, and was working upon the roads near Erzeroum. Mr. Stapleton needed this man as an interpreter, since he himself knows very little Turkish. The Vali promised me he would give Mr. Yeghishé a vesika or permit to remain in the city, if his military exemption taxes were paid. I attended to this matter, and on my way to Trebizond found Mr. Yeghishé at Ilidja, three hours from Erzeroum, and delivered to him the vesika, which gave him freedom to return to Erzeroum and remain there.

I also asked for the return of another Protestant teacher who was thought to be in Erzindjan, but this the Vali declined to allow, saying that the order did not permit their

return, but simply allowed them to remain where they were. In case they had already been sent away he could not recall them.

Mr. Stapleton has twenty Armenians in his house now; four of them are women and the balance girls. Dr. Case had six Armenians in his house when he left Erzeroum. Four of these went to Mr. Stapleton, and one he takes with him to Constantinople, and one he expects to leave at Marsovan for training in the Hospital. The Vali granted a special permit for these two girls to travel with Dr. Case, and also handed to him a letter of appreciation for the work he had done in his hospital for Turkish officers.

Mr. Stapleton's relations with the Vali, Tahsin Bey, are good, and indeed the latter, who was Mutessarif of Pera a few years ago, impressed me as being a very reasonable man, who desired to do the right thing and entertain good relations with the Americans....

55. ERZEROUM: ABSTRACT OF A REPORT BY R. B. H. KHOUNOUNTZ, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE "ALL-RUSSIAN URBAN UNION," ON A VISIT TO ERZEROUM AFTER THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION; PUBLISHED IN THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL "HORIZON," OF TIFLIS, 25th FEBRUARY, 1916.

There are between 80 and 100 Armenians left in Erzeroum - according to other reports 130 - and about 25,000 Turks, who dare not come out of their houses. The sanitary condition of the city is deplorable. Mr. Khounountz had interviews with a number of Armenian and foreign eye-witnesses. He met an Armenian officer who had escaped from the Turks, who told him of the deportation and massacre of the Armenians. He said that the attitude of the Turks towards the Armenians was more or less good at the beginning of the war, but it was suddenly changed after the Turkish defeat at Sari-Kamysh, as they laid the blame for this defeat upon the Armenians, though he could not tell why.

After that, they separated the Armenian soldiers from the Turks as a dangerous element, and removed them from the fighting line. They put them on the roads to work as ordinary labourers.

At the same time terror reigned in the city. Mr. Pasdermadjian, a well-known Armenian, was assassinated, and a number of prominent young men were hanged or exiled. A number of Armenians were forced to go to the cemetery and destroy the statue which was erected to the memory of martyred Russian soldiers in 1829. They were also forced to open hospitals for the wounded Turkish soldiers at their own expense.

On the 5/18th April, by an order received from Constantinople, the Turks held a big meeting in which the hodjas (religious heads) openly preached massacre, casting the responsibility for the defeat upon the Armenians. The Armenians appealed to them and implored for mercy, but in vain. The Vali was rather inclined to spare the Armenians, but the order from Constantinople had tied his hands.

The deportation of all the Armenians in the Vilayet of Erzeroum began on the 4th

June. It was carried out promptly, and took the Armenians by surprise. Gendarmes were sent to the Armenian villages at night, who entered the houses, separated all the men from their families and deported them. The deportation of the men of Erzeroum - the city proper - was carried out less cruelly, the Vali giving them 15 days' notice.

But as the refugees were escorted by brutal gendarmes and chettis (bands of robbers) many of them were massacred in a most cruel manner, and very few of them reached their destination, which was the district of Kamakh, west of Erzindjan.

According to the officer, the plan of deportation was exactly the same as in other vilayets. None were spared, not even certain women teachers -Protestant and Roman Catholic - who were foreign subjects and had taught in foreign colleges.

Only 15 skilled labourers were left: with their families as they were needed for war work. These were massacred before the Turks left Erzeroun.

56. ERZEROUM: ABSTRACT OF A REPORT BY DR. Y. MINASSIAN, WHO ACCOMPANIED MR. KHOUNOUNTZ TO ERZEROUM AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CAUCASIAN SECTION OF THE "ALL-RUSSIAN URBAN UNION"; PUBLISHED IN THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL "MSCHAK," OF TIFLIS, 8th MARCH, 1916.

Dr. Minassian gathered his information from the following sources: The American Vice-Consul at Erzeroum, Mr. Stapleton; Mrs. Stapleton; Dr. Case of the American Mission Hospital; an educated Armenian lady - Zarouhi - from Baibourt, who escaped the massacres by a miracle; an Armenian soldier who had accepted Islam; an old man from Erzeroum; and many others.

Before Turkey's entry into the war, the Young Turks saw that war between them and Russia was inevitable, so they tried to win the Armenians over to their side by promising them all kinds of privileges.

As soon as war was declared, they confiscated everything from the shops of the Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Syrians, without any distinction of race or religion. The Armenians lost more than the other nationalities, as they were the wealthiest commercially.

The Turks asked the Armenians to join with them, but they declined, saying that if they fought against the Russians they would endanger the lives of their brothers in Caucasia. This seemed reasonable to the authorities, and on the surface, at least, they left the Armenians in peace.

The Armenians performed their civic duties faithfully and opened a hospital for the Turkish wounded; later on they were forced to open others.

Everything went smoothly until the first Turkish defeat, which occurred at Keutag. It was then that the Turks found out that the Armenian volunteers were fighting side by side with the Russians. This was announced everywhere and excited the Turks; but no steps were taken until it was reported that Garo Pasdermadjian, a member of the Ottoman Parliament and one of the deputies for Erzeroum, was commanding a body of

volunteers in the Russian army. The result was that Mr. Pasdermadjian's brother was assassinated. Then Djemal Effendi from Constantinople, with another Turk, Saifoullah, incited the people to massacre the Armenians.

The Governor saw that the excitement was growing, so he called a conference of all the prominent Turks. This was held at Pasha-Kiosk, and Djemal and Saifoullah took part. These demanded an immediate massacre, but the Governor requested them to hold their hand until he could communicate with Constantinople about it.

After this the authorities disarmed and removed all the Armenian soldiers from Erzeroum, and put them on the roads to work as unskilled labourers. A number of wealthy Armenians were forced to destroy the statue which was erected in memory of martyred Russian soldiers in 1828, and transfer its stones to another place to build a club-house for the Young Turks. Some could not stand the hard work, yet could only obtain release from it by paying large sums.

Then the rich Armenians were asked to vacate their homes and to transform them into hospitals. This was done willingly, and the Armenians undertook to care for the wounded.

Then an order came to some Armenians to leave their homes and go. But they begged to remain, and were allowed to do so on payment of £1,500 (Turkish).

A week later, all the rich and educated men were imprisoned; many of them died in prison under terrible tortures.

Then it was announced that they would all be deported. When the Governor was asked where they would be sent, he replied: "To a safe place, where the mob cannot hurt you."

The Armenians packed all their valuables and left them at the American Consulate, the missionary schools, and at the Armenian Church.

To obviate any possibility of resistance, the villagers were first deported towards Kamakh, and when the Erzeroum Armenians followed them they saw heaps of ruins in place of prosperous villages.

The deportation of the Armenians of Baibourt was more terrible. They were all taken by surprise at midnight.

"Where are you taking us?" they asked. "To a safe place;" was the reply, "away from the Turks, where the mob cannot massacre you. It is the duty of the Government to protect its subjects. You will remain there until peace is re-established."

The Armenians believed them and followed the gendarmes without resistance. After they had travelled several miles, they noticed that the attitude of the guards changed and that they had been deceived. By and by they were asked to pay fifty pounds, which they paid. Towards nightfall they asked for two girls. The next day they asked for five hundred pounds. They had to pay that also. That night they asked for five girls and took them. Then every day they were robbed. They lost all their valuables and provisions. The Turkish villagers stole the best looking girls and boys.

Just before they reached Erzindjan, their outer clothing was taken away from them

and they were left in their underclothes. When they reached Erzindjan they protested to the Kaimakam. The Kaimakam promised to accompany them. The next day they started for Kamakh.

After they had travelled a few miles, they were attacked by chettis from all sides. The Armenians wanted to run back to Erzindjan, but the gendarmes opened fire on them. Many of them were thus massacred, and the remainder were driven towards Kamakh.

It was discovered that these chettis had been organised by Djemal Effendi, and it was by deliberate design that all the refugees were left in their white underclothes, so that no one could run away or hide himself.

When the refugees reached a gorge of the Euphrates River they were attacked again, and many of them were drowned in the river.

Zarouhi - who related the above story - said that the river was filled with corpses. She also was thrown into the river, but clung to a rock behind some bushes and remained there until the gendarmes and chettis had gone away.

Coming out of the river she met a kind Kurdish shepherd, who wrapped her in a blanket and took her to the house of a Turk who knew her. The Turk took her to Erzeroum and kept her in his home.

In speaking of the responsibility of the Germans for the massacres and deportations, Dr. Minassian says that, before the deportation, the Armenians went to the German Consul and asked his assistance. His answer was: "I do not want to mix in other people's affairs, and I have no authorisation to do so from my Ambassador at Constantinople."

The German officers at Erzeroum helped the Turks to organize the deportation, and also took their share of the booty. Almost every one of them had kidnapped Armenian girls.

An officer called Schapner, for instance, took with him four girls; another called Karl, two girls; and so on - there was a long list of names which the reporter could not remember.

57. ERZEROUM: STATEMENT BY MR. A. S. SAFRASTIAN, DATED TIFLIS, 15th MARCH, 1916.

Since last October, when the Armenian atrocities were disclosed to the world at large, we had hoped against hope that, in spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, all that was said to have occurred might not be confirmed; that there might have been outlying districts in Turkish Armenia where the local Armenians had been spared the horrors that had accompanied their destruction in areas situated on the main roads. Unfortunately, now that the entire provinces of Erzeroum and Bitlis have been cleared of the Turk and one is able to see for oneself what actually has taken place, one is simply staggered at the depth and extent of the great crime, and the unprecedentedly cruel means by which the Armenians were cleared out of those two provinces, as well

as the adjacent districts.^a

After seeing something with my own eyes in Erzeroum and Van, and compiling the facts about Bitlis, Moush and Khnyss from Russian official and other sources, my impression is that, out of the 250,000 Armenians of the Erzeroum and Bitlis Vilayets that remained under the dominion of the Turk in April, 1915 (exclusive of some 50,000 who saved themselves last summer, either by fighting their way out or by the advance of the Russians, and are now in Trans-Caucasia), only some 10,000 can be accounted: "for since an estimate was made possible by the deathblow which the Turks suffered last month. The remaining 240,000 or so have apparently perished under circumstances of the most extreme violence and inhumanity of which any human being is capable.

I am now in a position to state that all the accounts of Armenian atrocities which have been published in Europe and the United States are not only completely true, but that they represent merely such facts as have come under the eyes of consular officers or missionaries of neutral states; whereas the most ghastly and heinous crimes have been committed in the unfrequented parts of the country, out of sight of any observer.

The city of Erzeroum, the great military stronghold in Turkish Armenia, contained some 50,000 inhabitants before the war, of whom 20,000 were Armenians. The so-called plain of Erzeroum, a fertile alluvial plateau extending north-west of the city, contained some 60 Armenian villages with at least 45,000 inhabitants, almost all of them belonging to a sturdy race of peasants.

As soon as the European war broke out, the Central Committee of the Young Turks sent one Boukhar-ed-Din-Shakir-Bey, one of the Committee leaders, to Erzeroum, to organise the annihilation of the Armenians. Another, Djemal Effendi, a fanatic of the foulest type, was sent later on to help him in the work. These two Committee stalwarts sent from Constantinople were assisted in their fiendish business by two notorious natives - Edib Hodja and Djafer Bey.

At Erzeroum, as everywhere else, the Armenians in particular were ruthlessly robbed of most of the goods they possessed under the cloak of military requisitions. The Turkish defeat at Sarikamysh in January, 1915, and the exaggerated accounts of the part played by Armenian Volunteers in that battle, envenomed relations at Erzeroum. A Turkish officer who returned from Sarikamysh told the Armenian Bishop Sempad at Erzeroum that they chiefly met Armenians on the battlefields: "Many of our soldiers were shot by Armenians," he said, "and it was the Volunteers who destroyed our villages and scouting parties."

Subsequently a campaign of slander and provocation was started by the Young Turk leaders against the Armenian people. Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army were disarmed and sent to labour battalions, and further severe measures were taken to squeeze every available asset out of the helpless people. A great mass meeting was held by the Turks on the 18th April just outside the city, in which the Armenians were publicly denounced as "traitors" and "dangerous to the Empire" and as supporters of the enemies of Turkey. Strict orders were issued to all Moslems who were inclined to shield

their Armenian friends that they would be punished as severely as their protégés if they dared to protect them.

Fully aware of the fate that awaited them, the Armenians of Erzeroum made desperate appeals to Tahsin Bey, the Vali of the province, for protection. The latter's reply was that he could not defy the instructions sent by the Central Government. The answer of Herr Anders, the German Consul at Erzeroum, to whom the Armenians appealed again for protection, seems to have been still more brutal. He definitely stated that the persecutions levelled by the Turkish Government and the mob against the Armenians were quite lawful, and that he could not interfere in the matter.

By an exercise of imagination one may perhaps visualise to some extent the anguish and agony those poor Armenians suffered during April and May. Trapped on all sides by the ruthless enemy and deprived of all means of armed or legal protection, they attempted to make the best of an unprecedentedly tragic situation. Almost all the intellectual leaders and teachers were openly done to death in prison under horrible tortures. Pilos, Atrouni and several others have never been heard of since their imprisonment. Pasdermadjian, a leading citizen of the town, was shot dead in the streets. This reign of terror also prevailed in the villages of the plain.

The capture of Van by the Armenians on the 16th May and the entry of the Armenian Volunteers, followed by the Russian Army, made a great impression on the Turkish authorities at Erzeroum. On the same day, the Armenians of Khnyss and of the neighbouring 38 villages were butchered almost to a man, and the women and children distributed among the Kurds.

During the recent capture of Khnyss by the Russians, some 3,000 women and children were rescued in and around Khnyss. Apparently these represent the remnant of the 22,000 Armenians of the Sandjak of Khnyss.

In the meantime the Russians were advancing towards Melazkerd and Bitlis, and the Turks deported the Armenian peasants from Melazkerd and Passin and drove them towards Erzeroum. These half-starved peasants, exhausted and harried by forced marches, were not allowed to enter Erzeroum; they were kept out in the rain for seven days. Their situation became so shocking in May (1915) that even the German Consul was moved at the spectacle, and took some clothing and bread in his own car to distribute among "these rebellious scoundrels." Later on they were driven towards Erzindjan and drowned in the Euphrates.

On the 4th June, the first batch of Armenian peasants from the plain of Erzeroum, amounting to some 15,000 persons, were forced by the gendarmes to leave their homes and proceed to Mamahatoun, west of Erzeroum. They were escorted by chetti (Moslem Volunteer) bands consisting of criminals released from prison since the proclamation of the Holy War. In the ankle-deep mud and along the rugged roads, children and weak women fell by the wayside amid the laughter of the chettis. Every evening a forced tribute was levied upon the peasants. Gradually they were robbed of

everything they possessed - money, clothing, horses, etc. Girls and women were distributed among the Turks as they passed through Turkish villages. A few hours' distance beyond Mamahatoun, at the entrance of a valley called the Kamakh gorge, this convoy was "ambushed by unknown robbers." The signal was given by a revolver shot, whereupon a volley of fire was poured upon the Armenians. One of the survivors of this batch: a lad of 18 whom I saw in Erzeroum, told me that the shrieks and cries of the women and weeping children under fire were distracting. Many attempted to escape, but they were fired upon by their own escort. In two hours' time the valley had become a vast cemetery of unburied human bodies. Out of the 15,000 thus disposed of, a few escaped and reached Erzeroum in the guise of Turkish peasants.

On the 18th June it was the turn of the city. A fortnight's time-limit was given to the Armenians for settling their affairs; they packed their property in boxes and bales and stored them with Mr. Stapleton, the head of the American Mission, and in the Armenian Cathedral. The Governor took £1,000 (Turkish) from them in payment for a safe-conduct before their departure. A hundred and sixty leading families were selected first for deportation. They were all people of means and education. The German officers in Erzeroum behaved in an outrageous manner towards the Armenian women torn away from their men. The Germans, in fact, seem to have set the example of wrenching women from their homes. One Captain Schapner (?) is said to have forced Miss Tchilingarian, a handsome girl to follow him. On her resisting and crying, she was dragged about in the streets and roughly handled. This worthy German also carried off Mrs. Sarafian, a young woman educated in Switzerland. Another German lieutenant, Karl (?), dragged five women to his rooms, and so on.

The convoy of 160 families started out with carriages and some luggage, and were sent off in the same direction as their predecessors - towards Mamahatoun and Erzindjan. As they travelled they were robbed of everything and even stripped of their clothing. They are reported as having skirted the town of Erzindjan, but beyond that nothing has since been heard of them.

Bishop Sempad was sent off alone in his own carriage to Erzindjan, and never heard of again.

In the last week of June, several parties of Erzeroum Armenians were deported on successive days and most of them massacred on the way, either by shooting or drowning. One, Madame Zarouhi, an elderly lady of means, who was thrown into the Euphrates, saved herself by clinging to a boulder in the river. She succeeded in approaching the bank and returned to Erzeroum to hide herself in a Turkish friend's house. She told Prince Argoutian (Argoutinsky), the representative of the "All-Russian Urban Union" in Erzeroum, that she shuddered to recall how hundreds of children were bayoneted by the Turks and thrown into the Euphrates, and how men and women were stripped naked, tied together in hundreds, shot and then hurled into the river. In a loop of the river near Erzindjan, she said, the thousands of dead bodies created such a barrage that the Euphrates changed its course for about a hundred yards. Several

Armenians of this last party, however, seem to have survived this dreadful journey. Recently some of them wrote from Rakka, in northern Syria, to Mr. Stapleton imploring money and help, as they were in the direst distress.

After the recent capture of the city by the Russians, there were some 100 Armenians altogether in Erzeroum and some 25,000 Turks. Thirty girls and women were protected by Mr. Stapleton in his house. A certain number of women are gradually being rescued from the Turks in the city, and perhaps thousands more may be saved, if the military authorities take the necessary measures and help the Armenians to discover their own people.

Most of the children converted to Islam are quite used to Moslem habits; they speak and behave as if they were Turks by birth. They are now changing these habits again in Armenian hands.

When one stood at the gate called Kars Kapou, the eastern entrance to the city, and looked at the panorama it presented in March, 1916, Erzeroum did not seem to have suffered great changes in its general aspect. But I suffered a rude shock in the interior of the city when I saw Armenian houses occupied by Turks still gloating over their booty, the city deprived of its Armenian element, and the dome of the Cathedral broken away at its base.

The Armenians of Erzeroum to whom I have talked here about their prospects are consoling themselves-though it is a poor consolation-with the thought that thousands of them had left the city before the war, and that they will all return home and take possession of their property as soon as the conditions there become better defined.

58. ERZEROUM: STATEMENT BY THE KURD ALI-AGHAZADE FARO, PUBLISHED IN THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL "MSCHAK," 19th DECEMBER, 1915.

Ali-Aghazade Faro, a Kurd, related to some Armenians of St. Garabed, who reached Caucasia as refugees, that he had gone to Erzeroum last September to sell sheep, &c., and to get his share of the booty from the Armenians if possible. Faro remained in Erzeroum for five or six days, during which time he did not see a single Armenian. He only saw Turks sitting in the shops of the Armenians. When he asked how it was that they were in these shops, some answered that they had bought them, while others said that they were gifts to them from the Government.

Faro spent the night in a Turkish house, and asked his host what had become of the Armenians. The latter replied as follows:

"It was at the end of May when the Governor asked all the leaders and prominent Armenians to go to him. He told them that they were obliged to abandon the city to the enemy, consequently the army would retreat from the place. Therefore he instructed them to get ready and join him within twenty-four hours. They had to get ready, but as all means of transport had been requisitioned, they could take practically nothing with them. Before the twenty-four hours were up, they all gathered near the Government

Building without knowing what was impending. Several hundred gendarmes surrounded them immediately and drove them out of the city towards the west. They were taken as far as Charuk-Dersim (Doujik). The Kurds of Dersim had already received their orders. They attacked them and killed everyone. Another batch of Armenians was deported towards Sivas. They were seen passing through the Kamakh Pass, but what happened to them afterwards has never been known. A few hundred of their most beautiful girls were captured by certain Turks, and the Government was still looking for them."

59. BAIBOURT: NARRATIVE OF AN ARMENIAN LADY DEPORTED IN THE THIRD CONVOY; COMMUNICATED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.

A week before anything was done to Baibourt, the villages all round had been emptied and their inhabitants had become victims of the gendarmes and marauding bands. Three days before the starting of the Armenians from Baibourt, after a week's imprisonment, Bishop Anania Hazarabedian was hanged, with seven other notables. After these hangings, seven or eight other notables were killed in their own houses for refusing to leave the city. Seventy or eighty other Armenians, after being beaten in prison, were taken to the woods and killed. The Armenian population of Baibourt was sent off in three batches; I was among the third batch. My husband died eight years ago, leaving me and my eight-year-old daughter and my mother a large property, so that we were living in comfort. Since mobilization began, the Ottoman Commandant has been living in my house free of rent. He told me not to go, but I felt I must share the fate of my people. I took three horses with me, loaded with provisions. My daughter had some five-lira pieces round her neck, and I carried some twenty liras and four diamond rings on my person. All else that we had was left behind. Our party left on the 1st/14th June, fifteen gendarmes going with us. The party numbered four or five hundred⁵ persons. We had got only two hours away from home when bands of villagers and brigands in large numbers, with rifles, guns, axes, etc., surrounded us on the road, and robbed us of all we had. The gendarmes took my three horses and sold them to Turkish mouhadjirs, pocketing the money. They took my money and the gold pieces from my daughter's neck, also all our food. After this they separated the men, one by one, and shot them all within six or seven days - every male above fifteen years old. By my side were killed two priests, one of them over ninety years of age. The brigands took all the good-looking women and carried them off on their horses. Very many women and girls were thus carried off to the mountains, among them my sister, whose one-year-old baby they threw away; a Turk picked it up and carried it off, I know not where. My mother walked till she could walk no farther, and dropped by the roadside on a mountain top. We found on the road many of those who had been deported from Baibourt in the previous convoys; some women were among the killed, with their husbands and sons. We also came across some old people and little infants still alive but in a pitiful

⁵ "4000-5000" - Doc. 2.

condition, having shouted their voices away. We were not allowed to sleep at night in the villages, but lay down outside. Under cover of the night indescribable deeds were committed by the gendarmes, brigands and villagers. Many of us died from hunger and strokes of apoplexy. Others were left by the roadside, too feeble to go on.

One morning we saw fifty or sixty wagons with about thirty Turkish widows, whose husbands had been killed in the war; and these were going to Constantinople. One of these women made a sign to one of the gendarmes to kill a certain Armenian whom she pointed out. The gendarmes asked her if she did not wish to kill him herself, at which she said "Why not?" and, drawing a revolver from her pocket, shot him dead. Every one of these Turkish hanoums had five or six Armenian girls of ten or under with her. Boys the Turks never wished to take; they killed them all, of whatever age. These women wanted to take my daughter, too, but she would not be separated from me. Finally we were both taken into their wagons on our promising to become Moslems. As soon as we entered the araba, they began to teach us how to be Moslems, and changed our names, calling me X. and her Y.

The worst and most unimaginable horrors were reserved for us at the banks of the Euphrates⁶ and in the Erzindjan plain. The mutilated bodies of women, girls and little children made everybody shudder. The brigands were doing all sorts of awful deeds to the women and girls that were with us, whose cries went up to heaven. At the Euphrates, the brigands and gendarmes threw into the river all the remaining children under fifteen years old. Those that could swim were shot down as they struggled in the water.

After seven days we reached Erzindjan. Not an Armenian was left alive there. The Turkish women took my daughter and me to the bath, and there showed us many other women and girls that had accepted Islam. Between there and Enderessi, the fields and hillsides were dotted with swollen and blackened corpses that filled and fouled the air with their stench. On this road we met six women wearing the feradje⁷ and with children in their arms.

But when the gendarmes lifted their veils, they found that they were men in disguise, so they shot them. After thirty-two days' journey we reached our destination.

60. BAIBOURT: STATEMENT, REPRODUCED FROM THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL "HORIZON," OF TIFLIS, IN THE ARMENIAN JOURNAL "GOTCHNAG" OF NEW YORK, 18th MARCH, 1916.

On the 15th May, some of the prominent Armenians of Baibourt - north-west of Erzeroum - Hadji Simon, Hamazasb, Arshag and Drtad Simavonian, Hagop Aghparian, Vagharshag Lousigian, Garabed Sarafian, Garabed Duldulian, and the Bishop were arrested. They were then taken to a place called "Ourbadji Oghlou Dere" and killed. When the Armenians heard of this they were terrified, but the Government declared that

⁶ i.e. the Kara Su.

⁷ Moslem veil.

these were traitors, that they had sent money to the enemy and tried to persuade the people to revolt - that consequently they were punished, but that nothing would happen to the other Armenians. They were, in fact, really left in peace for some time, but after the retreat from Van Turkish soldiers came and disarmed them. They were then deported and massacred.

Forty armed young men from the village of Lsounk and 20 from Varvan escaped to the mountains. They were pursued by regular soldiers and forced to fight. Both sides lost heavily, and finally 12 of the Armenians, by the help of Greek villagers, reached Caucasasia.

61. BAIBOURT, KEGHI, AND ERZINDJAN: LETTER^{8*}, DATED ERZEROUM, 25th MAY /7th JUNE, 1915; COMMUNICATED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN RELIEF.

The districts of Erzindjan, Keghi, and Baibourt have been devastated by forced emigrations. The Armenian population of the city of Erzeroum has also received categoric orders to leave the city. They will be deported en masse; 160 merchants are already en route with their families. The Government has confiscated their goods. We have no information about the deported people; they say they -will be sent to Mosul.

62. ERZINDJAN: STATEMENT BY TWO RED CROSS NURSES OF DANISH NATIONALITY, FORMERLY IN THE SERVICE OF THE GERMAN MILITARY MISSION AT ERZEROUM⁹; COMMUNICATED BY A SWISS GENTLEMAN OF GENEVA.

In March, 1915, we learnt through an Armenian doctor, who died later on of typhus, that the Turkish Government was preparing for a massacre on a grand scale. He begged us to find out from General Passelt whether the rumour were true. We heard afterwards that the General (a gallant officer) had his own fears of it, and asked, for that reason, to be relieved of his post..... We fell sick of typhus and..... in consequence of a number of changes in the hospital staff we were obliged to leave Erzeroum. Through the good offices of the German Consul at Erzeroum, who also possessed the confidence of the Armenians, we were engaged by the Red Cross at Erzindjan, and worked there seven weeks.

At the beginning of June, the head of the Red Cross Mission at Erzindjan, Staff-Surgeon A., told us that the Armenians had revolted at Van, that measures had been taken against them which would be put into general execution, and that the whole Armenian population of Erzindjan and the neighbourhood would be transported to Mesopotamia, where it would no longer find itself in a majority. There was, however, to be no massacre, and measures were to be taken to feed the exiles and to secure their personal safety by a military escort. Wagons loaded with arms and bombs were

⁸ Name of author withheld.

⁹ They were at work in the German hospital at Erzeroum from October, 1914, to April, 1915. - EDITOR.

reported, he said, to have been discovered at Erzindjan, and many arrests were to be made. The Red Cross staff were forbidden to have any relations with the exiles, and prohibited any excursions on foot or horseback beyond a certain radius.

After that, several days' grace was given to the population of Erzindjan for the sale of their property, which was naturally realised at ludicrous prices. In the first week of June¹⁰, the first convoy started; the rich people were allowed to hire carriages. They were to go to Harpout. The three succeeding days, further deportations followed¹¹; many children were taken charge of by Moslem families; later on, the authorities decided that these children must go into exile as well.

The families of the Armenians employed in our hospital had to go with the rest, including a woman who was ill. A protest from Dr. Neukirch, who was attending her, had no effect except to postpone her departure two days. A soldier attached to our staff as cobbler said to Sister B.¹²: "I am now forty-six years old, and yet I am taken for military service, although I have paid my exemption-tax regularly every year. I have never done anything against the Government, and now they are taking from me my whole family, my seventy-year-old mother, my wife and five children, and I do not know where they are going." He was especially affected by the thought of his little daughter, a year and a half old; "She is so sweet. She has such pretty eyes"; he wept like a child. The next day he came back; "I know the truth. They are all dead." And it was only too true. Our Turkish cook came to us crying, and told us how the Kurds had attacked the unhappy convoy at Kamakh Boghaz¹³, had pillaged it completely, and had killed a great number of the exiles. This must have been the 14th June.

Two young Armenian teachers, educated at the College of Harpout, whose lives were spared, related that the convoy had been caught under a cross-fire by the Kurds on the flanks and the Turkish irregulars in the rear. They had thrown themselves flat on the ground and pretended to be dead; afterwards they succeeded in finding their way back to Erzindjan by circuitous paths, bribing some Kurds whom they met on the way. One of them had with her fiancé in woman's clothes. He had been shielded by a Turkish class-mate. When they reached Erzindjan a gendarme tried to abduct the girl and her fiancé interfered. He was killed, and the girls were carried off to Turkish houses, where they were treated kindly but had pressure put upon them to change their religion. They conveyed this news to us through a young doctor who attended some Armenian patients in our hospital, and was thereby enabled to get into touch with us; he brought us an appeal from them to take them with us to Harpout. If only they had poison, they

¹⁰ 7th June - *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, November, 1915.

¹¹ Amounting to about 20,000 - 25,000 people in all - *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, November, 1915.

¹² One of the authors of the present statement, which has been drafted in the first person by the other witness, but represents the experiences of both. The Editor is in possession of the drafter's name, but does not know the identity of Sister B., Dr. A., or Mr. G. - EDITOR.

¹³ A defile, 12 hours' journey from Erzindjan, where the Euphrates flows through a narrow gorge between two walls of rock.

said, they would poison themselves. They had no information whatever as to the fate of their companions.

The day after,¹⁴ Friday, the 11th June, a party of regular troops (belonging to the 86th Cavalry Brigade) were sent out "to keep the Kurds in order."

We heard subsequently from these soldiers how the defenceless Armenians had been massacred to the last one. The butchery had taken four hours. The women threw themselves on their knees, they had thrown their children into the Euphrates, and so on.¹⁵ "It was horrible," said a nice-looking young soldier; "I could not fire, I only pretended." For that matter, we have often heard Turks express their disapproval and their pity. The soldiers told us that there were ox-carts all ready to carry the corpses to the river and remove every trace of the massacre.¹⁶

Next day there was a regular *battue* through the cornfields. (The corn was then standing, and many Armenians had hidden in it.)

From that time on, convoys of exiles were continually arriving, all on their way to the slaughter; we have no doubt about their fate, after the unanimous testimony which we have received from many different quarters. Later, our Greek driver told us that the victims had their hands tied behind their backs, and were thrown down from the cliffs into the river. This method was employed when the numbers were too great to dispose of them in any other fashion. It was also easier work for the murderers. Sister B. and I, of course, began at once to think what we could do, and we decided to travel with one of these convoys to Harpout. We did not know yet that the massacre on the road had been ordered by the Government, and we also thought that we could check the brutality of the gendarmes and stave off the assaults of the Kurds, since we speak Kurdish and have some influence over the tribesmen.

We then telegraphed to the Consul at Erzeroum, telling him that we had been dismissed from the hospital, and urging him, in the interests of Germany, to come to Erzindjan. He wired back: "Impossible to leave my post. Expect Austrians, who are due to pass here the 22nd June...."

On the evening of the 17th June, we went out for a walk with Mr. C., the druggist of the Red Cross Staff. He was as much horrified as we were at the cruelties that were being perpetrated, and expressed himself very plainly on the subject. He also received his dismissal. On our walk we met a gendarme, who told us that, ten minutes' distance away, a large convoy of exiles from Baibourt had been halted. He narrated to us, with

¹⁴ i.e., after the departure of the last convoy of exiles from Erzindjan (10th June), not after the narrators were informed of the massacre by their cook and by the two Armenian girls. The passages about the cobbler, the cook, and the two girls are evidently in parenthesis, and interrupt the sequence of the narrative. - EDITOR.

¹⁵ The further details are given in the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, November, 1915: "When we exclaimed in horror: 'What could we do? It was our orders.' One of them added: 'It was a heart-breaking sight. For that matter, I did not shoot.' " - EDITOR.

¹⁶ On the evening of the 11th, we saw soldiers returning to town laden with loot. We heard from both Turks and Armenians that children's corpses were strewn along the road.

appalling vividness, how one by one the men had been massacred and cast into the depths of the gorge¹⁷: "Kezzé, kezzé, geliorlar! (Kill, kill, push them over)." He told how, at each village, the women had been violated; how he himself had desired to take a girl, but had been told that already she was no longer a maid; how children had had their brains battered out when they cried or hindered the march. "There were the naked bodies of three girls; I buried them to do a good deed," was his concluding remark.

The following morning, at a very early hour, we heard the procession of exiles passing in front of our house, along the high road leading in to Erzindjan. We followed them and kept up with them as far as the town, about an hour's walk. Mr. G. came with us. It was a very large gang - only two or three of them men, all the rest women and children. Many of the women looked demented. They cried out: "Spare us, we will become Moslems or Germans or whatever you will; only spare us. We are being taken to Kamakh Boghaz to have our throats cut," and they made an expressive gesture. Others kept silence, and marched patiently on with a few bundles on their backs and their children in their arms. Others begged us to save their children. Many Turks arrived on the scene to carry off children and girls, with or without their parents' consent. There was no time for reflection, for the crowd was being moved on continually by the mounted gendarmes brandishing their whips. On the outskirts of the town, the road to Kamakh Boghaz branches off from the main highway. At this point the scene turned into a regular slave market; for our part, we took a family of six children, from three to fourteen years old, who clutched hold of us, and another little girl as well. We entrusted the latter to our Turkish cook, who was on the spot. She wanted to take the child to the kitchen of Dr. A.'s private house, and keep her there until we could come to fetch her; but the doctor's adjutant, Riza Bey, gave the woman a beating and threw the child out into the street. Meanwhile, with cries of agony, the gang of sufferers continued its march, while we returned to the hospital with our six children. Dr. A. gave us permission to keep them in our room until we had packed our belongings; they were given food and soon became calmer. "Now we are saved," they had cried when we took them. They refused to let go of our hands. The smallest, the son of a rich citizen of Baibourt, lay huddled up in his mother's cloak; his face was swollen with crying and he seemed inconsolable. Once he rushed to the window and pointed to a gendarme: "That's the man who killed my father." The children handed over to us their money, 475 piastres (about £4), which their parents had given them with the idea that perhaps the children, at any rate, would not be shot.

We then rode into the town to obtain permission for these children to travel with us. We were told that the high authorities were in session to decide the fate of the convoy which had just arrived. Nevertheless, Sister B. succeeded in getting word with someone she knew, who gave her the authorisation to take the children with her and offered to give them false names in the passport. This satisfied us, and, after returning to the hospital, we left the same evening with baggage and children and all, and

¹⁷ Every day ten or twelve of the men had been killed and thrown into the ravines. - *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*.

installed ourselves in a hotel at Erzindjan. The Turkish orderlies at the hospital were very friendly, and said: "You have done a good deed in taking these children." We could get nothing but one small room for the eight of us. During the night there was a frightful knocking at our door, and we were asked whether there were two German ladies in the room. Then all became quiet again, to the great relief of our little ones. Their first question had been, would we prevent them from being made Mohammedans? And was our cross (the nurses' Red Cross) the same as theirs? After that they were comforted. We left them in the room, and went ourselves to take our tea in the hotel cafe. We noticed that some discharged hospital patients of ours, who had always shown themselves full of gratitude towards us, behaved as if they no longer recognised us. The proprietor of the hotel began to hold forth, and everyone listened to what he was saying: "The death of these women and children has been decreed at Constantinople." The Hodja (Turkish priest) of our hospital came in, too, and said to us, among other things: "If God has no pity on them, why must you have pity? The Armenians have committed atrocities at Van. That happened because their religion is *ekzik* (inferior). The Moslems should not have followed their example, but should have carried out the massacre with greater humanity." We always gave the same answer - that they ought to discover the guilty and do justice upon them, but that the massacre of women and children was, and always will remain, a crime.

Then we went to the Mutessarif himself, with whom we had not succeeded in obtaining an interview before. The man looked like the devil incarnate, and his behaviour bore out his appearance. In a bellowing voice he shouted at us: "Women have no business to meddle with politics, but ought to respect the Government!" We told him that we should have acted in precisely the same way if the victims had been Mohammedans, and that politics had nothing to do with our conduct. He answered that we had been expelled from the hospital, and that we should get the same treatment from him; that he would not stand us, and that he would certainly not permit us to go to Harpout to fetch our belongings, but would send us to Sivas. Worst of all, he forbade us to take the children away, and at once sent a gendarme to carry them off from our room.

On our way back to the hotel we actually met them, but they were hurried past us so quickly that we had not even a chance to return them their money. Afterwards we asked Dr. Lindenberg to see that this money was restored to them; but, to find out where they were, he had to make enquiries of a Turkish officer, and just at the moment of our departure, when we had been told that they had already been killed, and when we had no longer any chance of making a further search for them, the aforementioned Riza Bey came and asked us for this money, on the ground that he wanted to return it to the children! We had already decided to spend it on relieving other Armenians.

At Erzindjan we were now looked askance at. They would no longer let us stay at the hotel, but took us to a deserted Armenian house. The whole of this extensive quarter of the town seemed dead. People came and went at will to loot the contents of the houses; in some of the houses families of Moslem refugees were already installed. We had now a roof over our heads, but no one would go to get us food. However, we

managed to send a note to Dr. A., who kindly allowed us to return to the hospital. The following day, the Mutessarif sent a springless baggage cart, in which we were to do the seven days' journey to Sivas. "We gave him to understand that we would not have this conveyance, and, upon the representations of Dr. A., they sent us a travelling carriage, with the threat to have us arrested if we did not start at once. This was on Monday, the 21st June, and we should have liked to wait for the Austrians, who were due to arrive on the Tuesday morning, and continue the journey in their company; but Dr. A. declared that he could no longer give us protection, and so we started out. Dr. Lindenberg did us the kindness of escorting us as far as Rifahia¹⁸. During the first days of our journey we saw five corpses. One was a woman's, and still had clothes on; the others were naked, one of them headless. There were two Turkish officers on the road with us who were really Armenians, as we were told by the gendarme attached to us. They preserved their incognito towards us, and maintained a very great reserve, but always took care not to get separated from us. On the fourth day they did not put in an appearance. When we enquired after them, we were given to understand that the less we concerned ourselves about them the better it would be for us. On the road, we broke our journey near a Greek village. A savage-looking man was standing by the roadside. He began to talk with us, and told us he was stationed there to kill all the Armenians that passed, and that he had already killed 250. He explained that they all deserved their fate, for they were all Anarchists - not Liberals or Socialists, but Anarchists. He told the gendarmes that he had received orders by telephone to kill our two travelling companions. So these two men with their Armenian drivers must have perished there. We could not restrain ourselves from arguing with this assassin, but when he went off our Greek driver warned us: "Don't say a word, if you do..." - and he made the gesture of taking aim. The rumour had, in fact, got about that we were Armenians, which was as good as to say condemned to death.

One day we met a convoy of exiles, who had said good-bye to their prosperous villages and were at that moment on their way to Kamakh Boghaz. We had to draw up a long time by the roadside while they marched past. The scene will never be forgotten by either of us: a very small number of elderly men, a large number of women - vigorous figures with energetic features - a crowd of pretty children, some of them fair and blue-eyed, one little girl smiling at the strangeness of all she was seeing, but on all the other faces the solemnity of death. There was no noise; it was all quiet, and they marched along in an orderly way, the children generally riding on the ox-carts; and so they passed, some of them greeting us on the way - all these poor people, who are now standing at the throne of God, and whose cry goes up before Him. An old woman was made to get down from her donkey - she could no longer keep the saddle. Was she killed on the spot? Our hearts had become as cold as ice.

The gendarme attached to us told us then that he had escorted a convoy of 3,000 women and children to Mamahatoun (near Erzeroum) and Kamakh Boghaz. "Hep gildi,

¹⁸ This was not the route followed by the convoys of exiles.

bildi," he said: "All gone, all dead." We asked him: "Why condemn them to this frightful torment; why not kill them in their villages?" Answer: "It is best as it is. They ought to be made to suffer; and, besides, there would be no place left for us Moslems with all these corpses about. They will make a stench!"

We spent a night at Enderessi, one day's journey from Shabin Kara-Hissar. As usual, we had been given for our lodging an empty Armenian house. On the wall there was a pencil scrawl in Turkish: "Our dwelling is on the mountains, we have no longer any need of a roof to cover us; we have already drained the bitter cup of death, we have no more need of a judge."

The ground floor rooms of the house were still tenanted by the women and children. The gendarmes told us that they would be exiled next morning, but they did not know that yet; they did not know what had become of the men of the house; they were restless, but not yet desperate.

Just after I had gone to sleep, I was awakened by shots in our immediate neighbourhood. The reports followed one another rapidly, and I distinctly heard the words of command. I realised at once what was happening, and actually experienced a feeling of relief at the idea that these poor creatures were now beyond the reach of human cruelty.

Next morning our people told us that ten Armenians had been shot - that was the firing that we had heard - and that the Turkish civilians of the place were now being sent out to chase the fugitives. Indeed, we saw them starting off on horseback with guns. At the roadside were two armed men standing under a tree and dividing between them the clothes of a dead Armenian. We passed a place covered with clotted blood, though the corpses had been removed. It was the 250 roadmaking soldiers, of whom our gendarme had told us.

Once we met a large number of these labourers, who had so far been allowed to do their work in peace. They had been sorted into three gangs - Moslems, Greeks and Armenians. There were several officers with the latter. Our young Hassan exclaimed: "They are all going to be butchered." We continued our journey, and the road mounted a hill. Then our driver pointed with his whip towards the valley, and we saw that the Armenian gang was being made to stand out of the highroad. There were about 400 of them, and they were being made to line up on the edge of a slope. We know what happened after that.

Two days before we reached Sivas, we again saw the same sight. The soldiers' bayonets glittered in the sun.

At another place there were ten gendarmes shooting them down, while Turkish workmen were finishing off the victims with knives and stones. Here ten Armenians had succeeded in getting away.

Later on, in the Mission Hospital at Sivas, we came across one of the men who had escaped. He told us that about 100 Armenians had been slaughtered there. Our informant himself had received a terrible wound in the nape of the neck and had fainted.

Afterwards he had recovered consciousness and had dragged himself in two days to Sivas.

Twelve hours' distance from Sivas, we spent the night in a government building. For hours a gendarme, sitting in front of our door, crooned to himself over and over again: "Ermenleri hep kesdiler - the Armenians have all been killed! "In the next room they were talking on the telephone. We made out that they were giving instructions as to how the Armenians were to be arrested. They were talking chiefly about a certain Ohannes, whom they had not succeeded in finding yet.

One night we slept in an Armenian house where the women had just heard that the men of the family had been condemned to death. It was frightful to hear their cries of anguish. It was no use our trying to speak to them. "Cannot your Emperor help us?" they cried. The gendarme saw the despair on our faces, and said: "Their crying bothers you; I will forbid them to cry." However, he let himself be mollified. He had taken particular pleasure in pointing out to us all the horrors that we encountered, and he said to young Hassan: "First we kill the Armenians, then the Greeks, then the Kurds." He would certainly have been delighted to add: "And then the foreigners!" Our Greek driver was the victim of a still more ghastly joke: "Look, down there in the ditch; there are Greeks there too!"

At last we reached Sivas. We had to wait an hour in front of the Government Building before the examination of our papers was completed and we were given permission to go to the Americans. There, too, all was trouble and sorrow.

On the 1st July we left Sivas and reached Kaisaria on the 4th. We had been given permission to go to Talas, after depositing our baggage at the Jesuit School; but when we wanted to go on from Kaisaria, we were refused leave and taken back to the Jesuit School, where a gendarme was posted in front of our door. However, the American Missionaries succeeded in getting us set at liberty.

We then returned to Talas, where we passed several days full of commotion, for there, as well as at Kaisaria, there were many arrests being made. The poor Armenians never knew what the morrow would bring, and then came the terrifying news that all Armenians had been cleared out of Sivas. What happened there and in the villages of the surrounding districts will be reported by the American Mission.

When we discovered that they meant to keep us there - for they had prevented us from joining the Austrians for the journey - we telegraphed to the German Embassy, and so obtained permission to start. There is nothing to tell about this part of our journey, except that the locusts had in places destroyed all the fruit and vegetables, so that the Turks are already beginning to have some experience of the Divine punishment.

63. KAMAKH AND ERZEROUM: STATEMENT^{19*} PUBLISHED IN THE NEW YORK JOURNAL "GOTCHNAG," 4th SEPTEMBER, 1915.

The Armenian villages of the Kamakh district have been visited with the most

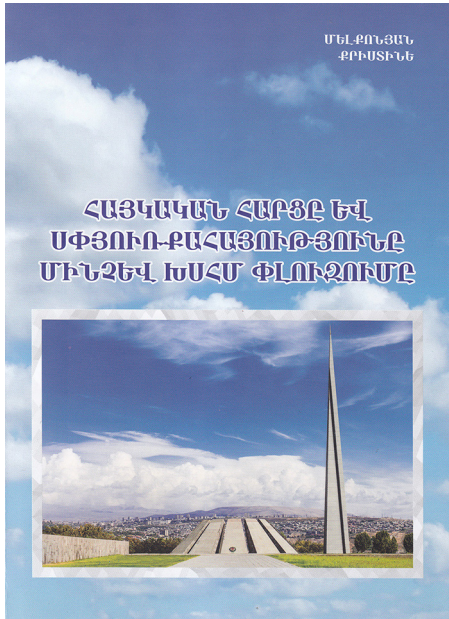
¹⁹ Source unspecified.

ghastly horrors. The Turks began by perpetrating massacres, and subsequently deported the survivors to various places - the men in one direction and the women in another. The houses and property belonging to the Armenians have been taken possession of by the Turks and Kurds, who have come to this district as refugees from the Vilayet of Van.

The Armenian villages in the plain west of Erzeroum have all been cleared of their inhabitants. After all the men who were physically fit had been mobilised, the remainder were deported. The Armenian houses are being handed over to Turkish immigrants. The Archimandrite Kevork Tourian, Metropolitan of the Armenians of Trebizond, has been brought to Erzeroum, where he will be tried by court-martial.

BOOK REVIEWS

**Christine Melkonyan, ARMENIAN QUESTION AND THE ARMENIAN
DIASPORA BEFORE THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR, YEREVAN, 2018,
CHARTARAGET PUBLISHING HOUSE, 168 P.**



Abstract: The monograph of Ch. Melkonyan, the senior researcher of the Institute of Oriental Studies, NAS RA, sponsored by the Ministry of Diaspora RA, is dedicated to the activities of the Armenian Diaspora in regard to the Armenian Question which had received a strong impetus from the second half of the XX century, especially since 1960s. The monograph covers about half a century, from 1940s until late 1980s, reaching the collapse of the USSR.

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The study consists of four chapters, where the activities of the Diaspora are presented in chronological order.

Chapter 1 - «The Armenian Question in the context of the Soviet-Turkish relations and the Diaspora (second half of 1940s)». In this chapter the author discusses the interstate and international political processes dealing with the territorial claims of the USSR against Turkey after World War II, and in this context the expectations and hopes of the Diaspora. She mentions that the demand of the USSR to return the regions of Kars and Ardahan, Western Armenia, to Armenia was an important event for the Armenians of Diaspora, who were hopeful that the international community should assist the USSR in the reunification of Armenians worldwide. National councils created in different countries started to perform active efforts with the hope that some parts of historical Armenia are going to be attached to the Soviet Armenia. Armenian national councils were addressing petitions and memorandums to the newly created United Nations, peace conferences of Potsdam, London, Paris, and to governments of different countries. All national councils were acting with enthusiasm which was very important for the consolidation of efforts and establishment of joint position for the solution of Armenian Question. The author notices that the initiation of the Cold War had affected negatively on the process of the solution of Armenian Question which appeared in a dead-alley. Moreover, as a result of the Cold War the Armenian community worldwide was splitted in the geopolitical sense. Armenians of the USSR and those of the

Diaspora actually appeared in two confronting camps. It should be stressed that although the USSR was forced to abandon territorial demands to Turkey, anyway, it was extremely important for the activities and efforts of the Diaspora in the future. The author is right when she mentions that the process of the solution of the Armenian Question and the international recognition of the Armenian genocide was exceptionally monopolized by the Diaspora since the Republic of Armenia was not able to carry out a policy different from that of the USSR. So the role of the political and social organizations of the Diaspora and individuals was pivotal.

Chapter 2 - «50th Anniversary of Armenian genocide and the activities of Diasporan Armenians in 1960s» represents the active role of the organizations and individuals of the Diaspora in the field of international recognition of the Armenian genocide, which became more efficient from the mid-1960s connected with the 50th anniversary of the Genocide. The author mentions that during this period the interest of international community was noticeably increased in regard to these problems, in international organizations, scientific and public conferences had started discussions in different formats. It is mentioned that in 1960s the Armenian question was becoming a bargaining chip for the great powers as a means of pressure on Turkey, which unfortunately continued in the subsequent decades. The author views the steps conducted in the field of the international recognition of the Armenian genocide in parallel with the international political processes, also she gives the reflexions of these processes in western and especially in Turkish mass media. Resuming the chapter she states that 1960s had become a turning point in the history of the Armenian genocide, since in Soviet Armenia the problem of genocide ceased to be regarded as a prohibited topic, and the struggle of the Diasporan Armenians for the international recognition of the genocide had become more effective. In response to this, Turkey began to conduct active counter measures, which had laid a base for the Turkish denialism and anti-Armenian propaganda. For example, in 1967 the Turkish Council of National Security had discussed the activities of the Diaspora directed towards the international recognition of the genocide, which resulted in the establishment of the Turkish state-regulated policy.

Chapter 3 - «Armenian problem and the activities of Diasporan Armenians in 1970s» discusses the efforts undertaken by the Diasporan Armenians in international organizations and different countries aimed on the recognition of the Armenian genocide. The Diasporan organizations, along with initiating demonstrations and installing monuments commemorating the Genocide, are submitting petitions and appeals to UN, European Parliament, international organizations, leaders of different countries and governments. Due to the activities of the Diaspora the problem of the Armenian genocide had entered the UN. Although in 1970s the debates in the Commission of the Human rights of UN were not fruitless, which was conditioned by political realities, anyway, they had an important impact on the internationalization of Armenian genocide. The problem of Armenian genocide was subject to discussions in

different countries, and in political processes, where the organizations and individuals had actively participated, like in France and the USA. In the USA were extremely active the Armenian assembly and Armenian National Committee of America, who took the main burden of the Armenian claims and the Genocide recognition. These structures began active efforts in the executive and legislative bodies of the USA, in the presentation of Armenian genocide in the public and political circles. In 1970s besides the traditional peaceful activities begins the phase of armed struggle. In the monograph are briefly introduced activities of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia and Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide, stating that due to their actions they had succeeded to activate once more the problem of the recognition of the Armenian genocide in international and political agenda. The author also discusses the secret meeting of the representatives of Armenian national parties with Turkish foreign minister I. Caglayangil in Zürich, 1977, where the latter threatened with the possibility of countermeasures. Actually the Turkish special services began actions against the organizations of the Diaspora and individuals, in which the Turkish criminal world and mafia were also involved.

Chapter 4 - «The process of recognition of Armenian genocide in 1980s». The author notices that in 1980s the efforts of the Diaspora in the field of the solution of Armenian question and the recognition of Armenian genocide has brought to some positive results. These were not only steps directed towards the adoption of resolutions by international organizations and parliaments of some countries, but also in order to voice that question by politicians, scholars of the genocide studies, historians and other people. Along with the traditional means of behavior and struggle other factors had come into presence, which had widened the interest of international community towards the Armenian genocide. In some European countries the organizations of Human rights also began to press on their governments, demanding the recognition of the Armenian genocide. In the monograph are mostly discussed the activities of politicians of France and the USA and the initiatives of their parliaments in regard to the recognition of Armenian genocide, and the resolution of European council accepted in 1987. The author discusses these processes in the frames of international relations and geopolitical developments, and the relations of these countries with Turkey as well. As in the case of France, in that of USA is clearly demonstrated the continuous conflict between the geopolitical interests and human values (for example, the resolution on the Armenian genocide had not passed in the Congress of the USA under the pressure of the government).

In the monograph is made an attempt to elucidate different aspects of the activities of the Diaspora in regard to the solution of Armenian genocide, which include 1940-1980s. It introduces new archival materials and documents, and also excerpts from the the Diaspora and Turkish mass media. It should be mentioned that the activities of the Armenian Diaspora aimed on the recognition of the Genocide were discussed especially

in parallel with the relations of these countries with Turkey, and geopolitical and interstate developments as well.

Taking into account the multilayered and lengthy character of the problem, some observations should be in place. Although the author had mentioned that the monograph was represented as an essay, nevertheless, taking into account its voluminous, the study of the Armenian genocide without the detailed analysis of attitude and activities of Diasporan political parties and organizations it could not be regarded as complete. It is evident that the competition between Armenian national parties which had a pivotal role in the Diaspora, differences between their approaches and discord had its negative impact also on the Armenian claims, from the point of joint struggle. The monograph actually does not discuss the activities of the Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, and also initiatives of such an influential organization as, for example, AGBU. The activities of Armenian scholars living abroad, efforts of Diasporan scholars in the field of Armenian genocide and genocide studies are also bypassed. The above mentioned is necessary for the completeness of the study which should be done in the future. The monograph under review, even in the form of the essay, is important for the understanding of the main trends and steps in the activities of the Diaspora focused on the resolution of the Armenian genocide. Anyway, it lacks reworking in regard to the elucidation of different problems, analysis and coverage.

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**CUNEIFORM HITTITE SOURCES ABOUT ARMENIAN HIGHLAND, Vol. I,
Yerevan 2016, Vol. II, Yerevan 2018 (in Armenian).**



The Hittite cuneiform texts relating to 2nd millennium BC, which contain valuable information about the western regions of the Armenian Highland, are quite important for the study of history of early communities, state formations of this region and the pre-history of Armenian ethnos. As is known, the Hittite sources have been first studied for the interpretation of the earliest Armenian history and language actually from the beginning of Hittitology, since 1920s when they were put into scientific circulation. Several Armenian (and not only Armenian) Hittitologists and Armenologists had made use of Hittite cuneiform texts dealing with the Armenian Highland, which cover a time span of over

two hundred years (XV-XIII c. BC). Among them N. Martirosyan, Gr. Kapancyan, L. Barseghyan, V. Khachatryan, G. Jahukyan, N. Mkrtchyan, A. Kosyan, A. Petrosyan, R. Ghazaryan, H. Hmayakyan, M. Khanzadyan should be distinguished.

However, the two studies under review is the first attempt to bring together those Hittite cuneiform texts which contain information about the Armenian Highland and offer scholarly publication (transliteration, translation, textual and historical commentaries). These have been done using the most up-to-date principles of scientific edition of primary sources.

In 2013-2016 within the framework of two consecutive grants provided by the Science Committee of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Armenia the group based at the Institute of Oriental Studies, NAS RA, had published first two volumes of the large project “Cuneiform Hittite Sources About Armenian Highland”: “The XIV century B.C. Interstate Treaties Between the Hittite Empire and Hayasa” by Aram Kosyan (2016) and “The XV century Hittite Cuneiform Sources About the Armenian Highland” by Aram Kosyan, Robert Ghazaryan, Maryam Khanzadyan, Satenik Martirosyan that are essential for the study of the history of the Armenian Highland of the 2nd millennium BC.

First of the studies reviewed here is a monograph by Dr. Aram Kosyan. It consists of three chapters, annexes, indexes (toponyms, personal names and theonyms) and transliterations.

Chapter 1 incorporates transliteration, translation and textual notes relating to two treaties between the Hittite King Suppiluliuma and Hayasa’s ruler Hukkana as well as that concluded between the Hittite King Tudhaliya III and Mariya of Hayasa. Chapter 2 includes texts related to these treaties (also presenting their transliteration and

translation and commentaries). These additional texts contribute to more comprehensive understanding of the Hittite-Hayasaeen treaties. Chapter 3 of the book gives a detailed accounts of Hatti-Hayasa relationships, discusses the political situation of the XIV c. BC in the western part of the Armenian Highland.

This work based on cuneiform sources gives comprehensive information about the Hittite-Hayasaeen historical and political interrelations, of which it becomes clear that after the battle of Kummaha, at the end of the reign of Tudhaliya III (mid-XIV c. BC) Hayasa fallen under the suzerainty of the Hittite empire. Nevertheless, Hayasa was using every favorable political opportunity to gain some form of independence; this happened even during the time when one of the Hayasaeen rulers was in co-parents-in-law relations with the Hittite king. Hayasa probably succeeded once - during the troubled times after the short reign of Suppiluliuma's son Arnuwandas II, when according to the cuneiform sources all dependent states attacked Hatti and became independent for some period (before the campaigns of Mursili II).

The second book under review "The XV century Hittite Cuneiform Sources about the Armenian Highlands" is a collective study, where are collected the XV c. BC texts. The work mainly discusses two important treaties concluded between the Hittite Empire and the countries of the Upper Euphrates as well as some related texts.

Study of the history of the Upper Euphrates state formations has a great importance for a better understanding of the political situation in the western part of the Armenian Highland: formulated views in this precious work enable revisiting some problems of the XV-XIV cc. The work covers the state formations laying west of the Lake Van and stretching to the sources of river Euphrates.

Chapter 1 of the book examines the cuneiform inscription KUB XXIII 72+ which is known as a text narrating Pahhuwa's revolt and the treaties concluded with the Upper Euphrates states (KUB XXXI 103). The Chapter then sums up other authors' studies in regards to comments and deciphering of these texts: it also contains transliteration, translations as well as notes showing the authors' new approaches and comments.

Chapter 2 brings a collection of texts relating to the above treaty, they are transliterated, translated and commented. These texts are of great interest as they give a good deal of information and rich materials related to geography, topography and toponymy of the Upper Euphrates region.

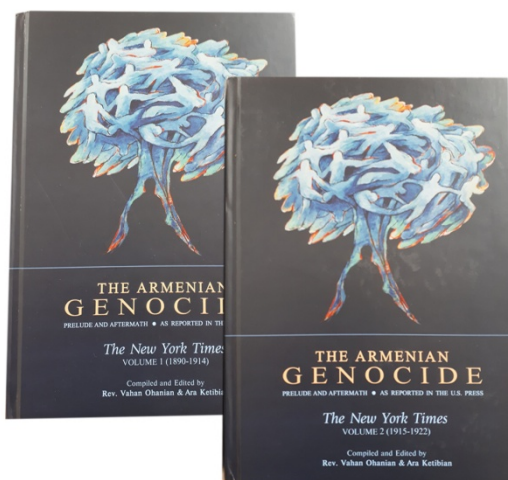
The authors relying on other scholars' studies try to localize a large number of the preserved toponyms as well as find their equivalents in the Armenian sources. Of course, one would prefer to see orientating maps on these pages: they would make perception of the complicated material easier. Separating toponyms from the above sources, their classification per languages of origin that can serve a basis for uncovering the ethno-linguistic picture of the region is of utmost importance. These toponyms are of Hittite-Luwian, Hurrian, Indo-Iranian origin, nevertheless a large number of words appear to be of unknown origins or has not been etymologized. Further analyzing of this last group may be a good starting point for future remarkable findings yet to come. Meanwhile let us state that the concept, according to which in the 2nd millennium BC the territories of the Upper Euphrates have been inhabited mainly by

Hurrians, needs to be reviewed truly as we see rather a presence of multiethnic population here.

Summarizing we would like to emphasize once again that the reviewed books stand out with their new approaches and prove their importance for the Armenian and Hittite studies.

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NEW BOOKS



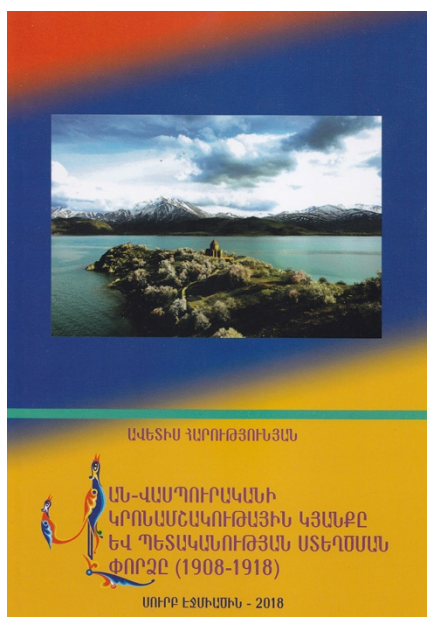
THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE. PRELUDE AND AFTERMATH. AS REPORTED IN THE U.S. PRESS. THE NEW YORK TIMES

Volume 1 (1890-1914). 1056 p. Volume 2 (1915-1922). 1040 p. Compiled and edited by Rev. Vahan Ohanian, Ara Ketibian, Mekhitarist Publication, 2018.

These volumes draw upon extensive American newspaper accounts about the fate of Armenians from 1890 to 1922 in the Ottoman

Empire/Turkey. They, along with companion volumes, documents the Armenian experience of inequality, persecution, precursor massacres and the Armenian Genocide. The collection is part of a series of volumes that bring together thousands of pages of daily newspaper accounts that are invaluable reference work in revealing the fate of the Armenian people.

These are part of a comprehensive publishing project led by Rev. Vahan Ohanian (Mekhitarist Congregation) and Ara Ketibian. The series involves a planned ten books that systematically document the accounts from six leading American newspapers: The New York Times, The Boston Daily Globe, The Chicago Tribune, The Christian Science Monitor, The Los Angeles Times and The Washington Post. Such cumulative daily newspaper reports provide a documentary base from which to confront contemporary state-sponsored genocide denial that seeks to cast doubt about what happened in history. The witness accounts are a time capsule, but a powerfully moving one, even today.



THE RELIGIOUS-CULTURAL LIFE OF VAN-VASPUKAKAN AND AN ATTEMPT TO CREAT A STATE (1908-1918)

By: **Avetis Harutyunyan** Armenian State Pedagogical University

Echmiatsin: 2018, Echmiatsin ... publishing house, 308 p.

The monograph represents the religious and cultural life of the Armenian population of Vaspurakan province at the eve of the World War I until its end in 1918. The study is based on extensive archival documents, memoirs and secondary literature. The author focuses

on the exceptional role of this part of historical Armenia during the troublesome period of Armenian history.

PERSONALIA



Vahan Bayburdyan, the prominent specialist of Iranistics of modern Armenia is already 85.

V. Bayburdyan was born in September 11 1933 in Akhaltskha, Georgia, in the family of refugees settled down here from Erzerum. In 1952-1957 he studied at the Oriental department of the Yerevan State University (Iranistics), then in 1961-1964 as a post-graduate student of Oriental studies, Academy of Sciences of Armenia, completed his scholarship at the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, Academy of Sciences of the USSR. In 1965 he defended his thesis at that same Institute («Armenian colony of Nor Djughha in the XVII century»), receiving PhD.

Back in Yerevan V. Bayburdyan was fully involved in scholarly and teaching activities. In 1965 he entered the Oriental section of the Institute of History, Academy of Sciences (from 1971 onwards Institute of Oriental Studies) which became a long-termed institution where he works until today (with some intervals).

In 1975 V. Bayburdyan defended his second dissertation («Turkish-Iranian relations in 1900-1914»), in 1979 became a professor of the Armenian State Pedagogical university. Here he was appointed as the head of the Department of World history, later Vice-rector of the same university (1987-1992).

The next step in the career of V. Bayburdyan was his appointment as the first Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia to the Islamic Republic of Iran (1992-1998). During this troublesome years he, benefiting from his thorough knowledge of Iranian and regional affairs, had contributed much in the political and economic relations with this friendly neighbor of Armenia.

After completing his diplomatic mission V. Bayburdyan returned to his scholarly and teaching activities. In 1998 he was appointed as the head of the Department of Iran at the Institute of Oriental studies (until now), a part-time head of the Department of International relations and Diplomacy at the Yerevan state university (2000-2008).

The scholarly image of V. Bayburdyan distinguish fundamental studies. His interests are multilayered including, besides familiar Iranistics, also the history of the Ottoman empire and Turkey, the Kurds, Armenian-Iranian, Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-Kurdish relations. Some of the monographs of V. Bayburdyan were published abroad, in Russian, English, Persian. Thorough knowledge of world history makes his studies a benchmark to follow.

V. Bayburdyan is a brilliant mentor. He had contributed much in preparation of future Iranists. About twenty young specialists had passed his school.

The editorial board of «Fundamental Armenology» congratulates Vahan Bayburdyan with the 85th anniversary, wishes him good health and new fundamental studies.

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EDITORIAL BOARD

MICHAEL E. STONE - 80



It is hard to believe that Professor Michael Stone, this always cheerful and hard-working scholar, the patriarch of Israeli Armenology is already 80. Like most of the Jewish intellectuals, he also was destined for wanderings - England, Australia, USA, and only finally find a shelter in the blessed country of his forefathers - in the Biblical Israel.

M. Stone was born in Leeds, England (October 22, 1938). In 1941 his family moved to Sydney, Australia, where he was raised. He earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Melbourne in Semitic Studies and the Classics in 1956-1960. At the same year he immigrated to Israel. After a year-long acclimation program at the Hebrew University (1960-1961), M. Stone was transferred to Harvard University, USA and there completed a doctorate under the supervision of Professor Frank M. Cross in the Department of Near Eastern Languages (1961-1965). His doctorate addressed the conception of eschatology in 4 Ezra. Afterwards he became a lecturer in Comparative Religion at the University of California, Santa Barbara. In 1966 he returned to Israel, where became a lecturer in Comparative Religion at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and in the following year - associate professor.

In 1980 M. Stone became full professor of Armenian Studies and was named as the Gail Levin de Nur Professor of Religious Studies. In 2007 he retired from the Hebrew University, where he continues his research and lecturing as a professor

emeritus. M. Stone travelled much as a visiting scholar and held professorial positions at academic institutions worldwide.

Studies of M. Stone are devoted mainly to two fields - Jewish thought and literature of the Second Temple period including its transmission into the Middle Ages, and Armenian studies. His work emphasizes texts and their interpretations but extends beyond a narrow textual focus to ideological analysis within religious and intellectual history. Credited with «single-handedly pioneering the study of the Armenian language, literature and history», M. Stone's works are focused on several topics within this subject; he has published several monographs dealing with Jewish literature translated into Armenian.

In his monograph «The Armenian Version of 4 Ezra» M. Stone published the first full critical edition of texts connected with the Armenian biblical canon. Following its publication, M. Stone produced several volumes of texts and exegesis addressing biblical or Jewish traditions. These volumes contain manuscript texts edited anew including the first editions of documents that were previously unknown. In this vein, many of M. Stone's articles are dedicated to the publication of texts, and in so doing he established a wide body of texts that were important both for Armenian and Pseudepigrapha studies.

In 1981 he published «The Penitence of Adam», the first edition of the Armenian version of the Armenian Adam book. Later this was followed by concordances of Armenian deuterocanonical literature about Adam (1996, 2001) and additional literature related to Armenians and other Adam traditions.

With these publications M. Stone initiated a new field of study and research - deuterocanonical literature in Armenian, which is the transmission of biblical and Jewish traditions in Armenian. In so doing he had lasting influence on Armenian studies as well as the study of deuterocanonical literature. In recent years he has focused on the problem of functioning of these traditions within the Armenian culture and how their transformation reflects changes in the religious and intellectual history of the Armenian nation. He presents diachronic questions that were never before posed and traces shifts of religious, intellectual, and cultural history that were hardly addressed. These questions touch on understanding the human condition and existential purpose. Furthermore, the diachronic research of entire traditions highlights changes that occurred in Armenian thought throughout generations and ties them to Armenian history, politics, religion, and thought.

M. Stone's interest in Armenian manuscripts led him to study the Armenian script. He published a number of technical descriptions of manuscripts and co-published with Dr. Nira Stone the Catalogue of the New Armenian Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ireland). He edited and published Armenian graffiti from Sinai in a significant work which deals with the historical, epigraphic, and linguistic consequences. The inscriptions shed light on ancient Armenian pilgrimage, on the character of the pilgrims, and on their linguistic usages. He proved that a portion of the Armenian

inscriptions from Sinai and Nazareth are the oldest ones in the world and were inscribed within decades after the creation of the Armenian alphabet (405 AD).

M. Stone published numerous Armenian inscriptions from Israel and made several significant discoveries regarding Armenian pilgrimage and monasticism in the Holy Land. He was the editor-in-chief of *The Album of Armenian Palaeography*, a large project that exhibits and analyzes the development of the Armenian script beginning with the most ancient dated manuscripts up until the nineteenth century. In the course of preparing this work he devised techniques for producing script tables directly from digital images of the manuscripts themselves. On one side of each opening there is a picture of the manuscript; on the other there is a copy of a segment of the text, palaeographic discussion, and bibliography. The book is supplied with development tables.

With Israeli archaeologist Dr. David Amit, M. Stone has studied the medieval Jewish cemetery in Eghegis (Vayots Dzor province of the Republic of Armenia). This thirteenth-century cemetery is akin to no other - not only in terms of Armenia but of the Jewish oriental communities. On the tombstones there are inscriptions in both Hebrew and Aramaic that tell about the life of the Jewish community in Armenia, about which previously there was no information. His studies on the Jews of Armenia continues today.

M. Stone recognized very early on the potential of computer applications for Armenian studies. In 1971 he completed his first computer aided research on Armenian. Since then he has used a computer application to compare manuscripts to produce scientific editions of texts as well as concordances. He wrote monographs devoted to other fields of Armenian studies; for example, the publication of his joint study with Dr. M.E. Shirinian dealing with the edition, translation, and exegesis of an ancient philosophical work preserved only in Armenian and with R.R. Ervine on patristics.

In 1995 M. Stone founded the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls at the Hebrew University for the purpose of integrating new information from the scrolls with the existing information about the Second Temple Judaism. Today the Center is one of the important research institutes on the Dead Sea Scrolls.

M. Stone also founded the International Association of Armenian Studies (*Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes*) in 1980, held the office of its president until 2000, and since then is the honorary president. The membership in the organization today numbers more than 200 scholars representing different countries.

M. Stone is an Honorary doctor of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, Foreign member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (Netherlands), Foreign member of the *Istituto Lombardo Accademia di Scienze e Lettere* (Italy), Honorary member of the *Associazione «Padus-Araxes»* (Venice), Expert member of the Armenian Philosophical Academy, Founder and honorary Life President of the *Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes*, Foreign member of the

Ararat Academy of Sciences, Professor of Armenian Studies. M. Stone was also awarded with the Matenadaran (Yerevan) Commemorative Medal.

The editorial board of «Fundamental Armenology» congratulates Professor Michael Stone with the 80th anniversary and is hopeful that he shall continue his productive studies in Armenology.

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DISCUSSION

LOST SECRETS OF DISTANT PAST: THE KING OF URARTU, RUSA THE ARMENIAN

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*In memory of convinced Armenologist, Historian and
Cartographer Eduard Danielyan*

Aram, the 6th patriarch of the Haykid dynasty, who, according to Movses Khorenatsi, is the senior contemporary of Assyria's fabulous king Ninos¹, corresponds accurately to the King of Urartu, Aramu or Arame, mentioned in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions of the first half of the IX century BC. The latter ruled in the Armenian Highland, as the Armenian history tells, in 888-845 BC, and, according to N. Adontz, from 880 to almost 843-840 BC².

He was succeeded by Sarduri I (or Sedur) (845-825)³, the founder of the Van dynasty of Urartu, 11 rulers of which reigned from father to son until 590 BC (or 585); these were Ishpuini (825-810), Menua (810-786), Argishti I (786-764), Sarduri II (764-735), Rusa I (735-713), Argishti II (713-685)⁴, Rusa II (685-645), Sarduri III (645-635), the latter having been called Ishtarduri by the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal in his chronicle. Ashurbanipal ruled in 668-633 BC, which means that he was the contemporary of Rusa and his son⁵.

It looks like the list of Urartu's monarchs is being interrupted to this extent⁶.

In 1892 and 1894, when the photos of eight bronze sculptures, shields and their fragments that C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, a prominent German scholar, the discoverer and decipherer of the Urartian inscriptions, found in Toprak-Kale (north-eastern outskirts of Van), were published in the 7th and 9th editions of a well-known yearbook of Assyrian Studies⁷, the scientific circles were acquainted to Rusa Erimenahi (Son of Erimena), a new king of Van. This Erimena was proclaimed the king of Urartu by Lehmann Haupt, allocating for him the period of 625-605, and his son, Rusa, 605- 590, when Urartu came to its end.

¹ Movses Khorenatsi 1913, Book I, Ch. 13. «This Aram, a few years before Ninos ruled over Assyria and Nineveh, hard pressed by the nations around him, gathered the host of valiant archers related to him; they were also powerful lancers, youthful and very strong, dexterous and spirited and ready for war, about fifty thousand men».

² Adontz 1972: 186, 195.

³ History of Armenia.1: 1971: 288.

⁴ According to N. Adontz, the reign of Argishti II lasted 33 years - 713-680 B.C.

⁵ Harutyunyan 2001: 489, also 1970: 331.

⁶ Later, the Bronze Shield Record and the cylindrical stamp found on the Red Hill revealed Sarduri, the son of Sarduri, on the basis of which Sarduri IV was added after Sarduri III (the 620s BC).- see Harutyunyan 1970: 331.

⁷ Belck und Lehmann 1892; 1894.

Contrary to this, N. Adonts came to another conclusion later on about the era of Erimena's reign: «We do not know precisely whether Erimena, the father of Rusa III was a king or not. The Assyrians did not recognize Menua and the last Rusa for a simple reason that Menua was a very successful opponent, and the arrogant Assyrian nobles were not interested in mentioning his name (I would add his courageous affairs – A. M.), while Rusa III was ruling in the era when the state of Ashshur had already been fallen into ruins. As for the rest, the two lists mutually confirm each other»⁸.

It is no coincidence that there is no significant episode connected with the name of Rusa III in the Assyrian inscriptions during the decline of Urartu. Even in the «Babylonian Chronicles» published by C.J. Gadd, the curator of the British Museum, the Babylonian king Nabopalassar mentions that he proceeded from the mountains of Izala to the town of the province of Urashtu (he means the capture of the capital city of Tushpa), and does not refer the name of Urartu's ruler despite the fact that Urartu was considered the ally of Assyria; at the same time, the king of Urartu was not mentioned among the supporters of Median-Babylonian united forces.

And despite this, taking into account the eight Urartian decorated inscriptions about the King Rusa Eremenahi (son of Erimena), the Urtologists had to place this Rusa in the end of the Urartian kings' list as the 11th ruler of the Urartu's decline period, but now it turns out that it is a misunderstanding.

As for Erimena, N. Adonts, in contrast to Lehmann-Haupt, doubts the rule of Erimena, father of Rusa: «If we leave Erimena aside for a while until we have proof that he has ruled out, or perhaps he is identical to Sarduri, then we must accept Rusa Erimenahini as the successor of Sarduri». Thus, Adonts concludes that «Sarduri ruled in 646-610, and Rusa, from 609 until the end of Urartu's empire, when he disappeared in the maelstrom of 585 events»⁹.

But the fact that the historian's sharp eye did not reveal any trace regarding Rusa III king of Urartu in the Assyrian inscriptions, has, in my opinion, only one explanation, and that is because this Rusa does not really belong to the period of the fall of Urartu. The fragments of the six bronze shields, as well as the bronze sculpture of the kneeling bull¹⁰ on which Rusa Erimenahi is mentioned, are clear witnesses of fighting and valiant image of king Rusa. The interpretation of «kneeling bull» in the «History of Armenia» of Adontz does not correctly describe the idea of the bronze sculpture. The Orion (Hayk) constellation in the starry sky opposes the Bull (Bel) constellation. The king Rusa is the one who brings Bel (that is, the Bull) to his knee, and therefore it is not justified to look for him in the period of the decline of Urartu. His honorable pedestal is on the height of the power of Urartu, which he himself has built as the inscription reads «virile and

⁸ Adonts 1972: 183-184.

⁹ Idem: 195.

¹⁰ Idem: 182, Text N. 163a-b, Harutyunyan 2001: № 441a-b. The French original text of N. Adonts "Un taureau agenouillé", means "a bull brought to knees":

constructor» (arniu šinili)¹¹. Hence, I am transferring this Rusa with his patronymic name Ereminahi to the beginning of the VII century, identifying with Rusa II. In this case, how the different patronymics of Rusa II and Rusa III (Argishti II and Erimena), should be reconciled? That is the most difficult puzzle of this conjecture.

Esarhaddon (Aššurahiddina), the most vindictive and haughty Assyrian monarch who had the most irreconcilable attitude towards Urartu and his kings, tells about Rusa in his prayers, addressed to the god of Sun, Shamash, «he is called ^mla-a-a in the country Pa ...». Here, «^mla-a-a» is not an interjection, but rather the epithet *Hay* (Armen) of king Rusa as J.A. Knudtzon, the publisher of the inscription understands it. The determinative «m» indicates that this epithet applies to a male. The «Ya-ya» transcription of this epithet, which we meet in the chrestomathy of the History of Armenian people published by the Yerevan State University as well as in the studies of various authors who made use of this unsuccessful source, is a linguistic misunderstanding - the Mesropian alphabet allows the most accurate translation of any ancient and new term, so this epithet should be literally copied as it is in the Assyrian language, «la-a-a».

I have pointed on the existence of this *Hay* in the inscriptions from Ebla of the third millennium BC¹² where it is used in the form Ha-ia and Ha-ya (Ha-a in the cuneiform). It means that the name Hay was changed slightly in the past two millennias.

The philologists did not pay appropriate attention to this important testimony of the king of Ashshur; it regards Rusa II, the son of Argishti II. Meanwhile, this testimony of Esarhaddon is a very important argument to finally reveal who was Erimena mentioned in the six fragments of the Urartian shields and who is recognized as the father of Rusa and a separate king by almost all Urartologists.

Here, as we can see, two kings bearing the name Rusa meet each other, one is called *Hay* in his country of *Pa...*, and the other is called Rusašē Erimenahiniše (Rusa, son of Erimena), the father of Rusa III in the inscriptions of the sculptured Bronze Collection. Putting these two testimonies side by side, we reveal a surprising fact that has not been seen so far - it is the son of Erimena, Rusa, who stands in front of us in the face of Rusa the *Hay*, a contemporary of Esarhaddon. Now it is quite appropriate to recall a forgotten suggestion made still in 1933 by the Russian Urartologist I.I. Meshchaninov, one of the most prominent students of Nikolas Marr, who had interpreted Rusa Erimenahi not as patronymic name, but as *Hay*, «Rusa the *Hay*»¹³. Meanwhile, Meshchaninov came to this conclusion without being aware of the testimony of Esarhaddon.

Though Meshchaninov's view was defended by G. Jahukyan, a prominent researcher in the fields of Indo-European Linguistics and old Armenian, prominent historians S. Yeremyan and G. Tiratsyan, as well as by the philologist M. Hasratyan, but

¹¹ Арутюнян 2001: № 414, line 9.

¹² Musheghyan 2007: 152.

¹³ Meshchaninov 1933: 37-42.

I.M. Diakonov opposed to this idea and categorically and repeatedly rejected such an interpretation in his numerous publications in the 1950-60's, considering it antiscientific. According to Diakonov, Erimena was the uncle of Sarduri III and the brother of Rusa II, due to which Erimena rule only during a short period. This incredible supposition of Diakonov was followed by a drastic rejection: «It should be, of course, completely rejected the previously very unlikely hypothesis that the patronymic name of Rusa III, Erimenahe, is not a patronymic, but an ethnonym, «Armenian»¹⁴. Unfortunately, the vigorous defender of Diakonov's negative opinion was the prominent Urartologist Nikolay Harutyunyan: «It is difficult to agree with I.I. Meshchaninov, who is inclined to interpret Rusa Erimenahi not as «Rusa, son of Erimena», but as «Rusa the Armenian» ... This point of view, deprived of any foundation, is for some reason still taken for granted by some Armenologists (S.T. Yeremyan, G.A. Tiratsyan and others). Recently, I.M. Dyakonov and the author of the published book categorically objected to it»¹⁵.

Thus, thanks to the efforts of Diakonov and his followers, the exact interpretation of Meshchaninov was completely lost. Coming back to the cylindrical seal with the name «Erimena» found in the Red Hill, it should be noted that this name has nothing to do with Rusa II, and as I have already written in another study, «this Erimena is quite different from Erimena stamped on six different shields and found in Toprak-Kale (Van), who is remembered as an Urartian king. The very fact that the name of Erimena is unique to the cylindrical seal indicates that this person is the King of Armeni(os), the founder of the new dynasty of Haikazuni in 585 BC, whose name was carved on the royal round seal without a patronymic name and with the Urartian cuneiform signs still in use. And since the new dynasty of Haykazuni in the Ayrarat province begins with the King Armenios, the name of the previous king is not mentioned on the seal»¹⁶.

Thus, in the name of King Rusa, the Armenian people have been given two passports, certifying her existence through millenniums, in which the Armenian ethnonym *Hay* and the tribal name *armen*, inherited from the patriarch Arame, are ratified by the cuneiform inscriptions of the ancient Near East.

It follows from the above mentioned that the transliteration Erimena (= *hay*) should be identical with the the tribal name of *armeni* mentioned in the records of Menua and Argishti I, which is being intentionally read as Urmeni and thus one tries to conceal the existence of Armenian ethnos in the Armenian Highland until the end of the VI century BC. Meanwhile, in the Babylonian and more ancient Akkadian cuneiform inscriptions contain only Armi, Armani, Armanum.

Some other geographical data could be referred to which undeniably confirm the identity of two different kings bearing the name Rusa; we will refer to those arguments on another occasion.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Арутюнян 1970: 332 п. 94.

¹⁶ Musheghyan A. 2013.

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Editorial note to the article by A. Musheghyan

The publication of the article by A. Musheghyan exclusively is conditioned by the exceptional interest of the problem Urartu-Armenia in both Armenian scholarly and amateur literature.

The main goal of the author, who is a well-known philologist (Armenian literature), tries to suggest a new dating for Rusa III son of Erimena, one of the last kings of Urartu, who traditionally is placed in late VII century BC., that is not long before the end of this kingdom. Taking this as granted, he concludes that Rusa son of Erimena is identical with Rusa II and that this Erimena represents the ethnonym of Armenians (*armen*), hence Rusa and his father were Armenians who came to power in Urartu at the beginning of the VII century BC.

First of all it is worth to mention that the possibility of re-dating the reign of Rusa III to the earlier period was already suggested by M. Roaf ten years ago in an international conference held in Yerevan¹⁷. The author has thoroughly discussed all available textual

¹⁷ Michael Roaf, Thureau-Dangin, Lehmann-Haupt. Rusa Sardurihi and Rusa Erimenahi, Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol.V/1, 2010, p.66-82. According to the author, this Rusa could have been an usurper of the throne after the death of Sarduri II; at some date after his defeat at the hands of Sargon II the royal succession was restored with the accession on the throne by Rusa son of Sarduri II.

and iconographic data concerning this Urartian king and came to the conclusion that Rusa son of Erimena probably should be identical with «Ursa», king of Urartu, attested in the text of the Assyrian king Sargon II where he describes his campaign against Urartu in 714 BC. Let us mention also that the idea of an earlier dating for Rusa son Erimena was suggested still in 1912 by the outstanding French Assyriologist F. Thureau-Dangin¹⁸. Both studies are not referred by the present author.

In connection with the treatment of the name of Erimena the author suggests, without any argumentation, that the epithet given to Rusa in one Assyrian text from the period of Esarhaddon¹⁹, should be understood as the endonym of Armenians (*hay*). Let us quote the passage under discussion - «whom they call Yaya [^mla-a-a], [...] whom they call king of Pa-[.....]». He further compares this ^mla-a-a(= Hay?) with the proper name Ha-ia (Ha-ya), attested in the III mill. BC texts from Ebla (Syria). He does not explain how this ^mla-a-a could be compared with *hay*. The references to two scholars (J.A. Knudtzon more than 100 years ago and I. Meshchaninov in 1933)²⁰ who had suggested the possibility of comparing ^mla-a-a with the endonym of Armenians are not convincing since this was only a mere guess which needs to be argued.

Resuming the abovementioned it should be stated that, although the much discussed problem of the expected relationship between Urartu and Greater Armenia exists, it could be solved only through combined epigraphic, archaeological, linguistic studies, by no means on declarative level.

¹⁸ F.Thureau-Dangin, Une relation de la Huitieme Campagne de Sargon, Textes Cuneiformes du Louvre 3, Paris, 1912 (see discussion in Roaf 2010: 66-68).

¹⁹ The text represents a query to the Sun-god regarding the political situation in Urartu and its neighborhood (I.Starr, Querries to the Sun-god, Helsinki, 1990, text N.18, line 5).

²⁰ The same idea we find in the studies of S.Yeremyan and G.Tiratsyan, both on empiric level (in 1956 and 1958 respectively).

OBITUARY

SARGIS HARUTYUNYAN



This volume of “Fundamental Armenology” was already completed when the breaking sad news arrived. Prof.Dr. Sargis Harutyunyan, corresponding member of the National Academy of Sciences, the patriarch of modern Classical Armenology had passed away not long after the celebration of his 90th birthday.

S.Harutyunyan was born in September 22, 1928 in the village of Ghazanci, Ashotsq district of Armenia. After graduating primary school in Tbilisi, Georgia, he studied eastern languages and literature at the Department of Philology, Yerevan State University (1947-1952). In 1956 he became a post-graduate student at the M.Abeghyan Institute of Literature, National Academy of Sciences where he defended his PhD («Armenian folk fables»). From 1960 onwards S.Harutyunyan entered the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography (National Academy of Sciences) first as an associate researcher then deputy-director, which became his life-long working place. His second dissertation was devoted to the prominent philologist Manuk Abeghyan («Manuk Abeghyan. his life and studies», 1971). From this time onwards M.Abeghyan, the classic of Armenian philology became a benchmark for S.Harutyunyan leading him to his highly productive scholarly career.

The scope of scholarly interests of S.Harutyunyan was extremely wide and includes different aspects of folkloristics and religion (blessing, curse, folk-prayers, divination, mythology, national epos, pantheon etc.).

Fundamental studies of S.Harutyunyan first were focused on Armenian folklore and its genres. Among them the «Armenian folk riddles» (1960) and the publication of the comprehensive texts of riddles (1965) initiated this previously under-studied field of folkloristics in Armenia. This was followed by other genres of folklore like curse and blessing, divination and folk-prayers (1975, 2006).

A special role in the studies of S.Harutyunyan occupies the Armenian national heroic epos of «The Daredevils of Sasun». In 1971-1973 he lead an expedition into about 200 towns and villages of Armenia where his team collected numerous variants of the epos which were published in 1970-1990s.

Later in his career S.Harutyunyan was fully attracted by the Armenian mythology. His two fundamental studies (2000, 2001) are encyclopedias where he collects all available data regarding the topic. Numerous articles on Armenian mythology were published still in the Soviet encyclopedia «Myths of the peoples of the world» (1981–1982, reprinted in 1990 and 2000).

S.Harutyunyan was one of those true scholars who throughout his whole life did not fail to pay tribute to prominent Armenologists of the past, evaluating their heritage - Garegin Srvandztyants, Manuk Abeghyan, Garegin Levonyan, Garegin Hovsepyan,

Stepan Malkhasyants, Karapet Melik-Ohanjanyan, Aram Ghanalanyan and others. These and many other classics of Armenology follow S.Harytyunyan until the end.

S.Harutyunyan combined his scholarly activities with lectures at the Yerevan State University and other universities of Armenia. A great number of future philologists of different fields had passed his fundamental school. During the last twelfth years S.Harutyunyan held the position of the editor-in-chief of «Patma-banasirakan handes» (Journal of history and philology), National academy of sciences (2006-2018).

Monographs of Sargis Harutyunyan

1. Armenian national riddles, Yerevan, 1960 (in Armenian).
2. Manuk Abeghyan. His life and studies, Yerevan, 1971 (in Armenian).
3. The genre of curse and blessing in Armenian folkloristics, Yerevan, 1975 (in Armenian).
4. Armenian mythology, Beirut, 2000 (in Armenian).
5. Cult, religion and pantheon of ancient Armenians, Yerevan, 2001 (in Armenian).
6. Armenian divination and folk-prayers, Yerevan, 2006 (in Armenian).

ARMENOLOGICAL HERITAGE

THE PROBLEMS OF THE CHRONOLOGY AND PERIODIZATION OF THE PREHISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN LANGUAGE*

Gevorg Jahukyan was an outstanding Armenian linguist, the long-termed director of the Institute of Language, Armenian National Academy of Sciences. His studies cover a wide spectrum of Armenian linguistics.

The monograph of which the last chapter is extracted below, presents the earliest study of G. Jahukyan devoted to the problem of the pre-literary period of the Armenian language. Unfortunately, this valuable study still remains inaccessible to those who is not familiar with Russian.

Indeed, some suggestions which are based on an outdated data as well as traditional view on the problem of the Indo-European ancestral home exploited by the author were revised since the publication of the monograph, nevertheless G. Jahukyan's fundamental study occupies a seminal place in Armenian linguistics.

Despite numerous studies dedicated to the comparative grammar and history of the pre-literary period of Armenian, yet we do not possess with more or less established periodization and detailed chronology for this period. However, its thorough study is impossible without reliable chronology embracing main processes.

As is known, two types of the chronology of the facts of history of languages are distinguished - absolute and relative. Absolute chronology is a more or less exact dating of facts of linguistic history. Relative chronology is the establishment of the consecutive linguistic changes without the clarification of time. Both types of chronology successfully are used in linguistics, in Armenian as well, but, unfortunately, for the clarification of separate questions so far. As an example for the establishment of the absolute chronology of some kind or another phenomena could be taken studies of H. Hübschmann dealing with the time of the changes of *i, u, e, eay, oy, iv* in the medial position (unstressed) syllables, that of H. Acaryan about the time of the change of *t* into *γ*, A.A. Abrahamyan about the change of *au>o* etc.¹

* Extracted from the monograph «Essays on the history of the pre-literary period of Armenian language» by Gevorg Jahukyan (Yerevan: Armenian Academy publishing house, 1967, 384 p. [in Russian] (p. 313-332).

¹ H. Hübschmann, *Zur Chronologie der armenischen Vokalgesätze*, SA, 1, 1899, S.128-172 (in German); H. Acaryan, *When t became γ*, IAN ArmSSR, serie of social sciences, 1948, N. 5, p.33-40 (In Armenian); A.A. Abrahamyan, IAN ArmSSR, 1957, N. 4 (in Armenian). By the way, in this article the author does not mention his book «Grammatical and orphographic studies in ancient and medieval Armenia in the V-XV c.», Yerevan, 1954, p.214-215 (in Armenian), where the change *au>o* is referred to.

Currently the establishment of relative chronology is successfully employed in regard to the usage of the method of inner reconstruction and the study of archaic layers of the Indo-European language. Particularly, recently by a number of Armenian scholars were made attempts to establish the relative chronology of some phenomena.²

It should be especially mentioned the attempts of J. Fourquet, L. Zabrocki, W. Winter and other scholars to establish the sequence of the development of Armenian consonants and groups of consonants.³

In the Introduction to his book about the shift of consonants in German J. Fourquet pays attention also to Armenian, regarding Germans and Armenians as originating from one and the same areal, and considering the shift to the period of linguistic unity. He, as well as A. Meilliet, thinks that the shifts of unvoiced consonants into aspirates and voiced consonants into unvoiced consonants are simultaneous processes. The essence of the shift he considers in the replacement of the correlation «unvoiced - voiced» by the correlation «unvoiced aspirate - unvoiced pure». For the period of the so-called common German-Armenian shift, which is a basis of the subsequent processes for the development of both groups, J. Fourquet establishes the next three consonant groups: 1) aspirated old unvoiced - *ph, th, kh*, 2) unvoiced explosives - *ḫ (p), ḭ (t), ḡ (k)* and 3) voiced who had lost aspiration – *b, d, g*. The spirantization *ph, th, kh* into *f, ḫ, h* and *b, d, g* into *β, δ, γ* J. Fourquet considers as a German shift as a result of the weakening of articulation.

In this regard it should be interesting to note that W. Winter proposes the initial spirantization of *p, t, k* into *f, ḫ, x* with the subsequent shift of the latter into *p^c, t^c, k^c*. But it should be stated that the shift of the spirants into occlusive - is not an ordinary phenomena, meanwhile the reverse processes are widely observed.

Especially is important the attempt made by L. Zabrocki to establish, in accordance with his common theory, the links of the development of Armenian consonants and consonant groups from the common Indo-European forms. According to L. Zabrocki, who had studied the materials of German, Celtic, Hittite, Tocharian and Finnish languages as well, the process of the shift is connected with the two interrelated aspects of one and the same phenomena: strengthening and weakening, which brings to different results depending on the character and position of the syllable.

² Cf. G.B. Jahukyan, The system of declension in Old Armenian language and its origins, Yerevan, 1959 (in Armenian); E.B. Aghayan, From the history of the system of phonemes of Armenian, IFV, 1961, N. 2, p. 67-90 (in Armenian); In this study E.B. Aghayan, following H. Acaryan, distinguishes two periods of the development of Armenian - pre-Grabarian (the term is ours) and pre-Armenian Armenian, without the establishment of their chronological borders. H. Acaryan calls primary Armenian the state of the Armenian language after the departure of Armenians from their ancestral home, before the borrowings from other languages (?). See his «The history of Armenian language», v.1, Yerevan, 1940, p.105-106 (in Armenian).

³ J. Fourquet, Les mutations consonantiques du germanique, Paris, 1948; L. Zabrocki, Ustalenie i lenia w językach indoeuropejskich i w ugrofin'skim, Poznań, 1957; W. Winter, Problems of Armenian Phonology I, Language, 30, 1954, p.197-201; II, 31, 1955, p.4-8; III, 38, 1962, p. 254-262.

In his study to the Armenian language are devoted chapters 5 and 6 («First shift in the Armenian» and «Second shift in the Armenian»; cf. also the French summary, p.162-170).

According to L. Zabrocki, exactly the strengthening of consonants brings to devocalization of voiced and aspiration (emphatization!) of unvoiced in Armenian. The change of *kh* to *x* Zabrocki considers as a result of the normal development before the process of strengthening. In other words, the process of spirantization of unvoiced aspirates, according to his scheme, precedes the other phenomena of the shift. Some separate phenomena of the shift in Armenian Zabrocki explains as the next: 1) *p* becomes *h*, since labial consonants are weaker than dentals; 2) in the medial position the tendency towards spirantization is observed, since in this position the consonants are weaker than in the initial position; 3) *kh* becomes a spirant, and the rest unvoiced aspirates do not change since the velars are less resistant and more prone to amalgamation with the following elements; 4) *sp*, *st*, *sk* does not strengthen since after *s* unvoiced consonants are not subject to changes.

The strengthening of consonants in Armenian language is followed by weakening, which resulted in voicing and the change of *f*, *p* in the medial position. In this, the voiced affricates in that position lose their occlusivity and the unvoiced affricates, being strong consonants, does not weaken.

L. Zabrocki distinguishes two processes of palatalization. First palatalization had preceded the strengthening (i.e. the shift): *k>c*, *g>j*, *gh>jh*, then *c>s*, *j>c*, *jh>j*. The second palatalization had involved all velars before *j*, and *k*, *g* even before *e*, *i*, since these phonemes are weaker. It occurred after strengthening, otherwise one should expect the shift *kj>š* but not *kj>~*. The change of **s* into *h* Zabrocki considers as a result of the strengthening.

Thus, L. Zabrocki establishes the following periods of the development of Armenian consonants: I - initial period; II - period of a new palatalization; III - period of strengthening; IV-V - periods of the shift; VI - period of weakening and Armenian (II) palatalization; VII - the following period of the development. He offers the next tables:

Development of consonants in Armenian during the strengthening and weakening

I.	p-	-p-	t-	-t-	k	ph	th	kh	b	d	g	bh	-bh-	dh	gh
II.	p-	-p-	t-	-t-	k	ph	th	x	b	d	g	bh	-bh-	dh	gh
III.	p ^c -	-p ^c -	t ^c	-t ^c -	k ^c	ph	th	x	p	t	k	by-	-by-	dγ	gγ
IV.	fh-	-fh-	t ^c	-p-	k ^c	ph	th	x	p	t	k	β	-β-	δ	γ
V.	h-	-f-	t ^c	-p-	k ^c	ph	th	x	p	t	k	β-	-β-	d	g
VI.	h-	-v-	t ^c	-δ-	k ^c	ph	th	x	p	t	k	β-	-β-	d	g
VII.	h-	-v-	t ^c	-j-, -v-	k ^c	p ^c	t ^c	x	p	t	k	u-	-u-	d	g

Development of consonant groups

I.	sp	st	sk	sph	sth	skh	zd	-pt-	-kt-	ks
II.	sp	st	sk	sph	sth	sx	zd	-pt-	-kt-	ks (ks)
III.	sp	st	sk	sph	sth	sx	st	-p ^c t ^c -	-k ^c t-	k ^c s (k ^c s)
IV.	sp	st	sk	sph	sth	sx	st	-ft ^c -	-kt ^c -	k ^c s
V.	sp	st	sk	sph	sth	sx	st	-ft ^c -	-xt ^c -	t ^c s
VI.	sp	st	sk	sph	sth	sx	st	-wt ^c -	-yt ^c -	~ ^c
VII.	sp	st	sk	sph	sth	sx	st	-wt ^c -	-wt-	~

The development of Indo-European palatals

I.	k'	k'h	g'	g'h	sk'	sk'h	k'h
II.	c	ch	j	jh	sc	sch	cs
III.	s	ch	c	j	hc/~s	hch/~hs	ch/~s
IV.	s	ch	c	j	ch/~s	sh	ch/~s
V.	s	ch	c	j	sh/~s	sh	ch/~s
VI.	s	c ^c	c	-j-, -z-	c ^c	c ^c	c ^c
VII.	s	~	c	-j-, -z-	~	~	~

Development of Indo-European s and w

I.	s	w	-w-	sw	tw	-dw-	k'w
II.	s	w	-w-	sw	tw	-dw-	cw
III.	ş	w	-w-	sw	tw/kw	tw	sw
IV.	h	yw	-w-	hyw/wh	t ^c yw/k ^c w	tyw	syw
V.	h	gw	-w-	hg/gh	t ^c gw/k ^c w	tgw	sgw
VI.	h	g	-w-	hk/kh	t ^c k/k ^c	tk	sk
VII.	h	g	-w-	kh	k ^c /k ^c	tk	sk
VIII.	h	g	-w-	kh	k ^c	k	sk

Armenian palatalization of velars before y

V.	k ^c	k	g	sk	x	sx
VI.	č ^c	č	ǰ	sč	š	sš
VII.	č ^c	č	ǰ-, -z-	š	š	š

Problems of relative chronology.

The facts given above makes it possible to establish the relative chronology of some phenomena.

1. The emergence of sibilant affricates and fricatives in Armenian goes back to a more remote period and, probably, was a result of the Indo-European dialectic palatalization, meanwhile the second palatalization comprises merely an Armenian phenomena which took place later.

2. The shift **sk* (**ck*)>*c* precedes the assibilation of palatalized consonants (and palatalization of occlusives?), since both palatalized and non-palatalized **k* in the combination with **s* give the same result.

3. The shift $*s_{\text{y}} > k^c$ preceded the palatalization and assibilation since $*k'_{\text{y}}$ became not k^c but š (otherwise we should have $*s_{\text{y}}/*k'_{\text{y}} > *s_{\text{y}} > k^c$). In general, the comparison of shifts $*k'_{\text{y}} > \text{š}$ and $*s_{\text{y}} > k^c$ speaks in favor of the following sequence: 1) $*s > h$, 2) $*k' > s$, 3) $\text{y} > g$, hence $*s_{\text{y}} > *h_{\text{y}} > *hg > k$ and $*k'_{\text{y}} > \text{š}_{\text{y}} > \text{š}$ ($*k'_{\text{y}} > *s_{\text{y}} > \text{š}$ or $*k'_{\text{y}} > k'g > k$).

4. The shift $*kt' > st$ in *dhuk'ter > dustr* shows that the first palatalization had preceded the transition (otherwise $*k't' > *k'hth > *ct^c > *st^c$) and simplification of the consonant groups, i.e. the loss of consonants in the position before a consonant (otherwise $*dhuk'ter > *dhuter > *doyr$).

5. The transition $*k' > s$ after the sonants speaks about the following chronological sequence: First palatalization (with the shift of palatalized affricates into fricatives) had preceded the transition of consonants and vocalization of plosives and affricates after the sonants, otherwise we should have c instead of s , i.e. not $*prk' - \text{hars}$ «bride», but $*prk' - > *harg' - > *harc$.

6. The changes $*\eta k' - > as -$ (in *hasanem*, Aorist *hasi* «to reach») and $*dnk' > tas -$ (in *ta-tas-k* «blackthorn») shows that the transition $*k' > s$ preceded the loss of $*n$ before $*s$; it is well known that $*m$, $*n$ are lost before $*s$, but not before velars.

7. If the word *aučan* «help, assist, means, chance, goodness» is connected with *augnem* «to help», *augut* «benefit» from $*au_{\text{y}} -$ ($< *au -$ «to love; demand; wish; assist, help»)(Acaryan, ED, 6, 1570-1571), then the transition $*_{\text{y}} > g$ preceded the second palatalization. But the form $*au - g -$ (with extension) could be assumed, from which the two forms originate.

8. The metathesis in the combinations $*r$ and $*l$ + occlusive preceded the second (and first?) palatalization, therefore $*(s)mughljō$ $*mulghjō - mulj -$ (in *alj-a-mulj* «murk»).

9. The transition $*n > u$ in the words $*ang^u hi - auj$ «serpent», $*ong^u - > aucanem$ «to anoint» preceded the palatalization of velars before u .

10. The transition $*t > u(w)$ before the consonants preceded the metathesis r , hence $*pətros$, $*arātrom$ were changed into *haur* «father» (gen.sg.) *araur* «plough», but not into *hard*, *arard*.

11. If *metk* «weak» really goes back to $*meld_{\text{y}} i -$, then the shift of consonants had preceded the transition $*_{\text{y}} > g$, therefore y was devoiced into k ($< *g$) under the influence of $*t$ ($< *d$).

12. Taking into account that *em* «sum» goes back to $*es - mi$ and *z-ge-num* «to wear» to $*_{\text{y}} es - nu - mi$, it may be stated that the transition $*e > i$ before nasals had preceded the loss of s before them (this means that *gin* «price» goes back only to $*_{\text{y}} ēs - no -$, but not to $*_{\text{y}} es - no -$).

Problems of absolute chronology.

For the establishment of the absolute chronology and periodization of the pre-history we suggest the following methods:

1. The methods of glottochronology or lexical-statistical one.

2. The method of the reverse number system (basically this method overlaps with the former).

3. The method of external facts.

The first method was suggested by the American scholar M. Swadesh and it comprises one of the examples of the mathematical approach to the study of language, including its history. It is interesting that M. Swadesh included also the Armenian in the list of the six control languages under study. Taking into account that some words (the so-called basic vocabulary) are changing very slowly, M. Swadesh first had compiled the list of 215, afterwards 200 words; later he enhanced it to 100. Calculations showed that the index (r) of preservation of the basic dictionary for the time span of 1000 years for the aforementioned 6 languages (also the Armenian) is equal to 85% (for other languages $r = 81\%$ and $r = 86\%$ results were reached). In this context M. Swadesh accepts that the ratio of preservation of the aforementioned words comprises a constant amount. Unfortunately, until now the ratio of preservation for the very big time span was not checked up (currently the time span of no more than 2200 years was studied). As the further calculations in this field show, the method of M. Swadesh does not ensure an absolute accuracy, although R. Lees has suggested a formulae for the definition of standart deviation. But still the method of glottochronology to some extent could be useful for the establishment of the time of the separation of Armenian language from the common Indo-European language.

The method of the reverse number system is suggested by us. While studying the history of languages we notice that the quantitative changes are becoming qualitative at about the same periods of time. For the literary (historical) period it is possible to establish more or less exact stages of the development of language. For the known literary languages usually are singled out two or three historical periods – old and new, or old, middle and new. This means that, taking into account the time period which is necessary for the transition from one to another period, could be established approximately the same periods for the pre-literary period.

The method of using external data is quite successfully used by many scholars. Under the term external data we consider the data related to the material culture and political history of the people, the facts gained from more ancient written languages, the establishment of the chronology of borrowings etc. As is known, the more significant changes of the language occur during the periods of major transformations in the life of the peoples.

The combined usage of all these methods could significantly contribute to the establishment of the general chronology of the history of pre-literary period of languages.

For the periodization of the pre-history of Armenian it is necessary first of all to have more or less trustful data in regard to the time of the separation of Armenian language from the common Indo-European. However, the dating of the period of common Indo-European makes someone to hope all the best. The period of common

Indo-European usually is dated with the III millennium BC, exactly the mid-III millennium. V. Georgiev suggests the V-IV millenniums BC for the common Indo-European assuming that «in the III millennium BC most of Indo-European languages which were spread to the vast territories, were already isolated into separate languages».⁴

For the establishment of the time of the common Indo-European most of scholars, first of all, failed to take into account the circumstance that the separation of the Indo-European languages comprised a durative process which covered, possibly, millennia, and, secondly, they actually only occasionally had used the method of external data. However, should be taken into account the difficulties when one desires to connect the history of the language with archaeological data. Until now the method of glottochronology in regard to the establishment of the period of common Indo-European was used insufficiently and incompletely.⁵ It is known that the reconstruction of the Indo-European lexics leaves much to be desired: the comparative materials contained in the etymological dictionaries mostly are based on the establishment of roots but not words; these dictionaries are dappled with the abundance of homonyms and synonyms, the study of whose chronological distribution and dialectic differentiation could not be regarded as satisfactory; the attempts to establish the relationship between Indo-European and other languages still could not be considered as successful: they do not take into account (or little account has been given) the results of the archaic layers of the Indo-European and relative chronology of linguistic facts, with the results, in their turn, received from the isolated study of the facts of the Indo-European, etc. Thus, if we take the data contained in etymological dictionaries as a base for such calculations, then we will arrive to incorrect suggestions: we will have not the basic dictionary of dialectic variant from where this or that language had originated, but the collection of roots which have different levels of territorial distribution and chronological limitations. Probably it is possible to proceed by following steps: 1) to calculate the percentage of preservation of Indo-European roots («Indo-Europeanness») in 215 or 100 basic words of old Armenian language; 2) to take the list of 215 or 100 Indo-European roots which could be traced in the dialectic variant of Indo-European language from where the Armenian originated and establish the percentage of their preservation in old Armenian; 3) in this regard to compare the new Armenian language with one of the new Indo-European languages, or the old Armenian with one of its contemporary written languages. The first two cases give too unreliable results. Taking into account well-known difficulties while establishing the lexics of Indo-European dialects, let us take the first case, i.e. calculate the percentage of «Indo-Europeanness» of Armenian words (V century AD) according to the list of M. Swadesh. In the case if the compound words are

⁴ V. Georgiev, The problem of the Emergence of Indo-European languages, *Problems of Linguistics*, 1956/1, p. 67 (in Russian).

⁵ Cf., for example, M. Swadesh, *Archaeological and Linguistic Chronology of Indo-European groups*, AA, 55/3, p. 349-352.

extant, where one of the components have Indo-European origins, we drop 0,5%. Thus, we correspondingly minimize the percentage in the case of synonyms. Below we give the number of the Indo-European elements according to the semantic groups established by M. Swadesh. The «Indo-Europeanness» is established mostly according to the «Etymological root dictionary of Armenian» by H.Acaryan, whereby the doubtful cases, oldest borrowings etc. are omitted. In the cases of two 0,5% belonging to different groups we round them into one.

Semantic groups	Number of words included in this group		Number of words of Indo-European origins	
	List of 215 words	List of 100 words	List of 215 words	List of 100 words
1. Personal pronouns.....	6	3	6	3
2. Interrogative words.....	6	2	5	2
3. Correlative words.....	3	-	3	-
4. Dimensional words.....	3	-	3	-
5. Localizing words.....	8	2	7	2
6. Motion, peace.....	16	8	11	7
7. Action.....	10	-	7	-
8. Periods of time.....	3	1	2	1
9. Numerals.....	12	2	11	2
10. Quantity.....	4	2	3	1
11. Amount.....	8	3	7	3
12. Natural phenomena.....	22	13	17	10
13. Plants and parts of plants.....	10	3	6	3
14. Animals.....	7	4	6	4
15. Man.....	4	3	4	3
16. Parts of body.....	26	26	16	16
17. Feeling and action.....	14	8	14	8
18. Actions performed by the mouth.....	6	1	4	1
19. Color.....	5	5	1	1
20. Descriptive elements.....	15	7	10	7
21. Kinship.....	6	-	6	-
22. Items of culture and cultural activities..	13	-	4	-
23. Varia.....	9	5	7	3
	215	100	160 (74,5%)	78 (78%)

The results (74,5% and 78%) could be misleading: it shows very short time span.

More encouraging is the third method. Let us take modern Armenian and Russian languages for the comparison.

Number of semantic groups	Number of words of the group		Number of genetic matches	
	List of 215 words	List of 100 words	List of 215 words	List of 100 words
1	6	3	5	3
2	5	2	4	2
3	3	-	-	-
4	3	-	-	-
5	8	2	1	1
6	16	8	2	2
7	10	-	1	-
8	3	1	-	-
9	12	2	9	1
10	4	2	-	-
11	8	3	-	-
12	22	13	2	1
13	10	5	-	-
14	7	4	1	-
15	4	3	1	1
16	26	26	6	8
17	14	8	5	4
18	6	1	-	-
19	5	5	-	-
20	15	7	1	2
21	6	-	4	-
22	13	-	-	-
23	6	5	1	-
	215	100	43 (20%)	2 5 (25%)

The received result which should be compared with other data shows that, at first, the list of 215 words, and the second, the 85% ratio (but not 81%) is preferable.⁶ Not regarding in our case the high precision necessary, it might be said that the breakup of the communion to whom belong the ancestors of Russians and Armenians, according to the list of 215 words, dates back to the early III millennium BC, while by the list of 100 words - to the end of the third quarter of the same millennium.

The method of glottochronology could not be helpful for the establishment of the periods (periodization) of the pre-history of Armenian language. Here we shall use two other methods.

While studying the pre-literary history of the Armenian language we can highlight two periods when especially visible changes had occurred: 1) XII century when begins the middle period of the history of Armenian language, and along with the old Armenian literary language in the literature gradually the middle Armenian literary language is taking strong positions; 2) XIX century when the new Armenian literary language is becoming dominant and oust old Armenian. Thus, XII and XIX centuries are the periods when the new quality comparing with the old one is especially visible. Between the V-XII and XII-XIX centuries are the time spans of about 700 years (7 centuries). Therefore, the Armenian language of the V century had to be different from that of the III century BC approximately as much as the middle Armenian from old Armenian or new Armenian from middle Armenian.

Consequently, it follows that the modern language is different from the language of the V century approximately as much as the language of that period from the language of the late II millennium - early I millennium BC, and the latter - from the language of the mid-III millennium BC, and the latter from the language of the late V or beginning of the IV millennium BC. Taking into account that «during the primitive communal system the process of changes in the social life and in the language occur as slower as we enter deep into millennias»,⁷ and comparing the data with other known materials, the following borders between the periods of the development of language could be distinguished: 1) XII century BC - as it was suggested, is the period when the Armenian tribes had come to Asia Minor;⁸ 2) the beginning of the III millennium BC – the period of

⁶ The 85% ratio is preferable since for the literary period of the development of Armenian M.Swadesh has received precisely that percentage. By the ratio of 81% the time for the Slavic-Armenian divergence, according to the list of 215 words, comprises 38 (+ 4) centuries, that of the list of 100 words – 33,5 (+4) centuries. It is interesting to note that by the ratio of 81% according to the list of 200 words N.Swadesh had established 33 (+ 4) centuries for the Slavic-German divergences (24,5% of Russian-English correspondences), 34 (+ 4) Roman-German divergences (23,5 French-English correspondences), and 37 (+ 4) Roman-Slavic divergences (21% French-Russian correspondences). This data M. Swadesh is trying to bring in line with archaeological data. So he mentions that M.Gimbutas considers c.2000-1800 BC as a period of the shift of North European population which later gave birth to the separate existence of Germans and Slavs (cf. M. Gimbutas, *On the Origin of North Indoeuropeans*, AA, 54, p.602-611).

⁷ V. Georgiev, V.Ya., 1966, N.1, p.46.

⁸ Although, probably, the possibilities of the appearance of some Armenian tribes in Asia Minor before XII century could not be rejected.

the separated Indo-Iranian, Greek, Hittite, Armenian and other languages, i.e. the period when one can speak about the disintegration of common Indo-European. In the V-IV millenniums BC the process of dialectic differentiation and gradual isolation and separation of Indo-European tribes from the Indo-European communality mostly on the basis of the increase of the number of tribes and search for new territories was in progress. The separation and resettling of Indo-European tribes was a gradual process which covers many centuries and even millennias.

The chronology of the shift of consonants.

The chronology of the Armenian shift of consonants has not been studied yet. In the common literature two extreme approaches exist. Some date it with the period of common Indo-European and assume that this distinctive for the Armenian change of consonants is a common phenomena with German and, correspondingly, it is an Indo-European isogloss. As it was mentioned above, this suggestion is shared by A. Meillet, J. Fourquet and others. Other scholars regard the change of Indo-European obstruents to fairly late period. Thus, Hr. Acaryan wrote: «In ancient Assyrian borrowings *g* becomes *k* (like in Indo-European words); cf. *kir*<*gīr*, *kšīr*<*gišrinnu*, *kmax*(-*k*^c) *gimexxu*».⁹ Although Hr. Acaryan does not suggest chronological conclusions, we can do it ourselves, taking into account modern data. According to Acaryan, the Armenian shift of consonants was completed not earlier than the XII-XI centuries BC, when Armenian tribes appeared in the southern regions of Asia Minor, but long before the VII century BC when the Assyrian kingdom was destroyed. But we could not accept this dating as a base for our chronology taking into account the following considerations: 1) The Assyrian cuneiform script is not always consistent in the writing of voiced and unvoiced consonants. Although during the mentioned period these two categories of consonants are more or less distinguished in the script, we are not fully confident that the part of the Assyrian population whose language had become the source for Armenian borrowings, really spell the abovementioned words with voiced consonants. 2) Many Assyrian borrowings in Armenian probably go to Assyrian indirectly. In particular, the word *uḫt*, -*u* «camel» borrowed from Uartian (*uḫtu*-) could be mentioned. However, if the Hayasaean toponym Kummaha is related to the later Kamax (Ani), which, according to Hr. Acaryan ascends to *gimahhu*,¹⁰ then the Assyrian language could not be regarded as the source for the Armenian. Therefore, even if the mentioned words were spelled with the voiced consonant, anyway their devocalization could not be excluded in the language which had become the source for Armenian borrowings.

In the study «The Hayasa language and its relation to the Indo-European languages»¹¹ the present author suggests that some suffixes and words (-*ik* – diminutive suffix, *kazm* «composition», *pat* «wall») which entered the Armenian through the Hayasaean, had Indo-European origins. If it is true, then two suggestions could be

⁹ Hr. Acaryan, History of Armenian language. 1, 1940, p. 196 (in Armenian).

¹⁰ Hr. Acaryan, Etymological dictionary, vol.3, p.1242 (in Armenian) (here Hr. Acaryan exploits the form *kimaxxu*).

¹¹ G.B. Jahukyan, The Hayasa language and its relation to the Indo-European languages, ArOr 3.

made. 1) Hayasaean language was the main source for the Armenian words of Indo-European origins, where the shift is absent. 2) The Armenian shift of consonants had taken place before the appearance of Armenian tribes in Asia Minor and their contacts with the people of Hayasa, since Hayasaean words had not undergo a shift. This looks probable if we should take into account that, first of all, the existence of the same shift in Phrygian and Thracian with whom Armenian was in close contacts before the period when Armenians met with Hayasaean (it is even possible that Armenian tribes had appeared in Asia Minor together with the Thracians as it is suggested by I.M.Diakonoff, S.T.Yeremyan and others),¹² and, secondly, the absence of the shift in the words borrowed from languages of Asia Minor (cf. Arm. *karič* «scorpion; lobster» with Greek *καρίς*, -ίδοϛ «shrimp», Arm. *agarak* «field; arable land; cornfield; estate, manor» <? < IE **ag-ro-* etc.).

The chronology of palatalization.

The problems of the relative chronology of I and II palatalizations and the formation of the resulting affricates and new types of fricatives in Armenian has not been studied yet.

The relative chronology shows the next sequence of the consonant shift and two processes of palatalization: 1) I palatalization, 2) shift of consonants and 3) II palatalization. The Armenian shift of consonants, as it was shown above, was completed in its main features before the appearance of Armenian tribes in Asia Minor, that is during the period when Armenians live in the Balkan Peninsula in the neighborhood of Phrygians. It means that the process of the formation of affricates and fricatives was completed as a result of the I palatalization.¹³

If one takes into account that the palatalization was an IE dialectic isogloss with a germinal process of affricatization and spirantization, the completion of this process, possibly, should be dated with the III millennium BC when Armenian tribes already speak an absorbed language. In favor of this assumption speak facts of spirantization of velars before *i* and after *u* in very old borrowings; cf. Arm. *siun* «pole,

¹² I.M. Diakonoff, Hittites, Phrygians and Armenians, Teghekagir hasarakakan gitutynneri, 1956, N.11 (in Armenian) and «Peredneaziatskij sbornik», Moscow, 1961 (in Russian); S.T.Yeremyan, The tribal union of Armenians in the in the country of Arme-Shupria, Patmabanasirakan handes, 1958, N.3 (in Armenian).

¹³ By the way, in the name of Arsibi(ni), the horse of the Urartian king Menua (810-786 BC), which ascends to Arm. **arciḡii* o- (Old Arm. *arcui* «eagle»), from IE **r̥.g'ippii* o-, the transition **g'*>*c* was attested, completed long before thta date.

column» with Greek *κίων*;¹⁴ Arm. *tʰuz*, -oy «fig» with Greek *σῦκον*, Boeotian *τύκον* and Latin *ficus*.¹⁵

As to the II palatalization, it happened after the shift of consonants, that is not before the XII century BC, but before the reduction and the loss of final vowels, that is not later than the IV century BC. After the loss of final vowels the factors which caused the palatalization in that position had disappeared.

In this regard is quite typical the Armenian word *karič* «scorpion» which is compared with Greek *καρίς*, gen.sg. *καρίδος* «shrimp» and considered to be a borrowing (as well as the Greek word) from some language of Asia Minor. In this word the change *dj* (*tj*?) >č, parallel to *gj* (*kj*?) >č, had been completed after the appearance of Armenians in Asia Minor (XII century BC?).

The loss of final vowels is traced in borrowings from the Uartian (cf. *burgana* >Arm. *burgn*, gen.sg. *brgan* «pyramide», *ultu* >Arm. *ult*, -u «camel») and Assyrian (*huššu* >Arm. *xuc* «cell», *gimahhu*, *kimahhu* >Arm. *kmax-kʰ* «skeleton» etc.), but not in ancient Caucasian borrowings from the Armenian (cf. Georgian *γwino* from Arm. **guinjō*-). J. Markwart, bearing in mind the name of the tribe *Ταοχοι*, attested in the «Anabasis» of Xenophon and reflected in Armenian *Taykʰ*, -oc, thinks that the loss of final vowels took place after 400 BC and that Iranian stems on -i, -u, -a were borrowed before the loss of final vowels, that is not during this period, as was assumed by Hübschmann and Meillet.¹⁶

The II palatalization and the formation of affricates and fricatives perhaps took place earlier than the Armenian tribes closely contacted with the Caucasian tribes, since in the Armenian borrowings from Caucasian languages the replacement of sibilant affricates with other phonemes are not observed. There are reasons to assume that these phonemes exist also in the oldest Caucasian borrowings from the Armenian.

Towards the periodization of the pre-history of Armenian language.

Thus, we can distinguish three periods of the pre-history of Armenian language:

1. **Indo-European period** - V-IV millenniums BC. In this period the Armenian tribes are gradually emerge in the IE communality. The process of further development of some IE dialectic features and the appearance of new features, gradual

¹⁴ Armenian and Greek words does not have parallels in other IE languages. W.Porzig considers the assumption that these words were borrowed during the period of the most ancient contacts of Armenian and Greek tribes. Cf. W.Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets*, 1954, S.157. W. Porzig dates the period of this contact to the beginning of the II millennium BC, but taking into account the set of latest data including the history of the Greek language, this dating could be pushed further into the III millennium BC.

¹⁵ These words were borrowed from the Mediterranean languages, but not from one and the same source (possibly, from different dialects; cf. *i* in Latin, on the contrary to Greek and Armenian, voiced *z* in Armenian instead of the Greek and Latin *k*).

¹⁶ J. Markwart, «Caucasica», 7, 1931, S.10, 27. Taking the personal name *Ἀναρίακη*, attested in the study of Strabo, as corresponding to Arm. *anərjak(an)*, he assumes that at the beginning of the III century BC the change of *y* to *ʃ* had not happened yet. But the comparison mentioned above is rather doubtful.

transformation of dialectic features into linguistic ones took place. Probably, to this period belongs the emergence of unvoiced aspirates as a special category of occlusives, which is characteristic also for the Greek and Indo-Iranian, the change of *s* to *h*, characteristic also for the Greek and Indo-Iranian, etc.¹⁷

The distinction a) central-dialectic and b) Armenian-dialectic periods («sub-periods») for this period could be only conditional (central-dialectic period - V millennium BC, Armenian-dialectic period - IV millennium BC).

2. Proto-Armenian period - early III millennium BC until the XII century BC. During this period the Armenian tribes, speaking on a separate language, were gradually absorbed and proceeded to the south. To this period belong the I palatalization and the Armenian shift of consonants. The history of the Armenian language could be separated into two periods («sub-periods»).

a) **Early Armenian** - III millennium BC. In this period Armenian language already existed as an individual unit. To this period belong the completion of the process of the change of IE dialectic palatalized velars into corresponding sibilant affricates and fricatives. Probably, to this period belong many Greek-Armenian lexical-semantic parallels.¹⁸

b) **Late Proto-Armenian (Balkan?)** - early II millennium - until the XII century BC. During this period the Armenian tribes had settled down in the Balkan Peninsula near the Thracian-Phrygian tribes. The existence of common phonetic features in Armenian and Phrygian should not be taken as an argument in favor of their origins from one and the same ancestor language but their territorial affiliation and the spread of common features in the closely related languages to that date. Main features of the Armenian shift of consonants was completed during this period.

3. Most ancient period - XII c. BC - V c. AD. During this period the Armenian tribes along with Phrygians had appeared in Asia Minor and proceeded to the east, gradually settling down in the territory of historical Armenia. Taking into account the importance of this period reach in events and popularity, we are inclined to consider it by means of «sub-periods». Two periods («sub-periods») could be distinguished.

a) **Early ancient** - XII c. BC - IV-III c. BC. During this period Armenian tribes who appeared in Asia Minor and moved to the east, gradually had settled down in the western regions of historical Armenia, assimilated Hayasaean and, probably, hieroglyphic Hittites. Thus, if our suggestion to regard Hayasaean language as belonging to ancient Anatolian Indo-European linguistic group is correct, then in Armenian language emerged a strong ancient Anatolian Indo-European substratum. Armenian language borrowed many words from other languages of the Near East as well, including Urartian, Akkadian etc. In this period took place the formation of

¹⁷ Cf. also G.Bonfante, *Les isoglosses gréco-arméniennes*, «Melanges ... Pedersen», p.15-33.

¹⁸ As it was mentioned, W.Porzig in *Die Gliederung ...*, S.157 dates them with the beginning of the II millennium BC, but it better agrees with the latest data pointing to a more early period. In doing so Porzig mentions the absence of agricultural and juridical terms in both languages, while they exist in others.

Armenian ethnos. Yet a firm and unified state organization does not exist. From now on the assimilation of Urartians and other peoples of the Armenian Highland lead to the formation of a strong local Urartian substratum in Armenian language. Armenian language had been enriched also with borrowings from ancient Iranian, Caucasian and other languages. Probably, to this period belong the establishment of bound stress on the penultimate syllable which brought to the weakening of final syllables, II palatalization and the the resulting emergence of a new serie (spirants) of affricates and fricatives, the loss of differences in longitude and shortness of vowels etc.

b) **Late ancient or Pre-Old-Armenian (Pre-Grabarian)** - IV-III c. BC - V c. AD. Already in the first centuries of this period were completed the processes of the formation of Armenian ethnos, settling of Armenians nearly in the whole Armenian Highland which is known as the historical Armenia, and assimilation of the population living in this territory before; according to Strabo, in his time (I c. BC) this population became monolingual. In regard to the language this period is characterized by the reduction and loss of endings (in ancient Caucasian borrowings from the Armenian the vowels of the stem still are preserved: *ywino* «wine», *m-delo* «grass, herbs»), consequently the establishment of the stress on the last syllable, the formation of a system of the alternation of vowels in emphatic and unaccented syllables, main stream of Pahlawi and Syriac and early Greek borrowings etc. Probably, to this period belong some features characterizing the consonantism of old Armenian dialects.

Some words concerning the terms «common Armenian» and «Pre-Armenian». The state of the language preceding the period of the Pre-Old-Armenian we conventionally call Common Armenian since all main processes which were completed during the preceding periods, were common basis for the dialectic features of the literary period, although, indeed, there were separate dialectic features in these periods as well. This does not exclude possibilities to call common Armenian also those processes which took place in the following periods, if they have common character. We call Pre-Armenian the languages of those tribes who live on the territories later populated by the Armenians. In Armenian language they had left traces in the form of substratum and borrowings.

Translated from the Russian by Aram Kosyan