

ԲԱՆԲԵՐ ՀԱՅԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ

ՀԱՅԱԳԻՏԱԿԱՆ ՄԻՋԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ՀԱՆԴԵՍ



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**ՀԱՅԱԳԻՏԱԿԱՆ ՈՒՍՈՒՄՆԱՍԻՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԸ ՖԻՆԱՆՍԱՎՈՐՈՂ
ՀԱՄԱՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՀԻՄՆԱԴՐԱՄ**

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THE IDEOPOLITICAL TRENDS OF APPROPRIATING AND ALTERING ARMENIAN TOPONYMS AND MAPS AS COMPONENTS OF THE “GREATER AZERBAIJAN” PROJECT

Abstract

The political doctrine of Pan-Turkism proposed by Ziya Gökalp was intended to be implemented in a three-stage system. After the **first stage**, which involved the mass Turkification of the subject nations of the Ottoman Empire, **the second stage** was planned: the creation of an Oghuz state, which would include the Ottoman Empire, Eastern Transcaucasia, the Turkic-speaking countries of Central Asia (Khorezm), and the Iranian province of Atropatene-Azerbaijan. Within the scope of implementing the Oghuz state plan, a military-political concept was developed, consisting of both short-term and long-term strategies. Accordingly, the immediate plan envisaged, along with the conquest of Eastern Transcaucasia, the creation of a so-called “Azerbaijan” – an “East Caucasian

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Muslim" formation, which, as a temporary implementation phase, would become the main operational and political stronghold of the Young Turk-Musavat alliance. Subsequently, on the basis of this formation within the Ottoman Empire, a so-called "Great Azerbaijan" state was to be created, extending from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea, from Batumi to Baku, including the Iranian Atropatene-Azerbaijan province. The long-term plan envisioned "Great Azerbaijan" as the first link in the creation of a pan-Oghuz state, which would bridge the Ottoman Empire with the Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia, ultimately laying the groundwork for the third phase –the establishment of a Turanian Empire under a common Pan-Turkic roof.

Although the "Great Azerbaijan" project has periodically changed its tactics, its political goal has remained unchanged. During the Soviet era, realizing the impossibility of militarily annexing the Armenian territories, Azerbaijani leadership adopted a new strategy. Instead of massacres, persecutions, and forced displacements, they implemented a policy of ethnic cleansing, disenfranchisement, national discrimination, distortion of demographic data, Turkification of place names, cartographic falsifications, and appropriation of civilizational values.¹

Keywords: *"Great Azerbaijan," Eastern Transcaucasia, Pan-Turkism, falsification, toponym, map, topocid.*

Introduction

The tactics of the "Great Azerbaijan" project includes, as an integral component, the Turkification of Armenian toponyms (names of settlements, major mountains, rivers, lakes, administrative units, ancient sites, etc.) and microtoponyms (names of hills, valleys, mountains, streams, springs, pastures, fields, etc.) in Eastern Transcaucasia and the occupied territories of historical Armenia. Additionally, there has been systematic falsification of topographical and historical maps, given that these regions contained numerous places named in the languages of indigenous peoples, serving as direct evidence of their nativity. Since the process of forming an "Azerbaijani nation" is still incomplete (and may never be completed), the obsession of the Caucasian Tatars with appropriating everything continues unabated. In the process of creating a monolithic Turkic state, the newcomers have displayed intolerance toward all civilizational values created by the indigenous population.

¹ See **Gatrchyan** 2009, 12.

The Alterations of Toponyms

The state-adopted policy of systematically Turkifying toponyms in the Eastern Caucasus was implemented after 1918, following the establishment of the entity referred to as "Azerbaijan". In an effort to establish a stable presence and "historical solid foundations" in the territories they inhabited, the nomadic or semi-nomadic Caucasian Tatars – following the Turkish methodological approach – used ethnotoponyms to address territorial and ethnic identification issues, attempting to legitimize themselves as "indigenous inhabitants".

However, it should be noted that this criminal policy became particularly systematic under the Soviet Azerbaijani rule and in the subsequent years. Its purpose was to facilitate Azerbaijan's campaign of cultural genocide in the realm of toponyms, a practice now identified by the term "topocide."²

Accordingly, following the Ottoman and Republican Turkish example of Turkifying Armenian toponyms to erase national memory, the Armenian historical and cultural legacy on the left bank of the Kura River was deliberately distorted. This included renaming longstanding Armenian settlements that revealed the deep historical roots of Armenians in the region, such as Avanashen (now Ghoshakyand), Vardashen (now Oghuz), Getashen (now Chaykend), and Norshen (now Tazakend), among others, in an attempt to erase the centuries-old Armenian cultural and urban heritage.³

In this context, it should be noted that this irreversible loss has been recorded not only in the Eastern Caucasus but also in some parts of Armenia. The infiltration of nomadic Turkic-speaking peoples into the region, with the aim of conquering and assimilating inherently Armenian lands, led to the distortion of Armenian-created and Armenian-rooted place names and microtoponyms. A significant portion of these names was translated and adapted into their language, often through the lens of their nomadic mindset and toponymic restructuring, changing

² See **Asatryan** 2012.

³ And yet, despite the distortion of Armenian toponyms, these ancient place names were deeply rooted in the local population's minds. However, in the Shaki-Shirvan region, Armenian place names translated by Turkic elements continued to be preserved. For example, one of the ruined forts in the southern part of the ancient capital of Buni-Aghwank, Kapaghaki (Gabala), was referred to as the "Fortress of the Infidels" ("Gavurlarin Kalesi") by the local Muslim population until the 20th century (perhaps even until today) (**Rashid-bey-Efendiyev** 1903, 2–3).

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the original Armenian names into forms that suited their linguistic and cultural context.⁴ It should be noted that the nomadic Caucasian Tatars used ethnotoponyms to address territorial and ethnic identification issues. In general, this phenomenon was characteristic of nearly all nomadic and semi-nomadic people.⁵

It should be noted that the historical and geographical terminology of the Armenian Highlands, including the entirety of Armenian toponyms, is rooted in the foundational layer of Armenian national linguistic thought. Besides performing an ethnoprotective function and being a stable linguistic fact, a toponym also holds significant historical and civilizational value. Containing a profound political subtext, it stands as evidence of the historical past and cultural heritage of the indigenous population that once lived or still lives there. Thus, in the context of the Azerbaijani government's "Greater Azerbaijan" program, the process of Turkifying toponyms was of serious significance. Special efforts were made to rename "non-Muslim" place names. The deliberate distortion of Armenian place names and their adaptation to Turkic forms was intended to "prove" the mythical legitimacy of the Turkish-Azerbaijani claim over the occupied territories, as part of their broader nationalistic agenda.⁶

It is known that the emergence of different ethnic groups in the same territory, as well as the establishment of imposed or semi-imposed political structures, inevitably lead to the transformation of indigenous, ancient toponyms. In this regard, it should be noted that the alteration and distortion of Armenian place names was not a new phenomenon. This process began with the infiltration of ethnic foreign groups, specifically the Seljuk Turks and the Oghuz Turkic-speaking nomads, and their subsequent territorial expansion⁷: Many localities, which were originally inhabited solely by Armenians, were given Persian or Turkic names⁸: As academically justified by Grigor Ghapantsyan, "For a long time, the functioning of a number of place names of Turkish-Seljuk origin seemed to us a distortion in our Soviet era. Indeed, all these Mollaba-Yazet, Molladurson, Sultanabad, Sultanbek, Uluhanluan, Alibekluan, and similar names are a part of

⁴ See **Rustamov** 2013, № 2, 137–150.

⁵ See **Asatryan** 2022, № 3, 106.

⁶ See **Danielyan** 2008, № 3, 13–15.

⁷ **Yesayan** 2014, 10.

⁸ See **Chobanyan** 2015, № 3 (9), 202, 215.

the Ottoman Empire's long-lasting rule and its expansion."⁹ Speaking of the Turkish place names, it should be mentioned that there were also other Turkish toponyms until the 11th century, directly related to this phenomenon. The first act was the change of the original name of the captured Armenian settlements, while the purpose was again the same – to replace the previous name with a new one. Albeit the Caucasian Tatars had never established their villages or towns, their global purpose was, as always, to erase traces of the original owners. In many cases, the renamed toponyms often included Turkish suffixes such as the plural-forming suffix "-lar," the diminutive-forming "-jik" or "-juk," or the place-indicating suffixes "-li" or "-lu" which were added to the Armenian root, turning the Armenian toponym into a mixed-structure name.¹⁰ Armenian place names were also renamed through translation: "new" became *Yeni*, "red" became *Kyzyl* (*Gyzyl*), "village" became *Kend*, and so on.¹¹ For example, *Tandzut* became *Armutlu*, *Aghbyurashen* became *Bulagkend*, *Karmirik* became *Kyzylja*, and so on, or the local dialect with ethnic significance would sometimes modify the previous form of the toponym by the principle of substitution, similar to Turkish variations: *Odzhukhach* became *Uzunkhach*, *Odzhun* became *Uzunlar*, *Karhatavan* became *Karadivan*, *Karvachar* became *Kelbajar*, *Kovsakan* became *Zangelan*, *Kashunik*/*Barkushat* became *Gubatlou*, *Varandan* became *Fizuli*, *Sanasary* became *Kubatli*, *Dzhraqan* became *Jebrail*, and so on. According to the observation of Babken Harutyunyan, Corresponding Member of the NAS RA, "If the nomad saw the water as black, the river or stream immediately received the name "Qara-su" (Black Water); if the stone resembled the nose, it was named "Qara-burun" (Nose-like Stone); if the rock resembled a wolf's ear, it was named "Ghurgh-ulagh" (Wolf's Ear), and so on."¹² It is important to note that this situation has had disastrous consequences, especially for the comprehensive value system of Armenian civilization. In this regard, it should be noted that the presence of foreign-sounding toponyms in Armenia has always been a cause for concern, starting from the years of the First Republic. Educator Hakob Elibekyan once remarked regarding this issue: "Armenia has begun to live an independent state life... Armenia, having been deprived of independent state life for centuries, did

⁹ See **Ghapantsyan** 1954, № 1, 15.

¹⁰ See **Yesayan** 2014, 37.

¹¹ See **Yesayan** 2014, 16.

¹² **Harutyunyan** 2010, № 4 (32), 37.

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not have the opportunity to preserve the geographical names that had passed through the crucible of history and were an integral part of our people's life ... Due to the harsh political conditions, the people were unable to create an independent cultural life, which would have allowed them to prevent the distortion or elimination of Armenian names from use."¹³ He was not mistaken, for in the maps of Armenia published in different languages, Armenian place names were indeed distorted.¹⁴

Among the widespread methods was also giving new names to old settlements, aiming to demonstrate the original identity of those toponyms as native place names. Incidentally, this situation gave rise to the political intrigues of Azerbaijani fake authors and the relentless anti-Armenian propaganda.

Attempts to etymologize Armenian place names in Turkic were also forms of appropriation of Armenian settlements. In this regard, the flight of mind in the historiography of toponyms has reached a ridiculous level, especially in G. Geibulyev's "work."¹⁵ The author, trying to cast doubt on the ancient Armenian settlement on the left bank of the Kura River and distorting the names of Armenian villages (Zarkhu, Karkanj, Dara-Karkanj, etc.), as well as avoiding the historical-geographical and linguistic-etymological clarification of these place names, intentionally conceals the fact of the existence from early times of the Armenian-populated villages, medieval churches, khachkars, chapels with hundreds of Armenian inscriptions on them and declares that those villages are Azerbaijani.¹⁶ However, in reality, as mentioned above, the original names of Armenian villages have been recorded in historical sources much earlier than the Turkish-Oghuz names would appear in the Eastern Caucasus and Armenian highlands. Furthermore, from the earliest times, especially during the Middle Ages, when Shirvan had a large Armenian population, the historical sources did not, and could not, indicate the presence of a people identified as "Azerbaijani".

It should be noted that immediately after the end of the 44-day war in 2020, on the day after the ceasefire was signed, Azerbaijan's Minister of Culture A. Karimov made a post on his Twitter page about Dadivank, the jewel of the Karvachar region, calling it "Khudavang" and stating that it was "one of the best

¹³ **Elibekyan** 1919, № 96.

¹⁴ See *ibid.*

¹⁵ See **Geibullayev** 1986.

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, 120.

testimonies of ancient Caucasian Albania's civilization."¹⁷ It is essential to emphasize that over 100 Armenian inscriptions are presented on the walls of Dadivank, containing genealogically, geographically, architecturally, and historically important information, serving as irrefutable evidence of Armenian heritage.¹⁸

The objective of this state-sponsored policy pursued by Azerbaijani authorities is not only to rename or distort Armenian toponyms but also to entirely erase the name Armenia. With the intent of depriving the Armenian people of their historical homeland, Azerbaijani pseudo-historians, directly aligning with pan-Turkist "historiographers," attempt to deny the concepts of the Armenian Highlands, Armenia, and historical Greater Armenia through fabricated information, falsified and artificially constructed place names, and illogical conclusions. By propagating the anti-scientific thesis of Armenians being "newcomers," they seek to negate the existence of the indigenous Armenian ethnos, the Armenian states, and the ancient Armenian civilization in its historical homeland – the Armenian Highlands, that is, Armenia – since antiquity.¹⁹ Azerbaijani falsifiers, for whom history is a propaganda tool, easily mislead the world. An example of this is the purposeful changes of Armenian place names. Moreover, along with the distortion of Armenian place names, ancient Armenian names and surnames were also Turkified through a special policy, which is part of the Turkish anti-Armenian policy. For instance, the Azerbaijani author G. Mehtiyeva, in her fabricated narrative, not only falsely declares the renowned 10th-century Armenian historian Movses Daskhurantsi (also known in manuscripts and historical records as "Kaghankatvatsi") to be "Albanian," but also, through so-called "etymological analysis," attributes a Turkish origin to several distinctly Armenian-sounding personal names (such as Taguhi, Shushan, etc.) mentioned in his work *History of the Aghuans*. These names, which are entirely free of any Muslim influence and continue to be part of Armenian nomenclature today, are arbitrarily reclassified with a stroke of her pen.²⁰

¹⁷ **Mkhitaryan** 2022, № 21.

¹⁸ **Shakhhatunyants** 1842, 359–360; **Jalalyants** 1895, 206–209; **Barkhudarian** 1982, 197–217; **Ayvazyan** 2015; **Hakobyan, Simonyan** 1998, № 1–2, 227–231.

¹⁹ See **Mahmudov** 2016.

²⁰ See **Mehdieva** 2018, 36–37.

Alteration of Maps

Another tactical component of the fictitious “Greater Azerbaijan” project was the publication of falsified “maps” composed in a pan-Turkic spirit through the distortion of historical geography. It should also be noted that the foundation for the falsification of geographical and historical maps of the Eastern Caucasus was laid during the rule of H. Aliyev and under his direct patronage.

With the aim of endowing the formation of “Azerbaijan” with a “historical past,” under the leadership of Rasul Rzayev, the chief editor of the “Azerbaijan SSR Encyclopedia,” and with the participation of the well-known historical falsifier Y. Makhmudov, the “Atlas of the Azerbaijan SSR Maps” was published in 1972 at the Kyiv Cartographic Enterprise in Azerbaijani and Russian. This atlas was designed for long-term purposes and included fabricated so-called “historical maps of Azerbaijan.”²¹ This falsification found such widespread resonance among intellectuals well-versed in history and especially within Soviet scientific institutions that, in order to clarify the situation, Levon Shahumyan, the deputy chief editor of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* and the son of Stepan Shahumyan, traveled to Baku.

However, as Y. Makhmudov later cynically wrote, “Thanks to the wisdom and courage of Heydar Aliyev, not only did the encyclopedias and a significant group of intellectuals avoid persecution by the KGB, but they also even escaped the usual party disciplinary actions.”²²

In addition to the aforementioned points, it should be noted that as time progresses, Azerbaijan is steadily advancing towards the further consolidation of an authoritarian political system and a repressive regime. Considering the “Greater Azerbaijan” program as one of the key directions of Azerbaijan’s political strategy, Ilham Aliyev has taken the expansionist policies of his predecessors to an extreme. In order to fuel pan-Turkic sentiments, he issued a political directive to the Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan – an institution sustained by his authoritarian administration – to falsify and distort history.

The fact that the so-called Institute of History of Azerbaijan has consistently operated not according to scientific standards but in alignment with the political objectives dictated by the authorities, is openly acknowledged by its former

²¹ See **Lyatif Shamkhal** 2017, 24.

²² See *ibid.*

director, the pseudo-academician Y. Makhmudov. Benefiting from the patronage and protection of the younger Aliyev, Makhmudov unquestioningly executes the political orders of the regime. "I can confidently say," he writes, "that our entire history is being reborn thanks to President Ilham Aliyev. **All the works produced by the institute's scholars are written under the direct instructions and guarantees of the head of state. A new history of Azerbaijan is being created.**"²³ (Emphasis is ours – G. S.)

I. Aliyev's aspiration is to turn the territory of the Republic of Armenia into "Western Azerbaijan" through the blatant falsification of historical and legal facts. To achieve this goal, in 2007, by the order of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Azerbaijan, a so-called "work" under the titled *Monuments of Western Azerbaijan* was published with the poisonous pen of a certain Aziz Alakbarli.

From the very beginning, it should be noted that for the author of the book, as well as its editors and consultants (notorious historical falsifiers such as B. Budagov, V. Aliyev, J. Giyasi, M. Nemat, H. Mirzoyev, S. Mammadov), historiography has turned into an occupation or business serving certain interests. A. Alakbarli, filled with hostility and prejudice against historical knowledge, strives to alienate the spiritual and material culture created over centuries by the indigenous Armenian population of Armenia and, through falsification, artificially backdate the presence of nomadic tribes, proclaiming them Turkic-Oghuz.²⁴ With a "historical-constructive" flight of thought, on page 7 of the book, the map of the Republic of Armenia is depicted with a sick imagination, with the caption

²³ See *ibid*, 46.

²⁴ **Alakbarli** 2007. The so-called book, considered a classic example of falsification, was displayed at the annual international book fair in Frankfurt am Main. On its cover, the Garni pagan temple (1st century AD) is portrayed, absurdly, as a Turkic structure. R. Galichian has rightly called this "book" one of the latest and most extreme cases of "Azerbaijani fantasies" (see Galichian R., *The Invention of History: Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Showcasing of Imagination* (Second, Revised and Expanded Edition), London-Yerevan, 2009, p. 5–6). Another manifestation of the appropriation of historical and cultural heritage occurred on December 2, 2010, during an exhibition dedicated to "Azerbaijani cultural heritage" at Humboldt University in Berlin, where photographs of Armenia's ancient monuments, such as Tatev, Gandzasar, Khutavank, and others, were presented as part of the so-called "Azerbaijani cultural heritage" (see **Avagyan, Avetisyan, Chobanyan, Poghosyan, Ter-Matevosyan** 2012, № 1–2, 245).

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underneath stating: "The map of Western Azerbaijan (today's Republic of Armenia), the historical homeland of the Turkic-Oghuz."²⁵

The anti-scientific manipulations of the Azerbaijani newbie forgers do not end there; they were continuously manifested in the falsification of maps. One example of this deceit and aggression is the "South Caucasus: 1903" map (Baku, 2013),²⁶ published under the direct order of I. Aliyev through the "State Committee for Geodesy and Cartography," followed by the so-called "National Atlas of the Republic of Azerbaijan" (Baku, 2014), issued in Russian, English, and Azerbaijani in Latin script.

Let us first address the former. By republishing the "Map of the Caucasian Region", created in 1903 and printed in 1914 by the "Caucasian Military District", Azerbaijani falsifiers manipulate the inclusion of certain Turkic place names in Russian maps regarding Eastern Armenia, and driven by expansionist ambitions toward Armenia, they attempt to retroactively present the administrative-territorial borders of the non-existent "Azerbaijan" in 1903 as encompassing a large area, including all of Eastern Armenia.²⁷ However, as correctly pointed out by Dr. Pavel Chobanyan, "...the emergence of newly established Turkic place names as a result of Persian-Turkic domination in Armenia cannot serve as a basis for attributing those names to earlier centuries or for characterizing the issue of ethnic relations in Armenia during those times."²⁸

As for the so-called "National Atlas", it consists of 19 sections and includes around 1,000 maps. From the outset, it should be noted that, in alignment with the state's agenda, there is a deliberate attempt to present the native peoples of the region (Armenians, Udis, Lezgins, Kriz, Avars, Tsakurs, Tats, Talysh, etc.) as newcomers, while portraying the nomadic Caucasian Tatars as "indigenous." Moreover, through fabricated theories aimed at establishing the existence of the "Azerbaijan" entity in much earlier periods, an attempt has been made to completely distort and falsify the ethnic history and geography of the South Caucasus across all eras under the guise of academic credibility.

²⁵ **Alakbarli** 2007, 7.

²⁶ See Southern Caucasus. Map of 1903, Baku, 2013.

²⁷ See The scholars of our institute analyzed the map "Southern Caucasus. 1903," available at <https://igaz.az/ru/news/861> (accessed: 09.21.2020).

²⁸ **Chobanyan** 2015, 216.

The Armenian regions of Utik, Artsakh, and Syunik, as well as the entirety of Eastern Transcaucasia, have been declared “Azerbaijani.” In this process, the thousand-year-old ethno-political and ethno-cultural heritage created by the native peoples of the region has been appropriated and claimed as their own.

Furthermore, driven by territorial greed, Armenia has been erased from several original Hellenistic, Roman, and European maps (17 maps in total), with the name Armenia deliberately removed. Similarly, Iran has not been spared, with the administrative boundaries of Azerbaijan fictitiously extended from Derbent to the central territories of Iran.²⁹ Finally, regarding the ensuing mass distortion of morality it should be noted that the anti-scientific theses and blatant falsifications included in the “atlas” have been directly incorporated into Azerbaijani school and university textbooks and educational materials. The authors of these “map atlases” avoid accountability primarily because they are utterly absurd, bearing absolutely no connection to reality or history. These falsifications are nothing more than delusions. It is worth noting that the nomadic gene, shaped by a mindset of plunder and raiding, has not only retained its vitality in our times but is continually accumulating new energy.³⁰ The approach of Azerbaijani authors is characterized by an interesting observation made by the Director of the Institute of Political and Social Studies of the Black Sea-Caspian Region, Prof. Vladimir Zakharov:

“Azerbaijani historians have distorted the entire history of the Caucasian region. Their dozens, hundreds of books and articles are being published in various countries around the world... According to their narrative, it is unmistakably concluded that in the Caucasus region, there is only one people – the Azerbaijanis... And all of this is done with state-directed intent, under the personal decree of President I. Aliyev.”³¹ In other words, in Azerbaijan, the process of nation-building has already turned into a technology³² of distortion

²⁹ See *Azərbaycan Respublikası Milli Atlas: National Atlas*, Baki, 2014. For more details on the interpretations of the falsified maps in the “Atlas”, see **Galchyan** 2024, 9–37.

³⁰ One of the manifestations of the distortion of historical-cultural heritage is the exhibition held on December 2, 2010, at Humboldt University in Berlin, titled “Azerbaijan’s Cultural Heritage,” where photographs of Armenian monuments such as Tatev, Gandzasar, Khutavank, and others were presented as so-called “Azerbaijani cultural heritage.” (see **Avagyan, Avetisyan, Chobanyan, Poghosyan, Ter-Matevosyan** 2012, 245).

³¹ **Zaharov** 2010, № 2, 72.

³² See **Bakhchinyan** № 16, 27.04.2018.

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under the Aliyev regime. This is evident in the “works” of Azerbaijani falsifiers and in the “maps-atlases,” where they are accompanied by new expressions of falsehood and distortion of historical reality.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the “Greater Azerbaijan” program is a significant part of the campaign to distort the geographical and historical identity of Eastern Transcaucasia and the occupied Armenian territories. This process, which began during the creation of the artificial “Azerbaijan” entity, involves the manipulation of Armenian toponyms and the falsification of historical and geographical maps. The intentional distortion of Armenian place names and their reworking into Turkish-sounding forms is aimed at erasing the historical identity of the captured territories. This deceptive national project poses serious political and demographic threats to Armenia, especially in terms of its territorial integrity and the preservation of its cultural heritage.

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ԳԵՎՈՐԳ ՍՏԵՓԱՆՅԱՆ

Պատմական գիտությունների դոկտոր, պրոֆեսոր

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ՅՈՒՐԱՑՄԱՆ ՈՒ ՆԵՆԳԱՓՈԽՄԱՆ
ԳԱՂԱՓԱՐԱՔԱՂԱՔԱԿԱՆ ՄԻՏՈՒՄՆԵՐԸ ՈՐՊԵՍ «ՄԵԾ
ԱԴՐԲԵՋԱՆ» ԾՐԱԳՐԻ ԲԱՂԱԴՐԻՉՆԵՐ**

Ամփոփում

«Մեծ Ադրբեջան» ծրագրի մարտավարության բաղադրիչ մասն է կազմում նաև Արևելյան Այսրկովկասի և բռնազավթված ի բնե հայկական տարածքների հայակերտ տեղանունների թյուրքացումը, տեղագրական ու պատմական քարտեզների կեղծումը, գործընթաց, որ տակավին սկսվել էր արհեստածին «Ադրբեջան» կազմավորման ժամանակներից: Հայկական տեղանունների միտումնավոր խեղաթյուրումը, դրանց ամեն կերպ թյուրքական հնչողություն տալը նպատակ ունի «ապացուցելու» զավթված տարածքների թյուրք-ադրբեջանական պատկանելության առասպելի «իսկությունը»: Այս նենգամիտ քաղաքականության հետևանքով հայկական տեղանունները, ենթարկվելով թյուրքերենի արտասանական առանձնահատկություններին, կրեցին համապատասխան փոփոխություններ, որ ռազմավարական և ժողովրդագրական տեսակետից Հայաստանի համար հղի է լուրջ վտանգներով:


Բանալի բառեր՝ «Մեծ Ադրբեջան», Արևելյան Այսրկովկաս, համաթյուրքականություն, կեղծարարություն, տեղանուն, քարտեզ, տոպոնիմ:

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COMPARATIVE STUDY ON CONSEQUENCES AND DEGREE OF CONVICTION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE YEZIDI GENOCIDE IN IRAQ

Abstract

Studying the consequences of various examples of genocide is important not only in terms of identifying the degree of their severity for the victim groups, but also in terms of clarifying the attitude of the international community towards these crimes at the time they were committed. It is important to understand what the position of the great powers was towards these crimes, whether it was expressed through simple condemnation, or certain measures were taken to stop the mass extermination of representatives of ethnic, racial, religious and national groups. From this point of view, in the context of comparing the consequences of the Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire and the Yezidi Genocide in the region Sinjar of Iraq, the object of the given study is the reaction and degree of intervention of the international community, and influential actors in world politics, with the aim of stopping the further extermination of representatives of the victim groups of these crimes.

To achieve the stated goals and objectives, the study combines historical-comparative and analytical methods, uses a wide range of primary and secondary sources, as well as interdisciplinary research by specialists.

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Keywords: *Armenian Genocide, Ottoman Empire, Yezidi Genocide, region Sinjar of Iraq, international intervention, consequences of crimes, conviction rates.*

Introduction

The authorities of the Ottoman Empire considered the clash of two opposing military-political blocs, the Entente and the Quadruple Alliance, in the First World War to be a convenient opportunity for the “final solution” of the Armenian Question through the mass extermination of the Armenian population and the deprivation of its homeland – Western Armenia. Being well aware of the criminal plans of the Young Turk government, the allies of the Ottoman Empire – Kaiser’s Germany and Austria-Hungary, with their silence and criminal inaction, encouraged the Turkish authorities to continue the policy of mass extermination of the Armenian people, effectively becoming accomplices in this crime.

International intervention to stop crimes committed against victim groups

At the time of the Armenian Genocide, on May 24, 1915, the Entente powers – Russia, Great Britain and France – adopted a joint declaration in which the mass murder of Armenians was qualified as a “crime against humanity”. Personal responsibility for these crimes was placed “on all members of the Turkish government, as well as on those of its local representatives who are found to be involved in such massacres.”¹ Immediately after the dissemination of the text of the declaration of the Entente powers, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Ottoman Empire, Talaat, initiated the hasty adoption by the Turkish government of a temporary law “On Deportation”, which attempted to “legitimize” the ongoing policy of mass deportation, and in essence, the extermination of the Armenian population.² By adopting this act, responsibility for the mass deportation and extermination of the Armenian population was legislatively shifted to the executive power of the country.³

However, the demarche of the Entente powers could not stop the process of mass extermination of the Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire. The only real factor restraining the criminal policy of the Young Turk government was the

¹ See **Abrahamyan, Sevan-Khachatryan** 1995, 21.

² See **Safrastyan** 2009, 175–180.

³ See **Marukyan** 2017, 72–73.

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Russian Caucasian Army, which occupied some territories of Western Armenia. The advance of the Russian army and Armenian volunteer units in early May forced the Turkish command to stop the month-long siege of Van and retreat. The heroic self-defense of the Armenians of Van, which lasted from April 7 to May 6, 1915, ended with the rescue of tens of thousands of Armenians of Van and surrounding settlements.⁴ At the same time, it should be noted that the insufficiently prepared, rapid maneuvers of the Russian Caucasian army often led to retreats, leaving the Armenian population to the mercy of fate, which did not have time to leave with the troops, while the enraged enemy dealt most cruelly with those who did not have time to leave.⁵

Thanks to the help of the French Mediterranean Navy ships, the heroic self-defense of the Armenians on Mount Musa Dag, which lasted more than a month, also ended with the rescue of part of the Armenian population of the villages of Suetia from mass extermination.⁶ In mid-September 1915, the French warships cruising off the coast of Cilicia transported about 4,200 Armenians, including women, children and the elderly, to the British-controlled Egyptian town of Port Said.⁷

The international community only drew attention to the plight of tens of thousands of Yazidis who had found refuge on Mount Sinjar from extermination by the "Islamic State" terrorist group* (ISIS) after the US President issued a special statement on August 7 regarding the situation surrounding the Yazidis in Iraq. B. Obama said, that at the request of the Iraqi government, the United States took measures to rescue civilians who had found refuge in the mountains. He noted that if necessary, the US Air Force is authorized to carry out precision airstrikes that will allow Iraqi forces to lift the siege of Mount Sinjar and protect

⁴ See **Tunyan** 2015, 143–159.

⁵ **Marukyan** 2003, 311.

⁶ See **Kevorkyan** 2015, 83–91.

⁷ **Shemmassian** 2020, 375.

* An extremist Sunni terrorist group was formed in 2004 based on some organizations of the Al-Qaeda international terrorist network, and funded by Qatar and Saudi Arabia. The "Islamic State" terrorist group also had internal sources of financing, which were provided through the sale of oil, other natural resources, objects of historical and cultural value, and weapons in the territories under its control, as well as income from ransoms paid for hostages. See Dispatch from the Field, Islamic State, 2014. <https://www.conflictarm.com/dispatches/islamic-state-ammunition-in-iraq-and-syria/Ammunition.pdf> (accessed: 12.02.2025).

the civilian population there.⁸ In order to provide humanitarian aid to the besieged Yazidis, American military aircraft delivered 130.000 liters of drinking water and 114.000 food packages to Mount Sinjar. Humanitarian aid was also provided by British military aircraft, which were later joined by the air forces of France, Germany and Australia.⁹ US Air Force also carried out airstrikes on ISIS positions in Mosul, allowing Iraqi and Kurdish forces to retake lost territory.

On August 13, US and UK special forces entered the area of Mount Sinjar surrounded by terrorists, where about 30.000 Yazidis were hiding.¹⁰ Based on the information received, it was claimed that the Yazidis in this part of Mount Sinjar were provided with water and food and were not threatened by attacks from ISIS militants.¹¹ Although on August 14, 2014, the US President announced the release of the Yazidis from the blockade on Mount Sinjar, the latter noted that after the end of the military operation, the international community showed criminal inaction in rescuing thousands of their compatriots held hostage by ISIS.¹²

However, these actions by the US and its allies were clearly not enough to free tens of thousands of Yazidis from the terrorists' encirclement on Mount Sinjar. Units of the Syrian branch of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) came to the aid of the Yazidi refugees doomed to death by starvation on Mount Sinjar, supplied the Yazidi self-defense forces with sufficient weapons and ammunition, and then, during a joint operation, managed to open a safe corridor for them to Syria.¹³ More than 120.000 people who had found refuge on Mount Sinjar moved to Syria through this corridor, 80.000 of whom settled in the Nowruz refugee camp created by the Syrian branch of PKK and in the surrounding settlements, and about 30,000 crossed the Turkish border, settling in the border areas of Batman, Diyarbakir, Midyat and Mardin. Despite the possibility of a safe retreat from Mount Sinjar, about 20–30 thousand Yazidis refused to leave their homelands, continuing to remain in the mountains.¹⁴

⁸ See Statement by the President. (accessed: 12.02.2025)

⁹ **Kochoi** 2014, 68.

¹⁰ **Chulov, Borger, Norton-Taylor, Roberts** 2014. (accessed: 12.02.2025)

¹¹ **DeYoung, Whitlock** 2014, (accessed: 12.02.2025)

¹² **Kochoi, Hasan** 2016, 104.

¹³ **Grigoryan** 2016, 167–168.

¹⁴ Report on the Protection of Civilians in the Armed Conflict in Iraq 2014, 4.

Consequences of the Armenian Genocide and the terrorist crimes committed against the Yezidis of Sinjar

The consequences of the Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire and the terrorist crimes committed against the Yezidis of Iraq's Sinjar region show both similarities and significant differences.

The losses inflicted on the Armenian people as a result of the genocide and their consequences can be conditionally divided into the following groups: a) loss of the historical homeland, b) demographic losses, c) loss of cultural and civilizational heritage, d) material damage, e) moral and psychological shock.

The grave direct damage of the Armenian Genocide should be considered "patriocide" – **the deprivation of the Armenian people of most of their homeland – Western Armenia** – through mass extermination. As a result of the loss of their homeland, the Armenian refugees who miraculously survived the genocidal policies of the Turkish authorities in different countries created communities of the modern Armenian Diaspora. As a consequence of this, on the one hand, it should be noted that the Western Armenians who survived the genocide, having lost their native homes, were forced to start everything from scratch in a foreign land and at the same time try not to lose their national identity.¹⁵

It is generally accepted that the **demographic losses** of the Armenian Genocide amounted to 1.5 million people, however, it is necessary to take into account that an integral part of the genocidal policy of the Turkish authorities was the forced Islamization of the Armenian population, as a result of which these people ceased to identify themselves with the Armenian people, which from the point of view of the group-victim of the genocide should also be considered as human losses. In addition to clarifying the number of Armenians who were actually killed, died or forcibly Islamized, in this context it is necessary to clarify the consequences of these demographic losses for the victim group and imagine what the size of the Armenian people would have been a century after the genocide if the victims of this crime had survived.¹⁶

The next most important damage of the Armenian Genocide was the deliberate **destruction of the cultural heritage** of the Armenian people. In an

¹⁵ See Marukyan 2014, 271.

¹⁶ Ibid, 273.

effort to destroy evidence of the thousand-year presence of Armenians in their homeland – Western Armenia and other Armenian-populated territories of the Ottoman Empire, successive Turkish authorities consistently destroyed Armenian churches, monasteries, educational institutions, historical monuments, khachkars, architectural structures and even cemeteries. During the Armenian Genocide and in the following years, more than 1.500 churches, 450 monasteries, 2.000 schools, etc. were destroyed.¹⁷ The destruction of many thousands of Armenian manuscripts, which reflected the scientific thought and genius of the Armenian people, should also be considered an example of cultural genocide. These atrocities served two purposes: they destroyed evidence of what had happened and created conditions for the rapid assimilation of Armenians.¹⁸

An equally important component of the criminal policy of the Turkish government should be considered the **mass expropriation of Armenian property** and its transfer to Muslims, primarily Turks, which was carried out in parallel with the extermination and deportation of the Armenian population. When speaking about the material damage caused to the Armenian people, the first thing that comes to mind is the joint memorandum of the delegations of the Republic of Armenia and Western Armenians presented at the Paris Peace Conference. This document estimated the material losses of Armenians in 1915–1919 at 19.130.982.000 French francs, of which 14.598.460.000 francs were inflicted on Western Armenians and 4.582.472.000 on the Republic of Armenia.¹⁹ It should be noted, however, that due to the tight deadlines for the preparation and submission of the memorandum, this document was unable to reflect complete and final data on the material losses inflicted on the Armenian people during the First World War.

On June 10, 1915, by the decision of the Young Turk government, “Commissions for Abandoned Property*” were created, which were entrusted with the function of carrying out the process of expropriation of all Armenian property.²⁰ Personal documents of the Minister of the Interior, Talaat Pasha,

¹⁷ See Armenian-Turkish relations 2011, 144.

¹⁸ See **Bevan** 2006, 25–60.

¹⁹ See **Barseghyan** 1999, 13.

* The creation and activities of these commissions were later recognized as illegal by the Ottoman Empire itself under Article 144 of the Sevres Peace Treaty of August 10, 1920. See Supplement: Official Documents 1921, 235.

²⁰ See **Akcam** 2012, 186–187.

confirm that a total of 20.545 buildings, 76.942 acres of vineyards, 703.941 acres of olive groves and 4.573 acres of mulberry orchards were seized from the Armenians.²¹

As a result of the genocide, the Armenian people suffered serious **moral and psychological shocks**, which were experienced not only by the Armenians who survived this monstrous crime, but also by subsequent generations. The forcibly Islamized Armenian women and children, who were forced to accept Islam and speak only Turkish,²² and had to adopt Turkish names and surnames against their will, also suffered moral and psychological shocks.²³

As for the **consequences of the crimes committed by terrorists against the Yezidis of Sinjar**, the following main losses and their consequences can be identified: a) mass migration and the grave repercussions of the departure of the majority of the Yezidi population from their native lands, b) demographic losses, c) destruction and desecration of religious and cultural sites, d) seizure and destruction of property, e) moral and psychological shocks and their effects.

As a result of the attack and crimes committed by ISIS in Sinjar, more than 200.000 **Yezidis have become refugees, leaving their homes and finding refuge in other countries.**²⁴ However, unlike the Armenian people, the **Yezidis did not lose their homeland**; some of the Yezidi population subsequently returned to their native lands. The approximately 20–30 thousand Yezidis who remained on Mount Sinjar and refused to cross into Syria via the safe corridor, as well as some of the Yezidi population who found refuge in the territory of Iraqi Kurdistan, after liberating their settlements from terrorists, gradually began to return to their native lands. Thus, despite the terrible, devastating consequences of the ISIS attack, about 15% of the Yezidi population of Sinjar returned to their former places of residence, facing serious problems: abandoned and destroyed buildings that were filled with unexploded ordnance and the bodies of those killed after the massacre.²⁵ The Yezidis who returned to the northern parts of Sinjar noted that after the liberation of these territories from terrorists, for a long time

²¹ See Ümit 2013, 97–106.

²² See Sarafian 2001, 209–221.

²³ See Miller, Touryan-Miller 1993, 146.

²⁴ See Kochoi, Hassan 2016, 99.

²⁵ Jalabi 2017.

no construction or restoration work was carried out in the settlements that were attacked and the activities of public services were not restored.²⁶

The most important issue for the Yezidis who returned to the settlements of Sinjar was the issue of ensuring security, in particular, ensuring the right to freely carry weapons for members of the community, as a kind of guarantee of having a means of protection against possible attacks in the future. Given the deliberate retreat of the "Peshmerga" immediately before the ISIS attack on Sinjar, the Yezidis who survived the horrors of the crimes no longer trusted the Kurdish formations and considered the Yezidi self-defense units and the units of the Syrian branch of the PKK that cooperated with them as a guarantee of their safety.

After the expulsion of terrorists from some settlements in Sinjar, a Yezidi interim parliament consisting of 27 figures was formed, declaring that after the complete liberation of the region, a legitimate government would be formed through democratic elections.²⁷ In response to this statement, on the orders of the leader of Iraqi Kurdistan, M. Barzani, on December 19, "Peshmerga" units again entered Sinjar, trying to create the impression that they had liberated the region, although most of it continued to remain under the control of ISIS. After returning to Sinjar, Kurdish units began to force the commanders and fighters of the Yezidi self-defense forces, which were already recognized as legitimate armed groups by the Iraqi authorities, to join their ranks.²⁸ It was clear that this was an attempt to deflect responsibility from the Kurdish units for their complicity in the massacre of the Yezidis when, hours before the ISIS invasion, the Peshmerga withdrew from Sinjar, leaving the defenseless Yezidi population at the mercy of the terrorists. Realizing that the demand to join the ranks of the Kurdish units was intended to create the appearance that the "Peshmerga" forces had not left Sinjar, but continued to fight against the terrorists in the form of Yezidi units, the commanders of the Yezidi units categorically refused to fulfill this demand.²⁹ Given these processes, Yazidi leaders considered it inappropriate to participate in the governing bodies of Iraqi Kurdistan, since they were confident that in the event of inevitable conflicts of interest with the Kurdish elite, they would be

²⁶ van Zoonen, Wiryā 2017, 18.

²⁷ See Murazi 2015, 84.

²⁸ Ibid, 11.

²⁹ Ibid, 85.

deprived of the opportunity to freely represent and defend the interests of their community.³⁰

According to some sources, the number of Yazidis killed as a result of the ISIS crimes was 3–5 thousand people. However, the exact number of victims of these crimes is unknown, since some Yazidi territories were still under the control of terrorists at that time.³¹ According to later data, the number of victims exceeded 20 thousand people, but this number was not considered final, since new mass graves of Yazidis were discovered in the liberated settlements of Sinjar, and the authorities of the Kurdish autonomy hindered the work of Yazidi activists to determine the number of victims of these events.³²

In addition to direct demographic losses, about 3,600 people went missing, and more than 5,000 Yazidi women and girls were taken hostage by terrorists.³³ On April 8, 2015, after ISIS retreated from the city of Tikrit, 216 Yazidi children and elderly people were freed after being held captive by the terrorists for about eight months. They had health problems and there were signs of torture on their bodies.³⁴ In March 2016, during a special operation against ISIS in Mosul, Iraqi security forces managed to free a group of Yazidi women.³⁵ During the same period, PKK units managed to free 51 Yazidis from terrorist captivity.³⁶ Yazidi leaders have tried to use their personal connections and resources to find thousands of missing compatriots.³⁷ The Yazidis who escaped from terrorist captivity also directly participated in the process of freeing Yazidi women sold into sexual slavery, trying to track them down and return them to their families by ransom. However, the search and release of the hostages was complicated by the fact that ISIS was spreading information via the Internet about the sale of human organs on the black market for 60–70 thousand dollars.³⁸

³⁰ **van Zoonen, Wiryā** 2017, 17.

³¹ See **Kochoi, Hassan** 2016, 99.

³² **Murazi** 2015, 12.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ **Sameer** 2015. (accessed: 12.02.2025).

³⁵ "Iraqi forces free Yazidi women held by IS" 2016, <https://www.newarab.com/news/iraqi-forces-free-yazidi-women-held> (accessed: 12.02.2025).

³⁶ "HPG and YBŞ-YJŞ free 51 Êzidîs from ISIS", 2016, <https://anfenglish.com/kurdistan/hpg-and-ybs-yjs-free-51-ezidis-from-isis-14282> (accessed: 12.02.2025).

³⁷ **Evans** 2021, (accessed: 12.02.2025).

³⁸ **Hagedorn** 2020, (accessed: 12.02.2025).

Yezidi historical and cultural monuments and religious buildings in Sinjar have also become targets of terrorists. As a result of the ISIS attack on Sinjar, more than 10 temples and shrines in Yezidi villages were destroyed, including the Sheikh Mandi temple and the Sheikh Nasreddin mausoleum. Yezidi self-defense forces managed to repel terrorist attacks on the Sharfaddin temple and save the shrine.³⁹

The practice of seizing property in parallel with the extermination of the members of the victim group was also used against the Yezidis of Sinjar, when ISIS terrorists took away not only identity documents from hostages, but also plundered their money and valuables.⁴⁰ In addition, after returning to the settlements of Sinjar liberated from terrorists, the Yezidis found goods stolen from their homes in the houses of some of their Arab neighbors and, in retaliation, set their houses on fire.⁴¹

Both the Armenian people and the Yezidis have been subjected to **moral and psychological shocks** and faced grave consequences as a result of the crimes of ISIS. Despite calls from Yezidi religious leaders that women and girls freed from terrorist captivity should be accepted into the Yezidi community and treated with respect, some men considered them dishonored and refused to accept them into their families or take them as wives.⁴² Taking into account the moral and psychological problems, the Yezidi Charitable Foundation implemented a humanitarian project to support the victims of the crimes of Sinjar, in particular children and women. A Center for Supporting Orphans and Victims of Crime was established in Sinjar, providing social and psychological assistance to 50 orphans and 30 low-income families. Through international humanitarian organizations, the Support Center tried to expand assistance to 228 orphans and 100 helpless women.⁴³

Thus, in some aspects, there are certain similarities between the consequences of the Armenian Genocide and the crimes committed against the Yezidis. In both cases, hundreds of thousands of refugees – representatives of victim groups – were forced to leave their homes, finding refuge in neighboring

³⁹ **Murazi** 2015, 42.

⁴⁰ Report on the Protection of Civilians in the Armed Conflict in Iraq 2014, 14.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid, 17.

⁴³ **Dinnayi** 2013, 15.

and distant countries. The monstrous crimes committed against the victim groups resulted in human losses, the destruction of settlements and the expropriation of their property, moral and psychological trauma and their serious results.

International Legal Assessment of the Armenian Genocide and Crimes Committed by Terrorists against the Yezidis of Sinjar

In the process of comparing the characteristics of the two crimes, some differences in the issue of their conviction are revealed. The Armenian Genocide was an unprecedented crime not only in terms of the scale of its consequences, but also because the main organizers of this crime were found guilty and sentenced to death during the subsequent trial of members of the former Young Turk government and leaders of the ruling "Union and Progress" Party in their own country.

After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the World War and the signing of the Armistice of Mudros in 1918, the victorious countries demanded that the new Turkish authorities punish those guilty of committing crimes against prisoners of war and Armenians. The trial initiated by the new authorities against the representatives of the previous government and the leaders of the ruling party: Talat, Enver, Djemal, Behaeddin Shakir, Dr. Nazim, Bedri and Azmi, who were no longer in the country by that time, was aimed at not punishing the perpetrators and organizers of mass crimes, and at preventing the possibility of a trial of these criminals in an international tribunal.⁴⁴

The trial of the main organizers of the Armenian Genocide took place from April 28 to July 5, 1919 in a specially created Turkish military tribunal. Witness testimony, transcripts, indictments and verdicts of Turkish military tribunals confirm the crime of genocide. The indictment clearly states that the deportation was planned, the decision was made by the Central Committee of the Young Turk Party, and its tragic consequences were felt in almost every corner of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵ It was recorded that the goal of the implementation of the general program of the Young Turks was the "final solution of the unresolved problem", which primarily meant the Armenian Question.⁴⁶ By the verdicts of the Turkish military tribunals, members of the former government and leaders of the

⁴⁴ **Marukyan** 2014, 148.

⁴⁵ **Dadrian** 1997, 43.

⁴⁶ **Barsegov** 2002, 39.

Young Turk Party Talaat, Enver, Djemal, Dr. Nazim, Behaeddin Shakir were sentenced to death in absentia.⁴⁷

Since the Turkish authorities did not take steps to find and punish the criminals, this mission was taken over by Armenian avengers in Operation "Nemesis", who found the criminals in different countries and carried out the death sentences of Turkish military tribunals that had entered into legal force.⁴⁸

At the Berlin trial of the murder of former Ottoman Interior Minister Talat Pasha, a German court has found Armenian avenger Soghomon Tehlirian innocent, releasing him from the courtroom.⁴⁹ The decision of the German court was based on the verdict of the Turkish military tribunal regarding one of the main organizers of the Armenian Genocide, Talat Pasha, who was hiding from justice in Berlin using false documents. This decision of the Berlin court can be seen as a kind of internationalization of the verdicts of Turkish military tribunals in relation to the main organizers of the Armenian Genocide.

As for the international legal assessment of the crimes committed by ISIS against the Yezidis of the Iraqi region of Sinjar, it should be noted that the UN Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights I. Shimonovich qualified them as an attempt to commit genocide against the Yezidis.⁵⁰ In this regard, it should be noted that, according to Article 3 of the Convention of December 9, 1948 "On the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide" punishment is provided not only for the commission of genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, direct and public incitement to commit genocide, but also an attempt to commit genocide, that is, an attempt to commit this crime.⁵¹

In September 2014, at the 69th session of the UN General Assembly, the President of Armenia called on the international community to ensure the protection of the Yezidis in Iraq from the genocide being committed by a terrorist group.⁵² Armenia co-sponsored a UN Human Rights Council resolution

⁴⁷ Papazyan 1988, 126.

⁴⁸ See Hovnanian 2013.

⁴⁹ Stepanyan 2007, 241.

⁵⁰ UN accuses ISIS of crimes, https://www.bbc.com/russian/rolling_news/2014/10/141020_rn_un_is_war_crimes (accessed: 12.02.2025).

⁵¹ See Human Rights. Collection of International Treaties, V. 1, P. 2, 2002, 780.

⁵² Speech of the President of the Republic of Armenia at the 69th session of the UN General Assembly, <https://www.president.am/hy/press-release/item/2014/09/24/> (accessed: 12.02.2025).

condemning the genocide committed against the Yazidis, and on January 16, 2018, the Armenian parliament recognized the genocide committed by terrorist groups against the Yazidis in Iraq in 2014. The Armenian government also allocated \$100,000 to provide material assistance to forcibly displaced Yazidis in Iraq.⁵³

On November 14, 2014, 442 deputies of the State Duma of the Russian Federation voted to adopt a resolution "On gross and massive violations of the rights of religious and national minorities in connection with the aggravation of the situation in Syria and Iraq," which, however, condemned the inhumane treatment of terrorists in Iraq, aimed at the complete physical destruction of not the Yazidis, but the Kurds⁵⁴. The text of the adopted document notes that the terrorists' actions contain all the characteristics corresponding to the provisions of Article II of the 1948 UN Convention "On the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide", but are not directly qualified as genocide, although the "complete physical destruction" of ethnic and religious minorities constitutes genocide.⁵⁵

The appeal by the Iraqi Prime Minister and Foreign Minister to the UN to investigate ISIS crimes and bring those responsible to justice can be seen as an important step towards restoring justice.⁵⁶ At the same time, the Yazidis believe that both the Iraqi government and the authorities of Iraqi Kurdistan must take more decisive and consistent steps to bring to justice the criminals who committed crimes against the Yazidi population, as well as accomplices in these crimes in the ICC, which will help restore the undermined trust of the Yazidis in the Iraqi authorities and the leadership of the Kurdish autonomy.

⁵³ Armenia's aid to the Yazidis of Iraq, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2014/09/02/donation-yezidi/4448> (accessed: 12.02.2025).

⁵⁴ See "On the Statement of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation "On gross and massive violations of the rights of religious and national minorities in connection with the aggravation of the situation in Syria and Iraq" // SPS "Consultant Plus", http://duma.gov.ru/media/files/QKbCZ2cobkAZMB81btOtEvj_OLvpPhAsA.pdf; The State Duma has declared gross and massive violations of the rights of religious and national minorities in Syria and Iraq, // URL: http://www.duma.gov.ru/news/273/851209/?sphrase_id=2295927 (accessed: 12.02.2025).

⁵⁵ **Kochoi, Hassan** 2017, 121.

⁵⁶ Report on the Protection of Civilians in the Armed Conflict in Iraq 2014, 21.

Comparative Study on Consequences and Degree of Conviction ...

The impunity of the perpetrators of crimes: mass murders, kidnappings, rapes and looting of the victims' property, committed by terrorists and representatives of the Arab population who joined them, led to acts of revenge and lynching by fighters of the Yezidi units against the Muslim population of Sinjar. Similar acts emerged in late December 2014, when Yezidi self-defense forces and Kurdish militias took control of areas north and east of Mount Sinjar, including the villages of Jiri and Sibaya.⁵⁷ In April 2015, the human rights organization "Amnesty International" visited the Arab-populated villages of Jiri and Sibaya and recorded that, in retaliation for the August events, Yezidi units killed and abducted residents of these villages, burning their homes and property. In connection with these events, the commander of the Yezidi detachments explained that in these villages they were looking for those responsible for the kidnapping of Yezidi women and girls, but the terrorists' supporters opened fire on them, killed several of their fighters, after which they were compelled to use force. Of those arrested, 17 turned out to be former terrorists who were taken away with them, and 40 people were returned to the Arab leaders, but they were not involved in the arson, which happened after they left.⁵⁸

Based on the results of a comparative analysis of the effectiveness of international intervention to prevent crimes, and an assessment of the consequences as well as the degree of conviction of the two crimes, the following differences can be identified:

1. It can be concluded, based on a comparative analysis of the international intervention during the commission of the two crimes, that, unlike the Armenian Genocide, for objective and subjective reasons, the intervention of the international community at the time of the commission of crimes by ISIS against the Yezidis of Sinjar was more targeted and effective. Considering that during the period of the genocide of the Armenian population in Western Armenia and other regions of the Ottoman Empire, international intervention took place in the context of the First World War, when the Entente powers were busy with military operations on various fronts. It is natural that this intervention was fragmentary and limited in nature. The reaction of neutral countries to the criminal policy of the Turkish authorities towards the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire

⁵⁷ Amnesty International Briefing 10 June 2015, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde14/1801/2015/en/> (accessed: 12.02.2025)

⁵⁸ Ibid.

was largely declarative and, at best, manifested itself in the provision of humanitarian aid. In contrast, at the time of the ISIS crimes against the Yezidi population of Sinjar, an international coalition led by the United States had already been formed, within the framework of which the actions of the participating states against this terrorist group were coordinated; accordingly, the process of providing both military and humanitarian aid to the ethno-religious group of the Yezidis that suffered from the actions of the terrorists, was more targeted. A comparison of the numbers of survivors from the victim groups also shows that, as a percentage, more Yezidi than Armenians were saved from death as a result of the international intervention.

2. After the genocide, Armenians were denied the right to return to their homeland, i.e. Western Armenia, as Turkish authorities banned former Ottoman Armenians from entering the country. As ISIS retreated, some of the Yezidi population returned to their hometowns in Sinjar. In addition, the genocide committed by the Turkish authorities against the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire had incomparably greater demographic losses and had more severe consequences for the Armenian people than the crimes of ISIS for the Yezidi people.

3. As for the degree of conviction of the two crimes, the fact of the Armenian Genocide has been recognized and recorded by the materials of the Turkish tribunals, while the crimes committed against the Yezidis of Sinjar have not yet received a final international legal assessment. The legal qualification of the crimes committed against the Yezidis is complicated by the fact that, unlike the Armenian Genocide, which was committed by the legitimate authorities of the Ottoman Empire, the mass pogroms of the Yezidis were carried out not by the Iraqi authorities, but by a terrorist group. The Iraqi authorities may be accused of failing to prevent these crimes, and the leadership of the autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan may be accused of complicity in them.

4. Unlike the acts of retaliation by the Yezidi groups against Muslim Arabs associated with the crimes of terrorists, during the implementation of Operation "Nemesis", the Armenian avengers did not liquidate ordinary Turks or Muslims who participated in the commission of the Armenian Genocide, but the main organizers of this crime, against whom the Turkish military tribunals issued death sentences in absentia that came into force.

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ԱՐՄԵՆ ՄԱՐՈՒՔՅԱՆ

Պատմական գիտությունների դոկտոր

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ՕՍՄԱՆՅԱՆ ԿԱՅՍՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՈՒՄ ՀԱՅԵՐԻ ԵՎ ԻՐԱՔՈՒՄ ԵԶԴԻՆԵՐԻ ՑԵՂԱՍՊԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ՀԵՏԵՎԱՆՔՆԵՐԻ ԵՎ ԴԱՏԱՊԱՐՏՄԱՆ ԱՍՏԻՃԱՆՆԵՐԻ ՀԱՄԵՄԱՏԱԿԱՆ ՎԵՐԼՈՒԾՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

Ամփոփում

Ամփոփելով երկու հանցագործությունների դադարեցման նպատակով միջազգային միջամտության արդյունավետության, այդ հանցագործությունների հետևանքների և դատապարտման աստիճանի գնահատման համեմատական վերլուծությունը, կարող ենք արձանագրել, որ բազմաթիվ ընդհանրությունների հետ մեկտեղ առանձնանում են հետևյալ էական տարբերությունները.

1. Օբյեկտիվ և սուբյեկտիվ պատճառներով պայմանավորված իրաքի Սինջար շրջանում եզդիների նկատմամբ «Իսլամական պետություն» ահաբեկչական խմբավորման կողմից կատարվող հանցագործությունները դադա-

րեցնելու նպատակով միջազգային հանրության միջամտությունն ավելի նպատակային և արդյունավետ էր, քան թուրքական իշխանությունների կողմից Օսմանյան կայսրությունում իրագործված Հայոց ցեղասպանության իրականացման ընթացքում:

2. Ցեղասպանությունից հետո հայերը զրկվեցին իրենց հայրենիք՝ Արեւմտյան Հայաստան վերադառնալու իրավունքից, իսկ եզդի բնակչության մի մասը ահաբեկիչների հեռանալուց հետո հնարավորություն ունեցավ վերադառնալ հայրենի բնակավայրեր: Բացի այդ, ցեղասպանությունից հետո հայ ժողովուրդն անհամեմատ ավելի մեծ ժողովրդագրական կորուստներ կրեց և ավելի ծանր հետևանքների առաջ կանգնեց, քան ահաբեկչական խմբավորման հանցագործություններից տուժած եզդի ժողովուրդը:

3. Հայոց ցեղասպանության փաստը ճանաչվել և արձանագրվել է թուրքական ռազմական դատարանների կողմից, մինչդեռ Սինջարի եզդիների նկատմամբ կատարված հանցագործությունները դեռևս վերջնական իրավական գնահատական չեն ստացել: Եզդիների դեմ կատարված հանցագործությունների իրավական որակումը բարդանում է նրանով, որ դրանք իրականացվել են ոչ թե պետական իշխանությունների, այլ ահաբեկչական խմբավորման կողմից:

4. Ի տարբերություն ահաբեկիչների հանցագործություններին մասնակցած մահմեդական արաբների դեմ եզդիական խմբերի վրեժխնդրության դեպքերի, «Նեմեսիս» գործողության շրջանակներում ոչ թե հայերի ցեղասպանությանը մասնակցած սովորական թուրքեր կամ մահմեդականներ էին պատժվում, այլ այդ հանցագործության գլխավոր կազմակերպիչները, որոնց թուրքական ռազմական ատյանները հեռակա կարգով դատապարտել էին մահվան:


Բանալի բառեր՝ Հայոց ցեղասպանություն, Օսմանյան կայսրություն, եզդիների ցեղասպանություն, Իրաքի Սինջար շրջան, միջազգային միջամտություն, հանցագործությունների հետևանքներ, դատապարտվածության աստիճան:

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ARMENIAN REMINISCENCES IN THE BOOK “TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES OF THE REV. JOSEPH WOLFF”

Abstract

The present article concerns the final work of the British missionary of German-Jewish origin, *Joseph Wolff* (1795–1862), *Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff* (1860–1861). As an autobiographical memoir and the culmination of his journeys from 1821 to 1845, it contains rich testimonies about the Armenians, both in their historical homeland and in various regions and countries, including the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and India. Wolff provided accounts of both ordinary Armenian inhabitants and prominent figures of the time. Possessing profound knowledge of Armenian history and culture, he often included historical digressions covering both distant and more recent epochs. Thus, his final travelogue-autobiography serves as a valuable source for studying the history, demography, and daily life of Armenians in the first half of the 19th century.

Keywords: *Joseph Wolff, travelogue, missionary, Armenians of Middle East, Jerusalem, Syria, Persia.*

Introduction

The British Messianic missionary of German-Jewish origin, Joseph Wolff (1795–1862), was one of the many Jewish converts who served as clergymen in the Anglican Church and became one of the most prominent figures of his time.

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Armenian Reminiscences in the Book "Travels and Adventures of the Rev. ..."

He studied Near Eastern languages at the universities of Tübingen, Vienna, and Cambridge, and later pursued theology and missionary work at the Collegio Romano in Rome. However, due to his constant disagreements with the Catholic Church, he was excommunicated and expelled by the Inquisition for his heretical views.

A decisive moment in Wolff's time in Rome was his meeting with Henry Drummond (1786–1860), an English banker, politician, and writer, best known as one of the founders of the Catholic Apostolic Church or Irvingian Church. Drummond invited Wolff to join and collaborate with him. In 1819, Wolff traveled to England, where he converted to Anglicanism and began working for the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had been founded in 1804. He soon became known as the "Anglican missionary to the Jews."

Two years later, he embarked on extensive missionary journeys. From 1821 to 1826, he traveled to Egypt, the Sinai Peninsula, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Mesopotamia, Persia, Georgia, and Crimea. His second journey to the East took place between 1828 and 1834, during which he visited the Ottoman Empire, Turkestan, Afghanistan, and India. His third journey along the same route occurred in 1836–1838, and during 1843–1845, while traveling in northern Iran and Turkestan, he set out in search of two missing British officers.

Starting in 1824 and continuing until the end of his life, Joseph Wolff published six extensive travelogues, some of which were translated into European languages.

This article focuses on Wolff's final book, "Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff," published in two volumes (1860–1861),¹ just before his death. This work serves as both his autobiographical memoir and a summary of his travels. The book is written in the third person, as Wolff dictated it to his friends. Much of its content repeats information from his earlier volumes, and – like his previous travelogues – it is rich in references to Armenians.

Volume 1

The first Armenian reference in the book dates back to 1817, when Wolff was in Rome, studying at the College of Propaganda. On the Day of Epiphany, the students presented an event called "Academia in Forty-Two Languages," during which each student publicly recited a speech. Wolff spoke in five

¹ See **Wolff** 1860, **Wolff** 1861.

languages and sang so powerfully that the entire hall resonated with his voice. At that moment, an Armenian bishop exclaimed: *"His voice goes up above the heavens."*²

Thus, Joseph Wolff became acquainted with representatives of the Armenian people even before traveling to their homeland and the East.

The next Armenian-related entry in his book refers to Egypt. In 1821, upon arriving in Egypt, Wolff remarked on Viceroy Muhammad Ali Pasha, noting: "His prime minister was an Armenian, Yussuf Boghos by name, i.e., Joseph, son of Paul; a man who spoke French, Italian, Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, with the utmost fluency."³ Wolff refers to Boghos Bey Yusufian (1775–1844), Egypt's Minister of Commerce and Foreign Affairs, who served as the secretary of Muhammad Ali.

From Egypt, Wolff set out for the Holy Land. While traveling from Cairo to Gaza, he was accompanied by Makarditsh (Mkrtich), whom Wolff described as "an Armenian gentleman, of high respectability" and "a most amiable man," who "came every evening to Wolff's tent, and related stories to him of the children of Hayk – namely, the Armenian nation."⁴ Makarditsh particularly told Wolff about King Abgar of Edessa and his connection with Jesus Christ. Wolff even quoted Abgar's letter to Jesus from Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History.⁵

Later, in his notes from 1822, Wolff tells about his meetings with an Armenian Catholic clergymen in Lebanon.⁶ However, here he mostly repeated the information from his first travelogue, including the text of Nerses Shnorhali's prayer "With Faith I Confess." Interestingly, Wolff also mentioned Nerses Shnorhali in the second volume of his book-first as a Biblical commentator⁷ and later among other Christian saints.⁸

² Wolff 1860, 93–94.

³ Wolff 1860, 196–197.

⁴ Wolff 1860, 217. From one of Wolff's earlier writings, we also learn that Makarditsh was a wealthy merchant living in Cairo (see The Washington Theological Repertory, and Churchman's Guide, 1822, 125).

⁵ See Wolff 1860, 218–219.

⁶ See Wolff 1860, 237–240.

⁷ See Wolff 1861, 108.

⁸ See Wolff 1861, 275.

On his way from Haifa to Jerusalem, he spent the night at the Armenian monastery in Ramla.⁹ Upon arriving in Jerusalem, Wolff was welcomed by the local Franciscan fathers and hosted in their Santa Terra (Holy Land) church. However, he preferred to move to the Armenian church the following day. "Wolff ever regrets having left that monastery the next day, and exchanged it for the Armenian. For, though the Armenians received Dr. Wolff with the greatest kindness, and gave him a beautiful room in the monastery, yet he insulted and hurt the feelings of the good Italian Friars by leaving them."¹⁰ In the Armenian monastery, Patriarch Gabriel (referring to Gabriel Nikomitatsi, the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1818 to 1840) welcomed Wolff with great delight and sent a live sheep to his room as a mark of respect, along with fine Jerusalem wine made by the Armenians. Soon Wolff's room was crowded by Jews, Armenians, Roman Catholics, and even Turks, to whom he proclaimed the Gospel of Christ in Italian, Hebrew, Arabic, German, and English. One of the guests observed that such an interesting sight had never been seen at Jerusalem before, and the Armenians themselves said the same thing, for there had never been so many persons of different nations assembled in their monastery.¹¹

In Jerusalem, Wolff was visited by his travel companion Makarditsh and an Armenian from Baghdad named Stepan. "Stephen was a mighty man, and a great traveller. He had with him a beautiful narghili (water-pipe), which he frequently offered to Wolff to smoke, and this was the first pipe which Wolff ever smoked in his life. Stephen had been in Calcutta, and was well acquainted with the English customs and manners there, as also with the operations of the missionaries in India. When Wolff waited on the Patriarch Gabriel, he urged him to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to Henry Drummond, a letter, expressing his desire to have a friendly intercourse with the Church of England; and the Patriarch had promised to do so, when Stephen interposed, to Wolff's great astonishment, and said to the Patriarch, "My lord Patriarch, be on your guard: the missionaries are only a small body of believers, but the English in general are atheists, followers of Voltaire, and of a man still worse than Voltaire, Martin Luther, who worshipped a cock. Another Armenian interposed and said, "It was not a cock but a swan; and, before Luther's time, there was a man who

⁹ See **Wolff** 1860, 241.

¹⁰ **Wolff** 1860, 243.

¹¹ See **Wolff** 1860, 245.

worshipped a goose.”¹² Wolff convinced Stepan that there were indeed many good Christians in England who despised Voltaire, did not follow Luther, and that Luther himself was not as bad as some believed.¹³ This section highlights the types of stories about eminent European historical figures that circulated among the Armenians of that period.

Wolff then noted that he had formed a strong friendship with two Armenian monks – Bishop Poghos and Boghos Tiutiungi. He interpreted the latter’s surname as *pipe maker* (actually – *tobacco grower* or *tobacconist*). Wolff also recalled that Tiutiungi had studied in Rome and spoke fluent Italian. Accompanied by these two clergymen, Wolff visited the Mount of Olives.¹⁴

Continuing his journey through the desert from Aleppo, Wolff witnesses an earthquake in the village of Juseea, on their way to Latakia. Hearing the exclamations of the Arabs and Bedouins, “This is from God,” he reflects on the Biblical truths, noting that in the East, people still explain everything by the will of the Overruler and are reminded that “the light has risen from the East.” “He thinks, too, that this future light is not to come only from the Jews, but also from the Greek, Armenian, and Jacobite Christians.”¹⁵

Visiting the city of Urfa, Wolff notes that Armenians (“descendants of Haik”) live there and call the city Edessa,¹⁶ also mentioning that the Armenians were formidable “in a fortified castle, near Orpha, called Roomkalah”¹⁷ – Hromkla in Armenian sources.

In Mardin, Wolff met two Armenian Catholic bishops named Abraham and Tasbas – the latter is Hovakim Tasbasyan Mardintsi (1753–1830), Archbishop of Mardin since 1788. Wolff left Mardin in a caravan of about 5000 people, including a number of Armenian and Syrian Christians.

¹² Wolff 1860, 246. Wolff explained that these interpretations were related to the names of those figures since *Luther* means *swan* in Czech, and before him, Jan Hus, who was supposedly a goose-worshiper, had a surname that also meant *goose* in Czech. It was said that as he was being led to the stake, Hus declared that a swan would come a hundred years after him, one that could neither be roasted nor boiled (see Wolff 1860, 247).

¹³ See Wolff 1860, 247.

¹⁴ See Wolff 1860, 247.

¹⁵ Wolff 1860, 276.

¹⁶ See Wolff 1860, 302.

¹⁷ Wolff 1860, 305.

Arriving in Bagdad, Wolff "was received in the splendid house of Agha Sarkis, an Armenian gentleman, who acted as a British agent, with the greatest hospitality"¹⁸ along with other British officers and a Scotch surgeon.

Recalling his activities in Iraq, Wolff also mentioned the establishment of a school in Bossora (Basra), "where, with the kind assistance of Colonel Taylor, he established a school, to which all the Armenian Christians subscribed."¹⁹ After several months' residence in Bossora, Wolff proceeded to Bushire (Bushehr, now in Iran). Here, with the assistance of the local British officials (Colonel Stannes, Captains Jervis, Mellard, Wilson, etc.) and Armenian gentlemen and ladies, he established another school. He refers to an interesting observation about the local Armenian women:

"At the opening of the school, the Armenian ladies came out of their hareem (referring to the secluded houses of women – A. B.), and took the arms of the British officers there, and went to church for the first time in their lives. Many of the young ladies said, I am ashamed." However, they went, and Wolff made a speech in the church in Persian after the service, in which he enlarged on the importance of Christian education.

Among the ladies was also Mrs. Lazar, the wife of an Armenian merchant of Bossora, who was sister to the wife of Colonel Taylor, and who is now Lady Congleton, and resides in London. Mrs. Colonel Taylor had given Wolff's letter to her, and told her that she should admit him to the hareem, where he could see all the Armenian beauties."²⁰

Here, Wolff provides interesting testimonies about aforementioned two notable Armenian ladies of the time – Mrs. Lazar and Mrs. Taylor. Their destiny is so unusual that we find it necessary to quote the entire passage about them in full:

"The lives of those two ladies were very extraordinary. Both of them were the daughters of an Armenian family of Sheeraz. The Prince of Sheeraz, when they were quite young, had ordered them to be brought to his hareem. But the

¹⁸ Wolff 1860, 325. This Agha Sarkis is also mentioned in the second volume. While Wolff was in Bukhara, a local Jew told him that he had seen him 12 years earlier in Baghdad, at the house of "British agent" Agha Sarkis, where he had been distributing Hebrew New Testaments (see Wolff 1861, 7).

¹⁹ Wolff 1860, 335.

²⁰ Wolff 1860, 336.

parents put them both in a basket, and by bribing some of the Persians got them brought to Bushire, where Mr. Bruce, the British Resident there at that time, got them respectably educated; and the one became the wife of Colonel Taylor, and the other married, the Armenian merchant, Lazar. Colonel Taylor had to go to Bombay, and told his wife to follow him. She took as her companion, an old Mussulman servant, and both were made slaves by the Arab pirates of the desert around Muscat, who were at that time at war with England.²¹ But Mrs. Taylor and her faithful servant, in the darkness of the night, made their escape in a boat of the Arabs, and drifted out to sea, where they were found very soon by an English ship and were taken in safety to Bombay.

Mr. and Mrs. Lazar, in the time of the plague, left Bushire, and took up their abode in Bagdad, at the time when Colonel Taylor was Resident there. There Lazar died, and Mrs. Lazar was left a widow. At that time four missionaries arrived in Bagdad, Mr. Groves, the dentist; Dr. Groning, a homeopathic doctor; Mr. Parnell, son of Sir Henry Parnell; and Frank Newman. Mr. Parnell succeeded in converting Mrs. Lazar to the tenets of the Plymouth Brethren, and then he married her; and Colonel and Mrs. Taylor, and Mr. and Mrs. Parnell came to England. Colonel Taylor died at Boulogne, but Mrs. Parnell is now Lady Congleton, her husband having succeeded to the title; and both sisters are living in London – ladies who are highly revered by Dr. Wolff.²²

The presented Armenian women were the daughters of Hovhannes Moskov (Mosco), a merchant from Shiraz. The elder one, Tsaghik (Rose or Rosa, 1797, Shiraz-1873, London), met Robert Taylor (1788–1852), a 20-year-old lieutenant of the East India Company's army, who had come to Bushehr to learn Persian when she was 12 years old. She eloped with him and they got married and had four children. In one of his previous books, Wolff mentioned Taylor as a remarkable man with astonishing education and an extraordinary polyglot, who knows more than 20 languages.²³ It is known that Robert Taylor was later appointed British consul in Baghdad. Tsaghik Moskov-Taylor provided material support for the construction of the Armenian church in Baghdad. In 1852, with her patronage and the initiative of Mesrop Bolsetsi, the first leader of the

²¹ In reality, this incident, which took place in 1808, happened at sea.

²² Wolff 1860, 336–337.

²³ See Wolff 1846, 322.

Baghdad Armenian diocese, the Holy Trinity Cathedral was built in the Shorja district of Baghdad (now in ruins). One of her daughter's, Harriet Sophia Lynch (1822–1886), was the mother of English traveler and author of a notable book on Armenia, Henry F.B. Lynch (1862–1913).²⁴ Another grandchild of Tsaghik-Rosa Taylor was Countess Alice Harriet von Kessler (née Blosse Lynch, 1844–1919), an Anglo-Irish aristocrat, singer, and socialite, who was rumored to have been the mistress of German Emperor Wilhelm I.

Tsaghik's younger sister, Khatun Moskov, was married to Yusuf Konstantin Lazar (most likely Joseph Konstantin Ghazaryan), with whom she had two children: Joseph Konstantin (1824–1866) and Miriam (1829–1853). After her husband's death on May 21, 1833, she remarried the aforementioned missionary John Vesey Parnell (1805–1883), 2nd Baron Congleton, son of Irish writer and politician Henry Parnell, 1st Baron Congleton. Following Khatun's death on May 30, 1865, John Parnell married for a third time.

After having preached in the Armenian church of Bushehr, Wolff proceeded on his way to Shiraz, "the most scientific and poetic town in Persia."²⁵ His travel mates were Dr. Eiach and Lieutenant Strong as well as the Armenian Arootyoon (Harutyun), who had given £200 to the school and prepared delicious meal for everyone.²⁶ In January 1825, he arrived in Shiraz, and among his meetings with the local Armenians, he recalled how he reconciled two Armenian enemies, Shanassar and David Mkrtchyan. The Armenians later shared this reconciliation story with their compatriots in Calcutta. Some local Armenians also accompanied Wolff to the Jewish quarter, greatly assisting him in speaking Persian.²⁷

The 12th chapter of the presented volume is titled "Ispahan, Teheran, Tabreez, Abbas Mirza, Tiflis, Erivan, Armenia...".²⁸ In Isfahan, Wolff stayed in the New Julfa district, located on the outskirts of the city. He mentions that this area was entirely in the hands of Armenians and their descendants, whom Shah Abbas the Great had brought to Isfahan centuries earlier from the Old Julfa in the Ottoman Empire, with the goal of introducing agriculture and industry to his

²⁴ About this family see: **Markarian** 2024.

²⁵ **Wolff** 1860, 337.

²⁶ See **Wolff** 1860, 337.

²⁷ See **Wolff** 1860, 348–350.

²⁸ **Wolff** 1860, 351.

empire. At one time, there had been over 60,000 Armenians in Julfa, who had built a beautiful monastery (where Wolff stayed) and palace-like houses. However, at the time, the area was largely desolate due to the oppressive rule of the Persian government.²⁹ Wolff stayed in New Julfa for a month, holding meetings and discussions with the local Armenians and Jews, before returning to Tehran.

On his way from Tabriz to Tiflis, Wolff stopped in Erivan/Yerevan, which was still under Persian rule at the time. He writes that the Persians believed that the Russians would never take Yerevan, as it was protected by a talisman, but the Russians convinced them that they could break the spell of the talisman, for they became the city's rulers in 1826, when General Paskevich captured it.³⁰ He then recalls Etchmiadzin (interpreted as "descended from the One") and Nakhchivan, providing the etymology of the latter. He also mentions the discovery of a relic from Noah's Ark by St. Jacob of Mtsbin and its delivery to Etchmiadzin.³¹ Here Wolff demonstrates his further good knowledge of Armenian history, mentioning the legend how "Grigor Lusavoritsh [Gregory the Enlightener] preached in Etchmiadzin; and 124,000 Armenians were converted and baptized in the river Euphrates."³² However, he displays some inaccuracy mentioning that "Gregory sent many of the Armenian youths for study to Athens. Two of them, Mesrop and Isaac, gave new characters to the Armenian language; and Mesrop translated the Bible into Armenian."³³ Actually, it was not Grigor who sent Mesrop Mashtots and Sahak Partev to study in Athens and Mesrop was not the sole translator of the Bible into Armenian.

When Wolff arrived in Etchmiadzin, the Patriarch Ephraim (he refers to Catholicos of All Armenians Ephrem I Dzorageghtsi, 1748–1835) was absent, and "he wrote to him several letters, thanking him for the high interest he took in the Armenian nation, and expressed a great desire that Wolff should exert himself in England, that they might establish colleges in England in the place where he was dwelling, which they proposed doing at their own expense."³⁴

²⁹ See Wolff 1860, 353–354.

³⁰ See Wolff 1860, 362.

³¹ See Wolff 1860, 362–363.

³² Wolff 1860, 363.

³³ Wolff 1860, 363.

³⁴ Wolff 1860, 363.

In this chapter, Wolff mentioned that he planned to visit Count Zarembo from the "Basel Evangelical Society" "at the station Shushie, in the province of Carabagh, in Armenia Major."³⁵ It is noteworthy, that the Jewish-British author, without mentioning the Armenian name of Carabagh – Artsakh, correctly places it in Armenia Major. As for the Count he mentioned – Felician Martin Zarembo-Kalinowski (1794/5–1874) – he was a prominent Russian diplomat, philosopher, and Protestant missionary of Polish origin. After joining the Basel Evangelical Mission, he was sent to Astrakhan to preach Christianity among Muslims and later moved to Shushi, where the Basel Mission purchased a house, established a printing press, and printed religious books. He remained active in Shushi until the 1830s, when the tsarist government shut down the Basel Mission's operations. Wolff traveled to Shushi specifically to meet Zarembo, spent ten days with him, and noted that Armenian children studied at the school he had established, along with a small number of "Tatars and Muhammadans."³⁶ Interestingly, Wolff distinguished between Tatars and Muslims, likely referring to Kurds.

Resuming his travels in the Ottoman Empire, Wolff arrived in Constantinople, where he once again stayed with the local Armenians, from whom he also learned Turkish.³⁷ As he continued his travels through the Ottoman Empire, Wolff frequently recalled the Armenians. In Ramlah he spent another night at the Armenian monastery.³⁸ Writing about the Turkish-speaking Greek Christians of Buldur, he noted: "It is a remarkable fact – and it must not be concealed – that except the Armenians of Etsh-Miazin (Echmiatsin – A. B.), Persia, and Russia, and their enlightened brethren in Hindostan, the native Christians of Anatolia and the Turkish Empire in general, where Roman Catholic missionaries have not penetrated, are illiterate, rude, and uncouth, like buffaloes."³⁹ In Broosa an Armenian advanced him money on his bills in Constantinople.⁴⁰ Upon Wolff's arrival in Constantinople, Sir Robert Gordon received him. The British missionary secured firmans (royal mandates or

³⁵ Wolff 1860, 364.

³⁶ Wolff 1860, 365.

³⁷ See Wolff 1860, 371.

³⁸ See Wolff 1860, 419.

³⁹ Wolff 1860, 443.

⁴⁰ See Wolff 1860, 444.

decrees issued by a sovereign in an Islamic state) and other letters from the Sultan, as well as from Christians and Muslims. The Armenian Patriarch in Constantinople, along with other Armenians, asked him to inform them whenever he settled in England, so that they could establish colleges for their nation and schools for their youth, overseen by Armenians, in order to benefit from the light of European civilization.⁴¹ This idea of establishing an Armenian college in London, as well as his desire to bring the Armenian Church closer to the Church of England rather than the Catholic Church, is frequently mentioned in all of Wolff's travelogues. Wolff himself also states that he "has for long held a desire to see the Armenian Church brought into closer relationship with the Church of England."⁴²

Wolff's next mention of the Armenians refers to the historical fact that Turco-Mongol conqueror Tamerlane marched against Sivas, with 900,000 soldiers; took the city, and killed Togrool, the favorite son of Bayaseed, and buried alive 18,000 Armenian Christians.⁴³

Wolff's next stop was Angora (present-day Ankara), where "Armenian archbishop and the Greek and Armenian Catholic bishops were living in greater harmony than is generally the case among the different denominations of the churches of the East. The Armenian archbishop made Wolff a present of an Angora shawl, wrought out of the famous Angora goats' hair, with the request that he would send it to his wife. He also desired Wolff to write to the ambassador in Constantinople, to tell him that the Governor tyrannized over them. Wolff was happy to do it for two reasons. In the first place, he was able to bear witness to the truth of the complaint, for the Governor was a thorough brute; and, secondly, the ambassador had particularly desired Wolff to give him an account of those Governors who tyrannized over the Christians."⁴⁴ The final part demonstrates Wolff's Christian solidarity and his readiness to assist oppressed people.

Continuing his trip, Wolff stopped in Tokat. Without providing details, Wolff mentioned that there he lodged "in the house of a very covetous

⁴¹ See **Wolff** 1860, 444.

⁴² **Wolff** 1860, 445.

⁴³ See **Wolff** 1860, 446.

⁴⁴ **Wolff** 1860, 448.

Armenian."⁴⁵ Likely accustomed to warm hospitality from Armenians, Wolff did not consider it necessary to elaborate on the Armenian host's covetousness. In Tokat he visited the grave of the English missionary Henry Martyn, who had passed away in that city in 1812, recalling that he was buried with full honors by an Armenian bishop.⁴⁶

From Tokat Wolff went to Trabzon and after a few days, "went across Mount Ararat to the capital of Armenia, Erz-Room; the proper meaning of which is "The land belonging to the Roman Empire. From Erz-Room to Tabreez there is only one story to tell, viz.: that the whole country was deserted, because, in 1828, all the Armenian inhabitants (about 90,000 families in number) emigrated to the Russian dominions with General Paskewitch."⁴⁷

The second volume

In the second volume of his travelogue, Wolff summarized his 1832 journey to Orient. Again, writing about the Armenians of Kabul, he referred to them as the descendants of those Armenians who had come to Afghanistan along with Nadir Shah's army. The Armenians of Kabul asked Wolff to inform their fellow countrymen in Calcutta about the poor conditions they were in. This he also did readily.⁴⁸ Later, Wolff met Armenians in Lahore, which at that time was part of the Sikh Empire (now in Pakistan). Unfortunately, he did not provide detailed information about this lesser-known Armenian community, only noting that he visited the Armenians in Lahore and distributed pamphlets in the streets urging the population to accept Christianity.⁴⁹

He also recalled his speech in Calcutta before an audience of twenty English ladies and the Armenian bilingual community, where he discussed how Hovhannes Avdal, "one of the principal men in the estimation of the whole Armenian nation," had asked him to convey a message to the Armenians. Avdal

⁴⁵ Wolff 1860, 418–419. "Wolff was taken very ill while at Tokat; but at last left it, with his Tatar, and passed many ruins, which had once been buildings belonging to the Republic of Genoa. Wolff asked the Tatar, "Why these buildings were not restored?" The Tatar gave a most emphatic reply, which he did not expect from a Turk: "The people of Islaam never rebuild; the people of Islaam always destroy!" (449–450).

⁴⁶ See Wolff 1860, 448.

⁴⁷ Wolff 1860, 450.

⁴⁸ See Wolff 1861, 48.

⁴⁹ See Wolff 1861, 68.

urged that, if possible, they should send their children to England for education, so they could return to Armenia and serve as enlighteners of the Armenian Church.⁵⁰ He again referred to the books translated by Armenians and the Armenian school in Calcutta, founded by Aratoon Kaloos (Harutioon Galust).⁵¹ Additionally, he spoke at Bombay City Hall, where Armenians were among the various national groups in attendance.⁵²

From Bombay, Wolff set sail to the Arabian Peninsula, where he visited Ethiopia's coastal areas on the Red Sea. He likely encountered Armenians there, although he did not provide specific details. However, he did recount hearing from many Ethiopians and Armenians that near Narea in the southern region of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), there lived people with long tails who were allegedly able to use them to bring horses down.⁵³ Accounts of tail-bearing people in Ethiopia also appear in other sources, which were part of the myths circulating among Europeans about the still-primitive and unknown Africa.

In Chapter 9, summarizing his travels to the East, Wolff noted, among other things, that in Constantinople and Adrianople, he had converted several hundred Jews to Christianity, who were baptized by Armenians,⁵⁴ and that he was the first to give insights into the condition of Christian churches from Alexandria to Anatolia, Armenia, and Persia.⁵⁵

On October 29, 1843, in Athens, Wolff was received by the King and Queen of Greece. The King, among other questions, inquired about which peoples Wolff had visited. The missionary shared some insights with them about the Armenian and Chaldean churches.⁵⁶

He then continued to write about his journey through the Ottoman Empire in November-December, mentioning the Armenians of Trabzon,⁵⁷ and referring to his meeting with the Armenian bishop of Gümüşhane. This time, he referred to him as Archbishop, without naming him; yet in his previous travelogues, Archbishop Grigor is mentioned. There he stayed in the home of a hospitable

⁵⁰ See Wolff 1861, 167.

⁵¹ See Wolff 1861, 168.

⁵² See Wolff 1861, 237.

⁵³ See Wolff 1861, 237.

⁵⁴ See Wolff 1861, 252.

⁵⁵ See Wolff 1861, 253.

⁵⁶ See Wolff 1861, 336.

⁵⁷ See Wolff 1861, 344.

Armenian, and the archbishop came to dine with him. "The Archbishop was a well-informed gentleman, and he said to Wolff, "Welcome! welcome! Youssuff Wolff, of whom I have heard so much, and who is known in the Church of Armenia as well as in the Church of England."⁵⁸ He mentioned again that the Armenian Archbishop expressed a great wish that Wolff might soon be enabled to give facilities to the Armenian Church for the establishment of schools in England, "but the Archbishop himself was very poor, for his whole income amounted to £ 8 per annum."⁵⁹ While traveling through the Ottoman territories, Wolff mentioned various Armenian settlements, including the city of Bayboot (Baberd), the village of Kob (Koghb), and others, but he did not provide specific details about them.

On December 30, 1843, in Delhi Baba village, he again stayed at an Armenian's house.⁶⁰ Most of the Armenians were gone on horseback to a neighboring village, to fetch a bride, whom they accompanied with musical instruments and clapping of hands, to their own village.⁶¹ On January 1, 1844, he reached the Armenian-populated village of Mollah Soleiman (Mullah Soleeman), which had been converted to Catholicism 200 years earlier by a missionary named Soleiman. The local priest, an educated man, had been ordained by Wolff's acquaintance, Archbishop Abraham of Mardin. On January 4, Wolff arrived in Kara-Khleesa (Armenian Bagrevand), mentioning that the Apostle Thaddeus had founded a church there.⁶² The author refers to the village of Qarakilise in Chaldran and the Monastery of Saint Thaddeus (currently located 60 kilometers along the Tehran-Bazargan road). He then continued his journey to Etchmiadzin, where he repeated the information about the baptism of 124,000 Armenians by Gregory the Illuminator.⁶³ He was warmly welcomed by the monks, who remembered his 1831 visit.

Wolff's last mention of Armenians concerns his educational activities. Writing about his meeting with the respectable W. E. Gladstone, Wolff mentioned that he had established hostels in Cambridge for Armenian, Greek,

⁵⁸ Wolff, 1861, 346.

⁵⁹ Wolff 1861, 347.

⁶⁰ See Wolff 1861, 357.

⁶¹ See Wolff 1861, 357.

⁶² See Wolff 1861, 357–358.

⁶³ See Wolff 1861, 358.

Assyrian, Russian, Coptic, and Ethiopian youth.⁶⁴ And finally he concludes: "Now the last event Wolff will mention in his Life is, that he has undertaken, with the kind assistance and most powerful co-operation of his old friend, the Rev. George Williams, Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, to fulfil the promise made by him many years ago to the Armenian and Greek Patriarchs, of helping them to establish hostels in Cambridge and Oxford. And Williams has just made a journey to St. Petersburg on this business, and the plan hastens forward to its realization, for Williams has received the highest encouragement from the holy senate of the Russian Church, both at St. Petersburg and Moscow, and also from the Armenians in Tiflis."⁶⁵ There is no further information about these endeavors, which, however, remained unfulfilled.

Conclusion

"Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff," like the author's previous travelogues, offers rich insights into the past and present of Armenians, not only in their homeland but also in various regions and countries (Ottoman Empire, Persia, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, India, etc.). Over the years, he frequently visited Armenian monasteries and stayed in Armenian homes, which expanded his knowledge about the people. The missionary author provided detailed information on both ordinary Armenian inhabitants in the places he visited and notable individuals, both clergy and secular. With a deep understanding of Armenian history and culture, he occasionally delved into historical excursions, covering both distant and recent time periods.

Joseph Wolff's final travel account remains a valuable source for studying the history and everyday life of Armenians in the first half of the 19th century, as well as the activities of Western missionaries among Armenians.

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⁶⁴ See **Wolff** 1861, 445.

⁶⁵ **Wolff** 1861, 454-455.

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ԱՐԿԱԾՆԵՐԸ» ԳՐՔՈՒՄ**

Ամփոփում

Գերմանա-հրեական ծագումով բրիտանացի միսիոներ Ջոզեֆ Վոլֆը (1795–1862) Արևելք կատարած իր ուղևորություններն ամփոփել է վեց հատորներում, որոնցում առատ տեղեկություններ է տալիս հայության մասին:

Սույն հոդվածը ներկայացնում է նրա վերջին հատորը՝ «Պատվելի Ջոզեֆ Վոլֆի ճանապարհորդությունները և արկածները» (1860–1861), որը, կազմելով նրա ինքնակենսագրական հուշերը և 1821–1845 թթ. ուղևորությունների հանրագումարը՝ նույնպես հարուստ է հայոց մասին վկայություններով: Դրանք վերաբերում են հայերին ոչ միայն իրենց հայրենիքում, այլև տարբեր տարածաշրջաններում ու երկրներում (Օսմանյան կայսրություն, Պարսկաստան, Լիբանան, Սիրիա, Իրաք, Աֆղանստան, Հնդկաստան և այլն): Իր ուղևորությունների ընթացքում Վոլֆը հաճախ է հյուրընկալվել հայկական վանքերում, հիմնականում իջևանել է հայերի տներում, ինչն ընդլայնել է նրա գիտելիքները հայոց մասին: Միսիոներ հեղինակը տեղեկություններ է հաղորդել թե՛ իր հանդիպած սովորական հայ բնակիչների, թե՛ ժամանակի աչքի ընկնող մի քանի հայերի մասին՝ հոգևոր թե աշխարհիկ: Հայոց պատմության և մշակույթի իր քաջիմացությամբ նա երբեմն պատմական անդրադարձներ է կատարել՝ հեռավոր և մոտ ժամանակաշրջանների վերաբերյալ:

Bakhchinyan A.

Ջոզեֆ Վոլֆի վերջին ուղեգրություն-ինքնակենսագրությունն արժեքավոր աղբյուր է՝ XIX դարի առաջին կեսի հայերի պատմության և ամենօրյա կյանքի, ինչպես նաև հայերի մեջ արևմտյան միսիոներների գործունեության ուսումնասիրման համար:


Քանալի բառեր՝ *Ջոզեֆ Վոլֆ, ուղեգրություն, միսիոներ, Մերձավոր Արևելքի հայեր, Երուսաղեմ, Սիրիա, Պարսկաստան:*

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THE REFLECTION OF THE EDUCATIONAL LIFE OF ARTSAKH ON THE PAGES OF “MSHAK” NEWSPAPER (THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY)

Abstract

The role and significance of the national school is emphasized in the system of studying the centuries-old history of Armenian culture. The role of education is especially significant in the preservation of national values and traditions.

The article presents a number of issues related to the educational life of Artsakh (at the beginning of the 20th century), one of the regions of Eastern Armenia based on materials published in the “Mshak” newspaper. We have briefly touched upon the policy of Tsarism in the Caucasus, the process of closing and reopening Armenian schools in the Artsakh Diocese. The educational problems of a number of settlements of the Artsakh Diocese are studied in relation with school programs, student and teacher complaints and the activities of the overseers. The activities of the Diocesan School of Artsakh, the Realakan College of Shushi, the Marinsky Girls’ School as well as one and two-grade schools of the villages of Tsmakahogh, Hadrut, Maghavuz, Taghavard, Haterk, Voskanapat and Banants are presented in separate subsections according to the information obtained from different issues of the “Mshak” newspaper. The circumstances hindering the development of educational life of Artsakh (related to the law on the confiscation of church property of June 12, 1903, the Armenian-Tatar Clashes of 1905–1907) as well as the activities of individual teachers are

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briefly highlighted. The charitable works of individual benefactors are appreciated, according to materials from the "Mshak" newspaper.

Keywords: culture, parish school, Diocesan School, Real School, Caucasus, Getashen, Gandzasar, Eastern Armenia, Artsakh, gymnasium.

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, the economic and political crisis gradually deepened in Eastern Armenia. The problem is that the Golitsyn Regime (Grigory Golitsyn, Governor of the Caucasus from 1896 to 1904)¹ established in the Caucasus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries intensified the harsh policy directed against Armenians.² Armenian schools began to be closed, and the Armenian periodical press came under strict control.³ The Tsarist Government forbade the press to touch upon national problems, to publish articles about Western Armenia and the Armenian Issue in general. The publication of new periodicals was also prohibited.

The policy of Tsarism caused great discontent in various places in Transcaucasia including the Karabakh Diocese (Artsakh Diocese).⁴ The popular struggle spread everywhere. Revolutionary calls, leaflets, etc. were distributed. On the eve of the First Russian Revolution,⁵ a tense atmosphere was created among the students of Artsakh.

In the conditions of intense persecution against Armenians, there were no favorable conditions for the development of educational work in the Karabakh Diocese, as in other Armenian dioceses: Armenian schools were closed for about ten years (1896–1905) by the decision of the government. According to the report of the Primate of the Karabakh Diocese presented to the Synod of

¹ "Mshak", 1905, № 2, January 5.

² Muradyan 2005, 165–168. Witte 1960.

³ Avagyan 1989.

⁴ By the Tsarist Decree of March 11, 1836, known in history as the "Polozhenie", the Armenian Church operating in the territories under the Russian rule was divided into six dioceses, the fifth of which was the Karabakh Diocese. The Karabakh Diocese existed until 1930, when Azerbaijan having received the consent of the Soviet authorities, closed it. About the Diocese, see Minasyan 1914, 636–637.

⁵ Arzumanyan 1975, 3–14. The First Russian Revolution of 1905, <https://www.pnp.ru/social/pervaya-russkaya-revolyuciya-proshla-115-let-nazad.html> (accessed: 10.01.2025).

Etchmiadzin, the number of schools closed in the entire Karabakh Diocese in 1903-1905 was about 25, the number of unemployed teachers – 30, and the number of students deprived of education – 790.⁶

The Tsarist Government's violence against Armenian cultural and educational centers did not discourage Armenians. On the contrary, their political and national self-awareness, the spirit of patriotism and aspirations for national preservation became stronger. Since Armenian language and literature were not taught in Armenian schools operating under new principles, Armenian parents preferred to organize their children's education in Armenian at home. For this reason, secret schools providing education in the native language began to be established in various Armenian-populated areas.

The rise of the First Russian Revolution (1905) forced Tsarism to reconsider its policy towards Armenians. On August 1, 1905, a decision was made to repeal the law of June 12, 1903.⁷ According to the decision, church-parish schools were allowed to be opened adjacent to churches and monasteries within the borders of the Caucasus Viceroyalty.⁸ With a special kondak from the Catholicos of All Armenians, the people were allowed to open Armenian schools. In the 1905–1906 academic year, Armenian schools were reopened in the Artsakh Diocese.⁹

Numerous issues related to the topic under discussion have been studied by representatives of Armenian culture: Leo,¹⁰ H. Arakelyan,¹¹ R. Ter-Gasparyan,¹² V. Yerkanyan,¹³ S. Khudoyan,¹⁴ M. Barkhudaryan,¹⁵ V. Balayan,¹⁶ H. Grigoryan, G. Harutyunyan,¹⁷ G. Harutyunyan,¹⁸ M. Harutyunyan¹⁹ and others.²⁰ Many

⁶ National Archives of Armenia (NAA), fund 56, list 3, file 3, 4. **Harutyunyan** 2010, 50.

⁷ NAA, f. 94, l. 9, f. 58. See also **Danielyan** 2014, 338–346.

⁸ For more details, see **Yerkanyan** 1982.

⁹ For more details, see **Harutyunyan** 2000.

¹⁰ **Leo** 1914.

¹¹ The 75th Anniversary of the Armenian Theological Diocesan School of Karabakh 1913.

¹² **Gasparyan** 1993.

¹³ **Yerkanyan** 1982.

¹⁴ **Khudoyan** 1987, 354–383.

¹⁵ **Barkhudareants** 1996.

¹⁶ **Balayan** 2002.

¹⁷ **Grigoryan, Harutyunyan** 2001.

¹⁸ **Harutyunyan** 1984.

¹⁹ **Harutyunyan** 2010.

The Reflection of the Educational Life of Artsakh on the Pages of "Mshak" ...

economic, political, and cultural problems of the Armenian people of those years were covered by the press of the time. Appreciating the scientific studies of the above-mentioned researchers, we intend to emphasize that the issue under study has not been considered in depth based on the materials published in the "Mshak" newspaper.

The purpose and objectives of the research: The main goal of the study is to present valuable information about the educational life of the beginning of the 20th century of Artsakh, one of the regions of Eastern Armenia, based on materials published in the "Mshak" newspaper. **The main objectives of the study are:** 1.) to highlight the problems of the educational sphere in Artsakh 2.) to provide comparative analyses of the newspaper articles under consideration.

The scientific novelty of the topic: The scientific novelty of the research consists in the new interpretation of materials published in a number of issues of the newspaper.

Methodology: The study is conducted by employing the historical-comparative, descriptive, and analytical methods.

The problems of the Diocesan School of Artsakh as reflected on the "Mshak" newspaper pages

At the beginning of the 20th century, various issues of the "Mshak" newspaper published interesting information about various problems of the schools of Artsakh. Let us emphasize that some information also refers to the events of the late 19th century.

In one of the articles titled "Everything has a Limit" we encounter information about certain problems of the Diocesan School of Artsakh.²¹ Another article of the same issue ("Letter from Shushi") discussed problems related to students' progress, social status, curriculum and other questions that arose in the Board of Trustees of the Diocesan School in 1900–1901.²² In one of the following issues of the newspaper, it was stated that a demand was made to expel some rebellious students and teachers from the Diocesan School.²³ These

²⁰ The opening of the Our Lady of Karabakh St. Mary's College for Girls, Shushi, 1864. Memorial of the Armenian Diocesan Theological School of Karabakh (Artsakh), Shushi, 1901. **Avanesyan, Harutyunyan** 2014, etc.

²¹ "Mshak", 1901, № 125, June 12, p. 1.

²² "Mshak", 1901, № 125, June 12, p. 2.

²³ "Mshak", 1901, № 131, June 19, p. 2.

problems were also mentioned in another issue of the newspaper of 1901. According to that information, internal student riots took place at the school, directed against the school superintendent and some students.²⁴

An interesting article by A. Chilinkarian titled "Letter to the Editor" was published in one of the 1901 issues of the "Mshak" newspaper. In the article, the author presented the disagreements that arose between Chilinkarian and H. Hovhannisyan, a teacher at the same school, over the issue of teaching hours for the discipline of history in grades III, IV, V and VI during the time of Vardapet Benik,²⁵ the superintendent of the Diocesan School of Shushi.²⁶

The newspaper covering in detail the years of Vardapet Benik's leadership, testified that the students and teaching staff of the Diocesan School participated in a number of cultural events. An example of this is the congratulatory note in one of the issues of the "Mshak" newspaper regarding the opening ceremony of the Gamar-Katipa monument:²⁷ "The teaching team of the Armenian Theological School of Shushi welcomes the opening of the monument to the singer, our magnificent poet Gamar-Katipa, who, with his lyre, inspired love for the nation and its oppressed sons."²⁸

The existence of Armenian schools of Artsakh was also maintained through an income from theatrical performances,²⁹ other events and donations provided by individuals. The newspaper mentioned the concert of E. Baghdasarian,³⁰ a student of the Conservatory, the proceeds of which were directed to the benefit of the library and poor students.³¹ This was also written about in another issue of the newspaper – a note by G. Ter-Ghazaryan. According to that article, in

²⁴ "Mshak", 1901, № 189, August 28, p. 2.

²⁵ For information about the superintendent Vardapet Benik, see "Mshak", 1901, № 163, July 27, p. 2. "Mshak", 1902, № 111, May 28, p. 2. "Mshak", 1902, № 138, June 28, p. 2. "Mshak", 1902, № 274, December 12, p. 3. "Mshak", 1903, № 11, January 18, p. 3.

²⁶ "Mshak", 1901, № 4, January 10, p. 3.

²⁷ The opening ceremony of the monument to Gamar-Katipa took place at the Holy Cross Monastery of Nor Nakhijevan (September 23, 1901). <https://arar.sci.am/Content/12081/26-30.pdf> (accessed: 15.02.2025).

²⁸ "Mshak", 1901, № 219, October 4, p. 1.

²⁹ "Mshak", 1903, № 37, February 20, p. 3.

³⁰ "Mshak", 1902, № 180, August 17, p. 3. "Mshak", 1902, № 190, August 30, p. 3. "Mshak", 1902, № 194, September 4, p. 1.

³¹ "Mshak", 1901, № 179, August 16, p. 2.

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August 1901, a charity concert was held in Shushi for the benefit of poor students and the city's library-reading room.³²

Among the Armenian wealthy people, the name of Baba-beg was mentioned, and to perpetuate his memory, his relatives, the Tunibekyans bequeathed 5,000 roubles to the Artsakh Diocesan School.³³

In one of the 1901 issues of the "Mshak" newspaper, there is information about Bababeg Tuniregeants, a wealthy man from Shushi who had been one of the trustees of the Diocesan School of Artsakh for many years. After the latter's death, his brothers made large donations to schools and churches of Artsakh. The newspaper wrote about this: "Today the body of Bababeg Tuniregeants was buried. The 70-year-old deceased has no heirs. He was very active in our public affairs; he was always respected by prominent people due to his wealth. He had been a trustee of the Diocesan School for many years, and he was a city deputy and a legal representative. The brothers of the deceased made the following large donations: to the Diocesan School – 5,000 rubles, 3,000 rubles to renovate the assembly hall of the same school, 1,000 rubles to the Meghretsots Church, 500 rubles to each of the two girls' schools of the city, 200 rubles were given to the treasury of poor students, 400 rubles to the four churches of the city and the Kusanats Desert, and 1,000 rubles in old coins to the Etchmiadzin Museum. A huge crowd was present at the funeral."³⁴

The descendants of Arzuman Beg Avanyants from Shushi donated 200 rubles to the Diocesan School to perpetuate the memory of their father.³⁵

Artsakh schools organized performances of various contents (theatrical, musical, other events) as well as children's (8–12 year olds)³⁶ and student³⁷ performances in the theater hall. As S. Avagyan noted, the theater groups created in the schools of Artsakh had to some extent supported the satisfaction of the aesthetic demands of the students. "Forced Marriage", "Poet" and other vaudevilles were staged by the students and teachers of the Realakan, Mariamyan and other schools.³⁸

³² "Mshak", 1901, № 183, August 21, p. 2.

³³ "Mshak", 1903, № 27, February 6, p. 3.

³⁴ "Mshak", 1901, № 100, May 10, p. 3.

³⁵ "Mshak", 1902, № 34, February 14, p. 3.

³⁶ "Mshak", 1902, № 18, January 26, p. 2.

³⁷ "Mshak", 1902, № 40, February 23, p. 2. "Mshak", 1902, № 282, December 21, p. 2.

³⁸ Avagyan 1982.

School students actively participated in church services in separate choirs.³⁹

The newspaper mentioned the regular performances⁴⁰ of the Diocesan School of Shushi: "A student performance took place in the building's hall (the new building had not yet been built). They performed the drama "Daspar Ami" and the vaudeville "Mado's Will" («Մադոյի կտակը»). The performance was generally a success. After the performance, there were lively dances accompanied by a group of Asian musicians. Admission was free."⁴¹

It is particularly noteworthy that among the events organized in Artsakh schools, various events dedicated to foreign cultural figures were also considered important. There is an interesting note about Nikolai Gogol, one of the famous representatives of Russian literature: "They write to us from Shushi that on February 20, in memory of Gogol's fiftieth birthday, there will be events in the Realakan and city schools."⁴²

There is an interesting note about the performances⁴³ held in the hall of the new building of the Diocesan School in issue 33 of the newspaper "Mshak" for 1901: "They wrote to us from Shushi that on February 8, the feast of Vartanants, a ceremony was held after the liturgy in the new building of the Diocesan School. The people filled the large hall which was modestly decorated. It is gratifying to see that women and girls attend such events in greater numbers than men. But what is the point of this? The Diocesan School was preparing to put on a performance for the benefit of the poor on the feast day, but none of the girls agreed to participate in the performance, and for this reason the performance was canceled."⁴⁴

The Artsakh Diocesan School⁴⁵, like other Armenian schools, was closed and reopened several times. It was reopened again in 1905. This information was mentioned in one of the 1905 issues of the newspaper "Mshak": "On the 5th of the month, by the order of His Holiness the Catholicos, Bishop Ashot, the Primate of the Diocese of Karabakh with Vardapet (Archpriest) Husik went to

³⁹ "Mshak", 1902, № 271, December 8, p. 2. "Mshak", 1902, № 282, December 21, p. 2.

⁴⁰ "Mshak", 1901, № 16, January 24, p. 2. "Mshak", 1902, № 223, October 9, p. 1. 1903, № 38, February 21, p. 2.

⁴¹ "Mshak", 1902, № 4, January 10, p. 3.

⁴² "Mshak", 1902, № 38, February 20, p. 3.

⁴³ "Mshak", 1902, February 27, № 43, p. 3.

⁴⁴ "Mshak", 1901, № 33, February 14, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Leo 1914.

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the Viceroy of the Caucasus. The Bishop asked the Viceroy to intercede with the Russian Emperor for the reopening of the Diocesan School of Shushi, which had been closed two years earlier by an imperial decree..."⁴⁶ This information was mentioned in detail in issue 162 of the newspaper of the same year, in an article entitled "The Reopening of the Diocesan School of Shushi". "The Emperor taking into account the mediation of Count Vorontsov-Dashkov, Viceroy of the Caucasus allowed the reopening of the Diocesan School of Shushi, which had been closed in 1903 ... The Diocesan School of Shushi was a center of education for a Diocese with a population of approximately 250,000 Armenians. More than 600 children and adolescents studied at that school, who in 1903 were deprived of the opportunity to continue their education because the former administration of the Caucasus based on erroneous and inaccurate information had closed an entire educational institution..."⁴⁷

It should be noted that despite the opening of the Diocesan School, the school programs continued to remain incomplete,⁴⁸ which led to frequent strikes by the students.⁴⁹

The Reflection of the Educational Problems of the Realakan College in the "Mshak" newspaper

In one of the issues of 1901, the newspaper published interesting information about the construction works of the Realakan *College*⁵⁰ of Shushi during which a number of problems arose. Grigor Arafeleants made a great charitable contribution to those works. The newspaper wrote: "Readers of the "Mshak" newspaper know that a year ago the foundation for the construction of the Realakan School was laid in our city. It is currently being built by Mr. Grigor Arafeleants allocating 108 thousand rubles. It was June 10 of last year that the foundation of the school building was blessed with a grand ceremony. In honor of the citizens, the same donor had prepared a sumptuous banquet with inspiring speeches. They did not suspect for a moment that the foundation of

⁴⁶ "Mshak", 1905, № 130, July 7, p. 3.

⁴⁷ "Mshak", 1905, № 162, August 14, p. 1.

⁴⁸ "Mshak", 1906, № 97, May 7, p. 3.

⁴⁹ "Mshak", 1906, № 54, March 11, p. 3. "Mshak", 1906, № 97, May 7, p. 3. "Mshak", 1907, № 2, January 4, p. 2.

⁵⁰ For more information about the Realakan College, see **Grigoryan, Harutyunyan** 2001. "Dprutyun", 1991, № 47-48, August 22, p. 3.

the structure was weak. However, as it turned out, the construction work had been entrusted to an unscrupulous builder. That contractor is Avag Mahtesi-Hakovbyan. He began to demand money from Mr. Arafelyan at the beginning of the work, when in reality the special commission was supposed first to evaluate the work done and then give him money. As a result, the work had just begun, but soon it was stopped and a year was wasted. The court will soon clarify the circumstances of this case. Now new people have emerged, Gharageozyan and Ghondaghsazyan who have also built the Diocesan School building. The ruthless treatment of a public institution by these gentlemen is simply outrageous. Any person sometimes enters the outwardly beautiful building of the Diocesan School with trepidation. If its foundation had not been laid on stones, it would have collapsed today. Part of the auditorium floor was covered with large cracks, and this year students had to be released for a day to repair the new structure. We invite Arafeleyan's attention to these facts".⁵¹

Graduates of Artsakh schools continued their studies at the Realakan College (the latter operated from 1881–1920).⁵² The newspaper wrote about this: "Exams of city schools are gradually being cancelled: The Diocesan School has already released students from May 20... The graduates went to the Realakan College, 18 of which were from the Mariinsky Girls' School."⁵³

The newspaper also wrote about the increase in tuition fees of the Realakan College.⁵⁴

The newspaper "Mshak" emphasized that graduates of realakan schools could be admitted to the Petersburg Military Medical Academy. The conditions for admission were also mentioned (for the academic year of 1902).⁵⁵

A number of cultural events were held with the participation of students from the Realakan College. During one of the events, the beautiful performances of the singing group formed by teacher Mr. Prokofiev were welcomed, and teacher Mr. Livnberg taught the students to play excerpts from various operas on the violin...⁵⁶

⁵¹ "Mshak", 1901, № 115, May 31, p. 1. "Mshak", 1901, № 134, June 22, p. 2.

⁵² "Dprutyun", 1991, № 47–48, August 22, p. 3.

⁵³ "Mshak", 1902, № 113, May 30, p. 3.

⁵⁴ "Mshak", 1902, № 114, May 31, p. 2.

⁵⁵ "Mshak", 1901, № 248, November 7, p. 3.

⁵⁶ "Mshak", 1902, № 282, December 21, p. 2.

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The closure of the Realakan College was mentioned in one of the 1905 issues of the "Mshak" newspaper: "Currently, classes at the Realakan College have been completely suspended."⁵⁷ Another issue of the newspaper of the same year mentioned that the small classes of the Realakan College of Shushi and their annexes, which were outside the main building, were burned down during a major fire.⁵⁸

The Schools of other villages of Artsakh

In various issues of the "Mshak" newspaper of the early 20th century, there is remarkable information about the schools of Tsmakahogh, Hadrut, Maghavuz, Taghavard, Haterk, Voskanapat and other villages as well as the Marinsky School of Shushi.

From the village of Tsmakahogh (Artsakh, Jivanshir province) they wrote: "A long time ago, the people asked the state to open a two-grade school in the community of Arajadzor (Dovchanlu). However, due to numerous complaints from the landlord, it was left unattended until today. Finally, two individuals elected from the community, B. Akopjanyan and H. Abrahamyan went to Gandzak and presented themselves to the superintendent. They raised the forgotten issues again, and after overcoming great hardships, they received a final decision of approval and returned to the village. Less than seven days after that, by the order of the superintendent, B. Zakhareanc, a teacher at the Sarov two-grade school was transferred to the position of Senior Teacher in Arajadzor, and he laid the foundation for a two-grade school. From the beginning, the teacher enjoyed great sympathy from the public. For the construction of the school, the landowner Mr. M. Dolukhaneants, at the request of the people and for the benefit of the society, promised to give three rooms of his own building until the construction of the new school. The number of students reaches 80, and it is increasing day by day, all of them are placed in only one classroom. We hope that Mr. Dolukhaneants upon hearing about the opening of the school, will soon fulfill his promise."⁵⁹

The newspaper referring to the Mariinsky School of Shushi, particularly emphasized the theatrical performances held at the school: "Performances were

⁵⁷ "Mshak", 1905, № 79, April 29, p. 2.

⁵⁸ "Mshak", 1905, № 206, October 9, p. 5.

⁵⁹ "Mshak", 1902, № 58, March 16, p. 3.

held for schoolgirls at the Mariinsky School for two days. And on February 8, a raffle with a dance performance was held at the theater in favor of poor schoolgirls."⁶⁰ The students of the Mariinsky Girls' School later continued their studies at the Realakan College of Shushi.⁶¹

In its article titled "The Educational Work in Shushi," the newspaper reflecting on the difficulties of educational life in Artsakh at the beginning of the 20th century, noted that education at the Mariinsky School was in poor condition.⁶²

At the beginning of the 20th century, the educational life of a number of villages of Artsakh was more difficult. Some villages did not have schools for primary education. The "Mshak" newspaper noted about the village of Banants in Gandzak where a decline in economic life is noticeable everywhere. The children were deprived of the conditions for elementary education.⁶³

And in another issue of 1901, it was noted that special attention had been paid especially to the teaching of foreign languages (French, German) in the public educational institutions of Gandzak, in male and female gymnasiums in recent years.⁶⁴

There is a mention in one of the newspaper issues of 1905 of the Gandzak folk schools, where the level of education of teachers was discussed emphasizing that villages should have teachers with not only secondary but also higher education.⁶⁵ Some information about boys' and girls' schools⁶⁶, and the city college of Gandzak⁶⁷ was also presented.

The newspaper covered the closure of schools of Artsakh at the beginning of the 20th century in one of its issues of 1905. There is information about the two-grade elementary school of the village of Getashen. According to this information, the main reason for the closure of the school was that a number of poor students were unable to pay the tuition fees. The newspaper emphasized that the Getashen school had been operating for two decades. In the first years,

⁶⁰ "Mshak", 1901, № 34, February 16, p. 3.

⁶¹ "Mshak", 1902, № 113, May 30, p. 3.

⁶² "Mshak", 1905, № 92, May 14, p. 2.

⁶³ "Mshak", 1901, № 168, August 2, p. 1.

⁶⁴ "Mshak", 1901, № 232, October 19, p. 2.

⁶⁵ "Mshak", 1905, № 39, March 6, p. 2.

⁶⁶ "Mshak", 1905, № 59, March 31, p. 2.

⁶⁷ "Mshak", 1905, № 208, October 12, p. 4.

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it operated on a private basis. The newspaper also thoroughly covered other issues related to the educational life of Getashen.⁶⁸

In one of its 1901 issues, the newspaper referred to the school in the village of Voskanapat,⁶⁹ which had been operating since 1897. The school had two classes and about 100 students. Students from neighboring villages (Mirzik, Brajur, Murud) also attended this school, as there were no schools in their villages, and there were a number of problems with education.⁷⁰

At the beginning of the 20th century, Armenian schools operated in the villages of Taghavard⁷¹, Hadrut⁷², Maghavuz, Haterq, Gharabek, and Chaylu of Artsakh.⁷³ The "Mshak" newspaper wrote about the Hadrut school: "After long delays, we, the people of Hadrut will finally have our own school building, which will cost about 17,000 rubles. Today, on May 25, the foundation of the building, which is being built with public funds, was blessed in the presence of a large crowd of people. The commander of the local troops with his commanders, many officials, the representatives of the merchant class, Russian and Armenian clergy are present at the event. The school's superintendent, Y. Davitbegeants delivered a speech. After the event ended, the contractor Mr. G. Melkumeants treated all the participants to a sumptuous dinner during which the military orchestra played."⁷⁴

An article about the school of the village of Maghavuz (Jevanshir District⁷⁵) of Artsakh was published in the newspaper under the title "Letter from the Jevanshir District," which noted that there were some social and economic problems in the village. Life in the village improved somewhat when a church⁷⁶ and a one-class parish school were built in the same village thanks to the efforts

⁶⁸ "Mshak", 1905, № 74, April 23, p. 2.

⁶⁹ The village of Voskanapat is located in the northern part of Artsakh. For more information, see **Karapetyan** 2004.

⁷⁰ "Mshak", 1901, № 84, April 20, p. 3.

⁷¹ "Mshak", 1902, № 226, October 12, p. 2.

⁷² "Mshak", 1902, № 117, June 4, p. 3. "Mshak", 1903, № 9, January 16, p. 3.

⁷³ "Mshak", 1902, № 174, August 10, p. 3.

⁷⁴ "Mshak", 1902, № 117, June 4, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Jevanshir District – an administrative-political unit within the Russian Empire. It was formed in 1869 separating from the Shushi Province. It was included in the newly created Elizavetpol Province. It mainly included the regions of Martakert and Shahumyan, Barda and Tartar. See **Arakelyan** 2003. Review of the Elizavetpol province for 1894, Tiflis, 1895.

⁷⁶ "Mshak", 1904, № 39, February 28, p. 2.

of the son of the famous oil producer Musael Shahgedanyan, a resident of the same village. The newspaper wrote about this: "...This sad situation would have continued for a long time if there had not been an external favorable circumstance. Twelve years ago, the famous oil producer Musael Shahgedanyan, who was originally from our village, died in Bagu (Baku). He bequeathed to his son, Mr. Mkrtich Shahgedanyan to build a church and a one-class parish school in his native village of Maghavugh. In addition, he donated 3,000 rubles to the Seminary of Echmiadzin, on the interest of which his adopted son from Jraberd was to study there."⁷⁷

At the beginning of the 20th century, educational life in some villages of Artsakh continued to proceed in difficult conditions. In one of the newspaper's issues of 1906, B. Zakareants making a general reference to the schools of some villages noted: "Education in the two-year schools of Kusapat and Arajadzor as well as the one-year schools of Mardakert, Janeatagh, Talish, Haterk, and Vank (Gandzasar) was almost disrupted until January 1 of this year; and from January 1, as we hear, many of these schools are closing because the people are unable to pay the school fees due to poverty. According to local residents, for the same reason, up to 70 elementary schools in the Gandzak Province are being closed from January 1 of this year. The poor rural people are now deprived of education due to their poverty."⁷⁸

The newspaper "Mshak," presenting interesting information about the agricultural life of Artsakh, noted that certain steps had been taken to open agricultural departments at Artsakh schools so that students could improve their skills in agricultural work.⁷⁹ Later, some of the graduates also began working in Artsakh's silk factories.⁸⁰

The "Mshak" newspaper also touched upon the activities of some teachers of Artsakh schools. Among those teachers were Arshak Ter-Mikelyan, Samuel Gyulzadyan, Father Vahan,⁸¹ a religion teacher of the Realakan College, Ter-Astvatsatryants from Gandzak (student of the Gevorgyan Seminary),⁸² Levon

⁷⁷ "Mshak", 1902, № 246, November 6, p. 2.

⁷⁸ "Mshak", 1906, № 40, February 23, p. 2.

⁷⁹ "Mshak", 1902, № 143, July 4, p. 1.

⁸⁰ "Mshak", 1903, № 27, February 6, p. 1.

⁸¹ "Mshak", 1903, № 49, March 6, p. 3.

⁸² "Mshak", 1904, № 58, March 21, p. 1.

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Sargsyan,⁸³ Priest Yeghishe Tarkhaneants⁸⁴ (Religion teacher at the Realakan School) and others. The newspaper noted about Arshak Ter-Mikelyan: "On June 25, at three o'clock after lunch, Arshak Ter-Mikelian died at a young age from pneumonia. The deceased had received his theological education in Germany, and for about five years he taught religion at our diocesan school. He had several publications with religious content. He bequeathed his library, worth about 1,000 rubles, to the Etchmiadzin Museum."⁸⁵ The newspaper emphasized that Samuel Gyulzadyan had taught in Artsakh schools for about 41 years, of which for more than 20 years he had taught at the Diocesan School of Shushi: "Mr. Samuel Gulzadyan, a teacher at the Diocesan School of Shushi has been teaching in our schools for 41 years. He taught at the Diocesan School of Shushi for more than 20 years. His late wife had worked as a teacher for 15 years, and his daughter has been working in the same position in Persia for about 10 years. So, three members of one family have served our education for a whole year. In other words, an entire generation has spent its childhood, adolescence, and adulthood under the teaching of those figures and been educated by them ..."⁸⁶

Educational life in Artsakh became extremely difficult, especially in 1905–1907, due to the Armenian-Tatar conflicts.⁸⁷ The newspaper "Mshak" provided very little information about the educational life of Artsakh during those years. Among the schools operating during those years, the newspaper highlighted the role of the orphanage-school opened for girls and boys in Shushi.⁸⁸ The school was opened on October 9, 1906, and its principal was Mrs. Z. Chilingaryan who also taught at that school. There were 20 orphans in the orphanage-school, 14 of whom were girls and 6 were boys. Among the orphans were children from 6 to 14 years old. That school was maintained through donations. Among the

⁸³ "Mshak", 1906, № 55, March 12, p. 3.

⁸⁴ "Mshak", 1907, № 48, March 6, p. 3.

⁸⁵ "Mshak", 1901, № 141, June 30, p. 3.

⁸⁶ "Mshak", 1901, № 156, July 19, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Armenian-Tatar clashes - military clashes that occurred during the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, present-day Azerbaijanis were called "Caucasian Tatars." Armed clashes took place mainly in the Elizavetpol province, partly also in the Yerevan province, in the cities of Tbilisi and Baku. Most of the territory of Artsakh was included in the Elizavetpol province (1868–1917). For more details, see **A-Do** 1907. **Gyulkhandanyan** 1933. **Gevorgyan** 2019.

⁸⁸ "Mshak", 1907, № 35, February 16, p. 1.

donors were the Zhamharians, the Council of Armenian Churches of Petersburg, the Ter-Mkrtchyan brothers, Sofia Hakobyan, E. Bahatryan, Ashkhen Bahatryan and others.⁸⁹ There is some information about the educational life of the village of Taghlar, where the role of teacher Alahverdyan was emphasized.⁹⁰

There is interesting and valuable information in the newspaper about the "Weaving School" of Shushi. The author of the article emphasized that the workshop produced Armenian carpets.⁹¹ The role of Hripsime Ghukasyan in the development of weaving was highly appreciated, as she donated the entire row of shops on the inner floor of her house to the weaving workshop for free.⁹²

Conclusion

To summarize, let us emphasize that at the beginning of the 20th century, Eastern Armenia was in an economic and political crisis. Armenian schools began to be closed, and the Armenian press was placed under strict control. Later, after schools reopened, several schools continued to operate in Artsakh under very difficult conditions. Those schools were maintained with the financial means received from both individuals and various theatrical performances. Thanks to the support of individual benefactors, in parallel with educational life in Artsakh, some branches of agriculture, weaving, and silk weaving continued to operate.

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⁸⁹ "Mshak", 1907, № 35, February 16, p. 1.

⁹⁰ "Mshak", 1907, № 36, February 17, p. 1.

⁹¹ "Mshak", 1907, № 61, March 21, p. 3.

⁹² "Mshak", 1907, № 89, May 1, p. 3.

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ՄԱՐԻՆԵ ՀԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՅԱՆ

Պատմական գիտությունների թեկնածու

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Ամփոփում

XX դարի սկզբներին Արևելյան Հայաստանի տնտեսական և քաղաքական կացությունը շարունակում էր մնալ ծանր: Կովկասում հաստատված գոլիցինյան ռեժիմը ուժեղացրեց հայահալած քաղաքականությունը: Խիստ վերահսկողության տակ դրվեց հայկական պարբերական մամուլը: Հայկական դպրոցների մեծ մասը շարունակում էր մնալ փակված: Էջմիածնի Սինոդի տեղեկագրի համաձայն՝ ամբողջ Արցախի թեմում 1903–1905 թթ. փակվող դպրոցների քանակը հասնում էր 25-ի: Սակայն հայկական մշակույթի ու կրթական օջախների նկատմամբ ցարական կառավարության ճնշումները չէին ընկճել հայերին: Նման պայմաններում նրանց մեջ ավելի էին ուժեղացել քաղաքական ու ազգային ինքնագիտակցությունն ու հայրենասիրության ոգին, ազգապահպանման ձգտումները: Որոշ մասնավոր դպրոցներ գաղտնի շարունակում էին իրենց գործունեությունը: Արցախում երեխաների հետ դասընթացները հիմնականում իրականացվում էին տնային պայմաններում: Արցախի թեմում հայկական դպրոցները վերաբացվեցին 1905–1906 թթ. ուսումնական տարում:

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Հոգվածում լուսաբանվում են Արցախի կրթական կյանքի զարգացմանը խոչընդոտող հանգամանքները (կապված 1903 թ. հունիսի 12-ի եկեղեցական գույքի բռնագրավման մասին օրենքի, 1905–1907 թթ. հայ-թաթարական ընդհարումների հետ), առանձին ուսուցիչների գործունեությունը: Արժևորվել է առանձին անհատների բարեգործական գործունեությունը՝ ըստ «Մշակ» թերթի նյութերի:


Բանալի բառեր՝ *եկեղեցական-ծխական դպրոց, թեմական դպրոց, ռեալական դպրոց, Կովկաս, Գեորգիեն, Գանձասար, Արցախ:*

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ARTSAKH'S SETTLEMENTS AND INFRASTRUCTURE: TARGET OF AZERBAIJANI AGGRESSION DURING THE 2020 WAR

Abstract

Once again, made by Azerbaijan, we witnessed crimes during the military operations against Artsakh in 2020. The 44-day war was marked by widespread breaches of international law, deliberate attacks on civilian infrastructure and cultural monuments, the use of prohibited weapons, and other war crimes. This resulted in thousands of casualties, tens of thousands of wounded and displaced individuals, and extensive destruction. During the 44-day war, Azerbaijani armed forces launched systematic and coordinated attacks on nearly all settlements in Artsakh, targeting residential houses, public buildings, and educational institutions. From the very first day of the war, Azerbaijan launched relentless shelling and bombing campaigns on Stepanakert and multiple communities across Askeran, Martuni, Hadrut, Martakert, Karvachar, and Kashatagh districts. Thousands of civilians were left homeless as their apartments and houses were either destroyed or rendered uninhabitable. Throughout the war, more than 170 peaceful settlements were targeted using aircraft, heavy artillery, rockets, and tanks. Throughout the entire 44-day war, Azerbaijan's military-political leadership, while continuing to commit war crimes, deliberately and periodically targeted key civilian infrastructure across Artsakh, including power, communication, gas and water supply systems, bridges, and food storage

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facilities. Since September 27, the telephone and Internet network has been another deliberate target. First, Azerbaijani hackers caused serious problems in the communication system for several days, resulting in tens of thousands of civilians being unable to communicate for long periods. Schools, kindergartens, shops and other facilities were also targeted. During the war, the key infrastructure, including roads and bridges, was heavily damaged. Major roads, particularly those connecting Stepanakert with neighboring villages, as well as inter-district and inter-community roads, were targeted. These attacks clearly violated the principle of distinction between civilian and military targets, demonstrating that Azerbaijan's strikes were deliberate and targeted in nature, further confirming the intentionality of the war crimes committed during the September 2020 conflict.

Keywords: *war, settlements, infrastructure, shelling air raids, prohibited weapons, crimes, international law.*

Introduction

On September 27, 2020, the Azerbaijani Armed Forces, supported by Turkish units and with direct state involvement, launched large-scale missile and air strikes along the entire Artsakh-Azerbaijan border. These attacks targeted not only military positions but also settlements deep in the rear, including the capital, Stepanakert. The 44-day war against Artsakh saw Azerbaijan systematically violate key international principles outlined in the UN Charter, OSCE commitments, and obligations to the Council of Europe. Baku disregarded fundamental norms such as the prohibition of force, the peaceful resolution of disputes, and the protection of human rights. With Turkey's direct involvement and the use of mercenaries, Azerbaijan ultimately seized a significant portion of the Republic of Artsakh, facilitated by the Armenian side's capitulation.

This article aims to identify Azerbaijan's war crimes during the 2020 war against the settlements and infrastructure of Artsakh. To this end, the objectives of the present research are.

1. To reveal the shelling of residential buildings and houses of Artsakh by the armed forces of Azerbaijan from September 27 to November 11, 2020.
2. Raise the issue of Azerbaijani missile and air strikes on public facilities during the war days.

3. As part of the analysis, clarify the use of all types of weapons, including prohibited weapons, against the infrastructure of Artsakh.

The research was conducted through a comprehensive study and comparison of available facts. As a result of the research, we concluded that during the 44-day war, the Azerbaijani side took deliberate measures to make it impossible for thousands of civilians to live in their own homes by shelling without distinction, targeting civilian infrastructure and creating an atmosphere of fear.

Targeted and Coordinated Strikes on Residential Areas by the Azerbaijani Armed Forces

During the 44-day war, Azerbaijani armed forces launched systematic and coordinated attacks on nearly all settlements in Artsakh, targeting residential houses, public buildings, and educational institutions. Artillery shelling and drone strikes caused extensive material damage, with densely populated areas suffering direct hits – a clear evidence of intent to harm civilian life and health.

In numerous instances, these attacks were deliberate, as military targets were located far from civilian areas. The absence of military objectives near the strike sites further underscores the premeditated nature of these assaults, constituting war crimes. As a result, approximately 60% of Artsakh's total population – more than 90,000 people¹ – were forced to flee their homes in search of safety.

It is important to note that such targeted attacks against civilians and civilian infrastructure violate international law, constituting war crimes under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the Geneva Conventions. Article 8(2)(b)(i)(ii)(iv) of the Rome Statute treats “intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population”, “intentionally directing attacks against civilian objects” and “intentionally launching an attack in the knowledge that such attack will cause incidental loss of life or injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects or widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment which would be clearly excessive in relation to the concrete and direct overall military advantage anticipated”² as war crimes. Articles 51 and 52 of Protocol 1 to the Geneva Convention protect civilian life and civilian objects.³

¹ On the Azerbaijan atrocities against the Artsakh population in September-October 2020, The Republic of Artsakh Human rights ombudsman, 2020, 14.

² <https://evnreport.com/arm/magazine-issues/azerbaijan-s-war-crimes-2/>, 20.12.2020, Azerbaijan's war crimes (accessed: 03.07.2024).

³ Ibid.

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From the very first day of the war, Azerbaijan launched relentless shelling and bombing campaigns on Stepanakert and multiple communities across Askeran, Martuni, Hadrut, Martakert, Karvachar, and Kashatagh districts. Thousands of civilians were left homeless as their apartments and houses were either destroyed or rendered uninhabitable. Throughout the war, more than 170 peaceful settlements were targeted using aircraft, heavy artillery, rockets, and tanks.

The first strikes by the Azerbaijani armed forces on residential neighbourhoods in Artsakh, which were launched without warning between 6:50 and 7:30, when children, women, elderly people and other civilians were still asleep, provide ample evidence that they were aimed at intimidating the civilian population, causing panic and forcing them to leave their homes. The intensive shelling of villages and towns in Artsakh resulted in numerous civilian casualties and injuries. During the war, cluster weapons prohibited under international humanitarian law were also widely used against the civilian objects and infrastructure, especially in Stepanakert, resulting not only in massive destruction, but also in the fact that unexploded ordnance present in populated areas created additional risks for the civilian population. The cluster munition attacks began on the morning of 27 September in a residential area about 200 metres from the International Committee of the Red Cross office.⁴ Human Rights Watch, an international human rights organisation, published information on Azerbaijan's use of banned cluster bombs, based on fact-finding work conducted in Stepanakert in October 2020. "The use of cluster weapons, particularly in populated areas, shows that the safety of civilians is clearly ignored. Cluster munitions should never be used under any circumstances, especially in urban areas, due to the predictable and unacceptable harm they cause to civilians", said Stephen Goose⁵, director of HRW's Crisis, Conflict, and Arms Division and the co-founder of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines.

Throughout the war, Azerbaijan continued to deploy cluster weapons, particularly targeting the capital. According to information from the Artsakh Prosecutor's Office, Azerbaijan utilized a range of military drones and missile

⁴ [https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/10/23/azerbaijan-cluster-munitions-used-nagorno-karabakh?%20fbclid=IwAR1nBbKtMqK8w9wvONeXIZvxs-U9IWGOVylN5pdf71xLMSpcro1xX-i4jiU%20/01.01.2021/, 23.10.2020, Azerbaijan: Cluster Munitions Used in Nagorno-Karabakh](https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/10/23/azerbaijan-cluster-munitions-used-nagorno-karabakh?%20fbclid=IwAR1nBbKtMqK8w9wvONeXIZvxs-U9IWGOVylN5pdf71xLMSpcro1xX-i4jiU%20/01.01.2021/,%2023.10.2020,%20Azerbaijan:%20Cluster%20Munitions%20Used%20in%20Nagorno-Karabakh) (accessed: 17.07.2024).

⁵ [https://newsarmenia.am/am/news/nagorno_karabakh/-human-rights-watch/-/](https://newsarmenia.am/am/news/nagorno_karabakh/-human-rights-watch-/,), 24.11.2020, Azerbaijan uses banned cluster munitions in Karabakh. Human Rights Watch. (accessed: 10.08.2024):

systems, including the Azerbaijani-made “ZARBA-1K” attack drone, “YARASA” reconnaissance drone, Israeli “ORBITER-2” and “ORBITER-3” reconnaissance drones, “SIRCHER-2” reconnaissance drone, “SKYSTRAIKER” attack drone, Heron reconnaissance drone, and Harop attack drone. They also employed Turkish “BAYRAKTAR TB2” reconnaissance and attack drones, “ANKAS” reconnaissance drones, and Canadian-produced Wescam CMX 15D tactical cameras for Bayraktar TB2 UAVs. Additionally, civilian structures and infrastructure were primarily struck by strike and reconnaissance drones, self-destruct drones, as well as remote-controlled missiles, “SMERCH” multiple rocket launchers, “LORA” operational-tactical missile systems, and Belarusian MLRS “POLONEZ” systems.⁶

The first attacks also targeted officers’ residences in the Mataghis locality of the Martakert district, where military families lived. As a result, the civilians there at the time – women, children and the elderly – were threatened. The officers’ quarters were 1–1.5 kilometres away from the military unit. In some cases, the damage or destruction can be attributed to their proximity to the line of battle between the Artsakh Defence Army and the Azerbaijani armed forces, but there are many cases where residential buildings without military installations nearby were damaged or destroyed, while their destruction brought no military advantage to the enemy. The Azerbaijani armed forces did not respect the principle of prevention during the attacks. Moreover, the Azerbaijani attacks on villages did not have any military purpose. Attacks that do not directly target military objectives, as well as those that cause disproportionate damage to the life, health, or property of the civilian population, are qualified as war crimes.

Throughout the war, we witnessed numerous war crimes committed by Azerbaijan. On the morning of September 30, Azerbaijan, with the support of Turkish F-16 fighter jets, Su-25 attack aircraft, and reconnaissance and strike UAVs of the “Bayraktar” type, launched airstrikes on the settlements of Hadrut, Martuni, and Martakert districts, resulting in human casualties.⁷ In the first decade of October,

⁶ <https://yerevan.today/all/society/97269/arcaxi-dataxazoutyan-tvyalnery%D5%9D-44-orya-paterazmi-hetevanqov-vnas-kratsnerin-petakan-adjakcoutyan-tramadrman-masin>, 07.02.2022, Data from the Prosecutor’s Office of Artsakh on the provision of state aid to victims of the 44-day war (accessed: 12.07.2024).

⁷ <https://armenpress.am/hy/article/1029578>, 30.09.2020, The Azerbaijani Air Force launches bombing attacks on Artsakh (accessed: 16.08.2024).

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while intense hostilities were ongoing, Stepanakert, Martuni, Hadrut, Martakert, and Shushi came under heavy shelling and bombardment, leading to the destruction of several residential buildings and homes.

On the early morning of 15 October, after prolonged artillery shelling, the Azerbaijani armed forces launched a large-scale offensive in both the north and south, with the use of artillery, UAVs, missiles, and aircraft. During the night of 15-16 October, particularly at dawn, heavy artillery fire was directed towards Martuni and the locality of Karmir Shuka, followed by shelling of the community of Berdashen in the morning.

During the same period, Stepanakert, Togh (Hadrut district), Tigranavan, Aygeovit, Shosh, and Aghavno (Kashatagh district) were shelled, resulting in three civilians being wounded in the Shosh community.⁸ On 23 October, Azerbaijani forces shelled Askeran, and at midnight, they again shelled Martuni, Stepanakert, and Martakert, with military aviation being used in the latter attack. Following this, the villages of Karmir Shuka and Tagavard (Martuni district) were targeted again with Smerch-type missiles⁹.

Stepanakert and other towns and villages of Artsakh were periodically hit by long-range missiles, drones, and military aviation, leading to complete or partial destruction of residential buildings and homes. According to data provided by the Office of the President of the Republic of Artsakh, 170 settlements across the Republic suffered significant material damage during the war. As a result of explosions in residential neighborhoods under the control of the Republic of Artsakh, 1,176 people were left homeless. A total of 295 apartment buildings (2,239 flats), 8,443 private residences, and 110 basement buildings were damaged.¹⁰

This data underscores the ongoing, coordinated, premeditated, and purposeful nature of Azerbaijan's military actions.

Targeting of Public Facilities and Infrastructure

Throughout the entire 44-day war, Azerbaijan's military-political leadership, in continuing to commit war crimes, deliberately and periodically targeted key

⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/ArtsakhInformation>, Information Headquarters of Artsakh /NKR InfoCenter/ НКР ІнфоЦентр (accessed: 10.07.2024).

⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/ArtsakhInformation>, Information Headquarters of Artsakh /NKR InfoCenter/ НКР ІнфоЦентр (accessed: 10.07.2024).

¹⁰ <https://t.me/s/texekatvakanshtab?before=6369>, Information Headquarters of Artsakh /NKR InfoCenter / НКР ІнфоЦентр (accessed: 13.08.2024).

civilian infrastructure across Artsakh, including power, communication, gas and water supply systems, bridges, and food storage facilities. The primary focus of these strikes was the capital, Stepanakert, with the intention of depriving tens of thousands of civilians of their basic living conditions. Azerbaijan utilized long-range missiles and attack drones to strike these targets.

Particular emphasis was placed on power plants and several hydroelectric power stations, aiming to completely dismantle the electricity generation system in the region. This was evidenced by the continuous shelling of the central building and power plant of Artsakhenergo CJSC, which supplies electricity to the capital, using non-distinctive weapons during the course of the war.

“Human Rights Watch” documented that on the night of 2 to 3 October, Azerbaijani forces fired LAR-160 class cluster rockets at the territory and power plant of Artsakhenergo CJSC. They also inspected the remains of the rocket, found about 100 metres from the main building of the department, revealed numerous fragments characteristic of M095 ammunition, which were mostly lying along the street adjacent to the building and the power plant.¹¹

As a result of the attacks, Stepanakert was left without electricity for an extended period. A statement issued by the Artsakh Human Rights Defender's Office on 18 October highlighted that in addition to shelling the Stepanakert power plant, the Azerbaijani Armed Forces also targeted power plants and electrical networks in various towns and villages. Over 10 stations were either destroyed or severely damaged. Azerbaijan further deliberately targeted several hydroelectric power plants located deep within Artsakh, aiming to cripple the region's electricity production capacity.¹²

Since September 27, the telephone and Internet network has been another deliberate target. First, Azerbaijani hackers caused serious problems in the communication system for several days, resulting in tens of thousands of civilians being unable to communicate for long periods of time. Since October 3, the Azerbaijani Armed Forces have again deliberately targeted communication

¹¹ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/12/11/azerbaijan-unlawful-strikes-nagorno-karabakh>, 11.12.2020, Azerbaijan: Unlawful Strikes in Nagorno-Karabakh (accessed: 21.08.2024).

¹² <https://artsakhombuds.am/hy/document/735> , “Updated edition of the second interim report on Azerbaijan's atrocities against the population of Artsakh in September-October 2020”, interim report (Stepanakert. Defender of Human Rights of the Republic of Artsakh, 18.11.2020.), (accessed: 15.09.2024):

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stations and networks with long-range missiles and drones. As a result of these strikes, dozens of key communications infrastructure facilities (stations, towers, nodes, etc.) were destroyed or seriously damaged.¹³ Schools, kindergartens, shops and other facilities were also targeted. Some schools, including the buildings of Stepanakert's 4th and 10th and 2nd schools, were destroyed and extensive material damage was caused.¹⁴ According to "Human Rights Watch", Azerbaijani troops struck four times on the territory of School № 10, located on the opposite side of the street, near the power plant. The attacks caused severe damage to dozens of classrooms, the exterior of the building, and the electricity and water supply systems that served the school. Between September 27 and October 12, 2020, this area was subjected to continuous attacks.¹⁵ According to the Artsakh Presidential Administration, 41 schools and 15 kindergartens were damaged due to the war launched by Azerbaijan, with an additional 121 schools and 20 kindergartens coming under the control of Azerbaijani Armed Forces.¹⁶ The building of the Artsakh State Emergency Service was also targeted. The Rescue Service was a civil defense organization operating in Artsakh. Its responsibilities included civil defense, search and rescue and other emergency works. These deliberate attacks resulted in casualties, injuries, and significant material damage. The targeting of civilians and humanitarian organizations further underscores Azerbaijan's violation of international humanitarian law, and its engagement in grave war crimes. Additionally, medical centers were not spared from Azerbaijani artillery. On October 28, a maternity hospital in Stepanakert was hit by airstrikes, and the same facility was later struck by Smerch missiles on November 3. Earlier, on October 14, a military hospital in Martakert was also shelled. According to the Unified Armenian Information Centre, civilians also were receiving treatment there.¹⁷ Medical facilities and personnel are explicitly protected from attack under Article 19 of the First Geneva Convention, which

¹³ On the Azerbaijani atrocities against the Artsakh population in September-October 2020, 2020, p. 21.

¹⁴ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/12/11/azerbaijan-unlawful-strikes-nagorno-karabakh>, 11.12.2020, Azerbaijan: Unlawful Strikes in Nagorno-Karabakh, (accessed: 04.09.2024).

¹⁵ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/12/11/azerbaijan-unlawful-strikes-nagorno-karabakh>, 11.12.2020, Azerbaijan: Unlawful Strikes in Nagorno-Karabakh, (accessed: 07.09.2024).

¹⁶ Human rights violations during the 44-day Artsakh War, Fact-finding report, 2022, 312.

¹⁷ https://newsarmenia.am/am/news/nagorno_karabakh/-human-rights-watch/ (05.05.2022), Azerbaijan's war crimes (accessed: 16.09.2024).

safeguards “Fixed establishments and mobile medical units of the Medical Service” and states that they “may in no circumstances be attacked.”¹⁸ Similarly, Article 18 of the Fourth Geneva Convention ensures that “Civilian hospitals organized to give care to the wounded and sick, the infirm and maternity cases, may in no circumstances be the object of attack.”¹⁹

During the war, key infrastructure, including roads and bridges, was heavily damaged. Major roads, particularly those connecting Stepanakert with neighboring villages, as well as inter-district and inter-community roads, were targeted. Civilian casualties were recorded, particularly among displaced persons who were attempting to reach safer areas. On October 2, the Berdzor Bridge was shelled, followed by the Agavno Checkpoint Bridge on October 17.²⁰ These deliberate attacks on vital bridges, often used for civilian and humanitarian purposes, were aimed not only at causing material damage but also at psychologically intimidating the local population and obstructing potential aid routes to Artsakh.

On October 31, the Stepanakert market was shelled, causing significant destruction. According to the State Emergency Situations Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Artsakh, part of the market was destroyed, and the civilian population suffered substantial material damage. A residential building, along with all its contents, was also completely destroyed during the attack. Nearby flats in an adjacent building sustained partial damage, and several explosions were reported.²¹ The destruction extended beyond civilian areas to include economic facilities across the country, with production workshops, service facilities, and other businesses suffering significant losses.

The Office of the President of the Republic of Artsakh reported that during the 44-day war, a total of 72 administrative buildings, 98 civil infrastructure facilities (including 13 hotels, 49 shops, 7 petrol stations, 1 car park, 25 catering establishments, and 3 bridges), and 96 social infrastructure facilities (including 15 pre-

¹⁸ <https://evnreport.com> (accessed: 06.05.2022), Treaties, States Parties and Commentaries, Geneva 1949 (accessed: 12.09.2024).

¹⁹ <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org>, (accessed: 06.05.2022), ICRC, Treaties, States Parties and Commentaries, (accessed: 12.09.2024).

²⁰ <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/30870931.html>, (accessed: 02.10.2020), Currently, the fighting continues, with the main directions being north and south (accessed: 15.09.2024).

²¹ <https://armeniasputnik.am/20201031/stepanakert-hrtirakocutyun-arcax-paterazm-25133744.html> (accessed: 31.10.2020), In the morning, Stepanakert was subjected to rocket fire. They are oriented towards the market, residential buildings (accessed: 17.10.2024).

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schools, 41 schools, and 40 medical institutions/hospitals) were damaged.²² Preliminary estimates suggest that the total damage to the 8,380 buildings assessed amounts to 12.5 billion drams.²³ These attacks clearly violated the principle of distinction between civilian and military targets, demonstrating that Azerbaijan's strikes were deliberate and targeted by nature, further confirming the intentionality of the war crimes committed during the September 2020 conflict.

Conclusions

In summary, the materials studied lead to the following conclusions:

1. In 2020, Azerbaijan's actions during the war constituted war crimes, including unleashing aggression, collaborating with and utilizing international terrorists to suppress the inalienable right of the people of Artsakh to self-determination. Azerbaijan deliberately targeted civilian objects and civilians with prohibited and indiscriminate weapons, engaged in the torture and killing of Armenian prisoners of war, illegally detained prisoners of war and civilians, destroyed cultural heritage, and unlawfully occupied territory. These acts are crimes that demand international scrutiny.

2. The illegal actions of the Government of Azerbaijan have faced little international opposition. Despite extensive evidence confirming the existence of an Armenophobic policy at the state level, the Government of Azerbaijan has shown no signs of changing its policy. This lack of accountability and response has allowed Azerbaijan to continue its aggressive actions, including another military operation against Artsakh in 2023 and the complete deportation of Armenians from the region.

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²² Human rights violations during the 44-day Artsakh War, Fact-finding report, 2022, 321.

²³ Ibid.

atrocities against the population of Artsakh in September-October 2020', Interim report, Defender of Human Rights of the Republic of Artsakh, Stepanakert, October 18, 2020, 13 p.

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ԻՍԿՈՒՇԻ ԱՎԱՆԵՍՅԱՆ

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ԱՐՑԱԽԻ ԲՆԱԿԱՎԱՅՐԵՐՆ ՈՒ ԵՆԹԱԿԱՌՈՒՑՎԱԾՔՆԵՐԸ ԱԴՐԲԵՋԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԱԳՐԵՍԻԱՅԻ ԹԻՐԱԽՈՒՄ 2020 Թ. ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄԻ ՕՐԵՐԻՆ

Ամփոփում

Մարդկության և իրավահավասարության դեմ ուղղված հանցագործությունները շարունակում են սպառնալիք մնալ աշխարհի խաղաղությանն ու անվտանգությանը: Նման հանցագործություններն ի հայտ եկան նաև 2020 թ. Արցախի դեմ Ադրբեյջանի վարած պատերազմական գործողությունների ընթացքում: 44-օրյա պատերազմը, որն ուղեկցվում էր Ադրբեյջանի կողմից միջազգային իրավունքների լայնածավալ խախտումներով, քաղաքացիական ենթակառուցվածքների և մշակութային հուշարձանների միտումնավոր թիրախավորմամբ, արգելված զինատեսակների կիրառմամբ և պատերազմական այլ հանցագործություններով, հանգեցրեց հազարավոր զոհերի և տասնյակ հազարավոր վիրավորների, տեղահանումների և ավերածությունների: Պատերազմի հետևանքով Արցախի մի շարք շրջաններ ենթարկվեցին էթնիկ

զտման, իսկ բնակչությունը դարձավ Ադրբեջանի կողմից իրականացված ռազմական հանցագործությունների և զանգվածային ռճրագործությունների զոհ:

Սույն հոդվածը նպատակ ունի վերհանելու 2020 թ. պատերազմի ժամանակ Ադրբեջանի զինված ուժերի հանցագործությունները՝ Արցախի Հանրապետության բնակավայրերն ու ենթակառուցվածքները նպատակային և կանխամտածված թիրախավորումը: Կատարված ուսումնասիրությունները վկայում են, որ մեզ հետաքրքրող ժամանակահատվածում տարբեր շրջանների քաղաքացիական կառույցներ, բնակելի թաղամասեր, տներ հայտնաբերելու, թիրախավորելու և ոչնչացնելու, ինչպես նաև խաղաղ բնակչության շրջանում վախի մթնոլորտ ստեղծելու նպատակով Ադրբեջանը կիրառել է ունեցած բոլոր զինատեսակները, այդ թվում արգելված տեսակներ:


Կարելի է պնդել, որ Ադրբեջանի զինված ուժերի միտումնավոր և պարբերաբար հարվածումը քաղաքացիական ենթակառուցվածքների առանցքային օբյեկտներին (էլեկտրականության, կապի, գազի և ջրամատակարարման համակարգեր, կամուրջներ, սննդի պահեստներ և այլն) նպատակ ուներ տասնյակ հազարավոր խաղաղ բնակիչների զոհել կյանքի տարրական պայմաններից և հետագա գոյատևման միջոցներից:

Ադրբեջանի ռազմական հանցագործություններն ունեցել են համակարգված բնույթ և դրա հիմքում ընկած է եղել նաև խաղաղ բնակչությանն իրենց տներից պարտադրաբար հեռացնելու որոշում:

Բանալի բառեր՝ *պատերազմ, բնակավայրեր, ենթակառուցվածքներ, հրեպարկոծություններ, օդային հարձակում, արգելված զենքեր, միջազգային իրավունք:*

ՏԱՐՈՆ ՀԱԿՈԲՅԱՆ*

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ՔԱՂԱՔԱԿԱՆ ԳՈՐԾԸՆԹԱՑՆԵՐՆ ԱՐՑԱԽՈՒՄ (1986–1991 ԹԹ.)

Ամփոփում

Սույն հոդվածում ներկայացվում են 1986–1991 թթ. Արցախում տեղի ունեցած քաղաքական գործընթացները՝ հատկապես կարևորվել են Արցախյան շարժման նոր փուլի համատեքստում ստեղծված ընդհատակյա և ոչ ընդհատակյա կազմակերպությունների դերն ու նշանակությունը:

Իրադարձությունների վերլուծությունը ցույց տվեց, որ շարժման նոր փուլը զարթոնք ապրեց ազգային նկարագիր ունեցող երիտասարդության և մտավորականության ջանքերի շնորհիվ: Հետագայում շարժման մեջ ձևավորվեց երկու հակառակ քաղաքական ուղղություն, որոնց պայքարը իր բացասական ազդեցությունը թողեց ազատագրական պայքարի որակի վրա:

Քաղաքական պայքարի փոփոխության արդյունքում փորձ կատարվեց համախմբել քաղաքական ուժերին, սակայն Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի (Արցախի) Հանրապետության (ԼՂՀ) հռչակումից հետո տեղի ունեցած քաղաքական գործընթացները ապացուցեցին հակառակը: Ներքաղաքական խմորումները ավելի ակնհայտ դարձան 1992 թ. հունվարի 6–7-ը ԼՂՀ առաջին գումարման Գերագույն խորհրդի (ԳԽ) նախագահի ընտրությունների ժամանակ, երբ բացահայտ երևաց երկու հակոտնյա քաղաքական ուժերի պայքարը: Իշխանության եկած ուժերին հաջողվեց պահպանել ներքաղաքական կայունությունը, դրսևորել քաղաքական կամք, որի արդյունքում երկիրը ժամանակավորապես դուրս եկավ ստեղծված իրավիճակից:

* Հոդվածը ներկայացվել է 26.04.24, գրախոսվել է 12.05.24, ընդունվել է տպագրության 30.04.25:

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Քաղաքական գործընթացներն Արցախում (1986–1991 թթ.)

Բանալի բառեր՝ Արցախ, արցախյան շարժում, քաղաքական գործընթացներ, Գերագույն խորհուրդ, կոորդինացիոն խորհուրդ, Իզոր Մուրադյան, Հակոբ Խաչատրյան:

Ներածություն

Լեռնային Ղարաբաղը (ԼՂ), լինելով Մեծ Հայքի Արցախ նահանգի մի հատվածը, խորհրդային կարգերի հաստատումից հետո, 1921 թ. ՌԿ(Բ)Կ Կոմբյուրոյի հուլիսի 5-ի ապօրինի որոշմամբ բռնակցվեց Խորհրդային Ադրբեջանին:¹ 1923 թ. հուլիսի 7-ին Ադրբեջանի Կենտգործկոմը ընդունեց հռչակագիր, որով Լեռնային Ղարաբաղից անջատվեց նրա դաշտային մասը և ստեղծվեց «Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի Ինքնավար Մարզը»² (ԼՂԻՄ): 1923–1930 թթ. ԼՂԻՄ-ից անջատվեցին մի շարք հայաշատ շրջաններ եւ միացվեցին արհեստականորեն ստեղծված Ադրբեջանի Շամխորի, Խանլարի, Դաշքեսանի և Շահումյանի շրջաններին: Ավելին՝ Շահումյանի շրջանից անջատեցին Գետաշենի հայկական ենթաշրջանը և նրա փոխարեն դրան միացրեցին 4 ադրբեջանական գյուղեր: ԼՂԻՄ-ը Հայաստանից անջատելու նպատակով Ադրբեջանը 1923 թ. ստեղծեց «Կարմիր Քրդստանի Հանրապետությունը», որն իր սև գործը կատարելուց հետո 1929 թ. վերացվեց: Դրա փոխարեն կազմավորվեցին Քելբաջարի (Քարվաճառ), Լաչինի և մասամբ Ղուբաթլուի (Քաշաթաղ) շրջանները:³

Ադրբեջանի կողմից տասնամյակներ ի վեր կիրառված հակահայկական քաղաքականությունը, հայ բնակչության մարդկային և ազգային արժանապատվության ոտնահարումը ստեղծեցին ծայրահեղ լարված իրավիճակ: Արցախահայությունը 70 տարի անընդմեջ պայքարեց ադրբեջանական իշխանությունների հայավեր քաղաքականության դեմ, սակայն Ղարաբաղյան կնճիղը մնաց անլուծելի:

Արցախյան շարժման նոր փուլը սկզբնավորվեց համաժողովրդական զարթոնքի հորձանուտում: Արտաքուստ թվում էր, թե ընդհանուր շարժումը ղեկավարվում է մեկ կենտրոնի կողմից, սակայն վերլուծելով պատմական

¹ St'u Nagornyy Karabakh v 1918–1923 gg.: Сборник документов и материалов 1992, 650.

² St'u Nagornyy Karabakh v 1918–1923 gg.: Сборник документов и материалов 1992, 669–670.

³ St'u K istorii obrazovaniya Nagorno-Karabakhskoy avtonomnoy oblasti Azerbaydzhanskoy SSR, 1918–1925: Документы и материалы 1989, 173–175.

Հակոբյան Տ.

դեպքերը և քաղաքական իրադարձությունների հաջորդականությունը, կարելի է ենթադրել, որ որքան էլ դա անտրամաբանական է, շարժման ղեկավարման հիմքում կանգնած էին հակոտնյա երկու քաղաքական ուժեր:

Սույն հոդվածում կփորձենք բացահայտել և համակարգային վերլուծության ենթարկել այնպիսի փոխկապակցված, միմյանց փոխալսմանավորող էական հիմնահարցեր, ինչպիսիք են քաղաքական դաշտի ձևավորման նախադրյալները, քաղաքական ուժերի դիրքորոշումը, ինչպես նաև ներքաղաքական հակասությունների պատճառները:

Քննվող հարցը ուսումնասիրողների համար ցայսօր սակավ հետազոտված հիմնախնդիրներից է: Թեմային առչվող առանձին ուղղություններ, ժամանակահատվածներ և դրվագներ լուսաբանվել են, վեր են հանվել, փաստացի տրվել են կարևոր գնահատականներ, սակայն ստվերում են մնացել քաղաքական կյանքի տարբեր փուլերի առանձնահատկություններն ու օրինաչափությունները:

Սույն հոդվածում առաջին անգամ փորձ է կատարվում վերլուծել քաղաքական զարգացումների համապատկերում թեմային առնչվող չլուսաբանված հիմնախնդիրները: Հնարավորինս և ամբողջական ներկայացվում է նաև տվյալ ժամանակահատվածի քաղաքական ու ռազմական որոշ գործիչների ներդրումը արցախյան շարժման նոր փուլի գործընթացում, որոնց մի մասը քաղաքական ուժերի բախումների արդյունքում դուրս է մնացել պատմության էջերից:

Խնդրո առարկա հիմնահարցը լուսաբանվում և վերլուծվում է արխիվային նյութերի, տպագիր սկզբնաղբյուրային գրականության, մամուլի հրապարակումների, հետազոտությունում արձարծված հիմնահարցերին վերաբերող գիտական գրականության հիման վրա:

Կարևոր սկզբնաղբյուր են իրադարձությունների մասնակիցների և ականատեսների հուշագրությունները, օրագրություններն ու փաստագրությունները: Այս ժանրի նյութի արժեքը կայանում է նրանում, որ, պարունակելով մանրամասնություններ, դրանք լրացնում ու հարստացնում են իրադարձությունների մասին պատկերացումները, օգնում խորությամբ հասկանալ դեպքերի զարգացման տրամաբանությունը, դրանց պատճառահետևանքային կապը, պատասխանել բազմաթիվ հարցադրումների:

Ուսումնասիրության մեջ տեղ են գտել քաղաքական տարբեր կողմնորոշում ունեցող քաղաքական գործիչների վկայություններ:

Քաղաքական գործընթացներն Արցախում (1986–1991 թթ.)

Այսպիսով, իրենց ամբողջությամբ՝ օգտագործված սկզբնաղբյուրները հնարավորություն կտան վերստեղծել ուսումնասիրվող շրջանի քաղաքական գործընթացների ամբողջական պատկերը:

Քաղաքական գործընթացները և Արցախյան շարժման նոր փուլի ձևավորումը

Արցախյան ազգային-ազատագրական շարժումը նոր փուլ թևակոխեց Խորհրդային Միությունում գործաչույան, այդպես կոչված «վերակառուցման» քաղաքականությանը անցնելուց հետո: Մինչդեռ 1980-ական թվականների կեսերից մտավորականության և ուսանողության շրջանում արդեն սկսել էին բարձրաձայն քննարկվել ԼՂԻՄ-ում տասնամյակներ շարունակ կուտակված քաղաքական, տնտեսական, մշակութային հիմնախնդիրները՝ մատնանշելով հայկական երկրամասը մայր Հայաստանին վերամիավորելու վաղեմի իղծերի իրագործման ուղիները:

Քննարկվող հարցերին գործնական ընթացքն ապահովելու նպատակով դեռևս 1981 թ. Ստեփանակերտում ստեղծվել էր «Արցախ» ընդհատակյա կազմակերպությունը, իսկ 1986 թ. այն վերանվանվեց «Արցախական միություն»⁴ կամ «Արցախյան ազգային միություն»:⁵

Կազմակերպության ստեղծման գործում մեծ դերակատարություն ունեցան Արկադի Կարապետյանը, Հակոբ Խաչատրյանը, Իգոր Մուրադյանը, Արթուր Մկրտչյանը, Մանվել Սարգսյանը, Էմիլ Աբրահամյանը և այլք:⁶ Կազմակերպության կենտրոնական կոմիտեի նախագահ ընտրվեց Արկադի Կարապետյանը, իսկ քարտուղար՝ Հակոբ Խաչատրյանը: Միության մեջ ընդգրկված էին նաև երիտասարդ մտավորականներ, ուսանողներ, որոնք ընդհատակյա պայքարի փորձ ձեռք բերեցին ու ազատագրական շարժման կրողները դարձան՝ հետագայում ստանձնելով ուսանողության կազմակերպման, նրանց գաղափարական կողմնորոշման առաքելությունը:

1987 թ. վերջերին – 1988 թ. սկզբներին արցախյան ազգային-ազատագրական պայքարը նոր թափ ստացավ: Շարժման մեջ ներգրավվածները սկզբնական շրջանում հարցի լուծումը փնտրում էին Խորհրդային Միության նոր ղեկավարության հետ ակտիվ շփումների մեջ: Շարժման ղեկավարութ-

⁴ Տե՛ս <https://aparaj.am/hyd-arcaxyan-karuyci-himnadrumeh-e%D6%82-nra-dereh-arcaxyan-paterazmi-naxapatrastman-gortcum> (մուտք՝ 26.04.2024):

⁵ Տե՛ս **Հակոբյան Վ.**, անձնական արխիվ:

⁶ Տե՛ս **Հակոբյան** 2022, 221:

Հակոբյան Տ.

յունն ամեն առիթով փորձում էր մոսկովյան ատյաններում արցախցիների պայքարը ներկայացնել վերակառուցման և հրապարակայնության գաղափարների լույսի ներքո՝ դրան օրինական տեսք տալու համար:

Դրա առաջին դրսևորումը դարձավ 1987 թ. օգոստոս-հոկտեմբեր ամիսներին Լեռնային Ղարաբաղը Հայաստանի հետ վերամիավորելու ստորագրահավաքը: Կազմակերպության ջանքերով հավաքվում էին Արցախի և Ադրբեջանի տարածքում հայության իրավունքների ոտնահարման և «սպիտակ ցեղասպանության» իրագործումը հաստատող փաստեր:

1988 թ. փետրվարի սկզբին կազմակերպությունը լուծարվում է՝ անդամների քաղաքական տարածայնությունների պատճառով:⁷

Շարժման մեջ, բացի ազգային-ազատագրական պայքարի գաղափարով առաջնորդվող հայրենասիրական ուժերից, ներգրավվեցին նաև կոմունիստական կուսակցական ակտիվը, ինչպես նաև հիմնարկ ձեռնարկությունների ղեկավարները: Միաժամանակ նշենք նաև, որ գոյություն ունի կարծիք, որ թե Արցախում, թե Հայաստանում արդեն թափ հավաքած շարժման մեջ ընգրկվեցին խորհրդային հատուկ ծառայությունների գործակալներ, ովքեր կարողացան շարժման վերահսկողությունը վերցնել իրենց ձեռքը՝ փոխելով դրա ընթացքը և ուղղությունը՝ ազգային նպատակներից անցնելով խորհրդային Սոցիալիստական Հանրապետությունների Միության (ԽՍՀՄ) ժողովրդավարացման համար ընդհանուր պայքարի: Այսօր նրանց գործունեության պատմությունը դեռևս լուսաբանված չէ:

1988 թ. փետրվարի կեսերին «խորհրդային Ղարաբաղ» թերթի խմբագրատանը ստեղծվում է մի նոր նախաձեռնող խումբ, որի ղեկավար ընտրվեց Արկադի Մանուչարովը:⁸ Քիչ անց, 1988 թ. մարտի 1-ին ստեղծվեց «Կռունկ» հասարակական-քաղաքական կազմակերպությունը կամ կոմիտեն: Հիմնադիր ժողովում ընտրվեց խորհուրդ՝ հետևյալ կազմով. Արկադի Մանուչարով (նախագահ), Ռոբերտ Քոչարյան, Վարդան Հակոբյան, Մաքսիմ Միրզոյան (տեղակալներ), Գուրգեն Գաբրիելյան, Հրաչյա Բեգլարյան, Ժաննա Գալստյան, Համլետ Գրիգորյան, Արկադի Կարապետյան, Վալերի Մարության, Համլետ Մովսիսյան, Յուրի Ներսիսյան, Բենիկ Օվչյան:⁹ Կոմիտեն իր աշխատանքները կանոնավոր հունի մեջ դնելու նպատակով ստեղծում է հանրահա-

⁷ Տե՛ս <https://aparaj.am/hyd-arcaxyan-karuyci-himnadrumeh-e%D6%82-nra-dereh-arcaxyan-paterazmi-naxapatrastman-gortcum/> (մուտք՝ 26.04.2024):

⁸ Տե՛ս Աբրահամյան 2007, 36:

⁹ Տե՛ս Բալայան 2012, 287:

Քաղաքական գործընթացներն Արցախում (1986–1991 թթ.)

վաքների կազմակերպման, լոգունգների պատրաստման, ֆինանսների, քաղաքական հարցերի, գաղթի և արտագաղթի, լրատվության, հասարակական կարգի պահպանման, անվտանգության և քարտուղարության հանձնաժողովներ:¹⁰

1988 թ. մարտի 24-ին Ադրբեջանական ԽՍՀ Գերագույն խորհրդի նախագահությունը որոշեց լուծարել «Կռունկ» կոմիտեն, արգելել ցույցերը, գործադուլները և հանրահավաքները: Կոմիտեն անցավ ընդհատակ, իսկ 1988 թ. հուլիսի 29-ին տրոհվեց, վերջինիս հենքի վրա ստեղծվեցին «Տնօրենների խորհուրդ» և «Միացում» կազմակերպությունները:¹¹ «Տնօրենների խորհուրդ» կազմակերպությունը գլխավորեց Ստեփանակերտի էլեկտրատեխնիկական գործարանի տնօրեն Բորիս Առուշանյանը,¹² իսկ «Միացումը»՝ Ռոբերտ Քոչարյանը: Սակայն այս նոր մարմիններն ի զորու չէին Արցախի ողջ տարածքում համակարգել օրեցօր թափ առնող ազատագրական պայքարը:

Դրան զուգահեռ 1988 թ. փետրվարի 24-ին «Արցախյան ազգային միություն» կազմակերպության հիմքի վրա ստեղծվում է «Հայոց Ընկերվարական Արցախական Կուսակցությունը» (ՀԸԱԿ):¹³ Սկզբնական շրջանում այն ավելի շատ դեկլարատիվ բնույթ էր կրում՝ չունեի ծրագիր և կանոնադրություն: 1988 թ. սեպտեմբերի 17-ին հրավիրված ընդհանուր ժողովը հաստատում է կուսակցության ծրագիրը և կանոնադրությունը:¹⁴ Ծրագրի առանցքը կազմում էր Հայ Դատը: Որպես գործունեության սկզբունք ՀԸԱԿ-ն որդեգրել էր ապակենտրոնացումը, հաշվի առնելով հայության և մասնավորապես՝ արցախահայության ազգային ու քաղաքական իրականության առանձնահատկությունները: Կազմավորվեց բյուրո հետևյալ կազմով՝ Հակոբ Խաչատրյան (նախագահ), Լևոն Ավանեսյան (քարտուղար), Արկադի Կարապետյան (մարտական գործերի պատասխանատու), Գենադի Ներսիսյան, Աշոտ Սարգսյան, Վարդան Արզումանյան, Ալեքսանդր Ավետիսյան: ՀԸԱԿ բյուրոյին կից գործում էին գաղափարախոսության-քարոզչության, մարտական, տնտեսական և հատուկ բաժինները:¹⁵

¹⁰ Տե՛ս **Քալայան** 2012, 287:

¹¹ http://www.historyofarmenia-am.armin.am/am/Encyclopedia_of_armenian_history_Krunk_Komite (մուտք՝ 28.04.2024):

¹² Տե՛ս **Քալայան** 2012, 292:

¹³ Տե՛ս **Հակոբյան Վ.**, անձնական արխիվ:

¹⁴ «Կաճառ» գիտական կենտրոն ՀԿ-ի արխիվ, ֆոնդ 8, ցուցակ 1, գործ 2, 1–25 թ.:

¹⁵ Տե՛ս <https://aparaj.am/hyd-arcaxian-karuyci-himnadrumeh-e%D6%82-nra-dereh-arcaxian-paterazmi-naxapatrastman-gortcum/> (մուտք՝ 28.04.2024):

Հակոբյան Տ.

ՀԸԱԿ-ը հրատարակում է «Վերածնունդ» պաշտոնաթերթը: ՀԸԱԿ բյուրոն գտնում էր, որ հարցի լուծման այսպես կոչված քաղաքական՝ խաղաղ տարբերակը ցանկալի է, բայց ոչ իրատեսական, ուստի կոչ էր անում արցախահայությանը համախմբվել, զինվել և նախապատրաստվել ինքնապաշտպանության: Նույնիսկ Սումգայիթյան եղեռնագործությունից հետո ՀԸԱԿ բյուրոն որոշում է արյանը արյամբ պատասխանել՝ պատժիչ գործողություն իրականացնել ադրբեջանաբնակ Ջամիլու գյուղում: Արցախի քաղաքական այլ ուժերը տեղեկանալով այդ մասին, կանխում են՝ «համոզելով», որ նման գործողությունը կվնասի ազգային-ազատագրական պայքարի քաղաքական ոգուն:¹⁶

Բյուրոյի հրահանգով ստեղծվեցին գաղտնի ինքնապաշտպանական ջոկատներ, որի կազմակերպման և զինման գործառույթները դրվեցին Արկադի Կարապետյանի և Աշոտ Ղուլյանի վրա (Բեկոր): Ինքնապաշտպանական ջոկատների հիմնական զինանոցը ինքնաշեն զենքերն էին: Այդ ժամանակ Արցախում լայն թափ էր ստացել ինքնաշեն զենքերի արտադրությունը: 1988 թ. նոյեմբերին, փորձարկվում են Աշոտ Ղուլյանի նախագծած ականներն ու նռնակները, ինչպես նաև ականանետը:

Այսպիսով, վերոնշյալ սպառնալիքների պայմաններում՝ 1988 թ. փետրվարյան բուռն իրադարձությունների բովում ծնված զինված ազատագրական և ինքնապաշտպանության գաղափարը դարձավ հրամայական անհրաժեշտություն: Սակայն վերոնշյալ կազմակերպությունները չէին կարող լիարժեք ստանձնել ազգային-ազատագրական պայքարի առաջատարի դերը, քանի որ չունեին քաղաքական ու զինված պայքարի փորձ և մշակված ռազմավարություն, այսինքն այն, ինչ պահանջում է ազգային-ազատագրական շարժման տրամաբանությունը: Նշված դերակատարությունները կարող են ստանձնել միայն փորձառու ազգային կուսակցությունները, որոնք, ուշացումով միացան շարժմանը:

Ստեղծված իրավիճակում ՀԸԱԿ բյուրոն քաղաքական որոշում կայացրեց խորհրդակցություններ իրականացնել Հայաստանյան քաղաքական ուժերի ներկայացուցիչների հետ, որի նպատակն էր ձևավորել ազգային-ազատագրական պայքարի տրամաբանությանը համահունչ միասնական քաղաքական օրակարգ, ինչպես նաև համագործակցության ուղիներ:

¹⁶ Տե՛ս <https://aparaj.am/hyd-arcaxian-karuyci-himnadrumeh-e%D6%82-nra-dereh-arcaxian-paterazmi-naxapatrastman-gortcum/> (մուտք՝ 28.04.2024):

Քաղաքական գործընթացներն Արցախում (1986–1991 թթ.)

Այս համատեքստում 1989 թ. ապրիլին Երևանում գաղտնի խորհրդակցություններ տեղի ունեցան ՀՅԴ ներկայացուցիչների հետ: Երկարատև քննարկումներից հետո ՀԸԱԿ բյուրոյի անդամները որոշում են ընդունել ՀՅԴ բյուրոյի առաջարկը և անդամակցել ՀՅԴ-ին, քանի որ ՀԸԱԿ ծրագիրն ու գործելաոճը շատ մոտ էր վերջիններիս գաղափարական ու կազմակերպական նախասիրություններին:¹⁷ 1989 թ. մայիսի 3-ին ՀՅԴ բյուրոյի որոշմամբ հատուկ շրջաբերականով ստեղծվեց ՀՅԴ Արցախի «Անտառ» կոմիտեն՝ հետևյալ կազմով. Հակոբ Խաչատրյան (նախագահ), Լևոն Ավանեսյան (քարտուղար, գաղափարա-քաղաքական բաժնի պատասխանատու), Արկադի Կարապետյան (մարտական գործերի պատասխանատու), Գենադի Ներսիսյան (ֆինանսա-տնտեսական բաժնի պատասխանատու), Աշոտ Սարգսյան (հատուկ բաժնի պատասխանատու):

ՀՅԴ բյուրոյի որոշմամբ Արցախ է գործուղվում բյուրոյի գործիչ Վարանդ Փափազյանը: Նրա ցուցումներով և ակտիվ գործունեության շնորհիվ վերակազմվում են նախկին կուսակցական (ՀԸԱԿ) խմբերը, ստեղծվում են նորերը:¹⁸

Հետագայում ներքին տարածայնությունների պատճառով Հակոբ Խաչատրյանը և մի շարք ՀԸԱԿ անդամներ դուրս եկան ՀՅԴ շարքերից: Վերջիններս 1990 թ. հիմնադրեցին «Հայ ազգայնական ճակատ» կազմակերպությունը:¹⁹ Կազմակերպության գաղափարական հիմքը Գարեգին Նժդեհի կողմից մշակված Ցեղակրոն գաղափարախոսությունն էր: «Հայ ազգայնականության ճակատ» կազմակերպությունը բացի քաղաքական թևից, ուներ նաև ռազմական թև, որը կոչվել է «Ցեղակրոն» կամավորական ջոկատ: Այն կազմավորվել է 1990 թվականի օգոստոսի 11-ին: Զոկատում հիմնականում ընդգրկվել են ուսանողներ:²⁰

1990–1993 թվականներին ջոկատը մասնակցել է Արցախի Հանրապետության Մարտունու (Ղարադաղլու), Ասկերանի (Փառուխ, Դահրազ, Սառնաղբյուր), Շուշիի (Բերդաձորի ենթաշրջան), Մարտակերտի (Տոնաշեն, Թալիշ, «Պուշկինյալ» և հեռուստաաշտարակի բարձունքների, Դրմբոն, Առաջա-

¹⁷ Տե՛ս <https://aparaj.am/hyd-arcaxyan-karuyci-himnadrumeh-e%D6%82-nra-dereh-arcax-yan-paterazmi-naxapatrastman-gortcum/> (մուտք՝ 28.04.2024):

¹⁸ Տե՛ս <https://aparaj.am/hyd-arcaxyan-karuyci-himnadrumeh-e%D6%82-nra-dereh-arcax-yan-paterazmi-naxapatrastman-gortcum/> (մուտք՝ 28.04.2024):

¹⁹ Տե՛ս Հակոբյան Վ., անձնական արխիվ:

²⁰ Տե՛ս <https://aparaj.am/patmuthyune-patzhum-e-nranc-ovkher-moranum-en-ir-dasereh-%e2%80%a4aporini-dzerbakaluthyunner-1990-akannerin/> (մուտք՝ 26.04.2024):

Հակոբյան Տ.

ծոր) շրջանների ինքնապաշտպանական և ազատագրական մարտերին: Արցախյան առաջին ազատամարտի ժամանակ ջոկատը տվել է 27 զոհ:

1992–1993 թթ. Արցախում ստեղծված ներքաղաքական բարդ իրավիճակում (ԼՂՀ առաջին գումարման ԳԽ նախագահության և Պաշտպանության պետական կոմիտեի միջև ծագած քաղաքական հակամարտության շրջանում) ջոկատի մի մասը ստանձնել է ԼՂՀ ԳԽ շենքի և նախագահության անդամների պահպանությունը: 1993 թվականին ջոկատը լուծարվել է: Արցախում ստեղծված քաղաքական նոր իրողության պայմաններում ջոկատի մարտիկների մի մասը նույնպես ձերբակալվեցին քաղաքական հայացքների պատճառով: Նրանք, անցնելով խոշտանգումների միջով, հանցակազմի բացակայության պատճառով ազատ արձակվեցին: Նույն բախտին արժանացավ նաև Հակոբ Խաչատրյանը:²¹ Վերջինս բանտից ազատվելուց հետո ունեցավ հոգեբանական լուրջ խնդիրներ և մինչև մահկանացուն կնքելը չկարողացավ համակերպվել արժեհամակարգային փոփոխության իրողության հետ: Միաժամանակ նշենք նաև, որ Հակոբ Խաչատրյանը չարժանացավ պետական որևէ ուշադրության:²²

Քաղաքական գործընթացների հեղադա ընթացքը և դրանց ազդեցությունը պետական մարմինների ձևավորման վրա

ՀՅԴ լինելով ազգային-ազատագրական պայքարի գաղափարակիր, նոր մարտահրավերներին դիմակայելու նպատակով անմիջապես իր վրա վերցրեց Արցախում ինքնապաշտպանական ջոկատների ստեղծման և զինման գործը:

Ընդառաջ գնալով օրվա հրամայականին՝ ՀՅԴ գործիչները տեղի ազգային ուժերի հետ միասին առաջին գործնական քայլերը ձեռնարկեցին ինքնապաշտպանության ջոկատները միավորելու ուղղությամբ: 1991 թ. սկզբին Արցախում արդեն գործում էր կենտրոնական շտաբը, ով Արցախի պաշտպանության կազմակերպման գործընթացը սկսեց համակարգել մեկ կենտրոնից: Շտաբի պետ և ինքնապաշտպանության ուժերի առաջին հրամանատար դարձավ Արկադի Կարապետյանը (Դաշնակ Ազո): Հետախուզության պետ նշանակվեց Վալերի Բալայանը:²³ Յուրաքանչյուր շրջան ուներ իր հրամանա-

²¹ Տե՛ս **Հակոբյան Վ.**, անձնական արխիվ:

²² Տե՛ս <https://aparaj.am/patmuthyuneh-patzhum-e-nranc-ovkher-moranum-en-ir-dasereh/> (մուտք՝ 30.04.2024):

²³ Տե՛ս <http://www.nankr.am/hy/2372> (մուտք՝ 30.04.2024):

Քաղաքական գործընթացներն Արցախում (1986–1991 թթ.)

տարությունը, որը ենթարկվում էր կենտրոնական շտաբին՝ բացառությամբ մի քանի ջոկատների:²⁴ Ինքնապաշտպանական ուժերը մարտական առաջին մկրտությունը ստացան Հյուսիսային Արցախում, Հաղթում և Արցախի այլ տարածքներում:

Շարժումը ղեկավարելու և քաղաքական գործընթացները համակարգելու նպատակով կենտրոնական շտաբին կից ստեղծվեց 7 հոգուց բաղկացած այսպես կոչված՝ «Կոորդինացիոն խորհուրդ», որի կազմում ընդգրկված էին Արցախում գործող քաղաքական ուժերի ներկայացուցիչները (Պարզև արքեպիսկոպոս Մարտիրոսյան, Գեորգի Պետրոսյան, Վալերի Բալայան, Ժաննա Գալստյան, Սերժ Սարգսյան, Ռոբերտ Քոչարյան, Մուրադ Պետրոսյան): Միաժամանակ նշենք, որ Կոորդինացիոն խորհրդի ստեղծմամբ փորձ կատարվեց համախմբել այդ ժամանակաշրջանում Արցախում գործող հակոտնյա երկու քաղաքական ուժերը: Խորհուրդը, հատկապես Շարժման առջև կանգնած դիվանագիտական բնույթի հարցերի լուծման գործում, ոչ միայն ցուցաբերում էր մեծ ակտիվություն, այլև դարձել էր գործողությունների օրինական, իրավական հիմքերի մշակման կենտրոն:

Մինչև ԼՂՀ հռչակումը և ԳԽ ընտրությունները, Արցախում որոշ չափով պահպանվում և գործում էին խորհրդային իշխանության մարմինները, սակայն մարզում ստեղծված իրադրությամբ և դեպքերի զարգացման ընթացքով թելադրված հիմնախնդիրները լուծելու գործում վերջիններս ցուցաբերում էին երկչոտություն, ինչը բացասական ազդեցություն էր թողնում մարզի կառավարման համակարգի արդյունավետության վրա: Ստեղծված իրավիճակով պայմանավորված Կոորդինացիոն խորհուրդը մասամբ իր վրա վերցրեց կառավարման համակարգի լիազորությունները:

Առաջին հայացքից թվում էր թե խորհրդի ստեղծմամբ մարվել էին ներքաղաքական հակասությունները Արցախում, սակայն ԼՂՀ հռչակումից հետո առաջին գումարման ԳԽ ընտրությունները ցույց տվեցին հակառակը: Հատկապես դա երևաց ԼՂՀ ԳԽ նախագահի ընտրությունների և պետական մարմինների ձևավորման ընթացքում: ԼՂՀ առաջին գումարման ԳԽ ընտրություններում հաղթանակ տանելով, ՀՅԴ-ն որոշում ընդունեց երկրում ներքաղաքական կայունությունը պահպանելու, ինչպես նաև Հայաստանի Հանրապետության (<<) իշխանությունների հետ կանոնավոր հարաբերություններ

²⁴ Տե՛ս Հակոբյան 2019, 66:

Հակոբյան Տ.

ստեղծելու նպատակով մի շարք կարևոր իշխանական պաշտոններ հանձնել հակառակ քաղաքական թևին:²⁵

Սակայն պաշտոնական Երևանը ԼՂՀ-ի համար այդ դժվարին պայմաններում բացահայտ քաղաքական առճակատման գնաց Ստեփանակերտի հետ: Դրա արտահայտությունը դարձան ԼՂՀ իշխանությունների նկատմամբ ՀՀ դեկավարության հետագա վերաբերմունքն ու ձեռնարկած քայլերը, որոնք սակայն այլ ուսումնասիրության նյութ են:

Վերջում ցանկանում ենք նշել, որ ԼՂՀ հռչակումից հետո՝ պետական և ռազմական շինարարության խնդիրները լուծվում էին զուգահեռաբար չընդհատվող ռազմական գործողությունների պայմաններում: Այս կառույցների ստեղծումը, չնայած ռազմաքաղաքական դժվարին կացությանը, տեղի ունեցան միջազգային ժողովրդավարական չափանիշներին լիովին համապատասխան: Արցախում պետական շինարարության առանձնահատկությունն այն է, որ նույնիսկ նկատվող ներքաղաքական բարդ իրադրության և սաստկացող ռազմական գործողությունների պայմաններում իշխանության գլուխ անցած ուժերը, անկախ կուսակցական պատկանելությունից, կարողացան ինքնուրույնաբար ստեղծել հիմքերը իրավական և ժողովրդավարական մի պետության, որին վիճակված էր դիմակայել Ադրբեյջանի ագրեսիային և պահպանել իր անկախությունը:

Եզրակացություն

ԽՍՀՄ գոյության 70-տարիների ընթացքում՝ չնայած արցախահայության հանդեպ գործադրված բռնություններին ու հալածանքներին՝ երբեք չդադարեց Մայր Հայաստանին միանալու համար նրա անհավասար պայքարը:

Գորբաչովյան այդպես կոչված «վերակառուցման» քաղաքականությունը նպաստեց արցախահայության քաղաքական պայքարի ծավալմանը, և ազատագրումն ադրբեյջանական բռնատիրությունից դարձավ օրակարգի հարց:

Ազատագրական պայքարում ներգրավված ուժերը, հաղթահարելով իրենց առջև ծագած վայրիվերումները, շրջանցելով քաղաքական և գաղափարական տարաձայնությունները, կարողացան շարժվել ժամանակի քաղաքական պահանջներին համահունչ՝ իրենց վրա կրելով նաև ազատագրական պայքարի կազմակերպման ողջ ծանրությունը:

²⁵ Տե՛ս **Հակոբյան** 2011, 37:

ՄԱՏԵՆԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

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POLITICAL PROCESSES IN ARTSAKH (1986–1991)

Summary

The article presents the political events in Artsakh in 1986-1991. Special attention is paid to the role and significance of the underground and non-underground organizations created in the context of the new stage of the Artsakh movement.

Throughout the 70 years of the existence of the USSR, violence and persecution were practiced against the Armenian population of Artsakh. Despite this, the struggle for joining Mother Armenia never ceased. Individual episodes of this persistent struggle, which for decades took the form of statements, petitions, and unrest in Soviet Armenia and the NKAO, were silenced or suppressed by the high-ranking Soviet leadership.

The relatively favorable political conditions created in the USSR after 1985 provided the Armenian population of Artsakh with the opportunity to once again defend their violated rights and demand the unification of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast with the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Initially, the leadership of the movement tried at every opportunity to present the struggle of the Artsakh people in Moscow in the light of the ideas of reconstruction and glasnost in order to give it a legal appearance. However, ignoring the right of the Armenian population of Artsakh to self-determination and the legal and political justification of its demands, Azerbaijan, under the aegis of Moscow, once again preferred uncivilised methods of resolving the issue, or, more precisely, its extermination by organizing ethnic cleansing.

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The movement was born in the whirlwind of national awakening. At first it was led by intellectuals with a national mindset and young people imbued with a national ideology. Later, it was joined by active members of the Communist Party, as well as heads of institutions and enterprises who attempted to lead the movement. Later on, two opposing political currents were formed in the movement, whose activities had a negative impact on the liberation struggle.

As a result of the change in the format of the struggle, an attempt was made to unite political forces. The political processes after the proclamation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (Artsakh) proved otherwise. The internal political turmoil became more obvious during the elections of the Chairman of the NKR Supreme Council of the first convocation on 6-7 January 1992, when the conflict between the opposing forces was quite aggressive. The forces that came to power managed to preserve internal political stability, showed political will, as a result of which the country temporarily got out of the situation.


Thus, by overcoming obstacles, bypassing political and military conflicts, the forces involved in the liberation struggle, thanks to their determination, were able to move in accordance with the requirements of the time, while bearing the burden of organizing the liberation struggle.

Keywords: *Artsakh, Artsakh movement, political processes, Supreme Council, Coordination Council, Igor Muradyan, Hakob Khachatryan.*

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REFLECTION OF SOVIET EVERYDAY LIFE DURING THE PERESTROIKA PERIOD IN THE MAGAZINE “WOMAN WORKER OF ARMENIA”

Abstract

The magazine “Woman Worker of Armenia”, published in Yerevan from 1924 to 1998, holds exceptional value as a source for studying the history of everyday life during the Perestroika period in Soviet Armenia (1985–1991). Despite the inherent limitations of the Soviet press, which this periodical could not entirely escape, its propagandistic content remains relatively low. The magazine actively collaborated with a broad cross-section of society. Its large readership and their active participation through letters, complaints, and advice on various everyday issues transformed the periodical into a unique document reflecting the lifestyle of Armenian society. It provides an unparalleled representation of public opinion and sentiments on matters of vital significance to Armenian society. The periodical addressed issues related to the interplay of society, family, and individual, women’s lives, medical and domestic concerns,

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and celebrated women who made significant contributions to the republic's development.

Keywords: *Soviet Armenia, Perestroika, "Woman Worker of Armenia", Soviet society, everyday life, family, magazine.*

Introduction

The principal characteristic of the Soviet press was its inherently propagandistic nature. It is evident that the press primarily served the ideological interests of the Communist Party, articulating and defending the party's propaganda narratives and theses. As a result, Soviet reality was presented in the media according to a specific logic: the consistent realisation of socialist ideals, the critique of capitalist ideas and lifestyles, and the celebration of the industrial, cultural, and economic achievements of Soviet society. Articles extolling the accomplishments of the party and state, or the achievements of shock workers – often embellished with exaggerated details and “proud” commentary – occupied substantial portions of newspaper pages, frequently taking up the largest sections of the issues. Any shortcomings mentioned in critical articles were rarely attributed to party or state bodies (even when they were clearly at fault); instead, they were portrayed as deviations committed by individuals who had strayed from the principles laid out by the party, abuses of trust in the party and the state, or manifestations of communist behaviour inconsistent with the party's value system, among other explanations.

The profound political changes that occurred in the USSR during the 1980s had a significant impact on the activities of the mass media. At the time, the Soviet Union was grappling with a severe political and economic crisis when Mikhail Gorbachev was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU on 11 March 1985. The new leader of the USSR and his close circle were acutely aware that the Union was on a trajectory of decline. In particular, economic stagnation had created serious challenges for the state. It became evident that without radical reforms, Soviet society could not move forward.

Consequently, a decision was made to initiate a transformation and improvement of the country's economy, public life, and governance structures. These reforms were formally launched through the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in April 1985, and a similar commitment was reiterated at the

27th Congress of the CPSU in February 1986. The comprehensive reforms that began in the spring of 1985 came to be collectively known as “Perestroika”. Publicity and openness in all aspects of public life were declared as fundamental principles of the reform agenda.¹ Following the example set by Moscow, analogous legal acts were adopted in the Union republics, including the Armenian SSR.²

For the Soviet mass media and publishers, the concept of publicity signified progress in the realm of freedom of speech and a retreat from political censorship. Under the influence of this policy, the Soviet press began to gradually liberate itself from the constraints of party ideology. Publications emerged that addressed a wide range of topics, including those previously deemed taboo in Soviet discourse. Periodicals such as “Novy Mir” (“New World”), “Moscow News”, “Arguments and Facts”, “Ogonyok” (“Twinkle”), “Izvestia” (“Bulletin”), and “Nezavisimaya Gazeta” (“Independent Newspaper”), became emblematic of the liberalisation of the Soviet press during this time.

They began publishing works by authors renowned for their severe criticism of the Soviet regime (Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Anatoly Zhigulin, Nikolai Shmelyov, among others), and active, open discussions were initiated regarding the shortcomings of the socialist system and potential strategies for its reform. Criticism and journalistic initiatives aimed at evaluating the socialist past and envisioning its future became more objective and targeted within the press.³

With the proclamation of the declaration of publicity, many periodicals of this era included articles of both a declarative nature and those addressing social issues and the daily lives and concerns of Soviet citizens. Consequently, while the content of Soviet newspapers prior to Perestroika was strictly regulated by ideological norms – rendering their value as historical sources for Soviet everyday life debatable – the articles published during the Perestroika years provide invaluable insights. Their valuable descriptions of the social consciousness of Soviet society constitute significant sources for understanding the history of everyday Soviet life.

From this perspective, one of the notable periodicals published in Armenia in the Armenian language from 1924 to 1998 is the magazine “Woman Worker of Armenia,” which embodied the best traditions of the Soviet Russian newspapers

¹ **Brown** 2022, 123–145.

² **Abrahamyan** 2019, 84–86.

³ **Savintseva** 2009, 267–276.

"Rabotnitsa" ("Woman Worker") and "Sovetskaya Zhenschina" ("Soviet Woman") offering coverage of the lives of Soviet women within the Armenian context. Published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, "Woman Worker of Armenia" was tasked with advancing the ideological and political agenda of the Communist Party among women, fostering their involvement in public life, and enhancing their self-awareness. The periodical addressed issues related to the interplay of society, family, and individual, women's lives, medical and domestic concerns, and celebrated women who made significant contributions to the republic's development.⁴

In the 1985–1988 issues of "Woman Worker of Armenia," alongside propaganda articles, remarkable publications appeared that explored various key issues and aspects of Soviet life. However, after the Karabakh movement began in February 1988 and the devastating earthquake struck the northern regions of Armenia on 7 December of the same year, a noticeable shift occurred in the magazine's content. In the issues leading up to Armenia's independence in September 1991, the focus on such topics diminished, with increasing attention given to political and economic issues of national importance.

The magazine stood out from other Soviet Armenian periodicals such as "Soviet Armenia", "Evening Yerevan", "Avantgarde", and "Communist", due to several distinguishing features. Its distinctly "feminine orientation", so to speak, enabled an exploration of life in Soviet Armenia through the lens of women's emotional, candid, sincere, and often bold observations. The topics addressed encompassed a wide array of aspects of Soviet Armenian social reality, including family dynamics, norms of coexistence, everyday thought processes, morality, service culture, and more.

Reflection on Social Morality and New Morals

During the years of Perestroika, slogans advocating the democratization of society, the rapid development of the economy, and the improvement of people's living conditions stimulated various discussions within society about lifestyle and thinking in line with the announced reforms, about publicly acceptable behaviour, and the elimination of unacceptable phenomena. These discussions are best reflected in various articles published in the magazine "Woman Worker of Armenia", the careful analysis of which allows for an observation of the new

⁴ Zakaryan, Harutyunyan 2010, 79.

trends in social development and the changes in public moods and perceptions in Soviet Armenia that were caused by them. One of the characteristic features of the magazine's publications is the resistance of old thinking to the new morals emerging in society.

Thus, the author of the article entitled "The Means of Living, the Purpose of Living" criticises, with undisguised disappointment, the obsession with accumulating wealth that had begun to spread. In his moral reflections, he criticises the concepts "borrowed from bourgeois society and alien to socialist society," which lie at the basis of the obsession with accumulation.⁵

The article entitled "Dignity... Do We Always Preserve It?" is also accompanied by moralistic comments, in which the author contrasts two attitudes towards life: "For one, the main thing is personal dignity, for the other, profit." The article presents two groups of workers: those who are honest and principled in their work, and those who are not averse to building their personal well-being through petty (or large, depending on the degree of material responsibility) extortions and embezzlement. Cashiers and salespeople who embezzle change, teachers who demand money from pupils and their parents on the occasion of International Women's Day (March 8), officials who hire people to work at school for 1,000 rubles. The author attributes a low moral value system to these people, calling them speculators and snobs. At the same time, the author notes that these negative phenomena are largely unpunished and have become widespread. People justify such behaviour with the reasoning "everyone does it that way."⁶

More obvious instances of impunity in the field of public economic management are described in the article with the telling title "A Crime Born of Inconsistency". The article includes a letter from a resident of one of the cooperative buildings in Yerevan, reporting that two residents had demolished the foundation walls of the semi-basement section of the building, closed the resulting opening with iron gates, and declared it their property for all to see. The article provides notable details from the round of residents' complaints lodged at the offices of the Yerevan City Council. The result, however, is that the violators are not punished and continue to use the appropriated parts of the building as garages. Furthermore, the article highlights that the residents are complaining

⁵ Tonoyan 1986b, 7.

⁶ Grigorova 1986, 8.

about two garages, whereas the number has already increased to eight.⁷ Similar incidents are also described in another publication concerning illegal constructions, entitled "Knock on Your Neighbour's Door". This title, in essence, conveys a moralising message of solidarity and peaceful coexistence within apartment buildings. The publication discusses residents who violate the norms of coexistence with their neighbours by expanding their living space and creating additional comfort for themselves at the expense of shared areas, such as common balconies and corridors. As a result, relations between neighbours become tense, arguments and mutual accusations arise, and individuals begin to isolate themselves, retreating further into their personal space.⁸

The images of social life presented testify to the new social thinking brought about by the Perestroika policy in Soviet Armenia. The descriptions of these phenomena in the magazine "Woman Worker of Armenia" are accompanied by critical comments, and are given negative moral assessments as phenomena that are inappropriate for a socialist society. These comments are understandable when we take into account the fact that the freedom of the magazine's editorial staff was not absolute. It was obliged to adhere to the rules established for the Soviet press. Therefore, the newspaper kept the Soviet state and the Communist Party, so to speak, "cleansed" of responsibility for the negative phenomena that were taking root. The party and the state were presented as the vanguards of a principled and consistent struggle for the victory of socialism. The Perestroika policy was presented in the context of this struggle, and the official justifications of its goals were interpreted as the imperative of improving the socialist social order. In practice, however, these perceptions were in contradiction with the principles of a market economy introduced by those same reforms, which had stimulated new aspirations for ownership within society, and, in the context of the failure of reforms, led to the collapse of that social order. Consequently, class thinking, or adherence to socialist ideals, was not characteristic of public perceptions during the period of Perestroika in Armenia. In the previously mentioned article "The Means of Living, the Purpose of Living," for example, the author presents such elements of everyday life as a two-story mansion, luxurious frescoes, foreign items, a car, and a summer house – things that, for the average Soviet citizen,

⁷ Grigoryan 1986, 28.

⁸ Dshkhoyan 1987, 27–28.

were a dream, rather than an object of moral self-assessment. It is clear that people desired these as evidence of a new, more attractive lifestyle.⁹

From the study of the publications in the magazine "Woman Worker of Armenia" from 1985 to 1987, it becomes evident that, during the Perestroika reforms, society was seeking prospects for liberation from the "shackles of socialism." Consequently, socialist morality, no matter how vigorously the Communist Party promoted it through the press, was losing its relevance. This factor can be used to identify the main trends of the new social thinking, which were unified by the aspiration to "break free" from socialist ideology. Concern for material well-being, which in many cases assumed hedonistic manifestations, posed a distinct challenge to the socialist asceticism propagated by party ideology. A vivid description of these sentiments can be found in the correspondence "Dignity... Do We Always Preserve It?" "... all the fingers of the doctor in the clinic, the nurse who gives you injections, are decorated with diamond rings, ... we go to work in our most expensive, theater-going clothes, striving to demonstrate our material well-being at every opportunity. And no one reprimands us, no one laughs at us."¹⁰

It should also be noted that society's desire to "break free from socialist shackles" was not spontaneous but was driven by the failure of the political and socio-economic reforms proclaimed under the policy of Perestroika. These failures, in turn, generated widespread distrust in society towards the state and the socialist morality it sought to propagate. This disillusionment was particularly exacerbated by the inconsistency between the slogans declared by representatives of the authorities and the realities of life, which fostered an indifferent, and often even nihilistic, attitude towards the policy of Perestroika among broad sections of society.¹¹

Under the administrative-command system, entrenched in the USSR for decades, economic reforms carried out by active, initiative-driven members of society failed to create genuine competitive opportunities for the working class. Amid the state's deepening socio-economic crisis, shadow economic phenomena thrived, as corroborated by other sources. During the years of Perestroika, incidents of theft of state and public property in the Armenian SSR did not

⁹ **Tonoyan** 1986b, 7–9.

¹⁰ **Grigorova** 1986, 9.

¹¹ **Abrahamyan** 2019, 84–85; **Azizbekyan** 1992, 12–13.

diminish; on the contrary, they increased. These incidents affected a wide range of public life. Law enforcement agencies often displayed criminal negligence in addressing cases of theft of public property in institutions, enterprises, and collective and state farms, or they even extended patronage to the perpetrators.¹²

Abuses were facilitated by the inaction of employees in regional extradepartmental security departments, who were responsible for preventing such incidents and who sometimes collaborated with embezzlers of public property. Consequently, they failed to take actions aimed at upholding the rule of law. For instance, in 1987, an attempt to steal 52 metres of fabric from a garment factory in the village of Amasia, in the Amasia region of the Armenian SSR, was thwarted by a newly appointed guard on his first duty, "who had not yet had time to become familiar with the order of the factory and its workers."¹³ Similar negative practices were widespread in other institutions and enterprises across Armenia.

During the Perestroika period, local leaders became increasingly unrestrained and unaccountable. The heads of institutions and enterprises, endowed with significant de facto authority, frequently violated existing legislation and social norms of coexistence without facing consequences, either from a party or administrative perspective. Instead, double standards became more prevalent. In cases of legal violations, ordinary citizens were accused and punished, while leading figures were often pardoned or merely dismissed.¹⁴ Unsurprisingly, the number of unsolved cases significantly outnumbered those resolved. While some offenders were referred to investigative bodies and subjected to various means of public reprimand, these measures seldom served as a deterrent to their accomplices.

This phenomenon was widespread throughout the republic. "Dragging out" something from state or public property was not widely perceived as a crime but rather as a demonstration of ingenuity.

Reflections on Marital and Family Relations

During the Perestroika period, the openly displayed materialistic aspirations among the population of the Armenian SSR gave rise to another pressing social

¹² NAA, SHRB, f. 114, l. 6, w. 83, p. 16.

¹³ NAA, SHRB, f. 114, l. 6, w. 83, p. 17.

¹⁴ NAA, SHRB, f. 114, l. 6, w. 83, p. 26.

issue, frequently highlighted in numerous publications of the magazine "Woman Worker of Armenia": the increasing number of divorces in the republic. Articles published under evocative titles such as "She Came to Change ... the Surname,"¹⁵ "Reflections on Divorces,"¹⁶ "And Again About Lost Happiness,"¹⁷ "Divorces – Aren't There Too Many?"¹⁸ and "Will Conscience Awaken?"¹⁹ featured well-known writers, publicists, lawyers, and ordinary readers voicing their concerns about the growing divorce rates in Armenia. These articles explored the socio-psychological and economic factors contributing to this trend.

In many cases, the negative statistics on divorces were driven by material factors, against which traditional ideals of family and social responsibility often proved powerless. Young couples exhibited a frivolous attitude towards family values. Even after marriage, they were often reluctant to shoulder household responsibilities, instead ceding decision-making authority for their family to their parents. The older generation, burdened with these chores, frequently found themselves at odds with their children's expectations, leading to interpersonal conflicts within the family. Moreover, parents increasingly approached their children's marriages with materialistic priorities, prioritising choices based on self-interest rather than mutual love and understanding as the foundation for happiness.

The phenomenon of spouses leaving to work abroad further exacerbated the problem of family disintegration. Prolonged absences from home, and in some cases the establishment of new families abroad, became common reasons for marital breakdowns. The articles also included poignant accounts of parents falling victim to their children's materialism, losing their homes, and ultimately finding themselves in nursing homes as a result of such neglect.

"Woman Worker of Armenia" also frequently addressed issues related to parenting and the upbringing of children. In these discussions, parental shortcomings were often linked to an overemphasis on money and material values. One article recounted the story of a father who regularly gave his school-aged child large sums of money for daily expenses. Standing before the school principal

¹⁵ Aleksanyan 1986, 22.

¹⁶ Tonoyan 1986a, 14–16.

¹⁷ Grigoryan 1986, 25–28.

¹⁸ Poghosyan 1987, 28–32.

¹⁹ Balabanyan 1988, 21–24.

with his head bowed, the father attempts to justify his actions, explaining that he provided his son with large sums of money so the boy would feel comfortable and “not appear pathetic”. However, after learning that his son’s behaviour had become so unruly that he even attempted to assault a teacher, the father admitted that he had made a grave mistake in raising him.²⁰

The liberalism heralded by the policy of Glasnost during the years of Perestroika also encouraged the discussion of previously “taboo” topics in the press, which had been prohibited in Soviet society. In the context of discussions on family relations, the publications of the magazine “Woman Worker of Armenia” addressing issues related to women’s emancipation are particularly noteworthy. In one such article, the author examines several socio-psychological issues surrounding women’s emancipation, which were highly pertinent to Armenian society at the time.

The topics discussed are varied. The author explores the division of familial and extrafamilial social roles between women and men in Armenian society, the family conflicts arising from the asymmetry in this distribution, the necessity of altering the lifestyle of Armenian women, and the imperative of emancipation. Additionally, the issues raised challenge long-held taboos regarding female sexuality.

According to the author, one of the essential components of marital happiness is a harmonious sexual life. However, Armenian women, due to their inherent shyness, often refrain from consulting doctors about their sexual problems. Even if such an intention were to arise, practical barriers persist, as women’s clinics primarily provide gynaecological services and lack provisions for sexological counselling. This gap contributes to significant family challenges, psychological and physiological health issues in women, and, in many cases, divorce.²¹

Reactions to Changes in Religious Mindset

Under the conditions of relative freedom brought about by the Perestroika policy, public life in Soviet Armenia became more dynamic, allowing various groups and circles to operate more actively. The state began paying increased attention to Armenian culture, including ethnographic dances, songs, and music.

²⁰ Poghosyan 1986, 7.

²¹ Khrlopyan 1988, 12–15.

Numerous monasteries and churches that had previously ceased functioning were reopened, and religious life among the population became more vibrant. "Woman Worker of Armenia" also elucidated the socio-psychological changes occurring in Armenian society, particularly those related to religious thinking, an area previously prohibited from public discussion by the state.

Armenian society, which had traditionally upheld a Christian mindset and value system, had been re-educated in an atheistic spirit during the Soviet years. The Armenian Apostolic Church faced significant pressure and restrictions, while the clergy endured deplorable conditions.²² During the years of Perestroika, alongside the democratisation of society, there was a notable revival of religious freedoms. Churches representing various religious denominations began operating both in Yerevan and across the republic. The periodical expressed concern over this new reality, directing criticism at the institutions responsible for promoting atheistic education in society, accusing them of failing in their duties. It observed a marked increase in church marriages and baptisms across the republic, alongside the resurgence of many religious rituals in daily life, which often supplanted socialist customs and traditions. The magazine characterised this development as a "darkening of people's consciousness," a "numbing of the brain," and a "return to the Middle Ages."²³ The assessments of the "Woman Worker of Armenia" are highly subjective, as the emergence of manifestations of religious diversity under the conditions of communist totalitarian ideology can be regarded as a progressive phenomenon.

Conclusion

The events unfolding in Armenia during the years of Perestroika significantly influenced the topics covered in press publications. The 1985–1988 issues of "Woman Worker of Armenia" contain numerous articles of a social and everyday nature, reflecting life in Soviet Armenia. The periodical addressed issues related to the interplay of society, family, and individual, women's lives, medical and domestic concerns, and celebrated women who made significant contributions to the republic's development.

²² Zhamharyan, Ghazaryan 2023, 107–114.

²³ Chilingaryan 1985, 9–12.

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ՎԵՐԱԿԱՌՈՒՑՄԱՆ ԺԱՄԱՆԱԿԱՇՐՋԱՆԻ ԽՈՐՀՐԴԱՅԻՆ ԱՌՕՐԵԱԿԱՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԱՐՏԱՑՈԼՈՒՄԸ «ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ԱՇԽԱՏԱՎՈՐՈՒՄ» ԱՄՍԱԳՐՈՒՄ

Ամփոփում

1985 թ. գարնանը ԽՍՀՄ-ում սկիզբ առած համալիր բարեփոխումները ստացան «Վերակառուցում» հավաքական անվանումը: Հանրային կյանքի բոլոր ոլորտներում հրապարակայնությունը հռչակվեց որպես գործունեության առանցքային սկզբունք: Հրապարակայնության քաղաքականությամբ հռչակված ազատականությունը Վերակառուցման տարիներին խթանեց նաև մամուլում խորհրդային հասարակության համար արգելված թեմաների արծարծումը: Վերակառուցման քաղաքականության հետևանքով ստեղծված հարաբերական ազատության պայմաններում խորհրդային Հայաստանում

աշխուժացավ հասարակական կյանքը, ակտիվ գործելու հնարավորություն ստացան տարբեր խմբեր ու խմբակներ:


Վերակառուցման տարիներին Հայաստանում ծավալվող իրադարձություններն իրենց ազդեցությունը թողեցին մամուլի հրապարակումների թեմատիկայի վրա: Քննադատությունը, սոցիալիստական անցյալը, ներկան ու գալիքը գնահատելու հրապարակախոսական նախաձեռնությունները մամուլում դարձան առավել առարկայական ու հասցեական: Արդյունքում՝ «Հայաստանի աշխատավորուհի» ամսագրի 1985–1988 թթ. համարներում մեծ քանակ են կազմում Խորհրդային Հայաստանի առօրյան արտացոլող սոցիալական, կենցաղային ուղղվածության հրապարակումները: 1988–1991 թթ. Հայաստանում տեղի ունեցած բախտորոշ իրադարձությունները (Ղարաբաղյան շարժում, ավերիչ երկրաշարժ, անկախության վերականգնում) կտրուկ փոխեցին բնակչության առօրյան, որն սկսեց ընթանալ աղետի բերած հոգեբանական ցնցումների հաղթահարման, ազգային հիմնախնդիրների շուրջ հանրային համախմբման և սոցիալ–տնտեսական մարտահրավերներին դիմակայելու տրամաբանությամբ: Այս ամենի հետևանքով «Հայաստանի աշխատավորուհի» ամսագրում սկսում է գերակշռել համազգային նշանակության քաղաքական և տնտեսական խնդիրների լուսաբանումը:

Բանալի բառեր: *Խորհրդային Հայաստան, Վերակառուցում, «Հայաստանի աշխատավորուհի», խորհրդային հասարակություն, առօրյա կյանք, ընտանիք, ամսագիր:*

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METAPHOR IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN POETRY

Abstract

The present article is devoted to the use of metaphors in the works of Armenian hymnographers from the 5th to the 8th centuries (Mesrop Mashtots, Sahak Partev, Movses Khorenatsi, Hovhan Mandakuni, Stepannos Syunetsi (I), Komitas Aghtsetsi, Sahak Dzoroporetsi, Hovhan Odznetsi, Barsegh Tchon, Sahakdukht). When describing and praising the Persons of the Holy Trinity, the Mother of God, Christian sacred symbols, and saints, the earliest Armenian hymnographers sought to make their language more vivid and impactful. To achieve this, they primarily employed metaphor, the fundamental form of allegory. The spiritual metaphors used in hymns were largely drawn from Biblical texts and their interpretations, gradually evolving and giving rise to original metaphors as well.

This article explores the metaphors employed in 5th–8th century Armenian spiritual poetry to depict the Persons of the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist, including the following: *Light, Source, Ray, Sun, Love, Lover of mankind, Life, Life-Giving Fruit, Fountain of Immortality, Treasure of Life, Bread*

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of Life, Path, King, Staff, Judge, Physician, Shepherd, Captain, Bridegroom, Church, Vine, Rock, Dove, Heavenly Dew, Bright Heaven, Luminous Cloud, Burning Bush, etc.

All these metaphors later served as a solid foundation for Grigor Narekatsi's spiritual symbolism.

Keywords: *Armenian literature, medieval spiritual poetry, metaphor, Bible, Christ, Mesrop Mashtots, Movses Khorenatsi.*

Introduction

From the Golden Age of Armenian literature (5th-century) until the emergence of Grigor Narekatsi (951–1003), the hymn (*sharakan*) was particularly vital in the realm of Armenian spiritual and personal poetry. It is an official-liturgical song-poem with a ritual function, which implies the use of elements of both verbal and musical arts in service of worship.

The first authors of hymns were Mesrop Mashtots (c. 360–440) and Sahak Partev (c. 348–439), the founders of 5th-century Armenian national-Christian culture and scholarship. Their lyrical heritage was further enriched by their younger disciples, including Movses Khorenatsi (c. 410 – after 490), Hovhan Mandakuni (d. 490), and Stepanos Syunetsi (d. 735). The work of these figures was continued by the hymnographers of the 7th–8th centuries, particularly Komitas Aghtsetsi, Barsegh Tchon (7th century), Sahak Dzoroporetsi (8th century), Hovhan Odznetsi (c. 717–728), and the first Armenian female poet, Sahakdukht (8th century).

In describing and praising the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, Christian sacred objects, and saints, the first Armenian hymnographers, striving to make their words more vivid and impactful, employed metaphors – the primary type of allegory.

The spiritual metaphors used in hymns were mainly derived from biblical texts and their interpretations, evolving into various forms and even giving rise to original metaphors.

From Light to Vinedresser

In the pan-Christian worldview, God is perceived as **Light**. This is one of the main hypostatic and metaphoric representations of the Lord. Moreover, the

spiritual and metaphorical light is embodied by the Father, the Holy Spirit, and the Son (the Trinity of Light).

“The Lord is my Light”—thus begins the 27th Psalm. And the apostle-evangelist John clearly states: “God is light,” “He was the true Light, which gives light to every man coming into the world” (1 John 1:5, John 8:12).

In the earliest examples of Armenian spiritual poetry, the praise of God the Light already exists, as a response to both the pan-Christian and national mythological worldviews.

In the ancient “Glory to God in the highest” hymn included in the Morning Prayer of the Armenian Church, it is stated:

By the Light of your face, we see the Light¹.

Another notable pan-Christian hymn, included in the Armenian Church's Evening Prayer, begins with the following lines:

Joyous, holy light of the glory of the immortal,
heavenly, holy, vivifying Father: Jesus Christ.
Having come to the setting of the sun,
we have seen this evening light.

The worship of Light is also present in the hymns of the first hymnographers. Mesrop Mashtots, in one of his similar hymns, which is a morning prayer bathed in the light of the divine radiance, addresses Christ, saying:

Light of glory, O God the Word,
Who has risen among us with the light of knowledge...
You who dwell in the unreachable light,
We offer our prayers to You, Lord,
Let our morning prayer be pleasing to You².

Sahak Partev, praising the inextinguishable Light of the Son of God, which arose from the Father's bosom, also metaphorically refers to Him as the Source of Light – a Source of Light emanating from the Father-God, and the Rays that arise from it.

The Ray of the Glory of the Father God...

¹ Quotations from the Book of Hours according to **Zhamagirk'**, 1903.

² The source of current and later quotations from the hymns of Mesrop Mashtots and Sahak Partev is: **Mesrop Mashtots, Sahak Partev** 2010.

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The praise of the Light-God and the Son of God emanating from it is also heard in the hymns of Movses Khorenatsi.

...You revealed to us Light in Light,
and with Your light you filled the universe...

With your sun-like radiance You enlightened the creations,
We glorify You, the knowable Light!³

In one of the hymns by Stepanos Syunetsi, the metaphor of the **“Door leading to Light”** appears, which refers to Christ leading to the embrace of the Light-Father God, guiding towards the Heavenly Kingdom.

Thus, in Armenian individual poetry, the concept of light praising has emerged as one of the important motifs of spiritual poetry.

The metaphorical perception of God's Light has also given rise to the characterization of His Sun.

The worship of the Sun (Ar-Areg, later Mihr) was widespread among the pagan Armenians and remained a significant imprint on the mythological thinking of the Armenian people as an archetype. Some elements of solar worship transitioned into Christianity and found various expressions. Sun-worshipping ritual songs were common in pagan Armenia. In the liturgical practices of the Armenian Church, through the younger disciple of the Sahak-Mesrop school, Gyut Arahezatsi, the songs of sunrise (Arevagal) were also established⁴.

The word **Arev** has been most commonly used in the form of **Aregakn**, which is etymologically explained as “Eye of the Sun,” meaning the eye (or the gaze) of the god Areg (Aramazd)⁵. This is also the case with the Son of God.

In the Gospel of Luke, Zachariah, the father of John the Baptist, prophesying the coming of Christ, says: “the rising sun will come to us from heaven” (Luke 1:78). According to the Gospel of Matthew, “For as the lightning comes from the east and shines as far as the west, so will be the coming of the Son of Man” (Matthew 24:27). Here, **“lightning”** does not refer to a thunder,

³ The source of current and later quotations from the hymns of Movses Khorenatsi, as well as Stepannos Syunetsi and Hovhan Mandakuni, is: **Movses Khorenatsi, Stepanos Syunetsi, Hovhan Mandakuni** 2011.

⁴ For the dawn songs of Gyut Arahezatsi, see **Nerses Shnorhali** 2012, 200–203.

⁵ According to Hrachya Acharyan, the Persians considered the sun to be the father of the gods, Aramazd, while the Greeks regarded it as the eye of Zeus (see **Acharyan** 1971, 312).

but rather to the Sun as a divine, radiant eye. As we will see, Movses Khorenatsi uses the term **"lightning"** in this sense in one of his hymns.

Once again, responding to both the pan-Christian and national mythological worldviews, the first spiritual hymnographers praised the Sun-Christ. In one of the ancient hymns, the author addresses the Son of God as "The Sun of Righteousness." Similarly, in the hymns of Mashtots, it is said:

The Sun of Righteousness,
rise in our souls with the light of truth...

The Sun of Righteousness, the Light of Truth,
Christ the God...

Movses Khorenatsi too, addressing Christ, who emanates from the Light-Father God, says:

From the Father, You have risen to illuminate all creations,
O Sun of Righteousness!

With the sun-like radiance, You have illuminated all creations,
We glorify You, knowable Light!

In one of Gyut Arahezatsi's songs of sunrise, it is said:

The light of the Sun has dawned upon the world today...
In the morning of Light, the morning of peace,
You praise Christ!

As we can see, Christ here is also metaphorically described as the peaceful Morning, arising from the Light – the dawn of the Light-Father God.

Light and Sun-God are also associated with Fire in the Holy Scriptures. Based on this, Movses Khorenatsi has made the following image: "The Fire, shining brightly, dwelt in the body." This means that the Fire-God, becoming the Radiant Sun, dwelt within (Virgin Mary).

Stepanos Syunetsi has created quite impressive images of the Fire-God, such as:

With the fire of Your Divinity, O Christ,
You have burned the gates of hell and dissolved death...

For with the fire of Your Divinity, O Christ,
You have inflamed the whole universe–
blazing, You have consumed the tyranny of the Enemy.

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Here, the Enemy (elsewhere also called Evil or Slanderer) is a persistent metaphor for the adversary of God, Satan, which has been frequently employed in Armenian spiritual poetry from the very beginning.

In Christian theology, the hypostatic metaphors of the Lord's Light and Fire are accompanied by Love. As the Apostle John says: "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him" (1 John 4:16).

God is Love toward humanity, and thus, the reference is to God's benevolence toward mankind. Hence derives the stable epithet of God as "Lover of mankind," which has also been widely used in Armenian spiritual poetry from the outset. Here are the words of Mesrop Mashtots to the God, the Lover of Mankind:

We bless You, Mankind-loving Lord,
have mercy on Your creation!

To Your heavenly and benevolent Father,
we offer praise and glory...

To You alone, O Lover of Mankind, I beseech—
O abundantly compassionate Lover of Mankind, grant me
forgiveness of my transgressions.

It should be noted that, according to Christian ethics, man, in response to God's benevolence, must be a lover of God, as Jesus Himself commanded: "Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind" (Matthew 22:37).

The theological and allegorical depiction of love – God's love and man's love toward Him – was further developed in the later works of Grigor Narekatsi.

God also bears the hypostatic-metaphor of Life, signifying eternal, immortal existence. As the Evangelist John states about the Divine Word, Christ: "In him was life, and that life was the light of all mankind" (John 1:4). The same Evangelist, speaking through the words of Jesus, declares: "I am the resurrection and the life. Whoever believes in me, though he dies, yet shall he live, and everyone who lives and believes in me shall never die," and "I am the living bread that came down from heaven" (John 11:25–26, 6:51).

In early Armenian original and translated liturgical songs, as well as in hymns, Christ is already described with titles and metaphors such as Life-Giver, Fountain of Immortality, Fountain of Life, and similar epithets.

Addressing the Son of God, the Logos (Word), the Son of God, Mesrop Mashtots says:

Thy Word, co-Creator with the Father,
Redeemer and Life of the human race!

Sahak Partev addressed Christ as "Fountain of Life" and "Treasure of Immortality" in reference to Christ the Life.

Khorenatsi metaphorically referred to the Lord as both "Treasure of Life" and "Life-Giving Fruit," as well as "Life-Giving Fountain." In one hymn, speaking through the lips of the elder Simeon, he proclaimed:

For from the Father of Light, Light and Life has dawned upon us,
glory to Thy coming, O Lord!

Notably, Stepanos Syunetsi metaphorically depicted Christ as "Life within life," as well as "Life within death." Hovhan Mandakuni employed the "Bread of Life" metaphor from the Gospel.

The Life-Giving Christ is also the Path leading to immortality – another hypostatic metaphor drawn from the Gospels: "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (John 14:6). Gyut Arahezatsi nearly repeated this Gospel passage verbatim, further describing Christ as the Door to the Heavenly Kingdom – to immortal life.

According to the Christian conception of God, the Lord, endowed with infinite power and all-encompassing cosmic authority, is a radiant, immortal, and mighty King, the King of the Heavenly Kingdom and of the earth.

My King and my God...

The Lord is King forever and ever... (Psalm 5:2)

This characterization of the Psalmist is echoed in various formulations in other books of the Bible and, based on them, also in pan-Christian and Armenian spiritual hymns. The first hymnographers address the Lord as the King of Peace, the King of Kings, the King of Light, the King of Glory. Mesrop Mashtots frequently addressed God as King in his hymns:

Our refuge are You, O Savior, mighty King...
To You, at the rising of the sun, we lift up our voices,
O King eternal...

Similar characterizations are also found in the hymns of Sahak Partev and Movses Khorenatsi:

Blessed is the King who has come, the invincible King...

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This is the King who has vanquished death...

In one of his hymns, Stepanos Syunetsi calls Christ:

The blossomed Rod of the root of Jesse.

The rod here is a metaphor for authority and kingship, and accordingly, the hymnographer presents Christ, the King of heaven and earth, as the heir of King David, the son of Jesse, according to the Bible. The King-God has also been depicted metaphorically as a Judge, primarily with the attributes of being formidable and just – an image undoubtedly derived from Christ's judicial role at the time of the Final Judgment. This notion is echoed in the following lines by Mashtots:

When You sit upon Your throne, O mighty Judge,
when You examine the sons of men
through the trial of fire,
have mercy on me, O God!

Movses Khorenatsi also calls the Son of God in his hymns: "Judge of the living and the dead," "Judge who knows the hidden things."

Stepanos Syunetsi also characterizes God as the just and righteous Judge and pleads: "When You sit upon Your throne, have mercy on Your creation!"

In one of the Psalms (the 6th), it is written: "Have mercy upon me, O Lord; for I am weak: O Lord, heal me." This means that God has also been perceived as a Healer. This perception applies especially to the Incarnate Son of God, who, through His many miraculous healings, was seen as the Divine Physician.

The metaphor of the Healer is frequently found in the hymns of Mesrop Mashtots, where the author, likening the sinner suffering from the illness of transgressions or wounded by the arrows of Evil and the Adversary – Satan – to the Divine Physician and Fountain of Healing, implores God:

Heal my afflictions...
O merciful Father, heal the wounded...

Sahak Partev joins his voice to that of Mesrop Mashtots:

Heal the sickness of my soul!

In the New Testament, Christ is also metaphorically depicted as the Shepherd of the rational flock, while the sinful man is likened to a lost sheep (1

Peter 2:25). In the Gospel of John, Jesus says: "I am the good shepherd, and I know My own, and My own know Me." (John 10:14).

Metaphors of God as the Shepherd of the rational flock and the sinful man as a sheep are also present in the hymns of Mashtots:

I am a sheep of Your rational flock,
and I trust in You, O Good Shepherd,
seek me, for I am lost.

The Incarnate Word-God, Christ, has also been envisioned as a Captain, with the prophets, apostles, and church fathers as His subordinate navigators⁶.

In the hymns of Mashtots, metaphorical imagery of the sea and the ship is frequent. In these allegories, the multitude of human sins is depicted as a stormy sea, stirred by the winds of the Adversary—Satan. In this turbulent sea, man is like a ship, tossed by the waves and on the verge of sinking. Yet, in his distress, he entrusts himself to the good and saving Captain:

The sea of my life continually tosses me with its waves,
The enemy stirs up a new wave against me.
O Good Captain, be the refuge of my soul...
In the deep sea of my sins, I am drowning.
O Good Captain, save me...
I am near to sinking, help me, O Good Captain,
for the weight of my sins has become heavy upon me.

In the "Frequent Discourses" attributed to Gregory the Illuminator and considered to be authored by Mesrop Mashtots, there is an allegorical passage featuring the metaphors of captains, ships, seas, and harbors:

"As a wise captain directing the ship of my body through the stormy seas of worldly temptations, casting off the heavy burden of this world's sea, and with the soul soaring, reaching the harbor of peace."⁷

In the New Testament, the term "**bridegroom**" is frequently used as an allusion to Christ. In the Book of Revelation, Christ speaks directly, saying: "And the Spirit and the bride say, Come" (Revelation 22:17). The metaphor of the **Bridegroom and Bride**, that is, the husband and wife, according to the Apostle Paul, pertains to Christ and the Church (Ephesians 5:32).

⁶ See **Nor bargirk'** 2, 407.

⁷ See **Matenagirk' hayoc'** 2003, 59.

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The metaphors of Christ as the **Bridegroom** and the **Church as the Bride**, as well as their union, have been widely reflected in Armenian spiritual poetry. In one of his hymns, Sahak Partev says:

Open to us the door of mercy,
O Heavenly Bridegroom,
and bring us into the bridal chamber of wisdom.
Let us come before the Bridegroom,
and enter into His glorious chamber.

In the early Patristic literature, the Virgin Mary, who bore Christ, was considered the **Church**. Movses Khorenatsi, who initiated Marian hymns in Armenian poetry, frequently referred to the Bride-Church-Virgin Mary. Commenting on the above-mentioned Gospel passage, in one of his hymns, he says:

The Bride of the Church is Christ, the King from heaven.

Hovhannes Mandakuni too, in one of his hymns, addressing the Church as the Bride and the Holy Virgin, says:

Rejoice and be glad, O Church,
Holy One and Bride of the Heavenly Bridegroom!

The metaphorical union of the Bridegroom and Bride has naturally been understood as a spiritual marriage. Thus, in one of his hymns⁸, the hymnographer of the Cross and the Church, Sahak Dzoraporetsi, praises the Church, calling her the bride adorned with the sign of the golden cross, and depicts the spiritual and heavenly marriage between Christ, the Bridegroom, and the Church-Bride.

For the Church, the holy Bride of Christ,
is adorned with the Cross, the sign of the Heavenly Bridegroom.
Rejoice, O Immaculate Bride, beautifully veiled,
adorn yourself with the garments of glory,
and go forth to meet the Heavenly Bridegroom.

⁸ The current and later source of the quotations from Sahak Dzoraporetsi and other hymnographers of the 7th–11th centuries is: **Orhnerger** 2013.

In the *Sharaknots* (Armenian liturgical hymnals), there is also a similar allegorical joyful bridal hymn attributed to another 7th-century hymnographer, Barsegh Tchon. It says:

Rejoice and be glad, O Bride of God, the Church,
for the Lord of lords has chosen You and has delighted to dwell in
You...

In the Gospel of John, when Jesus speaks to the disciples, He says: "I am the true vine, and My Father is the vinedresser... I am the vine, and you are the branches" (John 15:1). According to this, the Heavenly Vinedresser is a metaphor for God the Father (the Creator of the eternal garden of Eden), and the True Vine refers to Christ.

In one of Stepanos Syunetsi's hymns, there is a reference to Christ as the True Vine, as well as a metaphor of the **fruit of the vine**, symbolizing the outcome of Christ's work.

In a hymn by Stepanos Syunetsi, the metaphor of Christ as the True Vine is presented, along with the fruit of the Vine, symbolizing the result of His divine work:

You who were planted on the earth as the True Vine
and were crushed on the Cross, Your Fruit...

In certain Psalms, the Lord is metaphorically referred to as the **Rock** (Psalm 18:2, 144:1). In one of his letters, the Apostle Paul says: "The Rock was Christ" (1 Corinthians 10:4)⁹. In ancient Armenian hymns, the Rock is also widely used as a metaphor. In one of Stepanos Syunetsi's hymns, we read:

We have enjoyed from the Rock of life, for the Lord is sweet.

Here, Stepanos Syunetsi has closely followed the biblical line from Moses' blessing: "He made him ride on the heights of the land and eat the produce of the field. He nourished him with honey from the rock and oil from flinty rock" (Deuteronomy 32:13).

In the early medieval spiritual hymns, metaphors for the Holy Spirit, such as the **Dove**, and for Christ, such as the **Lamb**, as well as other biblical metaphors like the **Dew** and the **Heavens**, were also widely used.

From the beginning, Virgin Mary has been depicted and praised through metaphors and attributes of the divine hypostases, as a participant in Christ's

⁹ According to interpretations, the Rock in the Song of Songs, Chapter 2, Verse 14, refers to Christ.

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redemptive work. Movses Khorenatsi not only calls the Holy Virgin the **Mother of Light**, but also refers to her as **Light, Bright Heaven, Illuminated Cloud**, and **Temple of God**.

We have seen that Movses Khorenatsi, the first in the Armenian tradition, regarded Virgin Mary, who embodies the Church, as the Bride of Christ the Bridegroom. He metaphorically named the Bride the **Veil of Light**, the **Veil of the Radiant Dawn**, within which “the Word of Life dwelled,” joined in union with the illumined Temple – the Holy Virgin.

According to the Haygazian New Dictionary, the original meaning of the Armenian word “veil” (*unwquun*) is “the inner chamber of the bride and the bridegroom, the bridal chamber in its entirety”, and metaphorically, it refers to “a new similarity, representing the church and the Holy Virgin.”¹⁰

In one of his hymns, Sahak Dzoraporetsi also praises the Church using the metaphor of the **bridechamber**.

Movses Khorenatsi further describes Virgin Mary, who bore and gave birth to the Light, Fire, and Sun of God, through the following metaphors:

The Throne of God,
The Cherubic Throne,
The Source of endless Light,
The dwelling place of the fiery Divinity,
The dwelling place of the life-giving Word,
The Sanctuary of the Holy Spirit,
The Origin of the Sun,
The True Eastern Sun of Righteousness,
The Pillar of Light,
The place of the unbearable Light.

The Cloud-Virgin Mary, the Heavenly Dew, has showered the Dew-Christ upon the world:

The Pillar of Light and the Cloud of the Holy Virgin,
who poured upon us the Heavenly Dew.

Khorenatsi identifies three mysteries in Virgin Mary:

The immaculate conception,
The immaculate birth,

¹⁰ See **Nor bargirk'** 1836, 282.

The virginity preserved after childbirth...

Thus, many of Khorenatsi's metaphors regarding Virgin Mary point to her **purity**:

The Immaculate Temple...

The Immaculate Treasure...

The Pure Dove...

In Khorenatsi's hymns, Virgin Mary is also praised through a series of metaphors from the Old Testament, such as:

You, the fleece understood by Gideon...

The wool that Gideon recognized...

You, the Burning Bush, the Rock-born Mountain,

You, the Closed Door, and the Sealed Source...

These metaphors are explained by corresponding biblical passages, which were well-known to Khorenatsi.

The fleece and **the wool** are referenced from Psalm 71 (verse 6) and the Book of Judges (6:37–38). The metaphor of the **Burning Bush** is drawn from the Book of Exodus (3:2–4), which describes the bush that carried the fire of God and was not consumed.

In another of Khorenatsi's hymns, he also makes reference to these metaphors:

The living fire, which burned in the bush,

That you harmlessly carried in your womb.

The next metaphor, Rock-born Mountain, from the aforementioned quotation by Khorenatsi, is interpreted as Virgin Mary, who gave birth to Christ without human seed, according to the interpretation of verses 34 and 45 in the second chapter of the Book of Daniel.¹¹ In another hymn by Khorenatsi, there is also the line "A rock from the mountain, carved without hands." The metaphor of the **Closed Door** is explained in the Book of Ezekiel (44:1–2), meaning a door through which only God can pass. In another hymn, instead of 'closed,' the term 'sealed' is used. Elsewhere, there is also the line "Heavenly Door, which Ezekiel saw." As about the metaphor **Sealed Source**, it refers to the Bride in the Song of Songs (4:12), in which the Holy Virgin is seen as a precursor.

¹¹ See **Avedikian** 1814, 69–70.

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Khorenatsi also describes the prophetic vision of the 'pearl-looking' Holy Virgin:

Throne of salvation,
Source for the thirsty people,
Exceedingly wonderful Flower – its fragrance blooming in Eden of
immortality,
The Way to the Kingdom.

After Movses Khorenatsi, Stepanos Syunetsi, who also contributed to the field of Marian hymnography, repeated and expanded upon his predecessor's metaphors. He, too, likened the Holy Virgin to a cloud—Radiant Cloud, Cloud of protection, Cloud with gentle expressions. It is this Cloud that, according to one of the Christological allegories, "pours out upon us Justice (the Son of God)."

Syunetsi likened the Mother of God also to the spiritual, rational Tablet bearing the divine laws:

Spiritual rational Tablet,
not intended for the written Mosaic laws!

If Khorenatsi considered the Holy Virgin to be the exceedingly wondrous Flower, blooming in Eden, then Syunetsi likened her to a newly planted Perfumed Garden of Eden, as well as to

The Hall of the Word of God,
The Heaven-reaching pure gold...

The latter metaphor is derived from the following passage in the prophecy of Zechariah: "a lampstand all of gold, with a bowl on top of it, and seven lamps on it" (Zechariah 4:2).

Based on this passage, Barsegh Tchon also praised the Mother of God, saying:

A golden lampstand, shining brightly with the light of seven lamps...

Also noteworthy are the metaphors found in Sahakdukht's hymns dedicated to the Mother of God, which bear a significant influence from Movses Khorenatsi. The poetess also referred to Mary as a **Golden Vessel** and the **Ark of the Testaments**. The latter refers to the biblical Ark of the Covenant, crafted by Moses, where the stone tablets of the divinely given laws were kept, along with the golden vessel filled with manna from heaven (Exodus 16:33).

Sahakdukht also likened Mary, who bestowed the Bread of Life – Christ, to a **Spiritual Field** and a **Radiant Flower**. She further referenced the spiritual

allegory according to which, through the rain showered by the Holy Spirit, the Holy Virgin bore the incarnate Son of God.

Nourished by the rain that flows from the Holy Spirit,
you bear as fruit the One revealed to mankind by the Father.

As mentioned, following Movses Khorenatsi, Hovhan Mandakuni considered the Church to be the Bride and identified her with Mary, the Mother of God. Mandakuni also likened the Church to the **City of God** and the **Harbor of the Righteous**.

Just as God is Light and Mary is Light, so too is the Church – radiant as the House of the Light-bearing God. Sahak Dzoroporetsi also referred to her as **Queen, Daughter of Zion, New Jerusalem, Precious Rock**, and as the **Luminous Dwelling of the Lord**, where

A divine radiance of Light has shone forth from the Father...

The first hymnographers also glorified the Holy Cross of Christ with numerous metaphors. Stepanos Syunetsi allegorized it as the **life-giving Staff of Power** revealed in the universe. As we have seen, this hymnographer also used the **Staff** metaphor to depict Christ himself.

Syunetsi likened the Cross to **God's heavenly chariot** or **fiery throne**, referring to it as the **Chariot of the Cross** or the **Earthly Chariot**:

You ascended willingly upon the Chariot of the Cross.

You were pleased to ride upon the earthly Chariot...

Sahak Dzoroporetsi depicted the divine holy sign – the Cross – using the following metaphors:

Throne of the Lord,
Mighty Tower,
Staff of power,
Invincible weapon,
Weapon of victory, sharpened by the blood of the Son of God,
Seal of triumph,
Fortress of strength,
Table of holiness.

For Dzoropoetsi, the Cross is also a radiating, spiritual light: "Adorned with Light from heaven," and also, "A crown adorned with the grace of the revealed Light."

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If, based on the aforementioned passage from Zechariah's prophecy, Stepanos Syunetsi and Barsegh Tchon have metaphorically referred to the Mother of God as the golden Lampstand, then Sahak Dzoroporetsi considered this passage an allegory for the Cross, referring to it as:

A golden Lampstand, illuminated with the light of heaven...

Just as Virgin Mary – the Burning Bush – was not consumed while bearing God, the divine Fire, within her, so too does the God-bearing Cross, in Sahak Dzoroporetsi's depiction, resemble the burning bush that was not consumed.

Since Christ, by dying on the Cross, granted immortal life to humanity, Sahak Dzoroporetsi metaphorically referred to the sanctified Cross as the **Wood of Life**, contrasting it with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, whose forbidden fruit led to humanity's mortality.

Metaphors are also present in hymns dedicated to saints. For instance, Stepanos Syunetsi used the metaphor of a steed to describe both prophets and apostles. Prophets, as steeds, were sent to proclaim Christ's incarnation, while apostles were sent to announce His resurrection:

You who sent Your steeds – the holy prophets –
to proclaim Your life-giving dispensation from the Holy Virgin...

You who sent Your steeds – the preachers –
to announce Your life-giving Resurrection...

Movses Khorenatsi portrayed John the Baptist, the greatest saint of the New Testament, as the **Morning Star** and an **unwavering lamp**, emphasizing his role as the herald and forerunner of the Sun of Righteousness. Similarly, Hovhan Mandakuni referred to this eminent saint as the **Morning Star** and also as the **Lamp of Truth** (with "Truth" being a Gospel-based hypostatic metaphor for Christ)

In his hymns, Hovhan Odznetsi employed profound metaphors to honor key figures of the Christian faith. He depicted Saint Stephen, the first martyr for Christ, with metaphors such as "**Blessed Ray**," "**Forerunner of Goodness**," and "**Immortal Plant of the Intelligible Paradise**." Furthermore, Odznetsi referred to Saints Peter and Paul, the paramount preachers and martyrs of the Christian faith, as "**Pillars of the Church**" and "**Illuminators of the Universe**."

Stepanos Syunetsi referred to the martyrs of faith as the "source of life." Among these are the Holy Hripsimean Martyrs, to whom Komitas Aghtsetsi

dedicated spiritual hymns. Notably, the hymn "Devoted Persons" portrays these self-sacrificing female martyrs as "spotless lambs," "golden censers ignited by the fire of the Holy Spirit," and "sacred stones established on earth." The latter metaphor is derived from Zechariah's prophecy: "As sacred stones sparkled in his land" (Zechariah 9:16, according to the Armenian translation of the Bible).

Just as Virgin Mary has been glorified as the sacred temple of the Son of God, so too have the Hripsimean virgins been exalted as temples of holiness. They are depicted through metaphors as celestial, miraculous monuments established on earth:

Structures from heaven, established on earth,
and luminous statues, standing in the heavens...

These poetic expressions underscore the profound reverence and sanctity attributed to the Hripsimean virgins within the Christian tradition.

Komitas Aghtsetsi likened the Hripsimean virgins to the wise virgins of the Gospel, who, following their example, awaited the heavenly nuptials to enter the bridal chamber of the immortal Bridegroom. In the hymn "Devoted Persons," there is a notable line containing remarkable metaphors:

Merchants abundant with the unknown pearl...

Here, the Hripsimean virgins are metaphorically depicted as merchants who are abundantly wealthy because they possess the unknown pearl. In medieval understanding, the unknown pearl hidden at the bottom of the sea symbolizes true faith.

Manuk Abeghyan notes that, in religious language, the 'gem' or 'pearl' symbolizes spiritual immortality in the Christian tradition.¹² The metaphor of the pearl of true faith originates from ancient folk traditions.¹³

In the hymn "Devoted Persons," there is a stanza that exemplifies this metaphor:

The branches of the True Vine of Christ,
Clusters crushed by the celestial Cultivator,
You have been smashed with asceticism in your winepress,
That you might rejoice with the cup of immortality.

¹² **Abeghyan** 1970, 335–336.

¹³ One of these traditions was reinterpreted by the 15th-century poet Arakel Baghishetsi in his work *"Song of Joasaph"*; see **Arak'el Baghishec'i** 1971, 238–327.

Metaphor in Early Medieval Armenian Poetry

It was mentioned that in one of his hymns, Stephanos Syunetsi employs metaphors depicting God the Father as the Vinedresser, Christ as the True Vine, and the martyrs – specifically the Hripsimean virgins – as its branches or clusters. In this imagery, the virgins are portrayed as grape clusters pressed in the winepress of their trials, transforming into the joyous, immortal wine of faith. This “winepress” metaphor holds particular significance, as the Hripsimean virgins were martyred near the vineyards of Vagharshapat, symbolizing their spiritual purification through suffering. This metaphor extends to other martyrs and even to Christ's crucifixion, emphasizing the transformative power of sacrifice in Christian theology.

In the hymn by Stepanos Syunetsi, the metaphors of the **winepress** and the **immortal cup of wine** are employed to symbolize the transformative journey of the martyrs through their suffering. The hymn includes the following lines:

Let us celebrate in truth in their winepress,
drinking from the immortal cup,
For they dispense healing unto souls and bodies,
and bestow heavenly gifts upon their beloved.

The **immortal cup of wine** metaphor originates from the Gospel passage where Jesus offers wine to His disciples, symbolizing His blood shed for the forgiveness of sins (Matthew 26:28). This imagery is also reflected in the hymns of Sahak Partev dedicated to Holy Thursday, which commemorate the life-giving and immortal cup of Christ's wine-blood.

The metaphor of the **immortal cup of wine** originates from the Gospel narrative where Jesus offers wine to His apostles, symbolizing His blood shed for the forgiveness of sins (Matthew 26:28). This imagery is reflected in the hymns of Sahak Partev dedicated to Maundy Thursday, which commemorate Christ's wine-blood as an immortal and life-giving vessel.

In the hymn “Devoted Persons,” the metaphors in the previously mentioned stanzas have already turned into symbols, functioning in an interconnected allegorical context.

Conclusion

In summary, it is evident that the representatives of the 5th–8th-century Armenian spiritual poetry made extensive use of literary metaphors to describe the Persons of the Holy Trinity, Virgin Mary, as well as John the Baptist. These

metaphors are primarily derived from Biblical texts and their interpretations, gradually evolving over time and giving rise to original expressions. The metaphors utilized in early medieval hymns serve as foundational elements in the development of the spiritual symbolism that Grigor Narekatsi systematically elaborated upon in the 10th century. This culminated in his unprecedented poetry, which is predominantly characterized by symbolic elements.

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ՓՈԽԱԲԵՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ՎԱՂ ՄԻՋՆԱԴԱՐՅԱՆ ՀԱՅ ԲԱՆԱՍՏԵՂԾՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄԵՋ

Ամփոփում

Ոսկեդարից մինչև Գրիգոր Նարեկացու հայտնությունը հայ հոգևոր, անհատական բանաստեղծության բնագավառում կենսունակ է եղել հատկապես

օրհներգը (շարական): Այն պաշտոնական-ծիսական երգ-բանաստեղծություն է՝ իր արարողական գործառնությամբ, ինչը ենթադրում է խոսքարվեստի ու երաժշտարվեստի տարրերի կիրառում՝ պաշտամունքին ի նպաստ:

Օրհներգերի առաջին հեղինակներն են V դարի հայ ազգային-քրիստոնեական մշակույթի և դպրության հիմնադիրներ Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցը և Սահակ Պարթևը: Նրանց երգային ժառանգությունն ըստ ամենայնի համալրել են նրանց կրտսեր աշակերտներ Մովսես Խորենացին, Հովհան Մանդակունին և Ստեփանոս Սյունեցին (1-ին): Վերջիններիս գործն էլ շարունակել են VII–VIII դարերի շարականագիրները, մասնավորապես՝ Կոմիտաս Աղցեցին, Սահակ Ձորոփորեցին, Հովհան Օձնեցին և առաջին հայ բանաստեղծուհի Սահակ-դուխտը:

Առաջին հայ օրհներգուները Սուրբ Երրորդության Անձերին, Աստվածամորը, քրիստոնեական սրբություններն ու սրբերին բնութագրելիս ու գովերգելիս, իրենց խոսքն առավել պատկերավոր և ազդեցիկ դարձնելու ձգտումով, կիրառել են հատկապես այլաբերության հիմնական տեսակը՝ հանդիսացող փոխաբերությունը:

Օրհներգերում կիրառված հոգևոր բնույթի փոխաբերությունները հիմնականում բխել են աստվածաշնչյան գրքերից և դրանց մեկնություններից, տարածվել են և տեղի տվել նաև ինքնաստեղծ փոխաբերությունների:

Հոգևածում ներկայացված են V–VIII դդ. հայ հոգևոր բանաստեղծության մեջ հանդիպող՝ Սուրբ երրորդության Անձերին, Մարիամ Աստվածածին և Հովհաննես Մկրտչին տրված փոխաբերությունները՝ Լոյս, Աղբիւր, Ճառագայթ, Արեգակ, Սէր, Մարդասէր, Կեանք, Կենարար, Աղբիւր անմահութեան, Գանձ կենաց, կենսատու Պտուղ, Հաց կենաց, Ճանապարհ, Թագաւոր, Գաւազան, Դատաւոր, Բժիշկ, Հովիւ, Նաւապետ, Փեսայ, Եկեղեցի, Մշակ-Այգեգործ, Որթ, Վէմ, Աղանի, Յօղ երկնային, Երկինք պայծառ, Ամպ լուսեղէն, Մորենի անկէզ և այլն:

Բոլոր այս փոխաբերությունները հետագայում կայուն հիմք են հանդիսացել Գրիգոր Նարեկացու հոգևոր խորհրդաբանության համար:

Քանալի բառեր՝ հայ գրականություն, միջնադարյան հոգևոր բանաստեղծություն, փոխաբերություն, Աստվածաշունչ, Քրիստոս, Մեսրոպ Մաշտոց, Մովսես Խորենացի:


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TEXT, COMMENTARY, TRANSLATION: THE *BOOK OF LAMENTATION* OF GREGORY OF NAREK

Abstract

The article studies two most popular translations of the *Book of Lamentation* by St. Gregory of Narek from Grabar (Old Armenian) into Modern Armenian. On the example of Mkrtich Kheranyan's and Vazgen Gevorgyan's translations an attempt is made to study how translators perceive, interpret and reproduce a Medieval work in Modern Armenian, what problems they encounter while translating the text and what solutions they offer. The analysis of these translations not only provides an opportunity to evaluate translators' efforts, but also detect problems and some peculiar features of the translation, which in the future can contribute to the emergence of new, improved translations of the *Book of Lamentation*.

Commentaries facilitate an accurate comprehension of the *Book of Lamentation*, enabling readers to evaluate the work of the translators. Commentaries were produced between the 13th and 19th centuries with the objective to facilitate the comprehension of Gregory's work. From an analysis of the translations of the *Book of Lamentation* and the testimonies of the translators, it is evident that in the translation process they have made use of the commentaries, while drawing on their own insights. Furthermore, as the medieval interpreters and subsequently H. Patriarch Nalean and G. Avetikean addressed the interpretation of the original text with a clear objective in mind, we

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Text, Commentary, Translation: the Book of Lamentation of Gregory of Narek

have also referred to the analysis of the correlations between the original, its various interpretations and translations.

Keywords: *Gregory of Narek, Book of Lamentation, prayer book, problems of the translation, commentary, context, medieval thinking.*

Introduction

In recent times, the number of translations of the *Book of Lamentation* has increased markedly, yet the study of these translations has been accorded only limited attention. The Eastern Armenian translations of the Book of Lamentation by Mkrtich Kheranyan and Vazgen Gevorgyan have been investigated in a few articles only. The importance of the present research lies in revealing some properties of translation literature, a hitherto little-studied area of translation. The aforementioned translations thoroughly examine the distinctive features of the *Book of Lamentation*, particularly those that are. However, a competence in the source and target languages is far from being sufficient. To achieve successful translations, it is essential to gain an in-depth understanding of the historical context, social norms, and the world in which the author lived and worked.

The objective of this study is to provide a comprehensive examination of the aforementioned translations, with a particular focus on the linguistic challenges inherent to the process of translation. Furthermore, it is intended to demonstrate the principles and approaches that will assist future translators in gaining a deeper understanding of the author and presenting their work in a manner that is both comprehensible and accurate. In order to provide a detailed account of the translation process, including text selection, translation, and reproduction, we have drawn upon the insights of the Czech theorist I. Levy in his seminal work, *The Art of Translation*¹. An examination of the original text through the application of the method of comparative analysis has informed our approach. We have focused on the historical and literary aspects of translations. The following tasks have been set:

a) to examine how translators perceived and reproduced the medieval worldview;

b) to clarify the adequacy of the translations to the original through selected examples.

¹ Levy 1974.

To circumvent the potential issues that may arise during the translation process, as well as to minimise the likelihood of errors and omissions, researchers have identified a specific sequence of steps that can be employed to create a translation faithful to the original text.²

Perception of the text

The initial stage of the perception of the original begins with reading the text. This presupposes a *reading-preparation*. As has been correctly observed, “reading enables the translator to comprehend the objectives set by the source text and the expectations of the target audience. This understanding facilitates the creation of a translation with no subsequent revisions or retranslation.”³

The translators of the *Book of Lamentation* have consistently endeavored to present Gregory’s work in an accurate and intelligible manner. Consequently, they have periodically revised their translation, adopting a different approach each time. It is possible to identify two Eastern Armenian translations of the *Book of Lamentation* produced by V. Gevorgyan. In 1970 and 1979, the translator published a selection of translated passages in a volume entitled *Tsaghkak’agh*.⁴ In a published translation, he wrote: “The objective of those translations was to “extract” the original text. However, in addition to that, I aim to enhance the expressive quality of the translation, as well as convey the original author’s thoughts, words, and expressions with greater precision, depth, and clarity to facilitate comprehension from the outset.”⁵ A comparison of these two translations with the original text reveals that the translators have employed a variety of techniques in the final version to achieve a closer alignment with the source text and a higher degree of descriptive details:

a) *The initial variant was replaced with a more eloquent one, thereby enhancing the expressiveness of the translation.* Examples of this include the following:

² Komisarov 2002, 57–58.

³ Alekseeva 2004, 325.

⁴ Gevorgyan 1970. The selected passages from *Tsaghkaqagh* are drawn from the 1970 version of Vazgen Gevorgyan’s translation (henceforth, *Tsaghkak’agh*).

⁵ Gevorgyan 1979, 653.

«Ի քոցդ **աննուազ գթութեանց**», *Matean*, p. 279⁶ ("Your **undiminishing compassion**, *Book*, p. 44)⁷ – «**աննվազելի քո ողորմության**», *Tsaghkak'agh*, pp. 37–38 ("**inexhaustible** in your **mercy**") – «**անհատ գթության**», *Gevorgyan*, p. 55 ("**unique mercy**");

«Յորում կոհակաք բազմաք անթիւ **դիմեցմանց** / Տատանեալ հոգիս ի յասմ աշխարհի՝ / Մարմնոյս շինուածով, իբր ի նաակի», *Matean*, p. 339 ("Countless **clashes** with numerous waves beat against my soul held in the frame of my body resembling a sailboat tossed around in this world", *Book*, p. 105) – «**դիմախուժումով**», *Tsaghkak'agh*, p. 57 ("**with high resistance**") – «**ընդդիմախուժմամբ**», *Gevorgyan*, p. 144 ("**with resistance**");

«**Ամբոխեաց** զհանդարտութիւնն, / Ուստի նաւն ի բախմանէ վայրենի ալեացն խորտակեցաւ», *Matean*, p. 340 ("The **calm gave way** to thrice forceful waves, and so the sailboat sank", *Book*, p. 106) – «**վրդովեց** հանդարտութիւնը», *Tsaghkak'agh*, p. 57 ("The calm **was disturbed**") – «**խառնեց-խռովեց** անդորրն հիմնովին», *Gevorgyan*, p. 144 ("...it **stirred-disturbed** the peace to the core")).

b) *The sections were brought closer to the original form:*

«Նմանութեամբ **այսր արինակի** կերպաւորեցոյց» *Matean*, p. 339 ("**With such imagery**", *Book*, p. 105) – «**այսպէս** պատկերեց», *Tsaghkak'agh*, p. 57 ("depicted like this") – «**այս օրինակով** պատկերեց», *Gevorgyan*, p. 144 ("depicted with this example");

«Որ եւ առ իմս հոգեւորական խորտակումն **զուգաձայնել** ոչ է սխալական», *Matean*, p. 339 ("I will not be wrong in drawing **similar analogy** with my spiritual downfall", *Book*, p. 105) – «**համեմատել**», *Tsaghkak'agh*, p. 57 ("**compare**") – «**զուգաձայնել**», *Gevorgyan*, p. 144 ("...**to achieve a parallel sound**");

«**Երեքալեանն** դիմակցութեամբ ամբոխեաց զհանդարտութիւնն», *Matean*, p. 340 ("The calm **gave way to thrice** forceful waves", *Book*, p. 106) –

⁶ **Khacatryan, Poghosyan** 1985. The following excerpts are taken from the original text of the *Book of Lamentation*, as published in 1985 by P. Khachatryan and A. Ghazinyan (henceforth, *Matean*).

⁷ **Terian** 2021. The original passages from Gregory of Narek's work also reference their English translations, which are included in A. Teryan's rendition of the *Book of Lamentation* (henceforth, *Book*).

«**եռալեկոծ** դիմահարությամբ», *Tsaghkak'agh*, p. 57 ("**three-wave force**") – «**երեքալյան** դիմահարությամբ», *Gevorgyan*, p. 144 ("**three-wave forceful**").

c) *New words added to the translation:*

«Զոր Եսայիաս մարգարէ զյանկարծադէպ կատարածն, / Որ ի պարսկականն հինից / Երուսաղեմի եւ Սամարիայ **կործանմանն**», *Matean*, p. 339 ("The prophet Isaiah represented the sudden **destruction** of Jerusalem and Samaria by the Persians of old", *Book*, p. 105) – «**անսպասելի** ավերածությունն», *Tsaghkak'agh*, p. 57 ("**sudden** destruction") – «**անսպասելի** կործանումն **անդարձ**», *Gevorgyan*, p. 144 ("**sudden** destruction **irrecoverable**");

«Իմս հոգեւորական խորտակումն», *Matean*, p. 339 ("**With my spiritual downfall**", *Book*, p. 105) – «հոգևոր իմ խորտակման հետ», *Tsaghkak'agh*, p. 57 ("**With my spiritual downfall**") – «հոգևոր **անլուր** իմ խորտակման հետ», *Gevorgyan*, p. 144 ("With my spiritual **unheard** of downfall").

The examination of the translation versions of the same work makes it possible to avoid inaccuracies and omissions in previous translations. Furthermore, as M. Janpoladyan observed, "it allows for an insight into the translator's creative process, enabling the reconstruction of the route traversed by the translated text prior to its final presentation to the reader. Such research demonstrates, through the use of specific examples, the processes and decisions that translators employ in order to arrive at a final outcome. This approach allows for the examination of the translator's artistic vision, their interpretation of the source text, and the creative principles that inform their work."⁸

The interpretation of the text

The original is thus perceived in a way that it reveals the elements of the preexisting preliminary understanding (hereafter, "preunderstanding"⁹) and interpretation.¹⁰ Additionally, the preunderstanding incorporates the translator's preconceptions ("Vorurteil" – Gadamer's term¹¹). These preconceptions, subsequently influence the interpretation of the text. Interpretations assist in accurately perceiving the *Book of Lamentation*, presenting it to the reader, and evaluating the work of the translators. Medieval interpretations of the *Book* were

⁸ Janpoladyan 2016, 223

⁹ Gadamer 1988, 317–320.

¹⁰ Shirinyan 2000, 36–64.

¹¹ K'ocharyan 2006, 106–109.

produced in the 13th century. In the 18th–19th centuries, interpretations were offered by H. Patriarch Nalean, and G. Avetikean. The allegorical passages of the *Book of Lamentation*, which were expressed identically in the translations, became comprehensible to us thanks to the elucidations provided by the interpreters.

To illustrate, let us consider the phrase **"I took the cup of wrath into my hand"** in Prayer 26 (*Book*, p. 346). Kheranyan and Gevorgyan have translated this as **"I took the cup of wrath into my hand"**¹² and **"I took it as a cup of wrath"** (Gevorgyan, p. 155). The meaning of this line has become clear with the explanation of the medieval commentary: **"I considered myself worthy of death."**¹³

The commentary assisted in comprehending the biblical context and facilitating an accurate translation. However, as I. Levy observed, adhering to the commentary to convey the original meaning can also hinder the adequacy of the translation. It is, therefore, crucial to consider the translator's interpretive stance, as it represents a pivotal aspect of the translation formula, for achieving an accurate understanding of the original text. It is essential to consider the perspective from which the translator approached the commentary and to ascertain whether they selected an appropriate one for their translation.¹⁴

The term **"label"** used in Prayer 28 is defined as **"unfamiliar, alien, also foreign, as in distant, free"**.¹⁵ However, it is also interpreted as **"name,"**¹⁶ **"need"**, or **"longing."**¹⁷ In the words of Gregory of Narek, the term **"label"** was intended to convey the concept of "longing": "In the context of the divine profound unity, it can be observed that one of the Trinities is not reliant on the other power:"¹⁸ «Քանզի ոչ պիտակ ինչ սոսկ զաւրութեանն ունի զմիսմէն / Առ մի խորհրդականն խորութեան», *Matean*, p. 358 ("In the deep mystery of your unity, one does not need the least power from the other," *Book*, p. 126). This is an illustrative example of a situation in which the meaning of the original text has been entirely transformed in the process of translation. Kheranyan's translation

¹² Kheranyan 1960, 110. In this study, we have selected and presented excerpts from Kheranyan's translation of the 1960 edition (henceforth, Kheranyan).

¹³ MM 5650, 361a.

¹⁴ Levy 1974, 70.

¹⁵ Nor baṛgirk' haykazea lezui 1836–1837.

¹⁶ Nalean 1745, 213.

¹⁷ Avetikean 1827, 141.

¹⁸ Khachatryan and Khazinyan 1985, 1031–1032.

may have been influenced by Avetikyan's interpretation, which understood the text to be about "**longing**." This is evidenced by the following excerpt from Kheranyan's translation: "**For in your deep union / One has no longing for the power of the other**" (Kheranyan, p. 123). Gevorgyan employed both meanings of the word, as evidenced by the following excerpt: "**For in your deep union/ One has no power alien to the other**" (Gevorgyan, p. 174).

The reproduction of the text

The reproduction of the original text presented a significant challenge for translators working with Gregory's work. Not only did they encounter difficulties in identifying suitable equivalents for Narekatsi's words and expressions in a multitude of languages, including Russian, French, English, Italian, and others, but they also faced challenges when translating from Grabar (Old Armenian) to Modern Armenian. This is because of the semantic, and stylistic differences between the two versions of the same language (Grabar and Modern Armenian), which cause difficulties in the translation process. The level of overcoming difficulties when translating between different languages, largely speaking, is the same. Accordingly, as a translation critic, Naida correctly observed that grammatical and cultural differences between the source text and the target text in related or closely related languages are not readily apparent. Hence, this does not imply that fewer challenges arise during the translation process.¹⁹

To present the *Book of Lamentation* adequately and understandably in Modern Armenian, as well as to avoid errors and create a translation worthy of the original, it is essential to take into account a number of factors. These include **the context** as defined by Komisarov, who states that translations should not only convey the text itself but also the context in which it was created.²⁰ Additionally, it is of paramount importance for a translator to consider **the period in which the text was created**, and **the writer's intention**.

a) *The concept of a purely literal or dictionary translation* has consistently been a point of contention among translation theorists. Levy also addressed this issue, noting that in translation, the incorrect word is sometimes selected for a given sentence or passage of the text, that can result in a "misunderstanding of

¹⁹ Nida 2007, 12.

²⁰ Kommisarov 2002, 62.

reality.”²¹ This occurs when the translator disregards the denotation of the word within the source text and relies on the dictionary definition instead, failing to recognise that the dictionary translation does not yet accurately convey the intended meaning. It is of great significance to consider the context when translating the *Book of Lamentation*, as the same word is employed with disparate meanings across different passages. In Prayer 66, the word “**unreachable**” appears in two different contexts: «Առ ի չիջանել անընտրողաբար **յան-ձեռնհասն** բարձրութենէ», *Matean*, p. 507 (“so as not to fall unintentionally from the **unreachable** heights”, *Book*, p. 290).

In the phrase “**unreachable heights**”, the aforementioned word was employed to convey the meanings of “**excellent**” and “**sublime**”. Kheranyan has omitted it, and Gevorgyan has selected the appropriate synonym “unreach” from the available options, which aligns with the intended meaning of the source text, the surrounding context, and the broader lexical range of the work (“To descend unwisely from his height”, Kheranyan, p. 284; “Who will not descend unwisely from his **unreachable** height”, Gevorgyan, p. 398).

Secondly, in the context of “**unending anxiety**” “**unending**” conveys the meaning of “**irremediable** or **impossible**”²²: «Տե՛ս ի տարակոյս **անձեռնհաս** տազնապիս», *Matean*, p. 507, line 40 (“See the perplexity arising from my **unending anxiety**”, *Book*, p. 290).

Kheranyan expresses “**unending**” in a similar manner, whereas Gevorgyan’s translation is semantic: «Տե՛ս տարակուսական տազնապս **անձեռնհաս**», Kheranyan, p. 284 (“See my **unending** anxiety”) – «Տե՛ս տազնապներն ու տվայտանքներն իմ **անդարմանելի**», Gevorgyan, p. 399 (“See my **irremediable** anxiety and sorrow”).

b) *The process of translation is not merely a relationship between two languages; it is also a relationship between two cultures.* It is unfeasible to attain a complete comprehension of individuals from diverse cultures and linguistic backgrounds due to the inherent differences in their thought processes.²³ Therefore, it is essential to consider the period of the creation of the translated work, for the meanings of words always depend on the context and the environment that shapes one’s mindset. In the *Book of Lamentation*, there are

²¹ Levy 1974, 58.

²² Ibid.

²³ Kommisarov 2002, 71.

words and expressions that are characteristic of medieval thinking and customs and which are, therefore, not readily understandable. Translators have occasionally used the original form of these words. However, as a result, the meanings of these words are incomprehensible to the readers of the translations:

«Անձնամատն», *Matean*, p. 329 (“self-destructive”, *Book*, p. 95) – «անձնամատ», *Kheranyan*, p. 91 (“self-destructive”) – «անձնամատն», *Gevorgyan*, p. 129 (“self-destructive”).

The comprehension of such words and expressions is enhanced when their meaning is elucidated in the translations. Here are some examples: «Վաճառ մերձ ի յառ», *Matean*, p. 435 (“often bought and sold object”, *Book*, p. 212) – «ավարի վաճառք», *Kheranyan*, p. 203 (“easily pilfered goods”) – «ավարառության ենթակա վաճառք», *Gevorgyan*, p. 281 (“easily pilfered goods”), or in some cases, when they have been translated with a contemporary understanding of the word («սերմանի», *Matean*, p. 283 (“mustard seed”, *Book*, p. 47) – «հատիկ», *Kheranyan*, p. 40 (“seed”) – «սերմնահատ», *Gevorgyan*, p. 60 (“a seed cutter”)); // («զոդողակ», *Matean* p. 464 (“diver”, *Book*, p. 244) – «սուզակ», *Kheranyan*, p. 237 (“diver”) – «ջրասույզ», *Gevorgyan*, p. 329 (“scuba diver”).

c) *In the process of translating such words, it is also essential to consider the author’s intention*, as I. Levy observed that the inclusion of an inappropriate word in the author’s system of views may result in a “misunderstanding of intention:²⁴ «ընդոտնեա», *Matean*, p. 532 (“Keep under control”, *Book*, p. 321 – «զսպիր», *Kheranyan*, p. 310 (“subdue”) – «նվաճիր, զսպիր», *Gevorgyan*, p. 438 (“restrain, subdue”).

Conclusions

The *Book of Lamentation* contains a plethora of words and expressions that cannot be fully comprehended without a grasp of Grabar (Old Armenian) and the nuances of Modern Armenian. To ensure successful translations, it is essential that the translators gain an in-depth understanding of the author’s era, way of life, social norms, thought processes, linguistic imagery and symbols, as well as the author’s style, preferences, and intellectual perspective. The accurate and comprehensive reproduction of the Book of Lamentation requires that the

²⁴ Levy 1974, 58.

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translators draw upon a range of resources, including the Holy Scriptures and dictionaries, while also considering the previous translations and commentaries.

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ԱՆՈՒՇ ԱՊՐԵՍՅԱՆ

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**ԲՆԱԳԻՐ, ՄԵԿՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ, ԹԱՐԳՄԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ.
ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ՆԱՐԵԿԱՅՈՒ «ՄԱՏԵԱՆ ՈՂԲԵՐԳՈՒԹԵԱՆ»
ԵՐԿԸ**

Ամփոփում

Հոգվածը նվիրված է Գրիգոր Նարեկացու «Մատեան ողբերգութեան» երկի՝ առավել հայտնի երկու աշխարհաբար թարգմանությունների քննությանը: «Մատեան»-ի՝ Մկրտիչ Խերանյանի և Վազգեն Գևորգյանի թարգմանությունների օրինակով փորձ է արվում ուսումնասիրել, թե ինչպես են թարգմանիչներն ընկալել և ժամանակակից հայերենով մեկնաբանել ու վերարտադրել միջնադարյան երկը, ինչ խնդիրներ է բնագիրը դրել թարգմանչի առաջ, և դրանց լուծման ինչ մեթոդներ ու եղանակներ են ընտրվել: Սույն աշխատանքով նշված թարգմանությունների ուսումնասիրությունը հնարավորություն է ընձեռում ինչպես գնահատելու և արժևորելու թարգմանիչների կարևոր ու դժվարին աշխատանքը, այնպես էլ՝ վերհանելու և շեշտելու թարգմանական այն խնդիրներն ու առանձնահատկությունները, որոնք անհրաժեշտ են ապագայում «Մատեան»-ի նոր և ավելի կատարյալ թարգմանություններ ունենալու համար:

«Մատեան»-ը ճիշտ ընկալելու, ընթերցողի առաջ մեկնելու ու թարգմանիչների կատարած աշխատանքը գնահատելու գործում մեծապես օգնում են մեկնությունները: Գրիգոր Նարեկացուն հասկանալու համար XIII–XIX դարերից սկսած ստեղծվել են մեկնությունները: «Մատեան»-ի թարգմանությունների քննությունից, ինչպես նաև թարգմանիչների վկայություններից ակնհայտ է, որ իրենք անդրադարձ են կատարել մեկնություններին, ինչպես նաև ինքնուրույն, հենց թարգմանության ընթացքում յուրովի մեկնություններ իրականացրել: Եվ քանի որ միջնադարյան մեկնիչները և ապա՝ նաև Հ. պատրիարք Նալյանն ու Գ. Ավետիքյանը սկզբունքային նպատակադրու-

թյամբ առաջադրել են բնագրի մեկնության հարցը, հետևաբար մեր քննության մեջ անդրադարձել ենք նաև բնագրի, դրա տարատեսակ մեկնությունների ու թարգմանությունների վերլուծությանը:


Բանալի բառեր՝ Գրիգոր Նարեկացի, «Մատենանոց գրգռություն», բնագիր, թարգմանական խնդիրներ, մեկնություն, համալրություն, միջնադարյան մտածողություն:

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ARSHAK CHOPANIAN AND THE “ANAHIT” JOURNAL IN THE ORIGINS OF KOMITAS STUDIES

Abstract

The Armenian writer, critic, linguist, journalist and public figure Arshak Chopanian's (1872–1954) role in the creative life of Komitas is exceptional, and significant is his contribution to the formation of Komitas studies. Komitas and A. Chopanian's acquaintance took place in Paris in July 1901 and lasted through Komitas' death. A. Chopanian did not only highly appreciate Komitas's talent and the work he did, but also attached importance to creating favorable conditions for his activity and took a lot of practical steps to that end. In *Anahit*, the literary, artistic and public magazine founded by him in Paris in 1898, as well as in other periodicals of the time, such as *Byuzandion* (Constantinople), *Hayastani kochnak [Armenia's Bell]* (New York), etc., A. Chopanian placed

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articles, in which he commended Komitas’ activity, thereby making his works known to broader public.

On the pages of *Anahit*, A. Chopanian, on the one hand, presented the full-fledged panorama of Komitas’ concert activities that unfolded in Paris and Geneva, published materials assessing Komitas’ oeuvre, authored by various musicians, as well as memoirs, and, on the other, Komitas’ own studies in musicology and a piece of his literary legacy – his autobiography.

A. Chopanian’s Komitassiana had had also applied significance. Several important issues raised by A. Chopanian – in particular, the issue of burying Komitas in Armenia, and that of publishing his musical legacy – were brought to life in the near future.

Keywords: *Arshak Chopanian, Komitas, Armenian music, Anahit magazine, Paris, the year of 1901, the year of 1935.*

Introduction

“Komitas is a world unto himself; much has been written about him, and much more remains to be written. For a long time to come, the Armenian musicologist, composer, ethnographer, and patriot will continue to engage with this multifaceted and captivating figure.”¹

These lines were written by the Armenian writer, critic, philologist, journalist, and public figure Arshak Chopanian (1872–1954). Penned 90 years ago, in 1935, under the influence of Komitas’s passing, these words remain relevant even today.

The aim of our research is to revisit the pages of Komitas’s personal and creative interactions with A. Chopanian, to present the significant and profound role the renowned Armenian figure played in the creative destiny of the genius Komitas, and to uncover Chopanian’s contributions to the field of Komitas studies.

As A. Chopanian observed: “...I was one of those close to him who knew him most intimately, followed his work step by step, and was familiar with all his enthusiasms, hopes, desires, plans, difficulties, obstacles, and sorrows. With all my love and admiration, I endeavored to do everything within my power to ease his work.”²

Born on July 15, 1872, in Constantinople, and later actively engaged in

¹ **Chopanian**, 1935, № 6, 54.

² *Ibid*, 46.

literary pursuits in his hometown, A. Chopanian published the collection *"Voices of Dawn"* in 1891 and founded the literary semiannual *"Flower"* in 1895. In 1896, he moved to Paris, where, in 1898, he established the literary, artistic, and social journal *"Anahit"*.

Komitas and Arshak Chopanian

In July 1901, Komitas visited Paris for the first time. During this visit, 32-year-old Komitas met 29-year-old Arshak Chopanian. The meeting with Komitas became one of the most vivid and impactful events in Chopanian's life. "From the very first day," Chopanian would recall years later, "when I saw him and felt that extraordinary strength within him, I was bound to him with limitless love..."³

Under the impression of his first meeting with Komitas, A. Chopanian wrote his first article about the young musician, titled Komitas Vardapet. The article was published in *"Anahit"* in 1901, in issues #6–7, under the heading "Faces." According to the author, it was one of the most passionate articles he had ever written throughout his life.⁴

During several meetings, Komitas shared his thoughts and the program he intended to implement with A. Chopanian. The scholar was already confident that Komitas was "the person needed to radically renew Armenian music, rescuing it from its distortion and decline, and to introduce it to European musicologists, allowing it to claim its rightful place in world music, a place it has yet to occupy."⁵

On page 165 of the same issue of *Anahit*, in the "National Chronicle" section, brief information about Komitas is published: "Komitas Vardapet, who stayed in Paris for about a month, was surrounded by the admiration of the Armenian community in the city. Our chapel was filled with a large crowd on the few Sundays when the Vardapet sang. The talented artist is about to return to Etchmiadzin to resume his musical work there, which has been highly valued and encouraged by Khrimian Hayrik."⁶ It is not difficult to guess that the author of this unsigned article about Komitas is none other than A. Chopanian.

Later, A. Chopanian continued to dedicate numerous pages in *"Anahit"* to Komitas. The first significant outcome of the collaboration between Komitas and A.

³ **Chopanian**, 1931, № 1–2, 119.

⁴ See **Chopanian**, 1901, № 6–7, 141–144.

⁵ *Ibid*, 142.

⁶ Komitas Vardapet, 1901, № 6–7, 165.

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Chopanian was the famous concert organized on December 1, 1906, at the Salle des Agricultures in Paris, which was dedicated to highlighting Armenian music and achieved exceptional success. The concert poster was designed by Edgar Shahin.

In the final issue of *Anahit* in 1906, an article titled *The Armenian Concert in Paris* was published, describing this concert. The author, who is most likely A. Chopanian, writes: "Mrs. Margarita Babayan, P. Mugunyan, and Shah-Muratsyan sang the solo pieces in a marvelous way, and Mrs. Shushanik Babayan played the piano masterfully, performing the Mushian and Yerevan all-dance melodies. Komitas Vardapet sang "Tiramayr" and "Havik". The audience received all these pieces with enthusiastic applause, and five or six of them were repeated."⁷

After the first part of the concert, A. Chopanian delivered an extensive French lecture titled "On Armenian Music and Poetry", which was composed of two substantial sections. In the first, he briefly outlines Komitas's life path and provides a general description of his work, while in the second section, he discusses the compositions included in the concert program.

The article "The Armenian Concert in Paris" published in *Anahit* concludes with the following paragraph: "This concert brought great pleasure to the Armenians present and left an unforgettable impression on the Europeans. In our next issue, we will provide further details."⁸

In accordance with *Anahit's* promise, the extensive article "*The Armenian Music Concert*,"⁹ was published in the January-February 1907 issue, which presents the opinions of Parisian music critics about the concert. The first published piece is the Armenian translation of A. Chopanian's French lecture "*On Armenian Music and Poetry*" (the original French text had been published in *Le Mercure Musical*).¹⁰ This is followed by Armenian translations of the article from *Le Mercure Musical* edited and founded by French musicologist and critic Louis Lalou, which appeared in the December 15 issue, as well as articles from *Guide Musical* in Brussels (December 9) and *Le Courrier Musical* (December 15).¹¹

Indeed, A. Chopanian not only published valuable information in *Anahit*

⁷ Armenian Music Concert, Paris, 1906, № 10–11–12, 240.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ See "Armenian Music Concert" (1907), *Anahit*, Issue 1–2, 23–31.

¹⁰ See **A.Ch.**, 1907, Issue 1–2, 24–27.

¹¹ See Armenian Music Concert, 1907, Issue 1–2, 27–31.

about this important event in early 20th-century Armenian musical life and his lecture, but also presented the reactions of the French press and the high praise from French experts in Armenian translation.

On the evening of January 13, 1907, at the invitation of the Art School's administration, Komitas Vardapet gave a lecture on Armenian music at the Rue de la Sorbonne hall, which "*Anahit*" also covers. In the article, which was most likely written by A. Chopanian, we learn that during the lecture, Komitas explained how the Armenian people create their songs, how they develop and spread them.

The speaker lists the types of these songs, showing the place and time of their creation and performance, illustrating each one through singing, "which greatly enlivened and captivated the lecture."¹² Then, the speaker clarifies the issues of foreign music's influence on Armenian music.

Following the lecture, there was a "small concert, composed purely of Armenian pieces, where their talents were once again demonstrated by O.M. and Sh. Babayan, B. Mugunian, and the speaker himself, Komitas Vardapet, who, after singing some songs, enchanted the audience by playing a pastoral tune on the Armenian "pogi" (a type of folk instrument)."¹³

Subsequently, Komitas and A. Chopanian continue their mission of spreading Armenian music together.¹⁴

In May 1907, the Armenian student community invites Komitas to Geneva to form a choir with local resources and give a concert for the benefit of the starving people of Van. Komitas forms a 50-member choir from Armenian and Russian students and prepares them for the concert to support the people of Van, which takes place on June 1, 1907, in the hall of the Geneva Conservatory.

In Geneva, just like in Paris, "Mr. Arshak Chopanian gave a lecture on Armenian poetry and music."¹⁵

Important information about the concert is provided in the article "Armenian Art in Europe," published in issues 6–7–8–9 of "*Anahit*" in 1907, where it discusses the concert organized by the students of Geneva on June 1st in the hall

¹² The Lecture of Komitas Vardapet, 1907, Issue 1–2, 32.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ For the creative collaboration of Komitas and Chopanian, see Asatryan 2019, pages 25–61.

¹⁵ Garegin V. Hovsepyan, 1907, № 10–11, 909.

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of the Geneva Conservatory for the benefit of the starving people of Van.¹⁶

On June 3rd, Komitas, accompanied once again by A. Chopanian, travels to Lausanne and then to Bern to give concerts and lectures. In Lausanne, "Mr. Chopanian repeated his lecture, while Komitas Vardapet sang 12 pieces of folk and ecclesiastical melodies in the university hall, with the support of the organ."¹⁷ In Lausanne, Komitas and A. Chopanian are photographed with the Armenians from Constantinople, poet Ruben Sevak and theatrical figure Gaspar Ipekian.

In fact, Komitas and A. Chopanian were carrying out the same mission in Europe. Komitas was presenting the songs of the little-known Armenian peasant, while A. Chopanian, as "an Armenian scholar and poet, took on the noble task of making Armenian poetry accessible to the West."¹⁸

At the end of July 1907, Komitas, accompanied by A. Chopanian, travels from Paris to Italy to conduct professional research in the Venetian libraries. On July 25th, in the hall of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, Komitas delivers a lecture, presenting the results of his research to the members of the congregation. He is then invited to repeat the lecture at the Murad-Raphaelian School.¹⁹

The next meeting between Komitas and A. Chopanian takes place at the end of October 1908. A. Chopanian, as a representative of Mush and Shabin-Karahisar, comes to Echmiadzin to participate in the Catholicos elections and is hosted by Komitas. "I felt more strongly how narrow the surroundings were for him there," A. Chopanian would later write, "he had countless things to do, but there was no environment for it. He would feel constrained there, especially after the broad and brilliant field of activity he had in Paris."²⁰

After the Catholicos elections, which took place on November 1st and in which Komitas also participated, A. Chopanian and Komitas, along with the Western Armenian representatives, travel to Tbilisi. The journey to Tbilisi left warm memories. On December 10th, Komitas and A. Chopanian visit the studio of Gevorg Bashinjaghian and are photographed with Hovhannes Tumanyan, Avetik Isahakyan, Ghazaros Aghayan, and Vrtanes Papazyan.

¹⁶ See "Armenian Art in Europe," 1907, № 6–7–8–9, 160.

¹⁷ **Garegin V. Hovsepean**, 1907, № 10–11, 909.

¹⁸ Armenian Art in European Press, 1907, № 7–8, 380.

¹⁹ On Komitas's lectures in Venice, see **H.K.T. Sahakian** 1907, № 7–8, 369–373.

²⁰ **Chopanian** 1931, № 1–2, 119.

Soon, Komitas faces a difficult choice: where to move, Constantinople or Tbilisi? Bishop Mesrop Ter-Movsesian invites him to Tbilisi to become the music teacher at the Nersisian School and the choir director of the city's main church. Meanwhile, Komitas's seminary classmate, Karapet Partizpanyan, invites him to Constantinople, stating: "...favorable conditions will be found there for all his work, and he promises full support for him and his friends."²¹

Komitas consults with A. Chopanian. "Which one to choose?" he hesitated to make a decision and asked for my advice. I urged him to choose Constantinople. At that time, Constantinople offered a wide field for artistic activity, the new regime had removed censorship, freedom of movement was granted, and communication between Constantinople and Turkish Armenia had become easier. A revival of intellectual and national life had begun in our large community in Constantinople, where Komitas would be fully understood, encouraged, and supported in carrying out his work on a broader scale. He listened once again to my friendly advice and went to Constantinople. What a marvelous job he did there, how both Armenian and foreign societies there appreciated him, is known to all. But then came the Great War, and events occurred that shook his mind and placed him in the painful condition in which he remains to this day..."²²

However, according to A. Chopanian, the ideal solution would have been for Komitas to move to Paris. In Paris, Chopanian was confident, "he could both implement his entire program and enrich his artistic and technical resources, which he did partially during the one year he spent here. As the choir director of the Armenian Church in Paris, he would have secured his life, and he would have formed a magnificent Armenian choir that would have been the pride of our community in Paris. Besides strengthening our church with such a choir and making it a favorite and beneficial place for even foreign music lovers in Paris, he would have organized regular concerts in the city with that choir. In doing so, he would have brought the most valuable contribution to the Armenian cause and culture in the most beautiful form. And in his spare time, he would have dedicated himself to arranging the songs he collected, composing the conclusions of his critical studies, and creating personal musical works."²³

²¹ **H.J. Siruni** 1965, № 10, 23.

²² **Chopanian** 1931, № 1–2, 120.

²³ *Ibid*, 121.

Komitas in the Reflection of Letters Addressed to Arshak Chopanian

Komitas's extensive Correspondence, which is a unique and important part of his literary heritage, spans two decades (1894–1914). Komitas's letters are addressed to Margarita Babayan, Mariam Tumanyan, Hovhannes Tumanyan, Matteos Izmirlian, Garegin Levonian, Barsegh Gorganyan, Anton Mayilian, Vahram Mankunian, Spiridon Melikyan, Alexander Myasnikyan, Siranush, Nikoghayos Tigranian, and many others.

The correspondence between Komitas and A. Chopanian is extensive and valuable, beginning in 1901, after Komitas returned to Etchmiadzin from Paris.

The letters of Komitas addressed to A. Chopanian, which had arrived from Paris along with A. Chopanian's rich archive and were stored in the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences' Museum of Literature and Art, were first published in the inaugural issue of the "Historical and Philological Journal," with an introduction and annotations by Matevos Muradyan, the first head of the Music Department at the Institute of Art of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences.²⁴

Komitas highly appreciated the personality of A. Chopanian and his contributions. "The Armenian nation is already greatly indebted to you," Komitas writes to A. Chopanian from Constantinople on December 25, 1912. "You were the first to understand well that in order to pave our future, we first needed to introduce ourselves to foreigners, to show that we are vibrant, children of light and builders in dark places..."²⁵

Although Komitas is generally reserved and introspective in his correspondence, in the letters addressed to A. Chopanian, his multifaceted interests, sharpness of thought, independence, and his vivid and delicate observational skills emerge. His letters reveal a heightened sensitivity toward the surrounding world.

Through these letters, we gain "first-hand" information about Komitas' activities. He shares details about upcoming and future projects, recent concerts, lectures, and creative endeavors. He frequently touches upon issues related to the classification, study, and publication of Armenian folk songs.

In his letters, Komitas' aesthetic views take shape, and his perspectives on Armenian music are formulated. Particularly noteworthy are the letters in which

²⁴ See Muradyan 1958, № 1, 245–267.

²⁵ Ibid, 263.

Komitas reveals his political views and orientations. It is in the letter addressed to A. Chopanian that he outlines his vision of the Armenian national-liberation movement (see the letter of December 25, 1912).

The contribution of Arshak Chopanian to the science of Komitas

Arshak Chopanian's first article dedicated to Komitas, the "great Armenian," where the author presented "the herald of that great force rising above our nation," as we have seen, was published in the June-July 1901 issue of "Anahit." This article not only became the first piece in the French press but also laid the foundations for the science of Komitas studies.

Indeed, "Chopanian should be regarded as the founder of Komitas studies, something that is not yet fully recognized among us."²⁶ After all, it was through his "analytical-scientific evaluations of the work and contributions of Komitas, and the questions he raised, that the further development and direction of Komitas studies were initiated and predetermined."²⁷

An important significance for the field of Komitas studies is Arshak Chopanian's extensive analytical article "Komitas Vardapet and Armenian Music,"²⁸ published in the joint issue of Anahit for 1931 (by the way, the editor had included a photo of Komitas in the issue's composition). The author wrote this piece in connection with the 60th anniversary of Komitas' birth, at the initiative of the Komitas Vardapet's Friends' Committee, for a solemn event held in Paris. The author sets out to interpret and reveal the immense role that Komitas played in our national music and cultural life.

In the article, Arshak Chopanian analyzes the life and work of the musician, examining and valuing the main directions of his activities. At the same time, the article, which is occasionally interspersed with memoirs, provides highly important information about the great musician.

In the pages of Anahit, Arshak Chopanian not only sheds light on Komitas' concert and scientific activities in Paris and publishes his scientific works but also highlights his work in Constantinople. For example, in the Anahit 1911 issue, number 3–4, in the "Chronicle" section, it is written: "Another equally admirable and important project is the plan to establish an Armenian Music Conservatory in

²⁶ Arevshatyan 1998, 15.

²⁷ Sahakyan 2010, 22.

²⁸ See Chopanian 1931, № 1–2, 103–127.

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Constantinople under the leadership of Komitas Vardapet.”²⁹

Although the publication of *Anahit* ceased in 1911 and did not resume until 1928, Arshak Chopanian continued to publish articles about Komitas, covering a broad geographical scope. On April 3, 1912, issue № 4703 of the *Byzantion* newspaper published his article “Komitas Vardapet and Shah-Muradian,” while in the July 7–8, 1914 issue of *Byzantion*, Chopanian published the article “An Unprecedented Decision,” in which he addresses the well-known decision of the Ecclesiastical Assembly and describes it as the most unprecedented decision, considering it an affront to beauty and devoid of any semblance of justice.

In the 39th and 40th issues of the Armenian Call from New York, published in 1923, Arshak Chopanian’s article “Komitas Vardapet” was published in continuation.³⁰ In the first part of the article, the author provides valuable information about Komitas’ condition, while in the second part, he raises the issue of the need for the publication of Komitas’ unpublished works.

In his article, Arshak Chopanian appeals to the Armenian diaspora, particularly to the Armenians in America, urging them to support the publication of Komitas’ legacy. However, his appeal receives no response from either America or other places. As a result, he is forced to repeat his call. In one of the issues of Armenian Call from New York in 1925, his article “The Unpublished Works of Komitas Vardapet” is published,³¹ once again emphasizing the importance of publishing Komitas’ legacy.

However, after long and fruitless efforts, Arshak Chopanian would eventually find the only correct solution for the publication of Komitas’ legacy. Years would pass, and the Komitas Committee would send Komitas’ archives to Armenia. On September 26, 1949, on the occasion of Komitas’ 80th anniversary, the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR adopted a decision for the academic publication of the collected works of Komitas, with the task of its implementation assigned to the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, specifically to the Institute of Art. Between 1960 and 2006, the Institute of Art of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia carried out the academic publication of the collected works of Komitas, which not only became an exceptional event in the musical life of the Armenian people but also an important national phenomenon of significant

²⁹ **Chopanian** 1911, № 3–4, 92.

³⁰ See **Chopanian** 1923, № 39, 29.09.2023, 1226–1228, № 40, 6.10.2023, 1256–1257.

³¹ See **Chopanian** 1925, № 25, 27.06.2025, 806–809.

strategic importance.

* * *

On October 21, 1935, at 6 a.m., Komitas's sensitive heart ceased to beat in France. On October 27, during the funeral ceremony held at the Armenian St. John the Baptist Church on Jean Gujon Street in Paris, the eulogies were delivered on behalf of the International Music Society by Professor Kurt Sachs, on behalf of the French Music Society by Amédée Gastouen, by the Armenian choirs and composers of Paris by Ara Parthevian, by Komitas's students by Hayk Semerjyan... A speech was made on behalf of Komitas's oldest friends and the Komitas Commission by Arshak Chopanian...

"By the order of the police, the passage of carriages through that street was prohibited for the entire duration of the ceremony. The people, silent, composed, disciplined, and thoughtful, remained there for one and a half hours to listen to the expressions of respect offered to our great musician. From the windows of the houses opposite, the French watched with awe the exceptional tribute that our people paid to one of their prominent figures who had passed away."³²

At the end of the mourning ceremony, Komitas's coffin was lowered into the small chapel in the basement of the church, with the aim of later transferring it to Armenia. Decades later, in 2003, a 6-meter bronze statue of Komitas by Davit Yeranyan was installed near the church. On its back is a cross-stone adorned with the Armenian letters of Mesrop Mashtots. In the priest's left hand is a book, while his right hand touches the body of a round-faced, fair-haired child. On the pedestal, it is written in both Armenian and French: "In memory of Komitas, the priest, and the 1,500,000 Armenian victims of the genocide committed by the Ottoman Empire in 1915." On January 29, 2019, a smaller version of Davit Yeranyan's Parisian monument was placed in the inner courtyard of the Komitas Museum-Institute in Yerevan, under a chinari tree.³³

In the October-December 1935 issue of *Anahit*, a detailed obituary by A. Chopanian is published, which includes not only valuable factual material related to Komitas's death and final farewell,³⁴ but also features three photographs of Komitas, including one from his deathbed. Additionally, it includes a reproduction of the death mask created by the artist Ariel Ajemian shortly after Komitas's

³² **Chopanian** 1935, № 6, 51.

³³ **Aghasyan** 2019, 18.

³⁴ See **Chopanian** 1935, № 6, 45–54.

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passing. A. Chopanian's work on Komitas also had practical significance. Several important issues he raised found their resolution. For example, in his obituary, he addresses the question of burying Komitas in Armenia, which became a reality a few months later. On May 28, 1936, under the auspices of a committee created by the President of the Union of Composers of Armenia, Mushegh Aghayan, and following the words of Komitas's close friend, artist Panos Terlemezyan, and musicologist Ruben Terlemezyan, with the performance of "*Chinar es*"³⁵ (meaning "You are like a plane tree," referring to a tall and graceful figure) by Haykanush Danielyan, Komitas's remains were interred in the Pantheon of Cultural Figures in Yerevan, next to the grave of Romanos Melikyan. The Pantheon, which was located in a park, would soon be named after Komitas, and in its vicinity, the Komitas Museum-Institute would open its doors on January 29, 2015.

Another important initiative by A. Chopanian for the study of Komitas was related to the publication of Komitas's musicological and literary legacy in the pages of *Anahit*. In the 1907 issues of *Anahit*, the chapter "The Expansion and Influence of Folk Songs" from Komitas's work *Armenian Folk Music* was published with abbreviations and without musical examples.³⁶ The full version of this chapter was published posthumously in the 6th issue of 1935³⁷ and the 1st and 2nd issues of 1936.³⁸

A. Chopanian emphasized the importance of publishing Komitas's literary legacy. In the combined 1st and 2nd issues of *Anahit* in 1931, the "Autobiography of Komitas Vardapet" was published.³⁹

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can note that A. Chopanian's role has been both significant and exceptional, not only in the creative fate of Komitas but also in the field of Komitas studies. A. Chopanian not only highly valued Komitas's talent and his work but also emphasized the necessity of creating favorable conditions for his activities, taking numerous practical steps in this direction.

³⁵ See **Zaven**, 1936, 569.

³⁶ **Komitas Vardapet**, 1907, № 3–4–5, 70–73. **Komitas Vardapet**, 1907, № 6–7–8–9, 127–130.

³⁷ See **Komitas**, 1935, № 6, 27–29.

³⁸ See **Komitas**, 1936, № 1–2, 41–48.

³⁹ See the autobiography of Komitas Vardapet, 1931, № 1–2, 2–6.

Through articles published in *Anahit* and other periodicals (*Byzantion* in Constantinople, *Hayastani Kochknak* in New York, and others), A. Chopanian acknowledged and praised Komitas's work and contributed to the promotion of his creative legacy.

In the pages of *Anahit*, A. Chopanian, on the one hand, presented a comprehensive portrait of Komitas's concert activities in Paris and Geneva, published articles and assessments dedicated to Komitas by various musicians,⁴⁰ and dedicated pages to memoirs.⁴¹ On the other hand, he also published Komitas's musicological studies and autobiography.

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⁴⁰ See the lecture on Komitas delivered in Tbilisi in 1919, 1935, № 1-2, 75-80. **Hartman** 1936, № 1-2, 22-33.

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ԱՆՆԱ ԱՍԱՏՐՅԱՆ

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ՀՀ արվեստի վաստակավոր գործիչ

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0009-0009-0814-4870 

**ԱՐՇԱԿ ՉՈՊԱՆՅԱՆԸ ԵՎ «ԱՆԱՀԻՏ» ՀԱՆԴԵՍԸ՝
ԿՈՄԻՏԱՍԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԱԿՈՒՆՔՆԵՐՈՒՄ**

Ամփոփում

Բացառիկ է հայ գրող, քննադատ, բանասեր, լրագրող և հասարակական գործիչ Արշակ Չոպանյանի (1872–1954) դերը Կոմիտասի ստեղծագործական ճակատագրում, ծանրակշիռ նրա ներդրումը՝ կոմիտասագիտության ձևավորման գործում: Կոմիտասի և Ա. Չոպանյանի ծանոթությունը տեղի ունեցավ Փարիզում՝ 1901 թվականի հուլիսին և շարունակվեց մինչև Կոմիտասի մահը: Ա. Չոպանյանը ոչ միայն բարձր է գնահատել Կոմիտասի տաղանդն ու նրա կատարած գործը, այլև կարևորել նրա գործունեության համար նպաստավոր պայմաններ ստեղծելու անհրաժեշտությունը՝ այդ ուղղությամբ կատարելով բազմաթիվ գործնական քայլեր: 1898-ին Փարիզում իր ստեղծած «Անահիտ» գրական, գեղարվեստական, հասարակական հանդեսում և ժամանակի պարբերական մամուլում (այդ թվում՝ «Բիւզանդիոն» (Կ. Պոլիս), «Հայաստանի կոչնակ» (Նյու Յորք) և այլն) հրատարակած իր հոդվածներում Չոպանյանն արժևորել է Կոմիտասի գործունեությունը և նպաստել նրա ստեղծագործության պրոպագանդմանը:

«Անահիտ»-ի էջերում Ա. Չոպանյանը մի կողմից՝ ներկայացրել է Փարիզում և Ժնևում Կոմիտասի ծավալած համերգային գործունեության լիարժեք համայնապատկերը, տպագրել տարբեր երաժիշտների կողմից Կոմիտասին նվիրված հոդվածներն ու գնահատականները, էջեր հատկացրել հուշագրություններին, մյուս կողմից՝ հրատարակել Կոմիտասի երաժշտագիտական ուսումնասիրությունները և գրական ժառանգության էջերից մեկը՝ Կոմիտասի ինքնակենսագրությունը:

Ա. Չոպանյանի կոմիտասականը ունեցել է նաև կիրառական նշանակույթ-

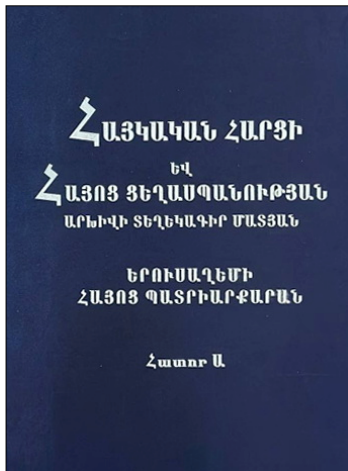
Arshak Chohanian and the “Anahit” Journal in the Origins of Komitas Studies

յուն. նրա առաջ քաշած մի շարք կարևոր հարցեր, այդ թվում՝ Կոմիտասին Հայաստանում հուղարկավորելու և նրա երաժշտական ժառանգությունը հրատարակելու հարցերն իրականություն դարձան մոտ ապագայում:

Բանալի բառեր՝ Արշակ Չոպանյան, Կոմիտաս, հայ երաժշտություն, «Անահիտ» հանդես, Փարիզ, 1901 թվական, 1935 թվական:

ԳՐԱԽՈՍԱԿԱՆՆԵՐ

BOOK REVIEWS



ARCHIVE FOR ALL TIMES

ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՀԱՐՑԻ ԵՎ ՀԱՅՈՑ ՑԵՂԱՍՊԱՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԱՐԽԻՎԻ ՏԵՂԵԿԱԳԻՐ ՄԱՏՅԱՆ.

Երուսաղեմի Հայոց պատրիարքարան, հատոր
Ա, Երուսաղեմ-Երևան, Լուսակն, 2024, 1038 էջ

The Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem and
the Institute of Armenian Studies of Yerevan State
University have published an unprecedented

volume, both in thematic completeness and richness, titled *The Information Register of the Armenian Question and Armenian Genocide Archive, Volume A* (Yerevan, Lusakn, 2024, 1038 pages). It should be noted that this collection of archival materials is a unique phenomenon in terms of quantity and content compared to all other primary source publications in this field.

The presented archival materials were initially digitized and cataloged by Lusine Sahakyan and Ani Sargsyan, and Ani Voskanyan joined in the further editing work. The is prefaced by Lusine Sahakyan.

It is difficult to overestimate the scientific and cognitive significance of the archive in the study of the Armenian Genocide, its historically and politically irrefutable value, particularly in recognizing and elucidating crimes against humanity. The materials of the archive, both in terms of content and scope, serve as a comprehensive collection that covers almost every facet of the genocide's more than a decade-long history (1913–1922). In other words, it illustrates a specific historical period, providing insights into the gradual development and unfolding of events and their consequences.

Archive for All Times

In its primary presentation, the archive mainly focuses on the massacres, murders, and atrocities committed against Armenians by the Young Turk perpetrators in Western Armenia and Armenian-inhabited regions of Ottoman Turkey, from the years leading up to World War I, during the war itself (1913–1918), and the subsequent events in Cilicia and Western Armenia (1919–1929). The multifaceted documents of the archive, being published for the first time and previously largely unknown to the researchers of Armenian Studies, shed new light on the actions of those responsible for the greatest crime committed at the turning points of the genocide. One can highlight the Ottoman local and central officials, named individually, who played decisive roles in the massacres and killings across various Armenian-inhabited settlements. Hence, the functional value of the materials of the archive which have specific attributions.

The immense diversity of the archive materials has been initially subjected to editorial processing, based on chronological sequence and, accordingly, the factual data that reflect the progression of events. From this perspective, the publication of the Information Register of the Armenian Question and Armenian Genocide Archive is completely justified. The preface written by Lusine Sahakyan is itself a thorough and comprehensive study grounded in substantial research. It also reveals the difficulties encountered in the process of the work by the trio of scholars and clarifies the approaches and principles employed in the preparation of the archive for publication. This hard, yet valuable publication required responsibility, dedication and selflessness throughout the whole process of the work.

To provide a more complete picture of this work, we would highlight the history of the “Information Bureau”, which is thoroughly presented to the reader in the Preface of the volume under review. The creation of the archive was initiated in 1919 by the “Information Bureau” established by the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, under the leadership of Patriarch Zaven Archbishop Ter-Yeghiayan, shortly after the 1918 Armistice of Mudros. From the outset, it had specific historical and political significance, as it aimed to collect, compile, and present documents and reports that testified to the genocidal actions of the Ottoman Turkey – starting from the mass atrocities and massacres ordered by the genocidal rulers and ending with the private manifestations of genocide, the international political and official reactions

related to it, as well as the real accounts that exposed the genocide program of targeting the annihilation of the Armenian people.

The Preface also presents the journey of the "Information Bureau" during the complex and turbulent years after 1922: "Relocating from place to place and undergoing numerous struggles, even fragmented (due to the unavoidable difficulties of relocation – A. Kh.), it eventually found its way to the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem through various paths, finally arriving there in 1938." "Today, the entire collection is under the personal supervision of the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, Nourhan Manougian," as stated in the preface (page 13). Upon the Patriarch's instruction, the professional team responsible for organizing the archive began the fundamental work of cataloging, and digitizing the documents stored in more than ten boxes. The further work with the archive, as seen from L. Sahakyan's informational narrative and the clear presentation of the documents in the pages of this work, has been developed by implementing principles to meet all the requirements of contemporary source criticism. It should be added that the professional team involved in cataloging the collection collaborated with the Armenian-Ottoman Studies Division of the Institute of Armenian Studies at Yerevan State University, sparing no effort to bring the work to a deserved completion.

The methods used by the professional team to describe the documents are unique. Each document is presented to the reader with its own "biography," including the exact creation time (with only rare exceptions), the names of the authors and recipients of the documents, a detailed description of the qualitative aspects of the document, and other features. This multifaceted presentation of the materials, supports the understanding of the documents making them as readable as possible. It also shows the compilers' independent and creative approach to this responsible work, and their intention to introduce the documents to the researchers in their entirety, without leaving out any characteristic feature.

Special attention should be given to the annotations in the information volume, which greatly contribute to assessing the historical value of the respective document, particularly its scholarly significance. These annotations often exceed the established boundaries of bibliographic descriptions, entering the realm of broader interpretations and, in some cases, even analyses, and this is the result of the publishers' devotion to a job of paramount importance. This

independence, and deviating from informational uniformity, is, in fact, nothing more than a brilliant example or adopted principle that overcomes that uniformity, enhancing the scientific value of this archival work and expanding its epistemological boundaries. And here, it is worthwhile to emphasize that in the publication of the information volume, both the descriptive method and the principle of scholarly analytical annotations prove their right to coexist side by side. In this way, footnotes present biographies of numerous Armenian and foreign political and state figures, evaluations of events and incidents, analyses of the attitudes of powers toward the issue, and so on. With the enumeration and appropriate arrangement of all these details, the footnotes alone, taken separately, could serve as an independent scholarly work on the subject field.

Of the 634 documents in the archive, 349 are in Armenian, while the remaining 285 are in French, English, Ottoman Turkish, and other languages. This reflects the political and international significance of the history of the Armenian Genocide, its reliability and credibility – criteria for which presenting counterarguments would signify an irresistible desire to falsify history. From this perspective, it is appropriate to highlight the description given by Patriarch Zaven regarding the completeness of the informational archive and its contents, as cited by the author of the preface, Lusine Sahakyan: “I was greatly surprised,” writes the patriarch in his memoirs, “seeing there a perfect collection of documents and reports on all the important events from 1918 to 1922” (page 75).

The archive covers documents reflecting the phases of the genocide, with their chronological and sometimes non-chronological sequence. Within this vast collection, there is also a group of documents related to the continuous progression of the Armenian Question and the activities of Armenian delegations in international forums during the periods of 1912–1914 and 1918–1922, which hold exceptional interest. The compilers have not spared efforts to provide the necessary information regarding the documents. Numerous footnotes, clarifications, and details about individuals, place names, and events give this publication a parallel scientific value, as often they complement and complete the content of the described documents when necessary. The compilers have given top priority to the accurate reproduction of the materials, possibly minimizing interferences and ensuring that the bibliographic material aligns with a single, cohesive structure, standing out primarily for its cognitive significance.

Following the Preface, the main content is presented under the title of the "Information Bureau" of the Armenian Question and Armenian Genocide Archive (p. 121), and the materials from the section "File E" are presented and commented. This section opens with a notable document titled "The Greek Metropolitan's Report on the Malkara Incident" (pp. 124–130). The report, dated 12 July 1913, reveals the massacre of the Armenian and Greek populations of the Black Sea town of Malkara and 18 surrounding villages, carried out by the Ottoman army and Turkish band. The picture is further completed by the reports from the Special Delegation sent by the Armenian Patriarchate to Rodosto, which are placed under File № 2 (pp.130–144), further attesting to the massacres of Armenians in Rodosto-Malkara.

The preface of the Information Register and the first documents from the file mentioned above, as well as the subsequent materials, demonstrate the remarkable efficiency of the compilers. This is especially noticeable due to the appropriate and even abundant number of annotations, which are based on their justified necessity. The annotations provide insights into the states and figures related to the Armenian question and genocide, the organizations, the individuals and groups involved in the extermination of the Armenian population, the brutal actions of the Ottoman state machinery, and more. Without exaggeration, it can be noted that, if packaged appropriately, these annotations could stand alone as a work full of numerous new insights. Furthermore, maintaining the utmost adherence to the standards, these annotative elucidations give a fresh and modern appearance to the work, elevating it to the level of contemporary archival science.

One of the distinctive features of the volume under consideration is the presentation of the archival material in an impartial manner, free from intervention as much as possible. It is self-evident that reproducing the original volume is not only impossible, but it also remains the researcher's task to address any remaining ambiguities. In this sense, the compilers have been guided by the principle of accurate and truthful depiction, which they followed to the greatest extent. This approach relates to, as we noticed, the footnotes, and more specifically, the compilers' unique approach by which they handle the original documents in foreign languages. These types of documents are presented through direct translation, rather than in a descriptive format.

The innovative value of the archive's publication is emphasized by the fact that most of its materials have yet to be explored by researchers. A passage from the preface illustrates this: "For about eight decades, since arriving in Jerusalem in 1938, the archive has remained largely inaccessible to the broader scientific community. Only a few specialists have conducted studies, placing important documents into scientific circulation, but many pages are still waiting for recognition and evaluation. Over these years, the archive has not been cataloged, despite some individual efforts, leaving it essentially unexplored." (p. 15). It is also noted that some of the archive's materials have been examined and used in research by the renowned historian Vahagn Tatryan, who utilized a number of unique documents related to the trials of the perpetrators of the genocide (p. 17).

The inclusion of such unique documents in the archive enhances its value even further. Among these is a copy of Enver Pasha's secret manuscript concerning the Armenians (pp. 695–697), presented both in its original Ottoman language and its Armenian translation. Another significant document is a covert letter from Talaat Pasha dated 25 January 1920, addressed to Wahid Bey, the owner of the *Tasvir-i Efkar* newspaper (pp. 830–831).

The first document summarized the imperial decree for the "total annihilation" of the Armenian population in Turkey, outlined in three main points (pp. 696–697). As indicated in the footnotes, this document was also referenced by Aram Antonian (p. 697). What is particularly striking is how the archive's compilers have provided details on how this document came into the hands of the Armenians. According to the text, at the end of the document, it is noted that Commander Lieutenant Colonel Nejat Bey, during a party, gave the telegram's content to the Zeytuni Karapet Efendi Cjulhayian (p. 697), and requested it back a day later.

The Information Register is meticulously structured, incorporating essential informational frameworks such as abbreviations, source lists, and bibliographies, along with dictionaries of Ottoman terms, personal names, and place names. These elements not only make the content more readable but also highlight the considerable effort of the compilers, ensuring that the presented material remains within the bounds of scholarly standards and provides thorough information. Particularly notable is the practical significance of the dictionary of Ottoman terms included in the document, which holds immense


value for Armenian Turkish studies. This may be the first instance where numerous Ottoman administrative, military, political, and official terms are translated into Armenian, bridging the gap between historical research and linguistic nuances in the discourse of the Ottoman Empire.

The Information Register of the Armenian Question and Armenian Genocide Archive is, undoubtedly, the most comprehensive collection of documentary materials in the field under consideration, setting a foundation and providing impetus for future research on the topic. It stands as a credible and promising work, ensuring its value as a reference for all future studies on the subject.

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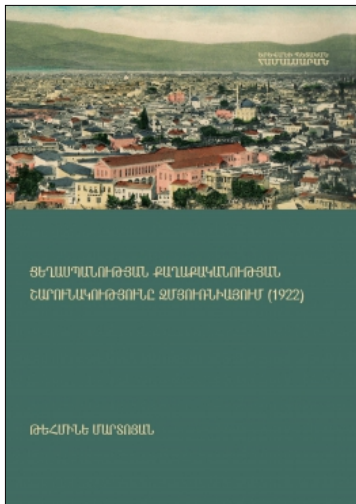
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TEHMINE MARTOYAN,
THE CONTINUATION OF GENOCIDE
POLICY IN SMYRNA (1922),
Yerevan, YSU Press, 2024, 303 pages

Historians presenting the Armenian Genocide have not addressed in detail the genocidal policy organized by Mustafa Kemal against the Armenians and Greeks residing in Smyrna in September 1922.¹ The monograph by Tehmine Martoyan, a senior researcher at the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute and a Candidate of Historical

Sciences, makes a significant contribution to the discussion of this topic.

She studied the documents from the scientific archives of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute and the National Archives of Armenia, as well as contemporary press, primary sources, and historiographical literature on the subject preserved in libraries of various countries (Greece, Hungary, Austria). The author also used the works of prominent American diplomats such as George Horton, Henry Morgenthau, and others based in Smyrna and Constantinople and noted that “the purpose of this research is to present the extermination of Armenians and Greeks in Smyrna in the context of the continuation of genocidal policy” (p. 18).

T. Martoyan refers to the activities of the Armenian and Greek communities that survived in Smyrna at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Briefly addressing the presence of the Armenian community in Smyrna from the 12th to the 19th centuries, she rightly points out that Armenians “engaged in significant educational, scholarly, publishing, cultural, and artisanal activities.” The author notes that between the 17th and 19th centuries, Armenians had four printing houses, Armenian schools, a theater named “Vaspurakan” in Smyrna, as well as a “National Constitution,” according to which “the diaspora elected a national administration” (pp. 31, 35).

¹ See **V. Poghosyan**, *Le désastre de Smyrne de 1922*, Erevan, 2011. **V. Poghosyan**, *The Massacre in Smyrna in 1922 (Collection of Documents)*, Yerevan, 2015 (in Russian).

Tehmine Martoyan, The Continuation of Genocide Policy in Smyrna (1922)

Briefly addressing the history of the Greek community in Smyrna, T. Martoyan notes that it was one of the oldest in the city and “placed great importance on the development of culture, education, and the role of the church.” She also highlights that the ancient historical and cultural interactions between Armenians and Greeks testify to “the peaceful and creative cooperation of Armenians and Greeks in Smyrna” (pp. 38, 40).

Studying the implementation of genocidal policies by the Ottoman state in Smyrna, T. Martoyan addresses the deportation of Armenians from the city up until the massacres of 1922, evaluating it as a component of the genocide. She notes that the Young Turks carried it out under military conditions. The author emphasizes that although the deportation of Armenians was partial, during these events, “ritualized killings and examples of dehumanization were more of a rule than an exception.” Thus, she asserts that the Turkish state concealed its responsibility in this matter and later denied it (pp. 47, 48). Simultaneously, discussing Mustafa Kemal’s policy toward the Christian peoples between 1919 and 1921, the author states that both he and his supporters legitimized abuses and persecutions against the Christian communities.

T. Martoyan states that the Turkish organizers created a certain public atmosphere in order to easily carry out the massacres of the Armenian and Greek peoples. At the same time, she notes that the Ottoman state carried out its plan “with the support and direct participation of its people.”

The author also addresses the attitude of the Christian communities toward the Ottoman state’s policies, noting that they considered warnings about their genocide to be false information and relied on European diplomats in Smyrna, who assured them that all Christians were under their protection (p. 67). Nevertheless, revisiting this issue, T. Martoyan affirms: “The conviction of Smyrna’s Armenians and Greeks that nothing catastrophic would happen to them was, in reality, completely unfounded. Tens of thousands of innocent Greeks and Armenians became victims of the Kemalist regime’s genocidal policy” (p. 82).

T. Martoyan discusses in detail the genocide of Armenians and Greeks in Smyrna, using the testimonies of not only Armenian, but also English, American and Greek eyewitnesses, in particular the famous American writer Ernest Hemingway. He notes the attitude of European diplomats towards the extermination of the two Christian peoples, including the testimonies of the American diplomat George Horton, which he confirmed in his memoirs: “The

history of the Ottoman state is generally a history of massacres, always ordered by the higher authorities. "Anyone who believes that Mustafa Kemal's forces withdrew from Smyrna and that he had previously controlled it knows nothing about the history of Turkey or the events in the Near East" (p. 95). Consequently, the author concludes that the criminal plan of the Kemalists against the Christians residing in Smyrna was deliberately devised and executed, making the extermination of the unarmed population a systematic operation.

T. Martoyan also discusses the methods of extermination, particularly the circumstances surrounding the murder of the Greek Metropolitan of Smyrna, Chrysostomos Kalafatis, in 1922, and concludes: "This fact once again proves that the extermination of Armenians and Greeks in Smyrna was a pre-planned, systematic, intentional crime carried out under supervision" (p. 102).

The author also addresses the rapes of Christian women and girls and the suicides of individuals in Smyrna, which had "become common" (p. 113). Based on this, having all the rights, she concludes that Mustafa Kemal's "new state's foundation was built on the blood of innocent people and the appropriation of looted property. Just as the Ottoman Empire was created and strengthened over centuries with blood and fire, the new Turkey was being shaped in the same way" (p. 116).

According to American, European, and Armenian witnesses, T. Martoyan also thoroughly addresses the burning of Armenian and Greek neighborhoods, discussing conflicting viewpoints. Referring to their testimonies, the author notes: "The fire had left the Turkish and Jewish neighborhoods unharmed, while the European, Greek, and Armenian neighborhoods were unharmed" (p. 122). Additionally, regarding the conference held in Lausanne in December 1922, she mentions the statements of the Turkish delegation and points out that "most experts who objectively considered the facts emphasize the point that the accusations against Armenians and Greeks were false" (p. 126).

The author also refers to Mustafa Kemal's approach, that the burning of Smyrna and the extermination of the Armenian and Greek population "was carried out quite coldly." The head of the Turkish state, as T. Martoyan notes, presented the extermination of the Christian peoples of Smyrna and the burning of their city as "just revenge," not an accident, and at the same time states that "no massacres or anything like that took place in Smyrna" (p. 133). At the same time, she also refers to the burning of the Christian neighborhoods of the city, noting that the Turks

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thereby wanted to hide the traces of their own crime, as well as destroy culturally valuable institutions, monuments, and the high-value culture of Christians (p. 135).

The author also addresses the consequences of the genocide and its international legal assessment. She notes that tens of thousands of Armenians and Greeks from Smyrna were rescued and settled in Greece. The number of Armenians in the country ranged from 100,000 to 200,000, and the Greeks showed a friendly attitude towards them. Nevertheless, T. Martoyan states that the resettlement of Armenians and Greeks in Greece was the result of “*forced displacement*” (p. 156, 163).

Referring to the plan for the massacres of Armenians and Greeks in 1922, T. Martoyan notes that while developing it, “the criminal state, taking into account the issue of possible responsibility, consistently concealed the crime committed, placing the blame on the victim.” Therefore, she quite rightly views the targeted extermination of Armenians and Greeks in 1922 as “a periodic continuation of the policy of the Armenian Genocide, which fully complies with the provisions of the Genocide Convention” (pp. 173–174).

In the appendices of his book, T. Martoyan presents George Horton's report from October 27, 1922, testimonies of eyewitness survivors of the Smyrna massacres, a document from the 1924 Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet* regarding the trial of the Smyrna fire, and the Armenian National Delegation's diplomatic report detailing the events leading up to the massacres in Smyrna and the fall of the city.


The editor of this book, Doctor of Historical Sciences Ashot Hayruni, in his brief introduction to “Editor's Note,” rightly calls T. Martoyan's book a significant contribution “to historiography and genocide studies” (p. 8). I completely agree with her assessment.

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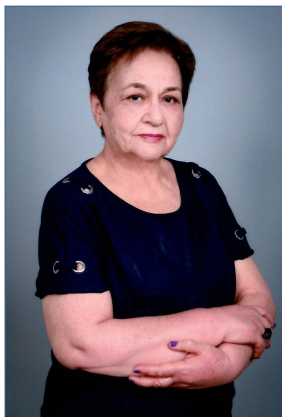
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A LEADING FIGURE IN ARMENIAN BYRON STUDIES AND A TIRELESS RESEARCHER OF DIASPORA ARMENIAN THEATER: ANAHIT BEKARYAN

The birthday anniversary of Anahit Arai Bekaryan, Senior Researcher at the Department of Diaspora Art and International Relations of the Institute of Arts of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia and Candidate of Philological Sciences, has been commemorated.

Anahit Bekaryan was born on January 28, 1950, in Yerevan, into the family of Ara Bekaryan, a talented painter and People's Artist of the Armenian SSR.

Ara Bekaryan (1913–1986) was born in Afyonkarahisar (Turkey) into a family of educators. In 1925, he moved to Armenia with his parents. He graduated from the Yerevan Art School in 1932 and later, in 1939, from the Leningrad Academy of Arts. From 1939 to 1945, he participated in the Soviet-Finnish War and the Great Patriotic War.

From 1945 until the end of his life, Ara Bekaryan was actively engaged in painting and teaching, serving as a faculty member at the Yerevan State Institute of Fine Arts and Theater. His works were exhibited in numerous national, all-Union, and international exhibitions.

Anahit Bekaryan's grandfather, Vaghinak Bekaryan (1891–1977), was a pedagogue, poet, and prose writer who carried out diverse, remarkable, patriotic, and nationally significant work in various Armenian-populated regions around the world. After graduating from the Central School of Constantinople, Vaghinak Bekaryan moved to Afyonkarahisar in 1908, where he taught at the

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National Central Secondary School. In 1915, he was invited to Jerusalem to teach at the Jarankavorats School, where his family also endured the years of the Armenian Genocide. Following the Genocide, Bekaryan moved to Port Said, Egypt, where he taught Armenian to the refugee Musaler Armenians living in tent camps. In 1916, at the invitation of the Armenian community in Ethiopia, he relocated to Addis Ababa and established an Armenian school there.

In 1922, the family moved to Paris, where Vaghinak Bekaryan studied at the Sorbonne University, developing an interest in the exact sciences. In 1925, they relocated to Soviet Armenia, where Bekaryan graduated from the Chemical Faculty of the Yerevan Polytechnic Institute while simultaneously teaching mathematics and physics in schools in Etchmiadzin and Yerevan, as well as at the Yerevan State Pedagogical Institute.

Growing up in such a family, Anahit Bekaryan developed an interest in and pursued both science and art.

In 1968, A. Bekaryan graduated from N.K. Krupskaya Secondary School No. 19 in Yerevan and enrolled at the Faculty of Philology at Yerevan State University she graduated from in 1973 with a degree in "Romance and Germanic Languages and Literature," receiving a qualification of a philologist and English language teacher. During her student years, while attending the insightful and brilliant lectures of Levon Nersisyan, one of the best experts in foreign literature, A. Bekaryan became captivated by Byron's poetry and decided to choose a topic closely related to Byron and his contemporaries for her diploma thesis. Little did she know that the works of the brilliant English poet would accompany her throughout her life and that through her research, she would become the torchbearer of Armenian Byron Studies.

All of that would come later. However, before that, starting in 1973, A. Bekaryan began her professional career at the Mechanics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR as a bibliographer. In February 1974, she transferred to the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR as a senior laboratory assistant. From 1976 to 1981, A. Bekaryan worked at the All-Union State Design and Research Institute for Automated Systems in Construction (Soviet Union) in the Yerevan Complex Division as an engineer. She led the English language team in the division and translated articles from foreign scientific and technical journals.

Asatryan A.

In 1981, A. Bekaryan moved to the Research Institute of Construction Economics, and from 1982 to 1983, she worked as a junior researcher at the Computational Center of the State Planning Committee of the Armenian SSR.

On May 3, 1982, A. Bekaryan began working at the Institute of Arts of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR as a junior researcher in the Shakespeare Studies Department. From that day on, for more than four decades, A. Bekaryan's scientific and creative work became inseparably linked with her beloved institute. Years would pass, and in 2008, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Institute of Arts of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia, Anahit Bekaryan would be awarded a certificate of honor by the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia.

In a short period, she translated Byron's letters related to Armenians and Armenian culture into Armenian and Russian. By 1983, her first scholarly work in Armenian studies, "Byron on Armenia and the Armenians" (in Armenian, Russian, and English)¹, was published as part of the "Armenian Studies Abroad" series. The booklet included an introduction and annotations by A. Bekaryan, marking her first confident steps in Armenian Byron Studies.

Soon after, with the endorsement of the administration of the Institute of Arts of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, A. Bekaryan applied to the M. Abeghian Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR. Her doctoral dissertation topic was "Byron and Armenian Literature.

At the suggestion of the Director of the Institute of Arts of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR and Head of the Shakespeare Studies Department, Academician Ruben Zaryan, A. Bekaryan prepared the bibliography of works for the Shakespearean conference held in Yerevan, which was included in the 7th volume of the "Shakespearean" collection. She also actively participated in the preparation of the 8th volume of the "Shakespearean" collection.

In 1993, A. Bekaryan was appointed Senior Researcher, and from March 1, 2009, from the very founding of the department, she has been serving as a

¹ See the Scientific-Informational Bulletin of the Scientific Information Center of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, G. Series "Armenian Studies Abroad," Yerevan, No. 1, 1983, 58 pages.

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Senior Researcher of the Department of Armenian Diaspora Art and International Relations.

Bekaryan actively participated in the public life of the Institute of Arts of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR. For many years, she was a member of the Trade Union Committee. As part of the delegation of the Institute of Arts of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, she delivered lectures within the framework of the "Pages of History and Culture" program organized by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Armenia. For her active participation in the awareness-raising process for military personnel, as well as her contribution to military construction, she was awarded a Certificate of Honor by Military Unit 68617 of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Armenia in 2010.

At the meeting of the Scientific Council for the Conferral of Academic Degrees in "Literary Studies" (003 specialization) of the M. Abeghian Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, held on December 19, 2008, A. Bekaryan defended her candidate dissertation on the topic "Byron and Armenian Reality" (J.01.01 – "Armenian Medieval and Modern Literature"), under the scientific supervision of Elena Aleksanyan, and was awarded the degree of Candidate of Philological Sciences.

Anahit Bekaryan has twice (in 2009 and 2012) been recognized as the winner of the grant competition of the "Armenian National Foundation for Science and Education" operating under the auspices of the Armenian Relief Fund (USA), which is a rare achievement for scholars in the field of humanities.

Her scientific research has followed two directions: Byron Studies, and since 2009, also Diaspora Studies, particularly the history of the Armenian Diasporan theater.

She is the author of eight books, as well as more than sixty scientific articles published in reputable academic journals and collections in Armenia and abroad, including in Italy (Venice), the USA (Delaware), Japan (Kyoto), France (Paris), the United Kingdom (London), Greece (Athens-Missolonghi), Spain (Valladolid), and Lebanon (Beirut) in Armenian, English, and Russian. She has also presented scientific reports at international conferences held in Armenia and abroad (including the USA in 2001, Japan in 2002, France in 2006, Greece in 2009, Spain in 2011, Lebanon in 2012, Italy in 2023, and more).

Anahit Bekaryan's contribution to the field of Armenian Byron Studies is particularly significant. Here, we would specifically highlight two of Anahit

Bekaryan's important works, which, in our opinion, are major achievements in the fields of Armenian Studies and Byron Studies. In 2004, the prestigious two-volume scientific collection "Byron's Reception in Europe" was published in London, and the 20th chapter, titled "Byron and Armenia: A Reflection of Similarities,"² was authored by A. Bekaryan.

This two-volume work is the sixth in the series "The Reception of British Writers in Europe" (published under the initiative of the University of London and sponsored by the British Academy), organized and edited by Professor Richard A. Cardwell of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Nottingham. On October 19, 2000, Cardwell sent a letter to A. Bekaryan, requesting her to write the chapter "Byron and Armenia" for the aforementioned book. So why did Cardwell decide to approach Bekaryan? He justifies his decision as follows: "I am turning to you as an expert in the field of Byronian Studies. I hope you will accept my proposal and contribute to making a significant contribution to the field of Byronian Studies."

After a rather lengthy remote collaboration, Richard A. Cardwell noted that the author of the article included in his "edited volume," Bekaryan, "joins the ranks of specialists in the international academic field."³

In this work, Anahit Bekaryan for the first time presents in detail to the English-speaking reader the connections between Byron and the fathers of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice, their scientific collaboration, Byron's learning of Armenian, his interest in the history and culture of the Armenian people, his Armenian studies, as well as the influence of Byron's lyric poetry on Armenian poets.

Anahit Bekaryan's next significant achievement in Byron Studies is the monograph⁴ "Byron and Armenian Reality" (in Armenian and English), published by the Galust Gulbenkian Foundation's Armenian series, with the decision of the Scientific Council of the Institute of Art of the National Academy of Sciences of

² See "The Reception of Byron in Europe," Volume II: Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe, edited by Richard A. Cardwell, Thoemmes Continuum, A Continuum imprint, London • New York, 2004, Chapter 20: "Byron and Armenia: A Case of Mirrored Affinities" and "Bibliography," pp. 386–405, 471–473.

³ The letters from Richard A. Cardwell related to this work are kept in Anahit Bekaryan's personal archive.

⁴ See **Anahit Bekaryan**, *Byron and Armenian Reality* (in Armenian and English), Yerevan, YSU Publishing, 2013, 404 pages + 4 pages of insert.

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Armenia, and the Publishing House of Yerevan State University. This work is a culmination⁵ of nearly thirty years of scientific research by the Armenian Byron scholar. In this comprehensive and foundational study of the connections between Byron and the Armenians, individual episodes of the relationship between Byron and the Mekhitarists are examined in detail, including the works of Byron published by the Mekhitarists, and the works of foreign authors analyzing the connections between Byron and the Mekhitarists. The monograph also examines Byron's "Armenian correspondence," based on which specific episodes in the formation and development of Armenian studies in Western Europe (particularly in England and France) during the 18th and 19th centuries are revealed. It discusses the studies Byron conducted in the field of Armenian Studies, as well as articles, translations, and research about Byron and his works published in the Armenian press. The work also draws parallels between some of Byron's works and those of Armenian poets, uncovering and correcting the frequent inaccuracies, ambiguities, and mistakes that had appeared in the Armenian press regarding Byron.

The appendices of the monograph include excerpts from Byron's correspondence and Thomas Moore's "The Life, Letters and Journals of Lord Byron,"⁶ as well as Byron's translations from Armenian. As noted in her review, Gayane Harutyunyan writes: "The book is interesting and valuable both for the breadth of materials it covers regarding the poet's creative and life quests, and for its compositional structure: it presents materials on Byron's collaboration with the members of the Mekhitarist Congregation, the poet's Armenian epistles,

⁵ For the work, see: Byron and Armenian Reality: A Remarkable Study, Science Journal of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, 2014, No. 4 /269/, p. 6. **Asatryan Anna**, Anahit Bekaryan, Byron and Armenian Reality (in Armenian and English), Yerevan, YSU Publishing, 2013, 404 pages, Banber Hayagitutyan Journal, 2014, No. 1, pp. 200–204 (in Armenian and English). **Seferyan Sona**, Anahit Bekaryan, Byron and Armenian Reality (in Armenian and English), Yerevan, YSU Publishing, 2013, 404 pages, Banber Yerevan University Journal, 2014, No. 2, pp. 67–71. **Ter-Gabrielyan Anushavan**, Anahit Bekaryan, Byron and Armenian Reality (in Armenian and English), Yerevan, YSU Publishing, 2013, 404 pages, Patmabanasirakan Handes Journal, 2014, No. 2, pp. 215–216. **Arutyunyan G. G.**, Immortality of Genius, A. Bekaryan, Byron and Armenian Reality (in Armenian and English), Yerevan, 2013, YSU Publishing, 403 pages, Lraber Hasarakakan Gitutyunneri Journal, 2014, No. 2, pp. 330–334.

⁶ See Th. Moore, "The Life, Letters and Journals of Lord Byron", John Murray, London, 1908.

his Armenian studies, as well as the Armenian literary and public thought about him. In essence, this is a mini-encyclopedia, containing a vast amount of information about that part of the poet's life connected with Armenian reality, which left an indelible mark on his thoughts and heart."⁷

It is noteworthy that John Clubbe, President of the International Byron Society, after becoming acquainted with A. Bekaryan's monograph, sent a letter⁸ on behalf of himself and his wife, congratulating her, expressing gratitude for her work, and emphasizing: "I admire your research and all the new information you have shared with us. As far as I know, this is the first comprehensive study presented in English on this very important yet overlooked period in Byron studies... Thank you for your wonderful and essential research."

A. Bekaryan's latest published work dedicated to Byron is the monograph "Armenia George Byron's Destiny," which was published in 2023 by the "Science" publishing house of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, following the decision of the Scientific Council of the Institute of Arts of the NAS RA.⁹ As Albert Kharatyan, Corresponding Member of the RA NAS, Doctor of Historical Sciences, noted in his extensive review: "With its thematic coverage, research volume, and impressive results of detailed work, A. Bekaryan's work stands out as a unique work in Armenian Byron Studies and its convincing evidence for summarizing it."¹⁰

⁷ **Arutyunyan G.**, Immortality of Genius, *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitutyunneri* (Journal of Social Sciences), No. 2, 2014, p. 330.

⁸ J. Clubbe's letter is kept in A. Bekaryan's personal archive.

⁹ Bekaryan, A.A. *Armenia in George Byron's Destiny*. Yerevan: Gitutyun Publishing House of NAS RA, 2023, 198 pages. See also: **Harutyunyan, Gayane**. "A Little Encyclopedia About a Great Poet." *Gitutyun*, NAS RA monthly journal, 2023, No. 5, p. 8. **Kharatyan, Albert**. "Anahit Bekaryan. Armenia in George Byron's Destiny. Yerevan: Gitutyun Publishing House of NAS RA, 2023, 198 pages." Review. *Lraber of Social Sciences*, 2023, No. 2, pp. 297–304. **Harutyunyan, Gayane**. "Armenia in George Byron's Destiny." Review of Armenian Studies, 2023, No. 2, pp. 244–247.

¹⁰ **Kharatyan, Albert**. Review of Anahit Bekaryan. *Armenia in George Byron's Destiny*. Yerevan: Gitutyun Publishing House of NAS RA, 2023, 198 pages. *Lraber of Social Sciences*, 2023, No. 2, p. 297.

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And it was quite logical that the article dedicated to the 200th anniversary of Byron's death in "Lraber" was authored by Anahit Bekaryan herself.¹¹

Since 2009, A. Bekaryan's research interests have centered on the study of the Armenian diaspora theater, particularly the Armenian-Canadian theater. Within this framework, she was the first in Armenian art studies to examine the production of "The Crane Calls", a play by diaspora poet Jacques Hagopian. This play was performed multiple times across various Armenian diaspora communities and received enthusiastic acclaim. In 1981, under the direction of Lebanese-Armenian actor, director, and translator Georges Sarkissian, Montreal's "Petros Adamyan" theater group staged the play six times in Canada. Later, at the Toronto Multicultural Festival competition, the "Petros Adamyan" theater group won the Best Theater Group Award, while Georges Sarkissian was honored with the Best Director Award.

Based on contemporary press reactions from the Armenian-Canadian ("Apaga"), Istanbul-Armenian ("Kulis"), and American-Armenian ("Paykar") publications, as well as the memoirs of Perch Fazlian, A. Bekaryan has documented a significant chapter in the history of Armenian-Canadian theater. For the first time in Armenian art studies, she examined the prolific career of the renowned theatrical figure and director Perch Fazlian, focusing on his 1984 Armenian-language production of Shakespeare's "Othello", staged by the "Hay Bem" theater group in February of that year. This production marked a new phase in the history of diaspora Armenian theater, solidifying its artistic and cultural significance.

For the first time, A. Bekaryan has introduced the creative portraits of two prominent figures in Armenian-Canadian theater, Selma Keklikian and Khoren Teteyan, shedding light on their artistic contributions. Additionally, her research has led to significant discoveries in the study of Armenian-Canadian music, as it presents the previously unknown musical and performance activities of Selma Keklikian, which had remained unnoticed by musicologists until now.

Through her research on various theatrical groups, directors, and actors who have staged performances in different Canadian cities, A. Bekaryan is set to complete and present a comprehensive history of Armenian-Canadian theater in the near future.

¹¹ **Bekaryan, Anahit.** "In Memory of the Freedom Fighter: George Gordon Byron." *Herald of Social Sciences*, 2024, No. 1, pp. 350–363.

A significant achievement in the field of theater studies is the extensive collection titled "Petros Adamyan in the Memoirs of His Contemporaries." published in 2020 by the RA NAS "Science" Publishing House, the volume was supported by the RA Science Committee of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture, and Sports and approved by both the RA NAS Scientific Publishing Council and the Scientific Council of the Institute of Arts of the RA NAS.¹² The collection, compiled by Anahit Bekaryan, presents for the first time a summary of the memories of contemporaries about the brilliant Armenian actor Petros Adamyan. The collection includes memoirs about Petros Adamyan published in Armenian and Russian periodicals and collections and is supplemented with rich annotations. The appendices of the collection present poems dedicated to Petros Adamyan, photographs, original texts of Russian texts, and Adamyan's repertoire.¹³

Once again congratulating our energetic and charming colleague on her anniversary, we wish her good health, inexhaustible vitality, new scientific and creative achievements, optimism and personal happiness for the benefit of the development of Diaspora Studies and Byron Studies, for the sake of the progress of Armenian Studies.


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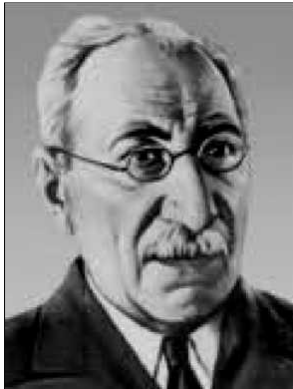
¹² Bekaryan, Anahit (Ed.). Petros Adamyan in the Memoirs of His Contemporaries. Yerevan, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, "Gitutyun" Publishing, 2020, 660 pages.

¹³ **Asatryan, Anna.** Memories of the Contemporaries about Petros Adamyan (edited by R. Zaryan, A. Bekaryan). Journal of Social Sciences, 2021, N2, p. 358–364. **Asatryan, Anna.** Petros Adamyan in the Memories of His Contemporaries. Historical and Philological Journal, 2021, N3, p. 262–266.

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ՀԱՅԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԵՐԱԽՏԱՎՈՐԸ. ՄԱՆՈՒԿ ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐԻ ԱՔԵՂՅԱՆ (Ծննդյան 160-ամյակի առթիվ)



Լրացավ Հայաստանի գիտությունների ակադեմիայի հիմնադիր անդամ, ականավոր հայագետ, ակադեմիկոս Մանուկ Խաչատուրի Աքեղյանի ծննդյան 160-ամյակը:

Մ. Աքեղյանը ծնվել է 1865 թ. մարտի 17-ին Հին Նախիջևանի Աստապատ գյուղում (պատմական այս գյուղը 1960-ական թվականների երկրորդ կեսին Արաքսի ջրամբարը կառուցելիս անցել է ջրի տակ): Սկզբնական ու միջնակարգ կրթությունը ստացել է Էջմիածնի Գևորգյան ճեմարանում: 1885 թ. առաջ-

նակարգ մրցանագրով (դիպլոմով) ավարտելով ճեմարանը՝ մի քանի տարի Էջմիածնում, Շուշիում, Թիֆլիսում զբաղվել է մանկավարժական, գիտական և լրագրողական աշխատանքով: 1893 թ. հայ բարերար Ալեքսանդր Մանթաշյանի նյութական օժանդակությամբ մեկնում է Գերմանիա ուսանելու: Ենայի, ապա՝ Լայպցիգի, հետո Բեռլինի համալսարաններում խորամուխ է լինում բանասիրության և փիլիսոփայության մեջ: 1895 թ. գնում է Փարիզ և որպես բանասիրության ազատ ունկնդիր՝ մեկ տարի ուսանում Սորբոնի համալսարանում: Այստեղ Աքեղյանը հիմնավորապես տիրապետում է գերմաներեն ու ֆրանսերեն լեզուներին, խորանում գերմանա-ֆրանսիական դասական բանասիրության գլխավոր առարկաների մեջ (լեզու, պատմություն, գրականություն, գրականության տեսություն, փիլիսոփայություն), շփվում է ժամանակի մի շարք նշանավոր պրոֆեսորների, այդ թվում՝ անվանի հայագետներ Հ. Գեյցերի և Ա. Մեյերի հետ: 1898 թ. Աքեղյանն ավարտական քննություններ է հանձնում Ենայի համալսարանում՝ քննության գլխավոր ճյուղ ընտրելով ընդհանուր պատմությունը, իսկ երկրորդական ճյուղ՝ ընդհանուր փիլիսոփայությունն ու ֆրանսերենը: Այստեղ էլ նա գերմաներենով որպես ավարտական ատենախոսություն է ներկայացնում «Հայ ժողովրդական հավատալիքը» աշխատությունը (հրատարակվում է Լայպցիգում, 1899 թ.) և ստանում փիլիսոփայության դոկտորի աստիճան ու դիպլոմ:

Հայագիտության երախտավորը. Մանուկ Խաչատուրի Աբեղյան

1898 թ. Գերմանիայից վերադառնալով հայրենիք՝ Աբեղյանը զբաղվում է մանկավարժական, գրական-հասարակական և գիտահետազոտական արդյունավետ գործունեությամբ: Շուրջ 40 տարի պաշտոնավարել է ուսումնական հաստատություններում, որից 10 տարի՝ Թիֆլիսի Ներսիսյան, Հովնանյան և Շուշիի թեմական դպրոցներում, 30 տարի՝ Էջմիածնի Գևորգյան ճեմարանում, Թիֆլիսի Կովկասյան և Երևանի պետական համալսարաններում: Դրան զուգընթաց Աբեղյանը ծավալել է ազգային-հասարակական, գրական բեղմնավոր գործունեություն, ակտիվ մասնակցություն ունեցել մշակութային զանազան ընկերությունների ու կազմակերպությունների աշխատանքներին. Թիֆլիսում, Բաքվում, Երևանում և այլ վայրերում կարդացել է հրապարակային բազմաթիվ դասախոսություններ, եղել է Թիֆլիսի հայերեն գրքերի հրատարակության խմբագրական հանձնաժողովի անդամ, կատարել է Էջմիածնի գավառի հայ ուսուցիչների արհեստակցական միության մասնաճյուղի նախագահի պարտականությունը, ակտիվորեն աշխատակցել է «Նոր-դար», «Մուրճ», «Արարատ», «Ազգագրական հանդես», «Ժողովրդի Ձայն», «Նորք» և այլ թերթերի ու հանդեսների: Մ. Աբեղյանը եղել է Հայաստանի անկուսակցականների միության փոխնախագահը:

Շուրջ 60 տարի (1880-ականներից մինչև 1940-ականների կեսերը) Մ. Աբեղյանը ծավալել է գիտահետազոտական անխոնջ գործունեություն: Ըստ անվանի բանագետ, արեղյանագետ Ս. Հարությունյանի՝ նրա գիտական գործունեությունը ժամանակագրական առումով բաժանվում է երկու հիմնական շրջանի. առաջինն ընդգրկում է 1886–1893 թթ., այն է՝ «Սասնա ծռեր» հերոսավեպի Սրվանձությանից հետո երկրորդ պատումի գրառումից (1886 թ.՝ Գևորգյան ճեմարանի դռնապան մոկացի Նահապետից՝ Նախո քեռուց), 1888 թ. Շուշիում իր «Նմուշներ» խորագրով բանաստեղծությունների գրքի հրատարակումից, 1889 թ. «Դավիթ և Մհեր» պատումի տպագրումից, 1892 թ. Ն. Գոգոլի «Տարաս Բուլբան» թարգմանաբար հայերեն լույս ընծայելուց մինչև Եվրոպա մեկնելը: Երկրորդ շրջանն ընդգրկում է 1896–1897 թվականներից, այն է՝ «Գրական դպրոցներ» աշխատության տպագրությունից մինչև իր արգասավոր կյանքի ավարտը: Գիտական գործունեության երկրորդ շրջանում նա հանդես է գալիս իբրև՝ ա) **բանագետ և առասպելագետ** [«Հայ ժողովրդական առասպելները Մ. Խորենացու Հայոց պատմության մեջ» (Վաղարշապատ, 1900), «Հայ ժողովրդական վեպը» (Թիֆլիս, 1908), «Հին գուսանական ժողովրդական երգեր» (Երևան, 1931), «Հայ վիպական բանահյուսություն» (Երևան, 1930-ական թվականներ), «Ժողովրդական խաղիկներ» (Երևան,

1940), ««Վիշապներ» կոչված կոթողներն իբրև Աստղիկ-Դերկետո դիցուհու արձաններ» (Երևան, 1941), «Սասնա ծռերի» հինգ տասնյակ պատումների գիտական համահավաք (Կ. Մելիք-Օհանջանյանի ակտիվ համագործակցությամբ), որը հրատարակվում է Երևանում երեք գրքով՝ 1936, 1944, 1951 թթ. և այլն], բ) **գրականության տեսաբան ու պատմաբան** [«Ուրվագծեր 19-րդ դարու Հայոց գրականության պատմությունից» («Արարատ», 1908–1909), «Շարականների մասին» («Արարատ», 1912, № 7–8, 9, 10–11, 12), «Մ. Խորենացու «Հայոց պատմության» բաղդատական բնագիրը» (Թիֆլիս, 1913), «Ս. Գրիգոր Նարեկացի» («Ազգագրական հանդես», 1916), «Ընդհանուր տեսություն հայոց հին բանաստեղծության» (1917), «Հայոց միջնադարյան առակները և սոցիալական հարաբերությունները նրանց մեջ» (Երևան, 1935), «Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցը և հայ գրի ու գրականության սկիզբը» («Սովետական գրականություն», 1941 № 1, 2), «Կորյունի «Վարք Մաշտոցի» բաղդատական բնագիրը» (Երևան, 1941) և այլն], գ) **լեզվաբան քերականագետ ու տերմինաշինարար բառարանագիր** [«Աշխարհաբարի քերականություն» (Վաղարշապատ, 1906), «Աշխարհաբարի շարահյուսությունը» (Վաղարշապատ, 1912), «Ռուս-հայերեն իրավաբանական տերմինների առձեռն բառարան» (Թիֆլիս, 1919), «Ռուս-հայերեն ռազմական բառարան» (Երևան, 1925), «Հայոց լեզվի տեսություն» (Երևան, 1931), «Լատին-ռուս-հայերեն բժշկական բառարան» (մասնակի հեղինակակցությամբ, Երևան 1951) և այլն], դ) **հայ տաղաչափության գիտական համակարգող ու տեսաբան** [«Հայոց լեզվի տաղաչափություն: Մետրիկա» (Երևան, 1933)]¹:

Մեծանուն գիտնականի հայրենասիրությունը, լավատեսությունը, քաղաքական հեռատեսությունը և քաղաքացիական ազնվությունը, հարազատ ժողովրդի իղծերն ու ակնկալիքները, նրա քննադատական հատու խոսքն առանձնապես մեծ հնչեղություն ստացան 1918–1919 թթ. գրած և լայն հանրությանն անձանոթ գործերում: Մ. Աբեղյանի և այդ օրերի մասին իր հուշերում Ստ. Զորյանը գրում է. «... 1918–19 թթ. ես ճանաչեցի Աբեղյանին նաև որպես հայրենասերի: Ճիշտ է, այդ հայտնի է արդեն նրա գրական ուսումնասիրությունից, բայց այդ թվերին ես տեսա նրա հայրենասիրությունը կյանքում,

¹ Թվարկված աշխատությունների մասին մանրամասն տե՛ս Ս. Հարությունյան. Մանուկ Աբեղյան. գիտական վաստակի գնահատման ուրվագիծ (ծննդյան 140-ամյակի առթիվ). – «Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես», 2006, № 1, էջ 6–26:

Հայագիտության երախտավորը. Մանուկ Խաչատուրի Աբեղյան

մեր ժողովրդի գլխին տեղացող շարունակական աղետների ժամանակ: Նա խորապես ապրում էր այդ աղետները և հանգիստ չունեց:

... Այդ աղետի օրերին, Աբեղյանը իրեն դրսևորում էր բացառիկ ձևով: Ծանր լուրերի, դեպքերի ազդեցության տակ շատերն ընկճվում էին, հուսահատվում և այլևս, կարծես ելք չէին տեսնում մեր ժողովրդի համար. Աբեղյանը, սակայն, թեև տխրում էր, տանջվում (մի անգամ ես մինչև իսկ տեսա նրան արտասովոր՝ էրզրումի, Կարսի անկման լուրն առնելուց հետո), բայց երբեք չէր կորցնում հույսն ու հավատը:

– Եղել են ավելի ծանր օրեր և աղետներ, բայց մեր ժողովուրդը գտել է մի ելք և բուժել է իր վերքերը, – ասում էր նա ամեն անգամ, երբ նկատում էր, որ շուրջը՝ զրուցակիցները ընկնում են հուսահատության մեջ:

Այդ օրերին սրտապանդիչ էր լսել այդպիսի խոսքեր, մանավանդ մի հեղինակավոր մարդուց, որը, զգում էիր, թե քաջատեղյակ էր հայ ժողովրդի անցյալին ու պատմությանը: Այս խոսքերն ասվում էին այնպիսի հավատով ու համոզիչ շեշտով, որ մարդ թեթևություն էր զգում և ինքն ևս տոգորվում էր հույսերով:

– Այո, հուսահատվելու կարիք չկա. ամեն ինչ դեռ կորած չէ ... »²:

Ստ. Զորյանի արձանագրած իրողության խոսուն վկայությունն են «Մանուկ Հայաստանը», «Հայեր և վրացիներ» ու «Լոռի (պատմական տեսություն)» հոդվածաշարերը:

Մ. Աբեղյանի գիտական ժառանգության հիմնական մասն ամփոփված է ութ հատորում: Սակայն կարևորագույն մի շարք գործեր դուրս են մնացել դրանցից: Այս շարքում առանձնակի տեղ է գրավում նրա պատմահրապարակախոսական ժառանգությունը: Ըստ այդմ՝ աչքի է զարնում «Մանուկ Հայաստանը» խոսուն վերնագրով հոդվածաշարը [«Ժողովրդի ծայն» (Թիֆլիս), 21, 28 սեպտեմբերի, 2 հոկտեմբերի 1918 թ.]՝ նվիրված Հայոց պետականության վերականգնմանը և այդ առնչությամբ ժամանակի մտավորականության պահվածքին:

1918 թ. մայիսի վերջերին՝ անկախ պետականության ձեռքբերումից հետո, Վրաստանի ղեկավարությունն իր ներքին ու արտաքին քաղաքականության մեջ սկսեց վարել ազգային խտրականություն, մասնավորապես՝ հայերի նկատմամբ: Դրա ցայտուն դրսևորումներից էին նրա՝ ընդգծված ու միտումնավոր հակահայկական գործողությունները: Լայնորեն հայտնի է թուրքական

² Ստ. Զորյան, Հուլիսի գիրք, Երևան, էջ 199–200:

Ջաքարյան Ա.

յաթաղանից ու ադրբեջանական հրոսակներից մազապուրծ Ջավախքի և Անդրկովկասի հայաշատ գավառներից՝ Նուխուց, Արեշից, Գյուկչայից, գաղթական հայության նկատմամբ ցուցաբերած դաժան վերաբերմունքը, երբ նրանց արգելվեց մուտք գործել Վրաստան՝ դրանով իսկ ցրտի, սովի ու հիվանդությունների ճիրաններում թողնելով Բակուրիանիի ու երկրամասի բարձրադիր լեռնային այլ վայրերում: Վրաց կառավարությունն իր քայլերով խոչընդոտում էր Վրաստանում բնակվող հայ ազգաբնակչությանը երկրի կյանքին լիիրավ մասնակից լինելուց՝ դա «արդարացնելով» նրանով, թե, իբր, վերջիններս իրենց հայտարարել են Հայաստանի Հանրապետության հպատակ: Հակահայկական քաղաքականության գագաթնակետը դարձավ 1918 թ. վերջին Հայաստանի նկատմամբ Վրաստանի սանձազերծած պատերազմը:

Մեր մեծերից Մ. Աբեղյանն առաջիններից էր, որ սթափության խրոխտ ձայն բարձրացրեց երկու հարևան ժողովուրդների միջև փոխադարձ անվստահության մթնոլորտ սերմանելու՝ վրաց կառավարության քաղաքականության դեմ: Դա իր մարմնավորումն է գտել մասնավորապես գիտնական-հրապարակախոսի «Հայեր և վրացիներ» վերնագրով հոդվածաշարում («Ժողովրդի Ձայն», սեպտեմբեր-հոկտեմբեր 1918 թ.):

1919 թ. հունվարի վերջերին «Ժողովրդի Ձայն» թերթում Մ. Աբեղյանը հրապարակում է «Լոռի (պատմական տեսություն)» հոդվածաշարը, որն առանձնանում է հայ և վրաց ժողովուրդների պատմական անցյալի, բարեկամության սթափ վերլուծությամբ ու ներկայացմամբ, այդ բարեկամության պահպանման շահախնդրությամբ: Նյութն ավարտվում է Վրաստանի ղեկավարությանն ուղղված խոհեմության ու զգաստության կոչով:

Նկատենք, որ վերոհիշյալ հոդվածաշարերը, նաև՝ Հայաստանի ԳԱ հիմնադիր նիստում Մ. Աբեղյանի ելույթի տեքստը՝ Հայաստանի Հանրապետության գիտությունների ազգային ակադեմիայի 70-ամյա հոբելյանին ընդառաջ, տողերիս հեղինակը 2013 թ. հրատարակել է «Էջեր Մանուկ Աբեղյանի պատմահրապարակախոսական ժառանգությունից» ժողովածուում:

1921 թ. Հայաստանի լուսժողովոմի հանձնարարությամբ Մ. Աբեղյանը պատրաստում է հայոց լեզվի ուղղագրության ռեֆորմի նախագիծը, որի հիման վրա և ժողովոմխորհը 1922 թ. հրապարակում է նոր ուղղագրության դեկրետը՝ նպատակ ունենալով դյուրացնել մասսայական ուսուցման գործը: Ինչպես ժամանակին նկատել է ակադեմիկոս Գ. Ջահուկյանն իր «Մանուկ Աբեղյանի լեզվագիտական հայացքների արդիական արժեքը» թեմայով զեկուցման մեջ, Մ. Աբեղյանի ձեռնարկած ուղղագրական ռեֆորմը բխում էր մեր

Հայագիտության երախտավորը. Մանուկ Խաչատուրի Աբեղյան

իրականության մեջ տիրող վիճակից և նպատակ ունեւ վերացնել ուղղագրության մեջ առկա քառսը, նորմավորել լեզվական իրողությունները: Ճիշտ է նոր ուղղագրությունն իր ժամանակին և այժմ էլ հանդիպում է որոշակի ընդդիմության, սակայն այն լիովին համապատասխանում է արդի հայերենի պահանջներին և հիմնավորված է հնչյունաբանորեն, մանկավարժորեն և պատմականորեն³:

Մեծանուն գիտնականի գիտահետազոտական աշխատանքը հատկապես արգասավոր է եղել կյանքի վերջին երկու տասնամյակներին, երբ ի հայտ է եկել գիտամանկավարժական կազմակերպչի նրա անուրանալի ծիրքը: Մ. Աբեղյանը 1923–1925 թթ. վարել է Երևանի պետական համալսարանի պատմագրական ֆակուլտետի դեկանի պաշտոնը: 1925–1930 թթ. եղել է ՀԽՍՀ գիտության և արվեստի ինստիտուտի խորհրդի նախագահը: Վերջինս, փաստորեն, մեզանում եղել է հայագիտական առաջին կենտրոնը՝ իր բաժանմունքներով: Մ. Աբեղյանն աչքերի հիվանդության պատճառով 1931 թ. հրաժարվել է Երևանի պետհամալսարանում դասավանդելուց և անցել կենսաթոշակի: 1931–1944 թթ. նա եղել է Հայաստանի կուլտուրայի պատմության, Պատմության և գրականության ինստիտուտների նախագահության անդամ, ԽՍՀՄ ԳԱ հայկական մասնաճյուղի գրականության և լեզվի ինստիտուտի գիտական խորհրդի անդամ, Գիտությունների ակադեմիայի գրականության ինստիտուտի հին գրականության և ժողովրդական բանահյուսության բաժնի վարիչ, ավագ գիտական աշխատակից: Ի դեպ, 1932 թ. հայագետն ընտրվում է Հայաստանի Կենտգործկոմի նախագահությանն առընթեր կազմված ՀԽՍՀ բնակավայրերի անունների ճշգրտման ու ձևավորման հանրապետական հանձնաժողովի նախագահ և տերմինաբանական հանձնաժողովի անդամ: Այդ ընթացքում կազմակերպում է Հ. Պարոնյանի երկերի հրատարակությունը, Շիրվանզադեի հոբելյանի անցկացումը: Վստահորեն կարելի է ասել, որ նրան է պատկանում «Սասունցի Դավիթ» էպոսի համահավաք տեքստի պատրաստման և 1939 թ. էպոսի 1000-ամյա հոբելյանի անցկացման գաղափարը: Ի դեպ, հարկ է նշել, որ Հայաստանում չի եղել որևէ կարևոր մշակութային միջոցառում, որին օժանդակած ու մասնակցած չլինի Մ. Աբեղյանը:

Իր գիտական, հասարակական-մանկավարժական երկարամյա գործունեության համար Մ. Աբեղյանը գնահատվել ու մեծարվել է Խորհրդային Հա-

³ Տե՛ս Սիմոնյան Հ.Ա., Գիտական նստաշրջան՝ նվիրված Մանուկ Աբեղյանի ծննդյան 125-ամյակին. – «Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես», 1990, № 1, էջ 242:

Չաքարյան Ա.

յաստանի կառավարության կողմից: 1925–1931 թթ. նա ընտրվել է Հայաստանի և Անդրկովկասի Կենտրոնական Գործադիր կոմիտեների անդամ: 1935 թ. նրան շնորհվել է գիտության վաստակավոր գործչի կոչում և հասարակական գիտությունների դոկտորի աստիճան՝ առանց ատենախոսության պաշտպանության (հրապարակված գիտական աշխատությունների հիման վրա):

1940 թ. Մ. Աբեղյանը պարգևատրվել է ՀԽՍՀ Գերագույն խորհրդի նախագահության պատվոգրով:

Մ. Աբեղյանին քանիցս առաջարկվել է ստանձնել Ակադեմիայի գրականության ինստիտուտի դիրեկտորի պաշտոնը, սակայն նա հրաժարվել է՝ պատճառաբանելով իր «անբավարար ուժերն» ու «սուղ ժամանակը»: «Չափազանց շնորհակալ եմ, որ երեկ ուղարկեցիք ինձ Հայկ. Գիտ. Ակադեմիայի գրականության ինստիտուտի Կանոնադրությունը, «բացատրական գրությամբ» և «շտատների նախագծով» հանդերձ: Դրանցով ես ծանոթացա այն բազմաթիվ ու բազմազան պարտականություններին, որ Գրակ. ինստիտուտի դիրեկտորը պիտի կատարի ինքը մենակ, – 1944 թ. հունվարի 3-ին գրում է Մ. Աբեղյանը Գիտությունների ակադեմիայի գիտական քարտուղար Խ. Մոմճյանին: – Արդ՝ նկատի ունենալով իմ անբավարար ուժերը և սուղ ժամանակը՝ ես ինձ անկարող եմ համարում ըստ պատշաճի կատարելու նույն ինստիտուտի դիրեկտորի պաշտոնը: Ուստի դարձյալ խնդրում եմ՝ այլևս նկատի չունենաք իմ թեկնածությունը: Համոզված եղեք, որ եթե կարողանայի՝ չէի հրաժարվիլ այդ գործից: Խնդրում եմ այս մասին հայտնեք և ակադ. Օրբելուն»⁴:

Ռազմաճակատում անհայտ կորած որդու վիշտը, պատերազմական ծանր օրերը, վատթարացող առողջությունը գիտության «հսկա կաղնուն» հասցնում են մահվան դուռ. մեծանուն գիտնականն ու քաղաքացին 1944 թ. սեպտեմբերի 25-ին՝ 79 տարեկան հասակում կնքում է իր մահկանացուն: Հուղարկավորությունը կատարվում է Գիտությունների ակադեմիայի նիստերի դահլիճից՝ հոկտեմբերի 1-ին: Կառավարության որոշմամբ նրան թաղում են Երևանի քաղաքային պանթեոնում: Մ. Աբեղյանի հիշատակը հավերժացնելու համար Հայաստանի կառավարությունը հատուկ որոշում է ընդունում՝ Հայաստանի ակադեմիայի գրականության ինստիտուտը և Երևանի հայկական միջնակարգ դպրոցներից մեկը կոչել Մանուկ Աբեղյանի անունով, հրատարակել նրա երկերի լիակատար ժողովածուն, սահմանել Աբեղյանի անվան ուսանողական և ասպիրանտական թոշակներ՝ Երևանի պետական համալսարան-

⁴ ՀՀ գրականության և արվեստի թանգարան, Մ. Աբեղյանի ֆոնդ, № 98 (ինքնագիր):

Հայագիտության երախտավորը. Մանուկ Խաչատուրի Աբեղյան

նում, Խ. Աբովյանի անվան մանկավարժական ինստիտուտում և Ակադեմիայի գրականության ինստիտուտում:

Նկատենք, որ Մ. Աբեղյանի անվան գրականության ինստիտուտն արդեն իսկ 1945 թ. լույս է ընծայում նրա «Հայոց հին գրականության պատմություն» աշխատության Ա հատորը, 1946 թ.⁵ Բ հատորը: 1946 թ. հրատարակած «Գրական-բանասիրական հետախուզումներ»-ի առաջին գիրքը ինստիտուտը նվիրել է մեծ հայագետի հիշատակին, նրա տարելիցների կապակցությամբ հրավիրվել են գիտական նստաշրջաններ, տպագրվել հոբելյանական բովանդակալից և արժեքավոր հոդվածներ (Ե. Տեր-Մինասյան, Խ. Սարգսյան, Արտ. Աբեղյան, Ա. Ղանալանյան, Կ. Մելիք-Օհանջանյան, Ս. Հարությունյան և այլք): Մ. Աբեղյանի կյանքն ու գիտական ժառանգության քննությունը դարձել է նաև մենագրական հատուկ հետազոտման առարկա. անվանի բանագետ Ս. Հարությունյանը լույս է ընծայել առաջին ամբողջական ստվար աշխատությունը, որտեղ XIX դարի երկրորդ և XX դարի առաջին կեսերի հայ ազգային, քաղաքական ու գիտամշակութային կյանքի տեսադաշտի վրա բացահայտել ու արժևորել է Մ. Աբեղյանի տեղն ու դերը հայագիտության զարգացման պատմության մեջ⁵:

Հայագիտության երախտավորի գիտական հարուստ և հսկայածավալ ժառանգության հիմնական մասը լույս է տեսել 1966–1985 թթ.⁶ 8 հատորով:

Դրանցում ընդգրկված են հայագետի ինչպես հիմնարար հետազոտությունները, որոնք վերաբերում են հայոց բանասիրության բոլոր բնագավառներին՝ գրականագիտության, լեզվաբանության և պատմության, բանագիտության ու տաղաչափության հարցերին, այնպես էլ հայագիտության պատմության մեջ բացառիկ դեր խաղացած մանր հետազոտությունները, մատենախոսությունները և բանավիճային հոդվածներն ու աշխատությունները, հուշերն ու գրական դիմանկարները: Աբեղյանի գիտական ժառանգության հրատարակության գործը, սակայն, անավարտ է մնացել, քանզի կարևորագույն մի շարք գործեր դուրս են մնացել հրատարակված հատորներից: Երկերի մեջ չեն ընդգրկվել նրա գեղարվեստական և թարգմանական գործերը, դասագրքերի ու ձեռնարկների մի մասը, հրապարակախոսական և այլ կարգի մի շարք հոդվածներ ու գրախոսություններ (մեծ մասամբ՝ «Վարսամ» ու «Գիսավոր» ծածկանուններով), բանահյուսական և պատմագրական սկզբնաղբյուրների հրատարակություններ (ժողովածուներ, բնագրեր):

⁵ Տե՛ս Ս. Հարությունյան. Մանուկ Աբեղյան: Կյանքն ու գործը, Երևան, 1970:


Չաքարյան Ա.

... Վերհանելով մեծ հայագետի, քաղաքացու և հայրենասերի բացառիկ կերպարը՝ Ավ. Իսահակյանը Մ. Աբեղյանի թաղման արարողության ժամանակ արտասանած իր հրաժեշտի խոսքում ասել է, որ առանց նրա «անկարելի է պատկերացնել մեր կուլտուրական կյանքը»⁶:

ԱՆՈՒՇԱՎԱՆ ՉԱՔԱՐՅԱՆ*

*Բանասիրական գիտությունների դոկտոր,
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ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արվեստի ինստիտուտի սփյուռքահայ
արվեստի և միջազգային կապերի բաժնի ավագ գիտաշխատող*

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⁶ Հ.Ա. Սիմոնյան, նշվ. հոդվ., էջ 244:

* Հոդվածը ներկայացվել է 20.02.25, գրախոսվել է 12.05.25, ընդունվել է տպագրության 30.04.25:

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Ավետիսյան Պավել
Բարդակչյան Գևորգ
Գևորգյան Համլետ
Դեդեյան Ժիրայր
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Հայրապետյան Սերգո
Հովհաննիսյան Լավրենտի
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Երևան, Մարշալ Բաղրամյան պ., 24.
Printing House of the "Gitutuyun" Publishing of the NAS RA, 375019,
Yerevan, Marshal Baghramian ave., 24.*