Editorial Board

Editor in Chief

DANIELYAN E.L.
Doctor of Sciences (History)

AGHASYAN A.V.
Corresponding Member of NAS RA

MELKONYAN A. A.
Academician of NAS RA

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

SAFRASTYAN R. A.
Academician of NAS RA

ISAHAKYAN A. V.
Doctor of Sciences (Philology)

SUARYAN YU. M.
Academician of NAS RA

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

APIKYAN T. Zh.
Web developer and technical coordinator
HISTORY

1. Danielyan E. L., ON THE GENETIC IDENTITY OF ARMANUM WITH ARMENIA ......................................................... 7
5. Margaryan H. G., CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES AND PERIODIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY .......................................................................................... 46
6. Broutian G. H., PERSIAN AND ARABIC CALENDARS AS PRESENTED BY ANANIA SHIRAKATSI ........................................ 73
8. Simonyan A. H., THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE AND HENRY MORGENTHAU ..................................................................... 95
10. Svazilyan V. G., TESTIMONIES OF THE EYEWITNESS SURVIVORS AS HISTORICAL IRREFUTABLE DOCUMENTS OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE .......................................................... 113

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY

13. Karapetyan S. G., ARTSAKH: ATLAS .......................................................................................................................... 140

ARCHAEOLOGY

15. Areg Mickaelian, Sona Farmanyan, ARMENIAN ARCHAEOASTRONOMY AND ASTRONOMY IN CULTURE ................................................................................................................................. 193

PHILOSOPHY AND LAW

16. Danielyan E. L., CIVILIZATION’S THEORY IN GEOPOLITICAL CONCEPTIONS .................................................................. 202
17. Tinoyan D. F., THE RELATIONSHIPS OF SECULAR AND SPIRITUAL POWERS IN THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF CILICIA 1240-50’ss ...................................................................................................... 218
DEMOGRAPHY AND GOVERNANCE

18. Suvaryan Y. M., Sargsyan V. A., **SCIENCE AND EDUCATION IMPACT ON ECONOMIC GROWTH AND ASSESSMENT METHODOLOGY OF INNOVATIVE POTENTIAL** .............................................................. 230

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INFORMATIONAL SECURITY

19. Gasparyan S. K., **RAPHAEL LEMKIN AND THE 1948 UN GENOCIDE CONVENTION** ................................................. 245

20. Arshak Zakaryan, **THE ARMENIAN BORDER GUARDS’ HIGHLY SKILLED DEFENSIVE ACTIONS AGAINST THE AZERBAIJANI SUBVERSIVE SQUAD ON FEBRUARY 25, 2017 (the Azerbaijani subversive squad’s destruction by the border guards of the Artsakh Defense Army)** .................................................. 257

ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

21. Vardumyan A.D., **FOREIGN AUTHORS ABOUT THE ART OF KOMITAS AND ARMENIAN MUSIC** .......... 261

22. **GHUKAS CHUBARYAN 1923-2009** (Compiler and editor Chubaryan A.Gh.) .......................... 266
    Conception of “Man” in Art of Ghukas Chubaryan by NIKOLAY KOTANJYAN ................................. 275
    Ghukas G. Chubaryan, Armenian sculptor. *Autobiography* .......................................................... 297
    Illustration list ........................................................................................................................................ 301
    List of works .......................................................................................................................................... 405

23. Sargsyan N. G., **ON THE STAGING OF THE LEGEND OF “ARA THE BEAUTIFUL AND SHAMIRAM” BY CHOREOGRAPHER ASHOT ASATURYAN** ................................................................. 414

24. “**ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE IS IN HARMONY WITH NATURE” - ALPAGO NOVELLO** (Dedicated to the 85th anniversary of Italian architect, Art historian, Professor Adriano Alpago Novello) .......... 435

PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE

25. Dumikyan A. V., **TO THE PROBLEM OF CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES OF THE FRENCH ARMENOLOGISTS AND ORIENTALISTS TO THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF VAN** .............................................. 439

26. Ter-Vardanyan G. H., **THE ARMENIAN TRANSLATION (1210 A. D.) OF THE CHRONICLE OF HUGO DE SANTO VICTORE** .................................................................................................................. 446

27. Doloukhanyan A. G., **STUDIES IN THE ARMENIAN MEDIEVAL HISTORIOGRAPHY AND CULTURE** BY FRÉDÉRIC MACLER ................................................................................................................. 455

DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

28. **MORE ARMENIAN MASSACRES (THE SIDNEY MAIL)** ............................................................................... 462

29. **MORE ARMENIAN MASSACRES (THE NEBRASKA ADVERTISER)** .................................................. 463

30. **GENERAL MASSACRE FEARED (BOSTON EVENING TRANSPORT)** ............................................. 464

31. **ANOTHER MASSACRE PLANS OF TURKS (THE MERIDEN DAILY JOURNAL)** ...................................... 465
32. MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS BY ORDER OF A TURK (THE ST. LOUIS REPUBLIC)............................................. 466
33. SYSTEM OF EXTERMINATION. Turks Begin Once More Massacre of Armenians (The McCook tribune)...................................................................................................................................................... 467
34. SULTAN ISSUES BLOODY EDICT (STARK COUNTY DEMOCRAT) .......................................................... 468
35. TO DIVERT ATTENTION. Sultan Said to Have Ordered Massacre of Christians in Armenia (ABERDEEN HERALD) ........................................................................................................................................... 469
36. TURKISH ATROCITIES (THE LEWISTON DAILY SUN) .............................................................................. 470
37. REPORTS OF TURKISH ATROCITIES CONFIRMED (THE DESERET NEWS) ......................................... 471
38. ARMENIANS ARE MASSACRED BY THE WHOLESALE (THE SPOKANE PRESS) ...................................... 472
39. DOCUMENTS AND WEGNER PHOTOGRAPHS REPORTING ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE .......... 473
40. GERMAN HISTORIAN REVEALS 1100 PAGES OF DOCUMENTS IN VATICAN ARCHIVES ON ARMENIAN GENOCIDE ...................................................................................................................................... 477

BOOKS AND BOOK REVIEWS

41. OUR VICTORIES (I and II Volumes) ................................................................................................................. 479
42. OUR VICTORIES (III and IV Volumes) .................................................................................................................. 479
43. Artsrun Hovhannisyan, MILITARY ART. AIR SUPREMACY ......................................................................... 481
44. Zakaryan A. H., ARMENIA IN V. BRYUSOV’S LITERARY-SOCIAL ACTIVITIES ............................................ 482
45. Ohanyan S.T., THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY IN IRAQ IN THE 20TH CENTURY ....................................... 483
46. Lou Ureneck. THE GREAT FIRE, ONE AMERICAN MISSION TO RESCUE VICTIMS OF THE 20TH CENTURY’S FIRST GENOCIDE ........................................................................................................... 484
47. Hamda Mustafa, ARSHAK POLADIAN’S NEW BOOK DOCUMENTS THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE UNDER OTTOMAN EMPIRE ............................................................................................................... 485
HISTORY
ON THE GENETIC IDENTITY OF ARMANUM WITH ARMENIA

Danielyan E. L.
Doctor of Sciences (History)

The holistic natural environment of Armenia is mentioned as ἀρμενίου δρεοςἡ (the Armenian mountains), τὰ δὲ τὰ ἄραράτ (the mountains of Ararat) and montes Armeniae (the mountains of Armenia) in ancient and Armenian early medieval sources (բեռնու Հայոց), as well as in the Bible. Since the 19th century these ancient and medieval geographical terms have been adopted in the geographical and geological literature as the generalizing term - das Armenische Gebirge, das Armenische Hochland or Bergland (the Armenian Highland).

1 Herodotus, with an English translation by A. D. Godley. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1920, I, 72, 2; V.52.3. J. Rennel noted: “The Armenia of Herodotus (in Terpsichore 52), extended westward to the Euphrates, in the quarter towards Cilicia; and southward to mount Masius in Mesopotamia; as may be inferred from the same chapter. Northwards it included the sources of the Euphrates (Clio, 180).” Among “the mountains which separate the course of the Araxes, from the eastern sources of the Euphrates” J. Rennel mentioned Mt. Ararat (Masis). (James Rennel, The Geographical System of Herodotus, Examined; and Explained, by a Comparison with those of other Ancient Authors, and with Modern Geography, London, 1800, pp. 279-280).


4 Biblia Sacra Vulgatae, editionis juxta typographia apostolica Vaticana: Romae 1592 & 1593 inter se collata et ad normam correctionum romanarum exacta auctoritate Summi Pontificis Pii IX, Valentinus Loch (Herausgeber), Manz, 1863, t. I, Gen. 8. 4.

5 Մովսէս Խորենացի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Երևան, 1991, էջ 33, 34; Ղազարայ Փարպեցւոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց, ևթուղթ առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան, Տփղիս, 1904, ՀԳ, Խաչիկյան Լ., Եղիշեի «Արարածոց մեկնութիւն», Երևան, 1992, էջ 245, etc.

6 The phrase eis τὰ ἄραρίθ (The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, with an English translation and with various readings and critical notes, London, Τοῖδε τὰ ἄραρίθ, 1892, 21, cf. ἄραρίθ. Gen. 8.4) is translated “ի լերինս Հայոց” (“into the mountains of Armenia”) in the Armenian translation (the beginning of the 5th c. AD, Գիրք Աստուածաշունչք Հին և Նոր Կտակարանաց, ի Վենետիկ, 1860, Տովբիթ Ա 24) of the Bible.


8 Abich Hermann, Ein Cyklus fundamentaler barometrischer Höhenbestimmungen auf dem Armenischen Hochland. Mémoires de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. t. 27, N 12, 1880; Abich Г., Геология Армянского нагорья. Западная часть, Орографическое и геологическое описание, “Записки Кавказского отдела Императорского географического общества”, кн. 21, 1899, Восточная часть, кн.23, 1902. Researching geomorphological and geological features of the orography of Armenia (Western and Eastern Armenia) Herman von Abich (1806-1886) used the historically grounded geographical term das Armenische Hochland or Bergland (the
The earliest evidence of the toponyms of Armenia are cuneiform inscriptions dating back to the 3rd - 1st millennia BC. The Akkadian sources (the second half of the 3rd millennium BC) have been in the centre of the researchers’ attention, particularly studying the localization of Armanum. In this respect different opinions have been suggested in historiography, which concentrate around three regions: (a) in the south-west of the Armenian Highland, (b) to the west of the Euphrates and (c) in Northern (Armenian) Mesopotamia.

First of all, it is necessary to take into consideration the geographical position of the area encompassing these regions in accordance with the archaeological materials dating from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods to Early Bronze Age, as well as the usage of the historical-toponymical terminology. There are a number of Neolithic sites in Western Asia a part of which corresponds to the area called in archaeology the “Golden Triangle”, which some researchers attributed to “northern Syria, southeast Anatolia and western Zagros”9. Meanwhile the term “southeast Anatolia” is wrongly used in this definition, because “Anatolia” (including all its parts: northern, southern, western and eastern) corresponds only to Asia Minor10. In Fig. 5 of the abovementioned articles by K.S. Kozlowski, O. Aurenche and E. Asouti the territory of Asia Minor11 (i.e. Anatolia) is

---


11 G. Ripley and Ch. A. Dana noted in their article about the orography of Asia: “There are four grand systems, the Altai, the Hindoo Koosh, the Himalaya, and the Armenian, which divide the whole continent into a series of plains and plateaus of greater or less elevation... Asia Minor, a peninsula at the western extremity of Asia... between lat. 36° and
out of both (Early Period and Late Period) triangles. Thus, instead of the wrongly used term “southeast Anatolia,” the triangles denote western and south-western parts of the Armenian Highland and some neighbouring southern territories.

![Diagram of the “Golden Triangle” in northern Syria, southeast Anatolia and the western Zagros](image)

**Fig. 5** The “Golden Triangle” in northern Syria, southeast Anatolia and the western Zagros (redrawn after Kozlowski & Aurenche, 2005)

Such a falsified application of the term “Anatolia” (out of Asia Minor) and, thus attribution of the archaeological cultural heritage of Asia Minor and Western Armenia to modern Turkey, for example, may be seen in the following publications: “Neolithic in Turkey: the cradle of civilization”¹², “Ancient Turkey”¹³ and “Archaeobotany of Sos Höyük, northeast Turkey,”¹⁴ where the Bronze Age Sosi¹⁵ site and other geographic

---

42° N. and lon. 26° and 41° E., and bounded N. W. by the Dardanelles (the Hellespont of the ancients), N. by the Sea of Marmora (Propontis), the Bosphorus, and the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus), E. by the Armenian mountains... S. by the Mediterranean, and W. by the Archipelago (the Aegean Sea)... Asia Minor now forms a part of Turkey in Asia; its larger portion constitutes the district called Anatolia, or Natolia, from the old Greek name given to Asia Minor "Ἀνατολή" the east or land of the rising sun”. They depicted Armenia (Great Armenia-E.D.) to the east of Armenia Minor and Cappadocia (George Ripley and Charles A. Dana, The American Cyclopaedia. Vol. 2, D.Appleton and Company, 1879, pp. 8, 16-17 https://ia600407.us.archive.org/3/items/americancyclopae02ripluoft/americancyclopae02ripluoft.pdf


names are used in distorted Turkified forms: “Sos Höyük... is situated at an altitude of 1800m in the narrow Pasinler Valley ... As is the case today, in antiquity the Pasinler Valley lay on one of the main routes through the mountains of Eastern Anatolia linking Western Turkey to Iran and the Caucasus”\(^\text{16}\). It is obvious that instead of the names of Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland (particularly its western part - Western Armenia) are wrongly used the terms “Eastern Anatolia”\(^\text{17}\) and “Western Turkey”; the ancient Armenian name of the region of Basen (Պասեն) is also brought in a distorted form\(^\text{18}\).

It will be correct to entitle the above mentioned schematic map: “The “Golden Triangle” in northern Syria, southwest of the Armenian Highland, northern Mesopotamia and western Zagros”\(^\text{19}\).

D.M. Lang highly appreciating the contribution of Armenia to the world civilization, particularly, wrote: “The ancient land of Armenia is situated in the high mountains... Although Mesopotamia with its ancient civilizations of Sumeria\(^\text{20}\) and Babylon, is usually considered together with Egypt as the main source of civilized life in the modern sense, Armenia too has a claim to rank as one of the cradles of human culture. To begin with,
Noah’s Ark is stated in the Book of Genesis to have landed on the summit of Mount Ararat, in the very centre of Armenia... Again, Armenia has a claim on our attention as one of the principal homes of ancient metallurgy, beginning at least five thousand years ago...  

Certain regions of the “Golden Triangle” became a scene of the Akkadian expansion in the Bronze Age. Along with other toponyms Armanum is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions.

Concerning the localization of Armanum, textual-descriptive, onomastic, topographic, floristic and geographic characteristics have been brought by researchers within the scope of the problem’s investigation.

A. R. Jr. Horace devoted a special article to the localization of Armanum. He wrote: “Now the northern campaigns of Naram-Sin... have been the subject of much speculation... We know that Naram-Sin was called the conqueror of the lands of Armanum and Ibla... Ibla, it is now generally accepted, lay somewhere in Syria, north of

---


22 In ArchAtlas depicting ancient trade routes, the sources of extraction of so-called “Anatolian obsidian” in Western Asia are denoted in Central Anatolia (the central part of the peninsula of Asia Minor) and “Eastern Anatolia” [Andrew Sherratt (2004), “Trade Routes Growth of Global Trade. Urban Supply Routes, 3500 BC- AD 1500”, ArchAtlas, Version 4.1, Accessed: 26 April, 2017 (http://www.archatlas.org/Trade/Trade.php)]; the term “Eastern Anatolia” has been falsely applied instead of the term Armenian Highland.

Since the Neolithic epoch obsidian had been exported from Armenia to the countries of Mesopotamia and the Near East (Dixon J., Cann J., Renfrew C., Obsidian and the Origins of Trade, Scientific America, 1968, N 218, p. 46).
Iarmuti. On the location of Armanum opinion has been varied. Sidney Smith (Ur: Royal Inscriptions-Text (=URI), pp. 80-81), followed by Gelb, identified it with Assyrian ḫalman or ḫalpi (Aleppo), whereas Albright\(^{23}\) [JEA 7 (1921). 80, n. 1], among others, was inclined to equate it with the later Armenia. This latter opinion I think is correct now that the exact place of origin of the famous Diarbekr (Amid-E.D.) Stele of Naram-Sin is known... This Diarbekr Stele was erected... a few miles N.E. of Diarbekr\(^{24}\). A. R. Jr. Horace noted: "For the order of the geographical territories listed as conquered by Naram-Sin would seem to show that he progressed from east to west, thus making Armanum lie east of Ibla, whose location is reasonably certain. It is interesting to note in this connection that this region is also, roughly speaking, where the unknown writer of the geographical commentary on the campaigns of Sargon of Akkad placed Armanum (KAVI, No. 92, obv. I. 13), making it lie next to Lullubu and Akkad. At least from the context this would seem to be so... More than 1500 years later, for precisely this same Diarbekr region, the Assyrian king Salmanaser I reported the Urnuti-lands... Later the old sign for Akkad... is often used by the Assyrians for this Urartu land. This remarkable consistency in terminology (Akkadian *Armanum* and Assyrian *Urartu*) is odd"\(^{25}\). A. R. Jr. Horace also noted that for the same region “the Behistun Inscriptions of Darius I should equate Uraštu (=Urartu) with a form Armina (Arminiya).”\(^{26}\) Taking into consideration the mentioning of Armenia by Herodotus (c. 484 - c. 425 BC), the researcher concluded: "Is this form Armenia another example of an ancient land-name, long out of use, brought to life again? If the correlations above are not accidental... then a possible origin of the term Armenia... may herein be found.”\(^{27}\)

The military achievements of the Akkadian king Naram-Sin (2261-2224 BC)\(^{28}\) are mentioned in an Old Babylonian copy of the inscription (on a monument erected in the city of Ur): “Whereas, for all times since the creation of mankind, no king whatsoever had destroyed Armanum and Ebla, the god Nergal, by means of (his) weapons opened the way for Naram Sin, the mighty, and gave him Armanum and Ebla. Further, he gave to him the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, and the Upper Sea”\(^{29}\).

---


\(^{25}\) Ibid., pp. 417-418.

\(^{26}\) Ibid., p. 418.

\(^{27}\) Ibid.

\(^{28}\) http://www.ancient.eu/timeline/akkad/

Without taking into consideration the opinion supported by A. R. Jr. Horace, Adelheid Otto wrote: “Although it is clear that Naram-Sin’s campaign passed through Ebla (Tall Mardikh) on its way to the Mediterranean coast and the Cedar Mountain, the exact geographical position of Armanum remains uncertain. It is now generally accepted that Armanum should be identified with Armi/Armanum of the Ebla texts and not, as had previously been suggested, with Halab (modern Aleppo30). But Armi is also unlocalized, even though it is the most frequently mentioned place name in the Ebla texts after Mary and Emar”31. The main argument of the author is the question of the topographic position of the site: “The Naram-Sin’s inscription contains, after the description of his victories, copies of captions that record the dimensions of an unusually high and strongly defended fortification, which in all probability was Armanum itself... Here I discuss first the description of Armanum in this well-known text, then the evidence of the recently investigated Early Bronze Age citadel of Banat-Bazi at the Middle Euphrates and its possible identification with Armanum. I examine the information about Armi/Armium derived from the study of the Ebla texts to see if it is consistent with this proposal, and suggest that the archaeological and textual evidence taken together suggests that Armium/Armi, like Ebla, was already in decline at the time of Naram-Sin’s Syrian campaign... These measures, however, failed to provide a successful defence against the might of Naram-Sin. His attack brought about the final end of the Early Bronze Age city Armanum/Armi/Armium, whose location may have been at Banat-Bazi with its impressive fortified mountain citadel beside the river”32.

Wayne Horowitz and Michael Astour also analysed the problem out of the toponymic context of the Armenian Highland. W. Horowitz touched the problem in his comments to some Akkadian geographic notions 33. M. Astour, considering Armanum’s

33 "Armani (SG 13) stretches from Ebla to Bit-Nanib (The Sargon Geography, see Horowitz Wayne, Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography, Eisenbrauns, 1998 p. 69). The land of Armani, also written Alman and Ḥalman, was located in western Iran during the Middle Assyrian and Kassite periods. However, Old Akkadian and Ur III Arman has been identified with Aleppo in Syria and Ebla is Tell Mardikh in Syria. Thus, a placement of Armani east of the Tigris is problematic. Two solutions to the problem may be proposed. (1) Ebla in SG 13 may not be the famous Syrian Ebla, but a city Ebla/Abila/Ubla east of the Tigris. This eastern Ebla would be an appropriate border for the later Middle Assyrian and Kassite land of Armani in Iran. (2) One may note the close associations between Syrian Ebla and Arman in Naram-Sin materials where Arman (=Aleppo) and Ebla often appear together. For example, Naram-Sin conquers both Arman and Ebla in the Naram-Sin inscription UET 1 275/276+duplicates, and Arman itself is listed as one of the lands that revolted against Naram-Sin during the general insurrection. It is possible that the editor of The Sargon Geography forgot the western locations of the Old Akkadian Arman and Ebla in Syria but knew of the connection between the two sites. If so, the later eastern Arman in Iran may have been equated with the western Arman of Old Akkadian times, and Syrian Ebla then moved into Zagros to join the eastern Arman” (Horowitz Wayne, op. cit., p. 82).
position in relation to Transtigridian “Ebla”, noted: “It must be stated that Naram-Sin’s Ebla, always mentioned together with Armanum, is in all likelihood not the north Syrian Ebla at all. There also existed a Transtigridian city by that name, attested (sometimes in composite or ethnic formations) during Old Akkadian through Neo-Assyrian times. Indicative of its location are the Nippur geographical list, which places Eb-la\textsuperscript{ki} among cities of the Transtigris, and unmistakable contexts of its Middle and Neo-Assyrian appearances and, especially, a passage in the geographical treatise known as “The Empire of Sargon of Akkad,” basically a copy of an Old Babylonian composition but with interpolations and additions that reflect the time of Assurbanipal. There, in the enumeration of Transtigridian countries, which proceeds from north to south, one finds after Arrap\text{\text paramount}a and Lulubu and before Akkad (here the Diyala Valley) and Gutium the entry “from Ebla to Bit-Nanib is the land of the Armanians.” We see here the same close connection between Armanum and Ebla, as in Naram-Sin’s inscriptions. Ebla is the border-town of a region named for its capital, Armanum. For Naram-Sin, Armanum is the more important of the two… This was not the situation in northern Syria of the late third millennium, when Ebla dominated the region. To eliminate the discrepancy, Matthiae asserted that “it appears very probable that Armanum of the Akkadian inscriptions was Armi of the Eblaite inscriptions, and Armi, especially in the latest documents of Ibbi-Sipish [i.e. Ibbi-Zikir], appears clearly as the first city of the kingdom of Ebla.” Armi was frequently mentioned in Ebla texts, but it was one of the 60-odd vassal city-states of Ebla, among the 20 or so more prominent ones but by no means outstanding in comparison with the rest\textsuperscript{34}.

Alfonso Archi, basing on Naram-Sin’s information\textsuperscript{35}, suggested to localize Armi/Armanum further north: “Armi(um) of the Eblaite documents and O\text{\text capital}kk. Armanum must refer to the same city… The river on which Armanum lay had to be the Euphrates... As A.Otto has remarked, ‘no Early Bronze Age citadels or fortresses situated on high natural hills had been found in Syria…. (unti) the unexpected discovery of an Early Bronze Age building on the top of the citadel hill of Bazi’. If Armanum is Armi, the written sources from Ebla force us, however, to locate this city further north…,” where “stands the high and large artificial mound of the citadel of Samasat (Samosat - the capital of Commagene of the epoch of the Armenian Haykazun-Ervanduni Kingdom -E.D.) on the west bank of the river”\textsuperscript{36}.


\textsuperscript{35} “Whereas, for all time since the creation of mankind, no king whosoever had destroyed Armānum and Ebla, the god Nergal, by means of (his) weapons opened the way for Narām-Sin, the mighty, and gave him Armānum and Ebla. Further, he gave to him the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, and the Upper Sea. … Narām-Sin, the mighty, conquered Armānum and Ebla. Further, from the side of the Euphrates River as far as (the city of) Ulišum, he smote the people whom the god Dagan had given to him for the first time. … The god Dagan gave me Armānum and Ebla, and I captured Rīd-Adad, king of Armānum. (I 1-29, II 2-19, III 23–31).

The fact that in the Armenian language’s lexicon a great many names of plants “relate to the local flora, mainly to mountain or piedmont landscape of the Armenian Highland, Asia Minor and Northern Mesopotamia,” it has been assumed as an explanation of the presence of “many of the names of these plants, medicines even now in the world scientific literature.” The elucidation of the problem of the toponymical origin of the word meaning apricot in Akkadian cuneiform inscriptions is an important argument for localization of Armanum identified with the name of Armenia, thus the home-country of armanu (cf. Lat. armeniaca) is considered to be Armenia.

Reconstructing “the Geographical World Order” of the region including the southern area of the Armenian Highland, Elam and Lebanon of “the time between the Akkad period and the third dynasty of Ur”, G. Jonker noted: “Inscriptions, especially those left behind by the kings of Akkad, contained descriptions of campaigns in three directions; the south-east (towards Elam), the north-east (in the direction of Subartu to the “upper sea (or Lake Urmia) and the north-west as far as the cedars of Lebanon… The geographical circle which is drawn in the second text is much bigger… in the northwest Ḫana, Mari and the mountains of Armanum… The two regions in the north (seen from Ḫatti, they would have been to the south-east and south-west), the cedar mountains and the Armanum mountains…”

On the basis of analysis of information about “Cedar Forest”, “Silver Mountains”, “the King of Armanum” in cuneiform inscriptions, A.Kifishin concluded: “There were

37 Thus they “traditionally have the epithet Armenian or are known as plants of the Armenian origin (Plantum armeniacum). In Akkadian texts apricot is called (iddi)ḪĂŠHUR KUR.RA “mountain apple” or simply armannu—“Armenian”… It is possible that Akkadian Armanu - a mountainous region located to the north from Mesopotamia… This plant was related to a mountainous region, as could be the Armenian Highland” [Мкртчян Н., Субстрат названий растений в армянском языке, Древний Восток, 4, Ереван, 1983, стр. 24-25. According to Wayne Horowitz, “Subartu includes the lands north and east of Akkad, from a border with Ḫanu to the area of Anshan beyond the Zagros in Iran. The Cedar Mountain is a realistic border for both Ḫanu and Subartu… Naram-Sin claims to rule Subartu as far as the Cedar Forest…” (Horowitz Wayne, op. cit., p. 80)].


42 Concerning Sargon’s (ca. 2340-2280 BC) campaigns M. Heinz noted: “The western Levant with its powerful economic and administrative center in Ebla, the Amanus region, northern Lebanon as a provider of cedar wood, and the Taurus with its source of silver were more difficult to access and control than the north and the Euphrates region, but they were very much desired by the Akkadians. Sargon boasts in his inscriptions of not only having seen the west but of having ruled it…” (Marlies Heinz, Sargon of Akkad: Rebel and Usurper in Kish, see in: Representations of political power: case histories from times of change and dissolving order in the ancient Near East / edited by Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman. – Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2007, p. 79). According to I. Gelb, “Amanus is called
cedar woods mainly in the region of the Amanos mountains, in Syria, and the silver mines in Asia Minor and the mountains of Armenia... It is very probable that we have the most ancient information about Armenia (the 3rd millennium BC), which from the 1st millennium B.C. had been mentioned as *the country of Arme*44.

Since ancient times silver and other mines have been known in the Taurus region of Armenia. In relation with the evidence of the archaeological sources J. Rennel noted: “The mines alluded to, are those situated in the two branches of mount (Armenian or Eastern - E.D.) *Taurus*, that inclose the valley of *Sophene* (Tospk-E.D.), through which the Euphrates passes in its way from Armenia to Syria. These are two in number, *Kebban* (ancient Armenian Kapan - E.D.), and *Argana* (ancient Armenian Arkni=Arghana-E.D.)45 ... Mr. J. Sulliva reports (1781), that they were rich in *gold* and *silver*, and also produced *lead* and *iron*. M. Sestini, who accompanied him, says, that the mine of Argana, yielded *copper*, also.”46 About the latter P.Akkermans and G. Schwartz wrote: “A southern Mesopotamian “presence” along the Euphrates up into the heart of *eastern Anatolia*, therefore, is explained as an effort to control access to the rich resources of *eastern Anatolia*: timber from the eastern Taurus, copper from mining areas like Ergani Maden (Arkni=Arghana-E.D.), silver, and obsidian47 (in this sentence the term “eastern Anatolia” is twice wrongly used by the authors instead of *Western Armenia*-E.D.).

V. V. Ivanov, investigating publications concerning the Ebla documents and analysing Naram-Sin’s information about Armanum in the light of corresponding toponyms and personal names mentioned there, concluded: “Preserved bilingual texts are of exceptional interest. Hattit-Hittite bilinguals of Asia Minor are very important also for the earliest Armenian culture’s prehistory48. They widely represent Hattit goddess...
Ta-šî-me-ti, which in the old Assyrian Cappadocian (Asia Minor) tablet from Ashur (the end of the 3-rd millennium and the beginning of the 2-rd millennium BC) is associated with Ḫaįa - an ethnonym and onomastic element that matches, on the one hand, to the ancient name and the self-name of the Armenians from the earliest times⁴⁹, on the other hand, to the onomastic element Ḫaįa, testified together with the toponyms, regions and towns of Azi and Armi among the toponyms fixed in the cited below cuneiform texts from Ebla of the middle of the 3-rd millennium BC – several centuries before the tablet from Assur; later the same term Ḫaįa was testified as a toponym in the first centuries of the 1st millennium BC in the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Carchemish. In the Asia Minor tablet from Assur... the deity is correlated with the “son of Ḫaįa”... In the business accountancy texts from Ebla... the man mentioned by the name of Ḫa-ia=Ḫa-ya... is connected with the region of the city of Armi... With a high degree of probability Armi mentioned in the Ebla texts (in early inscriptions, as a city having a separate king, later - the vicegerent of Ebla) is identified with Armanum, which is named with Ebla in the inscriptions of Naram-Sin of Akkad⁵⁰.

Historical facts and their conceptual research testify that Armanum is the earliest form of the name of Armenia in the Akkadian cuneiform inscriptions.

---

⁴⁹ V. Ivanov analysing G. Kapantsyan’s views on these questions (Капанцян Г. А., К начальной истории армян. Древняя Малая Азия. В его кн.: Историко-лингвистические работы. I. Ереван, 1956, стр. 5-265) noted: “The newest discoveries, particularly, in relation with the toponym and ethnonym Ḫaįa in its correlation with Armi и Azi prove the truthfulness of the conclusions of G.A. Kapantsyan and complete wrongfulness of all constructions suggested by I.M. Dyakonov about the origin of the ethnonym hay-*hâti and other questions of the Armenians’ ethnogenesis” (Дьяконов И. М., Предыстория армянского народа. Ереван, 1968, стр. 234 след.), see Ivanov Vyч. В., Выделение разных хронологических слоев в древнеармянском и проблема первоначальной структуры текста гимна Ba(x)агну, ՊԲՀ, 1983, N 4, стр. 30, сн. 31.

THE HISTORY OF SEVERAL CITIES OF THE WESTERN PART OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND ACCORDING TO HITTITE SOURCES

Ghazaryan R. P.
PhD in History

From ancient times the peoples and states of the Armenian Highland and Asia Minor were in cultural and political relations with one another. With the emergence of the Hittite state (18th-13th centuries BC) those relations became more active. The Hittite state took under its control the western parts of the Armenian Highland as well and tried to have more influence in the east. Geographically several Hittite lands were in the contact zone between the Armenian Highland and Asia Minor. In this contact zone there were also several cities that played a significant role in the political, cultural and economic life of the region. Those cities were Sarissa, Kussara, Samuha and Mal(i)tiya.

The city of Sarissa¹ or Saressa was one of the most important centers situated in the east of the Hittite state. There is no mention of it in the “Cappadocian” sources (20th-18th centuries BC)². Instead, it was repeatedly mentioned in the Hittite sources. Different opinions³ were expressed about the location of the city, however, now Hittitologists tend to locate it in the place of the present archaeological site Kuşaklı which is situated in the province of Sebastia (60km south of the city of Sebastia), in the territory of historical Armenia Minor, near the Anti-Taurus Mountains. The archaeological site is situated on a natural hill with a height of 1650m, surrounded with mountains⁴. In one building in the western part of the citadel of the archaeological site an archive of cuneiform inscriptions was discovered (this is the fourth largest Hittite archive, probably composed during the reign of Tudhaliya III or Suppiluliuma I (2nd half of the 14th century BC)). The clay tablets mainly contain information of ritual and oracle character. In the south-eastern part of the citadel of the archaeological site a rather large building has been discovered, which was probably the temple of the Storm God of Sarissa. In the northern part of the

¹ The toponym is probably comprised of the root šara (high, above) and the toponym-forming suffix -issa. It is likely that the toponyms Sariyana, Sariyanta and Sariiya mentioned in the Hittite sources are comprised of the same root (about the location of these cities see RGTC, VI, S. 350-351).
² During the 20th-18th centuries BC international trade was conducted from Assur to Kanes (in the territory of future Cappadocia) and other districts of Asia Minor. Assur had founded its trading colonies at the junction point of trade routes, near the sources of raw material, especially in the eastern districts of Asia Minor, where from the city of Kanes thousands of cuneiform tablets have been discovered. They are an invaluable source for the history of the region of that period. See Lewy H., Notes on the Political Organization of Asia Minor at the Time of the Old Assyrian Texts, Orientalia, 1964, vol. 33, f. 2-3, pp. 181-198; Янковская Н.Б., Торговая община Каниша и свободный рынок (Малая Азия XIX в. до н.э.), Древняя Анатолия, Москва, 1985, стр. 228-242.
³ See RGTC, VI, S. 351-352.
⁴ In the Hittite sources there is also information about the mountains of Sarissa, see RGTC, VI, S. 352.
archaeological site another temple building has been excavated. In the southern part of the city a semi-dugout granary was discovered which could contain about 700 tons of grain. Similar granaries were discovered in other Hittite cities as well. Near the north-western gates of the city, outside the city walls there was a large artificial pool. The water flowing from the neighboring mountains was gathered there to satisfy the needs of the city, as well as to irrigate the adjacent sowing areas. There were similar pools in the south-western and south-eastern parts of the city as well. From there the water was supplied to the city through clay pipes. Those pools are the oldest constructions of that kind in the territory of the Armenian Highland and Asia Minor (dated to the 16th century BC). In the mountains near the city a sanctuary with a pool was discovered as well (2.5km south of the city, the so-called pool of Šuppitaššuwere). In one of the Hittite texts there is mention of a huwaši-sanctuary in the mountains near Sarissa. It was of great importance since the king of Hatti travelled to that place from Hattusa in order to participate in the spring celebration there. There was also a royal palace (É.LUGAL) in the city. Besides, one of the Hittite inscriptions mentions “the house of the city of Hattusa” in Sarissa (É URU Hatti URU Sarissai), which means the palace of the great king of Hatti in Sarissa.

Traces of city walls were found, as well as the four gates of the city. Preliminary archaeological observations show that there were quarters outside the city walls as well.

A great number of stamps were also found in Sarissa. One of them is worthy of particular interest. In the center of it the name of the king Mazitima or Mizitima is written in Luwian hieroglyphic script. So far the unique mention of the name does not make it possible to find out who the person was. It can be supposed that he governed in Sarissa as a vassal of the great king of Hatti.

---


Besides the pottery of Hittite style discovered at the archaeological site, Mycenaean pottery was found as well, which testifies to the fact that the city had trade relations with more remote territories and countries\textsuperscript{14}.

Thus, Sarissa was a medium-sized Hittite city (which probably had a population of about 5000 people\textsuperscript{15}), occupying a territory of about 18ha. The archaeological material found makes it possible to note that Sarissa was populated at least since the times of the Hittite Old kingdom (since the 16\textsuperscript{th} century BC). It was partially destroyed in the first half of the 14\textsuperscript{th} century BC (perhaps during the reign of Arnuvanda I), then it was restored during the reign of either Tudhaliya III or Suppiluliuma I. Traces of new destruction, dated to the period of the fall of the Hittite Empire, were discovered in the archaeological site of Sarissa. Probably the city was gradually abandoned already at the end of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century BC. Some structures of the citadel were burnt down during that time which testifies to the fact that the city was attacked and conquered. Later (7\textsuperscript{th}-6\textsuperscript{th} centuries BC) most of the territory of the city was repopulated. Then the settlement was abandoned for good.

In the administrative sense Sarissa was part\textsuperscript{16} of the Hittite Upper Land\textsuperscript{17}, and was closer to the cities of Kussara and Samuha. It was also one of the spiritual centers of Hatti. In the Egyptian version of the part “divine witnesses” of the Hittite-Egyptian treaty (1258 BC) the god Set (Storm) of the city of Sarissa was mentioned\textsuperscript{18}. We know about the Storm god of Sarissa from other Hittite treaties as well. In the list of gods given in them the Storm god of Sarissa was usually mentioned after the Storm gods of Samuha and Hurma\textsuperscript{19}. Those cities were mentioned after each other probably because they were close to each other. Besides the Storm god of Sarissa the male and female gods of Sarissa were mentioned as well\textsuperscript{20}.

The city of Sarissa was mentioned also in some Hittite oracle and ritual texts. There is a ritual text, where “the man of the city of Sarissa” is mentioned as a participant of the ritual\textsuperscript{21}. In another oracle text about Sarissa the country of Azzi is mentioned\textsuperscript{22}. It

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Mielke D. P., Hittite Cities: Looking for a Concept, p. 184.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} The Hittite Upper Land was in the north-east of the Hittite Empire. In more detail see Ghazaryan R., The North-Western Region (the Upper Land) of the Armenian Highland within the Hittite State, Fundamental Armenology, 2015, 2, pp. 8-18.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Singer I., Hittite Gods in Egyptian Attire: A Case Study in Cultural Transmission, Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature. Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2013, p. 437.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Beckman G., Hittite diplomatic texts, Atlanta, 1996, pp. 24, 47, 53, 58, 63, 87.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} Singer I., Muwatalli’s Prayer to the Assembly of Gods through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381), Atlanta, 1996, p. 13.
  \item \textsuperscript{21} Wilhelm G., Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäude A. (Kuşaklı - Sarissa I/I), Rahden, 1997, S. 18-19.
  \item \textsuperscript{22} One of the most important states of the Armenian Highland in the 14\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} centuries BC was Azzi, given in Hittite sources also as Hayasa. See Ղազարյան Ա., Հայասա. քաղաքական և մշակութային պատմությունը, Երևան, 2009: 20.
\end{itemize}
mentions the king (probably of Hatti) and the man of the country of Azzi (perhaps the lord)\textsuperscript{23}. A high-ranking guest from Azzi might have participated in those rituals.

Thus, Sarissa was one of the cities of Upper Land, which was one of the most important north eastern lands of the Hittite Empire. It was rather close to Hayasa and Isuwa – the Armenian Highland’s states of that time (16\textsuperscript{th}-12\textsuperscript{th} centuries BC) and it is natural that it had economic relations with the cities of those states. The city of Sarissa was also rather close to Samuha and Kussara - the most important cities in the east of Hatti. Sarissa is one of the best preserved Hittite cities discovered so far and it has provided Hittitologists with a lot of important materials. It is also the highest Hittite city discovered which had great economic significance. The city was also one of the most important military bases of the eastern districts of Hatti, protecting the central districts of Hatti from the threats coming from the east. The main cult center of the Storm god of Sarissa, one of the most important Hittite gods, was also found in the city.

The city of Kussara is occasionally mentioned in the trade clay tablets of the old Assyrian period and less often in the period of the Hittite Kingdom\textsuperscript{24}. From Old Assyrian trade tablets we know that in the city existed a special palace - an Assyrian trade station called Karum. Kussara plays a central role in the earliest history of the eastern part of Asia Minor and eastern part of the Armenian Highland, and yet it is one of the least well-attested cities in the Old Assyrian sources (20\textsuperscript{th}-18\textsuperscript{th} centuries BC). Only 26 texts refer to the city and attestations of Kussar alongside other toponyms are even scarcer. The Old Assyrian texts contain little direct evidence about the history of Kussara. Among them there are some texts containing information that Kussara was in war with the Land of Zalpa\textsuperscript{25} and in close relations with Luhuzattiya\textsuperscript{26}. The city played a relatively unimportant role in international trade according to Old Assyrian texts\textsuperscript{27}.

But Kussara first of all was a city from where originated the dynasty of Hittite kings. Pithana\textsuperscript{28}, the earliest-documented Hittite ruler, was the king of the city of Kussara, and the forerunner of the later Hittite dynasty. He reigned during the 18\textsuperscript{th} century BC. During his reign he conquered the city of Kanes (Nesa), heart of the Assyrian trading colonies network in the east of Asia Minor and the western part of the Armenian Highland. Pithana came down from Kussara in great force and took Nesa in the night by storm. He seized the king of Nesa, but inflicted no harm on the inhabitants of the city. Instead, he

\textsuperscript{24} RGTC, VI, S. 230.
\textsuperscript{25} RGTC, VI, S. 490-492. The city was probably located near the (Black) Sea.
\textsuperscript{26} Barjamovic G., A Historical geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony period. Copenhagen, 2011, pp. 133-143.
\textsuperscript{27} Barjamovic G., op. cit., pp. 143-150.
\textsuperscript{28} The so-called “Anitta Text” (CTH I) is the only historical source about the reign of Pithana and his subjugation of Kanes. Anitta was son of Pithana. He was the author of the above-mentioned text, which is the oldest known text in the Hittite language (and the oldest known Indo-European text altogether).
made them "his mothers and fathers". The seat of the Kussaran dynasty was then moved to Nesa, though Kussara appears to have retained ceremonial importance.

Pithana was succeeded by his son, Anitta (18th century BC). He defeated Piyusti, the king of the Hattian state. Anitta conquered the Hattian capital city Hattusa (the future Hittite capital). Then he destroyed the city, "sowed cress" over it, and laid a curse on the site. Anitta also attacked the city of Zalpuwa/Zalpa, defeated Huzziya, the last of its recorded king and recaptured the Kanesan god, thus ending the threat from the north. Next, Anitta turned his attention southwards and defeated the city of Salatiwara (which lay on a road connecting the kingdoms of Wahsusana and Purushanda (Burushattum in the Old Assyrian merchant tablets)) in two campaigns. In the final stage of his campaigns, Anitta marched against the important city of Purushanda. Its king, albeit ruling a widely respected realm, had the wisdom to voluntarily submit to Anitta, bringing gifts including a throne and a scepter of iron. Anitta also took the title of "Great King". His name, together with the name of his father, appears on an inscription on a dagger discovered in Nesa.

The establishment of the Kussaran dynasty in Nesa had dramatically altered the political landscape of the eastern half of Asia Minor and the western half of the Armenian Highland (18th century BC). The conquests of Pithana and Anitta had resulted in an extensive unified political structure encompassing the whole of the Marassantiya (Halys) basin north to the Pontic region, and the entire region south of the Marassantiya to Purushanda. Nesa and Kussara were the focal points of this structure.

It seems, however, that after Annita his dynasty lost control over its original city-state of Kussara, which passed into the hands of either a collateral branch of the royal family or a rival Hittite clan whose dynasty would found the new Hittite state. Kussara remained one of many city-states in the contact zone of Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland, until the reign of Labarna.

When Labarna came to the Hittite throne, he was the ruler only of the city-state of Kussara. In addition to the territories won by Labarna in the south-western part of the Armenian Highland, the Hittites must also have controlled territories located a similar

29 Anitta text: 5-9. Maybe this unique statement meant there were cultural and/or ethnic affinities between Kussara and Kanes. See also Bryce T., The Kingdom of the Hittites, Oxford, 2005, pp. 35-36.
30 A curse was laid on the site by Anitta: “On its site I sowed weeds. May the Storm-God strike down anyone who becomes king after me and resettles Hattusa.” See Anitta text: 44-51.
31 See RGTC, VI, S. 333-334.
32 See RGTC, VI, S. 323-324, 471.
33 Anitta text, 73-79.
34 The discovery in 1954 of an inscribed dagger in the debris of a large building on the mound at Kültepe (Nesa) seemed to provide material confirmation of the establishment of Nesa as the Kussaran dynasty’s royal seat.
35 See Bryce T., op. cit., pp. 35-40.
36 This king was regarded by his successors as the founder of the royal dynasty, and his name was assumed as a title by each king on his accession, though for his lifetime only, not after death. There are no surviving records from his reign, the one major source being the later Proclamation of Telipinu, well over a century after his death (see Hoffmann I., Der Erlaß Telipinu, Heidelberg, 1984, S. 12-13).
distance to the north of Kussara, at that time the center of the Hittite kingdom. This may have been the result of a series of northern campaigns conducted by Labarna\textsuperscript{37}. Hattusili I (ca 1650-1620 BC), recognized as one of the first Hittite kings, referred to himself as “man of Kussara”, but moved his capital from there to Hattusa (from which he likely took his name). It is clear, however, that even after the capital was moved, Kussara retained some importance, as it was there that Hattusili called a council on his own succession. As the expression “Man of Kussara” suggests, Hattusili probably began his reign in Kussara. The major document of Hattusili’s reign is commonly referred to as the Testament. While Hattusili’s Annals are one of our chief sources of information on his military exploits, the Testament provides us with important details about the internal political affairs of the Hittite kingdom during his reign\textsuperscript{38}. Perhaps Hattusili I spent his final days there, in the city of his ancestors\textsuperscript{39}. He also declared his grandson Mursili the next king of Hatti in Kussara.

Hattusili I and Hattusili III (1267-1237 BC)\textsuperscript{40} mentioned the origins of the Kings of the land of Hatti as Hattusili I styled himself: “man of Kussara . . . Great King Tabarna, Hattusili the Great King, King of the land of Hatti”. No other town or land was ever mentioned by the King of Hatti as the origin of his dynasty. There is no information on Kussara in later Hittite sources.

The borders of Kussara are unknown and the old city of Kussara has not been found, though several proposals for its location have been advanced. In the Old Assyrian trade texts it is mentioned that Kussara had closer relations with the cities of Hattum, Hurama, Luhuzattiya, Salahsuwa, Samuha, Tegarama, Timelkiya\textsuperscript{41}. All these settlements were to the east and north-east of Kanes (Nesa)\textsuperscript{42}. The Hittite sources offer little help in locating Kussara. Apart from the well-known text of Anitta, the city is never mentioned in any geographical context in the Hittite texts. Divergent suggestions regarding the location of Kussara have been proposed: B. Landsberger located it in “the nearest proximity of Hattusa”\textsuperscript{43}, S. Alp identified it with the present day Acemhöyük\textsuperscript{44} at the Lake Tatta\textsuperscript{45}, J. Lewy advocated for its location near Comana Cappadociae or at Kemer on the Plain of Elbistan (Albistan - in the north-eastern part of Cilicia)\textsuperscript{46}, and J. Garstang and O. Gurney saw the present day Alişar as an “extremely plausible”

\textsuperscript{37} Bryce T., op. cit., pp. 64-66.
\textsuperscript{38} CTH, 4-8.
\textsuperscript{40} See Otten H., Die Apologie Hattusilis III. Das Bild der Überlieferung, Wiesbaden, 1981, S. 4-5.
\textsuperscript{41} Barjamovic G., op. cit., pp. 143-144.
\textsuperscript{42} Barjamovic G., op. cit., pp. 133-188.
\textsuperscript{43} Landsberger B., Über den Wert künfiger Ausgrabungen in der Türkei, Belleten, 1939, 3, S. 213.
\textsuperscript{44} The name of the place was most likely Purushanda/Purushhattum. The site was an Assyrian trading colony, or Karum.
\textsuperscript{45} Alp S., Hititçağında Anadolu coğrafyası; Bazı atılımlar ve yeni umutlar, 1990, ICH 1, s. 21-24.
\textsuperscript{46} Lewy J., Old Assyrian evidence concerning Kuşşara and its Location, Anadolu Araştırmaları, 1965, 2, pp. 305-315.
candidate\textsuperscript{47}. T. Bryce, meanwhile, suggested: “the city of Kussara probably lay to the south-east of the Marassantiya river basin in the Anti-Taurus region, on or near one of the main trade routes from Assyria and perhaps in the vicinity of modern Şar (Comana Cappadocia)”\textsuperscript{48}. M. Forlanini says that Kussara was located between Hurama and Tegarama, to north of Luhuzattiya and probably on a crossroad leading towards north, to Samuha (located in the province of Sebastia)\textsuperscript{49}. G. Barjamovic says that Kussara was situated on the route to Kanes, between Hurama and Samuha\textsuperscript{50}. We agree with the viewpoints that Kussara was situated in the region of the Anti-Taurus Mountains, in the western part of the Armenian Highland, to the west of Tegarama, to the north-east of Kanes, in the territory to the south of Samuha.

Thus, Kussara was the main political center of the western part of the Armenian Highland. Kussara attained its highest status during the later Colony period (20\textsuperscript{th}-18\textsuperscript{th} centuries BC) when it was the seat of the dynasty of Pithana and his son Anitta, before shifting their center of power to Nesa (Kanes). Hittite military and political power was first built up in Kussara, although there was no blood line linking Anitta with Hattusili I and his successors. Hattusili I was based in Kussara, though soon established his new center of government on the ruins of Hattusa. Defensively strong, Hattusa was strategically badly sited by comparison with Kussara, for purposes of access to north Syria and Mesopotamia. Playing a significant role in the Assyrian colony period and the period of the Old Hittite Kingdom Kussara probably declined and was abandoned already in the period of the Middle Hittite Kingdom.

One of the most important administrative and spiritual centers of the north-eastern part of the Hittite state was the city of Samuha\textsuperscript{51}, which is mentioned from the pre-Hittite and Hittite periods. According to the “Cappadocian tablets” Samuha had active trade relations with the trade centers of the region: Kanes (Nesa), Luhuzattiya, Karahna and other cities\textsuperscript{52}. There was a station (\textit{wabartum}) of Assyrian merchants in Samuha.

\textsuperscript{47} Garstang J., Gurney O., The geography of the Hittite Empire, London, 1959, p. 63. But Alişar is now considered the site where the Hittite city Ankuwa was situated. See also Barjamovic G., op. cit., p. 144.

\textsuperscript{48} Bryce T., op. cit., pp. 35-36.

\textsuperscript{49} Forlanini M., The historical geography of Anatolia and the transition from the Karum period to the Early Hittite Empire, OAAS, volume 3, Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period, p. 81, n. 116. See also the map on page 120 in Michel C., La correspondance des marchands Assyriens du XIX\textsuperscript{e} S. AV. J.-C. Da l’archivage les letters commerciales et privées, La letter d’archive, Supplément 9, 2008. In that map Kussara was located to the south of Samuha, in the region of the Anti-Taurus Mountains.

\textsuperscript{50} Barjamovic G., op. cit., p. 146.

\textsuperscript{51} According to G. Ghapantsyan the name of the city is comprised of Asianic sam(m)- “cane” + -ha (cf. Arm. shamb (շամբ)), i.e. the name of the city can be translated as Cane Field (Կանայից Գ., Ղապանսյան Գ., Հայաստանի արևելյան հրաբխային պատմության մասին, ԵՊՀ, 2004, 1, էջ 170).

\textsuperscript{52} Barjamovic G., op. cit., p. 136.
According to the “Cappadocian” sources Samuha was one of the trade centers of wool and tin at the beginning of the II millennium BC.53 Later Samuha was repeatedly mentioned in other Hittite sources as well. During the period of the Hittite state Samuha prospered both as an administrative and spiritual center.

One of the first references to the city is found in the text54 of the Hittite king Telipinu (second half of the 15th century BC), where several cities, among them Samuha, were mentioned.

Another important source concerning Samuha is the text called “River Navigation”55. It is a letter delivered to the Hittite king from some official. The text probably referred to the period of the New Kingdom (14th-13th centuries BC). According to that Hittite source goods were delivered from Pittiyariga56 to Samuha by boats (or rafts). As a transit city Arziya is mentioned57.

Samuha was also the temporary political center of Hatti during the reign of Tudhaliya III (ca 1360-1344 BC) when a considerable part of the territory of Hatti (including Hattusa, the capital city of Hatti) was either conquered or was out of control of the king of Hatti and he had to move to Samuha58 with his court. According to Hittite sources Azzi (Hayasa) had probably attacked and invaded “all the Upper lands and made Samuha a border”59. It is not clear whether the Azzians had conquered the city or it was simply close to the territories conquered by them; the fact is that during that period the north-western border of Hayasa (Azzi) reached the farthest districts of the Armenian Highland to the west, up to the upper basin of the river Halys. But in a short time the Hittites either took back Samuha or the Azzians retreated taking the trophy and leaving the territory of Upper Land. Anyway, for soon, during the reign of Tudhaliya III and prince Suppiluliuma, Samuha became the base from where they started the process of restoring the strength and territorial integrity of Hatti60. Actually Samuha

54 KBo III 1 21 (Hoffmann I., Der Erlaß Telepinus, Heidelberg, 1984, S. 40-41).
56 See about Pittiyariga in ՀԼՏ, էջ 118-119 և այլն.
57 The word Arziya- in the Hittite language means granary, shed, grain store (see Tischler J., Hethitisches Handwörterbuch, Innsbruck, 2001, S. 80-81).
59 KBo VI 28, ԴԿ 6-15 (CTH 88).
temporarily was the capital city of the Hittite state which was enclosed in the territory of Upper Land. In fact it was also the headquarters of the Hittite army. Samuha was also mentioned in the "Annals" of Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322 BC) who followed Tudhaliya III, as well as in the fifth year of the "Ten year" annals of Mursili II (1321-1295 BC).

Samuha also played an important role during the struggle for the throne between Mursili III (Urhi-Tesub) (1272-1267 BC) and his uncle Hattusili. According to Hattusili's autobiographical text the goddess Istar from Samuha demanded Mursili II to send his younger son Hattusili to serve her as a priest. The king of Hatti did that. Hattusili connected all of his further actions with Istar's patronage and divine support. According to the above-mentioned text, during the reign of Muwattali II (1295-1272 BC) Hattusili was appointed governor-viceroy of Upper Land and the neighbouring territories. But Mursili III deprived him of that position. And this attitude of the great king of Hatti resulted in hostility between the two and a war started between Hattusili and Mursili which mainly took place in the territory of Upper Land. During the war Mursili III left the city of Marassantiya and took shelter in Samuha which once again temporarily became the residence of the king of Hatti. Hattusili sieged (according to Hattusili's figurative expression he had closed Mursili III in Samuha as "a pig in a barn") and then seized the city and dethroned his nephew. The victorious Hattusili was declared great king of Hatti.

After the fall of the Hittite Empire (the end of the 13th century - the beginning of the 12th century BC) there is no mention of the city of Samuha.

Now let us turn to the question of location of Samuha. As mentioned above, the Hittite text KUB XXXI 79 describes the transportation of goods by the river between the cities of Pittiyariga, Arziya and Samuha. This text gives the impression that the city was located on the bank of the river. It is said that the river was shallow in some places and the boats could overturn. The goods were transported to a larger boat in Samuha. Since the text is damaged it is not clear where the goods were to be taken from there. The existence of a river road from Pittiyariga to Samuha has a great significance from the point of view of these three cities being on the bank of the same river and besides, this can give an opportunity to find the approximate location of a lot of other settlements.

---

61 Güterbock H. G., The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by his son, Mursili II, pp. 63-64.
62 KBo III 4 III 48. The city was given here in the form Samaha. See RGTC, VI, S. 337-341. RGTC, VI/2, S. 136. ÇLS, t₂ 85-90. The city was mentioned in the form Sapuha as well (see e.g. the text devoted to "Istar of Fields" (KUB XXX 56: ÇLS, t₂ 141).
64 Arziya could not have been in the place of the medieval city Artsn since it was located in the upper unnavigable part of the Western Euphrates. Besides, Artsn was near the city of Karin the territory of which was part of Hayasa in that period.
65 Lebrun R., Samuha, foyer religieux de l'Empire hittite, pp. 217-218; Gurney O. R., The Upper Land, mâtum elütum, in G. Beckman et al (eds.) Hittite Studies in Honour of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday, Winona Lake, 2003, pp. 123-124. The text KBo IV 13 also mentions Pittiyariga, Arziya, Samuha and other settlements, which testifies to the fact that those cities were actually close to each other and had close relations since ancient times.
mentioned in other texts with those cities. For a long time the navigable river mentioned in the text was identified with the Euphrates and the above-mentioned cities were looked for in the territory between the upper streams of the Euphrates to Malatiya. However, the Hittite sources do not clearly mention on the bank of which river exactly Samuha was located. The “Cappadocian” sources do not give a solution to this problem, but it is evident that the city was located near the cities of Karahna and Hurama. Karahna was close to Tapikka which was clearly situated in the place of the present archaeological site Maşat-höyük [about 20km to the south of the city of Zile (Zela)]. In regard to the location of the city, of great importance is Hattusili III’s text where it is mentioned that during the war with his nephew the latter left the city of Marassantiya [on the bank of the river of the same name (Marasantiya=Halys)] and took shelter in Samuha. In one part of the text KBo I 58 (II 4 -5 ) Samuha immediately follows Sarissa. Moreover, in Hittite international agreements, when gods were called to witness, the Storm god of Samuha was usually mentioned immediately after the Storm god of Sarissa.

In historiography Samuha is usually located in the province of Sebastia, in the place of the archaeological site near the present day settlement Kayalıpinar (the toponym can be translated as “rocky source”). A. Müller-Karpe was the first to suggest the location of Samuha in the place of the above-mentioned archaeological site, on the bank of the river Halys, not far from the archaeological site near the present day Kuşaklı (Sarissa). The archaeological site of Kayalıpinar occupies about 20 hectares. It is on the northern bank of the river Halys, about 45km to the south-east of Sebastia. During the excavations of the archaeological site artifacts, dated to the period of the Middle and Late Bronze Age were discovered. During the excavations traces of a large building were discovered as well. It was destroyed and restored several times. It was probably a palace or a temple. Inscriptions were also discovered.

---

66 Barjavovic G., A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period, pp. 151-154.
67 KBo VI 29 II 18-20.
69 See also De Martino S., Šamuha, Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, band 12, 1/2, 2009, pp. 1-2:
70 The archaeological site was mistakenly located in eastern Cappadocia whereas it is in the territory of Armenia Minor, in the western part of the Armenian Highland. About the western borders of the Armenian Highland see Зограбян Л. Н., Орография Армянского нагорья (опыт орографического анализа морфоструктуры), Ереван, 1979, стр. 14:
72 The Hittite text KBo XLV 179 also testifies to the existence of the palace in Samuha. The text, composed as an instruction, enumerates “the servants of the king of Isuwa”, “the people of the palace of Sapuha (=Samuha)”, the city of Watarusna, etc. See ÇLS, tāg 132.
in the archaeological site\textsuperscript{73}. Besides, a text of a spiritual ritual nature was found\textsuperscript{74}. It describes a ceremony connected with the cult of Istar - “the divine mistress”. The place where the ceremony was held was one of the cult centers of Istar. It was an important place since the king also participated in the ceremony\textsuperscript{75}. In Hatti the main place of worship of the goddess Istar was the city of Samuha located, just like the archaeological site, on the bank of the river\textsuperscript{76}. The ritual text dated back to the Middle Hittite period\textsuperscript{77} and is an additional basis for locating Samuha at the place of the present day Kayalipinar. In the archaeological site clay stamps were discovered\textsuperscript{78}. During the excavations a piece of limestone (with a height of 1.2m and width of 95cm) was found and there was a relief image depicting a woman sitting on the throne\textsuperscript{79}.

Samuha was one of the most important spiritual centers of Hatti where besides Istar other gods were worshipped as well. The gods of Samuha were also repeatedly mentioned in different Hittite treaties as witness gods\textsuperscript{80}. At the same time Istar was the protector goddess of many members of the royal family. Thus, as a child Hattusili III was sent to serve the goddess Ishtar. He also sent his son Tudhaliya to serve the goddess Istar\textsuperscript{81}. There are prayer texts of Hittite kings, as well as lists of gods where Samuha and its gods were mentioned\textsuperscript{82}.

In the texts of the period of the last Hittite kings (Arnuwanda III, Suppiluliuma II) there is no mention of Samuha. It is likely that the city was destroyed by the Kasks during the fall of the Hittite Empire since later the Kasks were mentioned in the territories south of Upper Land, near the countries of Melid (future Malatiya) and Tabal (future territory of Cappadocia).

Thus, Samuha was one of the most important administrative and spiritual centers of the north-eastern part of the Hittite state and geographically it was in the western part of the Armenian Highland. After the fall of the Hittite Empire there is no more mention of the city of Samuha.

The city of Malitiya is one of the most important ancient settlements of the Armenian Highland. The city was near the Melas River, a tributary of the Upper Euphrates. It has been identified with the modern archaeological site Lions’ hill\textsuperscript{83} (7 km

\textsuperscript{74} Müller-Karpe A., Kayalipinar in Ostkappadokien Ein neuer hethitischer Tontafelfundplatz, MDOG, 132, 2000, S. 361.
\textsuperscript{75} See CLS, τγ 149:
\textsuperscript{76} Müller-Karpe A., Kayalipinar in Ostkappadokien Ein neuer hethitischer Tontafelfundplatz, S. 355-365.
\textsuperscript{77} Müller-Karpe A. et al., Untersuchungen in Kayalipinar 2005, S. 212.
\textsuperscript{80} Beckman G., Hittite Diplomatic Texts, Atlanta, 1996, pp. 63, 77, 80, 81. See also CLS, τγ 122-124, 137, 139:
\textsuperscript{81} Imparati F., Apology of Hattusili III or designation of his successor, Fs. Ph. H.J. Houwink ten Cate, 1995, pp. 143-157.
\textsuperscript{82} See Garstang J., Gurney O.R., The Geography of the Hittite Empire, London, 1959, p. 7. See also CLS, τγ 113-114:
\textsuperscript{83} Arslantepe (arslan=lion and tepe=hill) gets its name from the lion statues excavated at the archaeological site.
north-east of modern Malatya city\textsuperscript{84}) in the south-western part of the Armenian Highland\textsuperscript{85}.

The city was mentioned in the Hittite sources as either Malitiya or Maldiya\textsuperscript{86}. In the “Cappadocian” texts, as well as in the sources of the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom the toponym Malitiya was not mentioned. But the long distance trade route of the “Old Assyrian Colony” period involved also the region of Malitiya. In fact, if we look at the geographical names mentioned in the historiographical texts that describe the military expeditions led by the Hittite kings of the Old Kingdom against the Hurrians, we find mention of some cities that we can locate close to Malitiya. The Annals of Hattusili I (2\textsuperscript{nd} half of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century BC) speak of the conquest and destruction of the city Alha\textsuperscript{87}, that might have been located close to Malitiya. The texts of this king inform that the land Henzuta was in some way involved in the military operations of the Hittites on the occasion of their campaigns against Syria and we know that Henzuta was close to Isuwa\textsuperscript{88}. Armatana was also located close to Malitiya\textsuperscript{89}. Therefore, it is not surprising that the region east of Tegarama (modern Gürün), i.e. the area of Malitiya and Isuwa, was involved in some of the military expeditions of Hattusili I and Mursili I (ca 1620-1590 BC) as well. Besides, the Hittite cultural influence appeared in Malitiya already during the period of the Old Hittite Kingdom. However, the Hittite kings were not able to maintain such a region under Hittite sovereignty after Mursili I’s death; in fact in the decree of king Telipinu, in the list of storage depots that were inside Hatti at the time of this king, we do not find any city that we can locate in the region of Malitiya. This might be taken as a proof that Telipinu had no more control on such a region, but it should also be mentioned that this list is very fragmentary\textsuperscript{90}.

The Hittite name of Malitiya is documented only in seven Hittite cuneiform texts\textsuperscript{91}, which can be dated to the New Hittite Kingdom. In the Hittite sources the city [\textsuperscript{UR}Maldiya] was first mentioned in the so-called text “Misdeed of Mita of Pahhuwa”

\textsuperscript{84} The origin of the name of the modern town of Malatya is obviously connected to the preservation of the ancient Hittite toponym through the centuries: Assyrian Melid, Urartian Meliteia, Aramaic mlz, Luwian Ma-li-zi, Greek Melitene, Latin Melita. The etymology of the Hittite name is debatable, since the correspondence with the word melit, Luwian mallit, that means “honey” is only hypothetical. Similarly, the name of Maldiya/Malitiya is not certainly connected to any Old Assyrian toponym. See Archi A., Malitiya-Meliddu: Arslantepe nelle fonti scritte. In Frangipane M. (ed.), Alle origini del potere. Arslantepe, la collina dei leoni, Electa, Milan, 2004, p. 173.

\textsuperscript{85} Υψιπομπηδής Υ., Πατρίδοι της Αρχαίας Ελλάδας, Εκδόσεις Σπύρος Καραμανλής, Αθήνα, 1961.

\textsuperscript{86} See RGTC, VI, S. 257-258. The similarity of Maldiya to the toponym Malazziya is not well-grounded since the latter was most likely in the north-east of Hatti, close to the territories populated by the Kaskian tribes (East Pontic mountains) (See Alp S., Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük, Ankara, 1991, S. 23)

\textsuperscript{87} Modern Akçadağ, in the territory of the former settlement Argaus or Arka.

\textsuperscript{88} About the location of Henzuta see CLS, Σ, 73.

\textsuperscript{89} About the location of Armatana see RGTC, VI, S. 38-39.

\textsuperscript{90} Hoffmann I., Der Erlass Telipinus. Texte der Hethiter 11, Heidelberg, 1984.

(KUB XXIII 72 Rs.37’)] 92, dated to the period of the reign of the Hittite king Arnuwanda I (the 1st half of the 15th century BC). The treaty KUB XXXI 103 is contemporary with Mita’s text and connected to it; the people of Malitiya swear their loyalty to the King of Hatti together with the people of Pahhuwa. In this treaty any contact with the Hurrians is prohibited and this is understandable, since we know that in this period Mittani and Hatti were contending for the south-eastern regions of the Armenian Highland and mostly for Isuwa (Arm. Tcopk) 93. Also the tablet KBo XVI 42 94 can be dated to the New Hittite Kingdom. The author of this text inspected the region of the Upper Euphrates: the following geographical names were mentioned: Isuwa, Malitiya, Manzana, [He]nzuta. He also interrogated the people of some cities concerning the political situation of the area. Three other Hittite tablets that mention the city Malitiya belong to the 13th century BC. KBo XVIII 24 is a letter written by a Hittite king (whose name is not preserved (most likely Hattusili III 95) to the Assyrian king [Salmanassar I (1263-1234 BC)]. This text quotes a previous letter sent by the Assyrian court, where the Assyrian king invited the king of Hatti to send a Hittite official to inspect Malitiya. All this shows that the city was at a strategic point between the interests of the two states 96. KBo XXII 264 is an oracle text 97, where the possibility that the Assyrian king might reach Malitiya is questioned; it could be contemporary with the letter KBo XVIII 24; both documents refer to the political friction between Assyria and Hatti after the Assyrian conquest of Mittani. KUB XL 80 preserves some of the depositions collected by the court in a case that involved several Hittite high dignitaries of the time of Hattusili III and also the king of Isuwa Ali-Sarruma 98; the city is mentioned here in a fragmentary passage (URUMa-al-[di-ya]). Lastly KUB XXIII 69 is a small fragment of only seven lines and none of them is complete; the name of the city is preserved, but unfortunately we cannot infer any other information concerning the content of this document.

In the last decades of the Hittite Empire Malitiya is not mentioned in texts. However, the relations between Hatti and Assyria still continued to be worrying along the eastern Hittite border during the late 13th century 99. This is especially clear from the

---

92 The text presents an agreement signed between the Hittite king Arnuwanda I and the countries of the Upper Euphrates basin (Isuwa, Pahhuwa, Zuhma, Malitiya, etc.). There presented are the events of the anti-Hittite riot of several countries of the Upper Euphrates on the eve of signing the agreement (Gurney O.R., Mita of Pahhuwa, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1948, 28, p. 32-48. About the text see also CLS, 141-116.


battle of Nihriya, after which Tukulti-Ninurta I (1234-1207 BC) announced he had captured 28,800 Hittites beyond the Euphrates.

After the fall of the Hittite Empire, from the 12th to 7th centuries BC, the city became the center of an independent so-called Neo-Hittite state. The first mention of the city Melid after the fall of the Hittite state refers to the reign of Tigrath-Pileser I (1114-1077 BC), when on returning from the campaign on the “lands of Nairi” this king received tribute from the king of Melid Allumari in 1112 BC. Here Melid is called a city of the “Great country Hatti”. And subsequently, reporting on the campaigns in the area of the right bank of the Upper Euphrates, the Assyrian and Van (Urartian) kings mention the country Hatti (Hate/Hatinili), which in most cases corresponds to the territory of the kingdom Melid. Melid remained able to prosper until the Assyrian king Sargon II (722-705 BC) sacked the city in 712 BC. In the annals of Sargon II Melidu is considered the royal residence of the land Kammanu. There is mention of the city in the Bible as well.

Archaeological records complement the cuneiform texts in which Malitiya or Maldiya is attested. The site is an artificial mound, approximately 30 m high and covering a surface of 4 ha, formed by the overlapping deposits of many occupations, built for millennia in the same place. The archaeological site was occupied without interruption at least from the 5th millennium BC until the 4th to 6th centuries AD. Kura-
Araxes (Shengavitian) (3400-2000 BC) culture included the region of Malitiya as well\(^\text{107}\). Lions’ hill was in fact one of the main proto-state centers at the end of the fourth millennium BC, and one of the “poles” of “urbanization”\(^\text{108}\). The degree of influence exerted by the Hittite world at Arslantepe during the Late Bronze Age is high and is manifested in every aspect of the material culture. Thus, the first written data about the city have been found from the first half of the 15\(^{th}\) century BC. But the settlement has an older history; it was populated already from the Late Chalcolithic period. During the 15\(^{th}\)-13\(^{th}\) centuries BC Malitiya formed part of the “land of Tegarama” subject to the Hittites. Owing to its unique geographical position Malitiya was a connecting link between Asia Minor, the Armenian Highland, Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria.

The archeological sites of the Upper Euphrates and Halys valleys are perfect for analyzing and understanding the nature of the contact between Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland especially during the Late Bronze and Iron Age periods. Over the centuries the region was influenced by the cultures of several Western Asian lands, resulting in merging of many of their cultural elements with local traditions. These lands and cities (for example Upper Land, Tegarama, Sarissa, Kussar, Samuha and Mal(i)tiya) formed a sort of cultural and political border between Hittite territories and the ancient states of the Armenian Highland (Hayasa, Isuwa, etc.) during the Late Bronze Age.


Dumikyan A. V.
PhD in History

The mention of Ararat, the resting place of Noah’s Ark (according to the Bible) in the course of centuries has been at the center of attention of theologians, historians and researchers. The name Ararat is mentioned in the Hebrew original of the Bible as the mountains of Ararat1, the land of Ararat2 and the kingdom of Ararat3. The phrase the mountains of Ararat, mentioned in the Hebrew original and the Septuagint Version (the 3rd c. BC), is presented as the mountains of Armenia in the Vulgate (the end of the 4th c.-the beginning of the 5th c. AD) - montes Armeniae4. The phrase of the Septuagint έλις τὰ ὅρη Αραράτ ("into the land of Ararat") is translated «ի տերտիւս Հայոց» ("into the mountains of Armenia") in the Armenian translation (the beginning of the 5th c. AD) of the Bible5.

Carrying out a detailed study of the records in question of the Hebrew original of the Bible and its translations, as well as of the various interpretations of these records in the ancient and medieval primary sources, Michael Chamchyants pointed out, "... instead of the land of Ararat some call Ararat, some - Armenia, and some others Korduk"6.


2 2 Kings XIX 37; Isaiah XXXVII 27.

3 Jeremiah Li 27.

4 «Requevitque arca mense septimo, vigesimo septimo die mensis super montes Armeniae» (Biblia Sacra Vulgatae, editionis juxta exemplaria ex typographia apostolica Vaticana, Romae 1592 & 1593 inter se collata et ad normam correctionum romanarum exacta auctoritate Summi Pontificis Pii IX, Valentius Loch (Herausgeber), Manz, 1863, t. I, Gen. 8. 4.).


6 Գիրք Աստուածաշունչք Հին եւ Նոր Կտակարանաց, ի Վենետիկ, 1860, Տովիթ Ա 24:

7 Հայոց Ղուրիներ Հայոց առաբարձի համար տարբերական է գրականության, հ. Սուրբ, 1784, էջ 150:
Later, having investigated this issue V. Inglizyan wrote that the abovementioned phrase of the Hebrew original of the Book of Genesis and the Septuagint Version was translated into Armenian: “into the mountains of Ararat”, and in the Syriac (the Peshitta)8: “al tu-rai qardū.”9

Josephus Flavius (I century) mentions the reports of Berosus the Chaldean (330-250 BC) and Nicolaus of Damascus (64 BC- 5 AD) about the resting place of Noah’s Ark. Telling about the events during the Flood, Berosus wrote, “It is said that a piece of the Ark up to now is in Armenia, near the Korduk mountains”10.

According to Nicolaus of Damascus, “there is a great mountain, called Baris, in Armenia, above the (country)11 Minias, where, according to the history, many have found salvation during the Flood, and one, having been carried on the Ark, got down on the peak and the residues of the latter have been preserved for a long time.”12

The following information about Hakob Mtsbnatsi is recorded in the work of Pavstos Buzand (V century): “A man chosen by God, from his town reached the mountains of Armenia, the mountain Sararad, near the borders of the land of Ararat, in the region of Korduk.”13 Regarding the form “Sararad”, Mkrtich Emin pointed out in an interpretation of the French translation of Pavstos Buzand’s “The History of Armenia” that it is supposedly a spelling mistake, made by scribes14. Considering the reading of Ararat(d), Fr. Murad supposed it possible that the “Sararad” is a consequence of the

---

8 It is the translation of the Old Testament, which was used by the Syrian Christians (Васильчева Ю., Пятикнижие сирийской Пещитты и экзегетические традиции армянских таргумов. Вестник ПСТГУ, Богословский сборник, N 11, М., 2003, стр. 116).
10 Հին հունական աղբյուրներ Ա, Հովսեպոս Փլավիոս, Դիոն Կասիոս, Հրեական հնախոսություն, Գիրք առաջին, Թարգմանություն բնագրից, առաջաբանը և ծանոթագրությունները Ս. Մ. Կրկյաշարյանի, Երևան, 1976, էջ 55: Cf. Եվսեբի Պամփիլեայ Կեսարացւոյ Ժամանակք, Վէնէտիկ, 1818, էջ 36-37: 11 In this regard, S. M. Krkyasharyan commented: “The country of Minias in the form of “Minni” (“Manna” in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions) is always mentioned with the Ararat in the Bible” (Հին հունական աղբյուրներ Ա, էջ 102, ծան. 120):
13 Փաւստոսի Բիւզանդացւոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց, էջ 33:
wrong separation of the words հերինս Արարադ (into the mountains of Ararat) 15. St. Malkhaysants has also considered the form “Sararad” doubtful, emerged from the incorrect partition of the two adjacent words, since “in old times, the words were being written close to each other in the Old Armenian (Erkatagir, or "ironclad letters"), իլերինսարարադ (ILERINSARARADA) was separated as follows “i lerins sararata” instead of “i lerins Ararata”16.

It is apparent from the publication of the critical text of Movses Khorenatsi, the form of Ararat exists in the manuscript variant readings along with the reading of Ararad17. As concerns the reference to Korduk, it is possible to suppose that it was a later introduction to the text of Pavstos Buzand.

About Armenia and its highest summit, Ararat, in relation to the Flood and the Noah’s Ark, Eghishe (the 5th c. AD) wrote in his “Interpretation of the Genesis”: “Some call the mountain Ararat, Korduk, but the truth is that it is Masis”18. It may be seen that the problem emerged because in the 5th century the interpretation of the name of Ararat mountain had been already known, the answer of which was provided by Eghishe.

It is necessary to take into consideration the fact that the name Kardu or Qardu in the Syriac (the Peshitta) and, later on, Arabic translations of the Old Testament was applied instead of Ararat.

In this regard, Saint-Martin, examining the problem of Ararat as the resting summit of Noah’s Ark, remarked: “The name of Ararat is preserved in the translation of Septuagint, “The Antiquities of the Jews” by Josephus, the Vulgate and the Armenian translation of the Bible. It is being translated either as mountains of Armenia or the land of Armenians (les mots de Montagnes d’Arménie ou de Terre des Arméniens) 19. Saint-Martin noted, “All of the translators and interpreters of the Holy Bible in Syriac while not preserving the primary phrase Ararat replaced it by an expression the mountains of Kurds20. This example was followed by the translators of the Bible into Arabic21.

As Movses Khorenatsi (the 5th century) reports, the Armenian Korduk was the territory of domicile of Hayk’s grandson, Kadmos (“տունն Կադմեայ”-“House of Kadmos”)22. The region name Korduk of the Kortchayk province of Great Armenia has no relation to the Kurds. Having described the route of the retreating Greek army (10000)

15 Murad Fr., op. cit., S. 83-84.
16 Փավստոս Բուզանդ, Հայոց պատմություն, թարգմ. և ծան. Ստ. Մալխասյանցի, Երևան, 1987, էջ 423, ծան. 32:
17 Մովսէս Խորենացի, պատմություն, Երևան, 1991, էջ 33, 34:
20 Saint-Martin mentioned the phrase of the Kurds’ mountains, taking into consideration the wrong standpoint of his time. The “Kurds” related misunderstanding appeared as a result of their tribal name’s wrong connection with the Armenian region name Korduk (Saint-Martin M. J., op. cit., p. 176).
21 Ibid.
22 Մովսէս Խորենացի, Պատմություն Հայոց, Երևան, 1991, էջ 34:
through Armenia (401 BC), Xenophon mentioned the inhabitants (Armenians) of the Korduk region according to the place of their residence - Կարդուկյան (Korduksians)\textsuperscript{23}.

Declining the identification of Ararat with Korduk, Saint-Martin pointed out that two different opinions have been formed when specifying the location of the Ark after the Flood as a result of two variants of translations. According to Saint-Martin, the standpoint of the Ark as if being rested on the north of Mesopotamia and Syria was mainly accepted by “the Eastern Christians, Syrians and Arabs”\textsuperscript{24}. He noted, “This first tradition was rather old in the East, for it had existed in the time of historiographers Abydenus and Chaldean Berosus”\textsuperscript{25}.

Saint-Martin considered that tradition correct, according to which Mt. Ararat is in the center of Armenia, noting that “probably, it starts from the Septuagint Version.” He mentioned that “the Armenian translators of the Bible, have always followed the version of Septuagint and accepted the standpoint of their Homeland being a cradle of humankind”\textsuperscript{26}.

In the translations of the Arabic primary sources made by Aram Ter-Ghevondyan, especially in the work of the Arab chronicler of the 8th-9th centuries al-Waqidi, “The conquest of Syria”, it is reported that “And Vahb said we were told that the Ark... rested on the mount Ararat (Judi) for a month, which is a mountain in the country of Jazira”\textsuperscript{27}. The Arab scholars of the 9th century were also of the same opinion\textsuperscript{28}.

Later on, the Arab authors continued to speculate the name of Judi mountain in their interpretations of the Ark. The Arab author of the 13th century Ibn al-Asir pointed in his work “The Complete History”: “And the Ark [of Noah] was floating on the Earth... until it reached al-Judi, which is a mountain in Kardi, in the country of Mosul, and rested there”\textsuperscript{29}. An Arab geographer of the 12th-13th noted, “The temple of Noah (according to the Arabic legend - A. D.) is on the mountain of Judi until now”\textsuperscript{30}.

\textsuperscript{24} Saint-Martin M. J., op. cit, p. 261.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., pp. 264-266.
\textsuperscript{27} Արաբական աղբյուրներ Գ, արաբ մատենագրիներ Թ-Ժ դարեր, ներածությունը և բնագրից թարգմանությունները Ա. Տեր-Ղևոնդյանի, Երևան, 2005, էջ 128:
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., pp. 202, 206, 332.
\textsuperscript{29} Արաբական աղբյուրներ Բ, Իբն Ալ-Ասիր, թարգմանություն բնագրից առաջաբանը և ծանոթագրությունները Ա. Տեր-Ղևոնդյանի, Երևան, 1981, էջ 37:
\textsuperscript{30} Արաբական աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հարևան երկրների մասին, Հայաստանի և Հայաստանի բնագրությունները, Երևան, 1965, էջ 50: Talking over the problem from the standpoint of political circumstances, M. Thierry groundlessly identified the Judi with the place of landing the Noah’s Ark and concluded that the traditional identification of Ararat-Masis was made subsequently, conditioned by the political separation of Armenia and the influence of Ejmiatsin (M. Thierry, Le lieu d’échouage de l’arche de Noé dans la tradition arménienne. – Syria, 1995, vol. 72, issue 1-2, p. 143-158). About the criticism of such an opinion see Հ. Յարութիւն վրդ. Պզտիկեան, Հայ ժողովրդի ազատութեան պայքարը, (ԺԹ-Ի դդ.), Երեւան, 2004, էջ 82.
Interwining various opinions in the French publication of “The Encyclopedia of Islam” is noted that Ararat, mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, “was a territory south of the lake Van... Masis (Great Ararat), as well as Jabal Judi, both summits could be the mountains of Ararat as the traditional place of coming down of the Ark, according to the Biblical version”\(^{31}\).

Judi is mentioned in the Koran as the resting place of the Ark\(^{32}\). In the 18th-19th centuries interpretations of the French translations of the Koran the authors considered Ararat as the resting place of the Ark, based on the records of the Pentateuch\(^{33}\).

George Sale touched the problem of the mountain Judi in an interpretation to his English translation of the Koran: “This mountain is one of those which divide Armenia, on the south, from Mesopotamia, and that part of Assyria, which is inhabited by Curds, from whom the mountains took the name of Cardu, or Gardu; by the Greeks turned into Gordyaei, and other names. Mount of (which name seems to be corruption, though it be constantly so written by the Arabs, for Jordi or Giordi)...”\(^{34}\). Likewise, it is noted (in the commentary of the French translation of the Koran by M. Kasimirski) that the name Judi corresponds to Jordi, the mountains of Korduk, which can be a corruption\(^{35}\).

The following commentary about the mountain Judi is made in the French translation (1979) of the Koran “It is a name of one of the Armenian great volcanic peaks, which is known as Ararat and the highest point of which reaches 5157 m”\(^{36}\). It can be seen that here Judi was wrongly identified with Ararat-Masis (the real elevation is 5165 m).

N. Adonts, writing about the usage of the Kurdish element in the conquest policy of the Ottoman Empire in Western Armenia, remarked that the migration of the Kurdish tribes started in the second decade of the 16th century when Sultan Selim seized the great part of Armenia and “appointed Kurds as governors...”\(^{37}\).

A. Ter-Ghevondyan pointed that the mountain Ararat was well known to the Arab authors, who mentioned Great Masis as Haris and Lesser Masis as Huayras. He compared the legend about Masis, mentioned in the work of Movses Khorenatsi, with the records about Huayras in the Arabic sources, writing that “the Armenian legend of


\(^{32}\) Ղուրան, թարգմանեց արաբերէնից հայերէնի Աբր. Ամիրխանեանց, Վառնա, 1909, Սուրա XI. 46, էջ 205:


\(^{34}\) The Koran or, Alcoran of Mohammed; with explanatory notes, London, 1877, p. 179. George Sale in his commentary wrongly considered the region of Korduk of Great Armenia as a part of Assyria inhabited by Kurds.

\(^{35}\) Le Koran, traduction nouvelle faite sur le texte arabe par M. Kasimirski, Paris, 1865, p. 175.

\(^{36}\) Le Koran, texte, traduction française et commentaire d’après la tradition, les différentes écoles de lecture, d’exégèse, de jurisprudence et de théologie, les interprétations mystiques, les tendances schismatiques et les doctrines hérétiques de l’Islam, et à la lumière des théories scientifiques, philosophiques et politiques modernes par le Cheikh Si Hamza Boubakeur, Fayard, 1979, t. I, p. 705.

\(^{37}\) Ադոնց Ն., Հայկական հարցի լուծման շուրջ, Երևան, 1989, էջ 64-65:
the mountain Masis having passed through the Arabic environment was filled up with new materials,... the basis of which is Armenian, but it got an Arabic coloring over the time"38.

Some of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Qumran Caves Scrolls)39 shed new light on the matter under question. It is reported in the 12th line of the 10th column of the Aramaic original that the Ark “rested on one of the mountains of Ararat” ("... l’arche se posa sur l’une des montagnes d’Ararat")40. The French Qumranologist H. Lignée, who has explored that scroll, considered that possibly “this work either is a translation of one Hebrew original or an adaptation of an older manuscript”41. Researching this problem, G. Abgaryan concluded, “The text of the Aramaic Bible, known today, containing the interpolated Kardu is incomparably newer than the Qumran manuscript, where the interpolation has not been done yet, and Noah’s Ark comes to rest on the mountains of Ararat”42.

Thus primary sources on Ararat as a mountain where the Ark rested have been analyzed by the Armenologists since the 19th century. Among important historic sources on the issue under discussion are the Qumran manuscript and Eghishe’s interpretation about Ararat-Masis as the mountain where the Ark rested.

38 Considering the mountain Masis as a resting place of the Ark, at the same time A. Ter-Ghevondyan brought the viewpoint expressed in the Arabic sources (Տեր-Ղևոնդյան Ա., Մասիս լեռան մասին արաբական զրոյցը.-Հոդվածների ժողովածու, Երևան, 2003, էջ 226, 229).
39 Since 1947 a collection of Biblical and Non-Biblical scrolls have been discovered in 12 caves (Qumran Caves) in the immediate vicinity of Khirbet Qumran (date back to the Hellenistic period and later). Most of them are in Hebrew, some in Aramaic and some in Greek (see in detail http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/featured-scrolls).
41 Les textes du Qumran …., p. 215.
42 Աբգարյան Գ., Աբգարյան Վ., Արարատը Կումրանի ձեռագրերում.-Աստվածաշնչական Հայաստան, Միջազգային գիտաժողովի նյութերի ժողովածու, 2005, էջ 112-113.
The first cuneiform inscription in Assyrian about the construction activities in the city of Van belongs to the king of the kingdom of Van, Sarduri. Based on the present inscription, some of the researchers considered him the founder of the capital city Tushpa-Van, as well as the one (differentiating from the royal dynasty of Arame) who founded both new capital and royal dynasty. If, formerly, the period of Sarduri's reign was indubitably dated after Arame, circa 845-825 BC, now the researchers are not of the same view concerning the circumstances and the period of the reign of Arame and Sarduri and, consequently, the matter of dating the events of the early period of the land of Biaina. The first to offer his own hypotheses in the historiography on the abovementioned tangle was the famous German Armenologist, orientalist C. F. Lehman--Haupt. The author took the construction of the Tushpa stronghold as a starting point to recover the realities of the kingdom of Van in the 9th century BC and suggested two options.

According to C. F. Lehman-Haupt, it is possible “at first glance” to identify the father of Ishpuini, Sarduri-Seduri mentioned in the Biainian and Assyrian inscriptions, with the builder of the Van stronghold, Sarduri, and to date his reigning period after Arame. The author considered that Sarduri carried out such a construction in order to stop the impeding invasion (particularly after the invasion in 856 BC, when Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) captured some regions in the northern and north-eastern
coastal parts of Lake Van\(^7\), including the royal city of Arame, Artsashkun\(^8\)). If this version is taken into consideration, Van became a capital city subsequently, during the reign of Sarduri’s son, Ishpuini.

According to Lehman-Haupt, the stones of Tushpa castle differ from the local raw materials in their nature. Based on the fact of the stones, having been brought here from Alniuni, mentioned in the inscription of Sarduri, he considered that the stones were brought here by ships from the northern coastal regions of Lake Van\(^9\). The author assumed that Manazkert city was called Alniuni in ancient times\(^10\). Consequently, according to the author, it is supposed that the wall building materials were brought to Van either from Manazkert or from the other northern coastal area via Lake Van\(^11\). Lehman-Haupt considered that the name Manazkert of later times was originated from the name of Menua because Menua had reconstructed the castle, situated there\(^12\).

According to the second version of Lehman-Haupt, there is a need to differentiate the son of Lutipri, Sarduri, a founder of the Van stronghold, from the father of Ishpuini, Sardur-Sedur, mentioned in the Biainian and Assyrian inscriptions.

Accordingly, the author deems it possible that the reign of Sarduri was before Arame, during the ruling years of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC)\(^13\). For such a dating he took the fact of close similarities of the titles of Sarduri and Ashurnasirpal\(^14\). As the researcher pointed out, the Nairi political units, which in previous times were weakly connected to each other, later were united in one state under the rule of Lutipri’s son, Sarduri\(^15\). Pointing the titles of Sarduri in the inscription, “the king of world, the king of kings”, C. F. Lehman-Haupt supposed that he was the driving force for the Nairi advancement during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II in Assyria. The son of Lutipri, Sarduri,

\(^7\) Lehmann-Haupt C. F., Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge Band IX, Nro 3.), Berlin, 1907, S. 35 (16, 17), 41 (7, 8).


\(^9\) As an example, the author pointed the medieval similar events, testified by Tovma Artsruni (see AEJ, II/1, S. 20): the fact of bringing hewn stones to Van from the Manavazian city by Gagik Artsruni as well as the transportation of the stones of Akhtamar church from the Kotom castle of Aghdznik via lake Van (see Թովմա Արծրունի և Անանուն, Պատմութիւն տանն Արծրունեաց, Երևան, 1985, էջ 391, 461).

\(^10\) S. Eremyan localized Alniuni in the province of Aghiovit (see Երեմյան Ս., Ուրարտու պետությունը 860-590 թթ. Մ.թ.ա., Երևան, 1980թ. [քարտեզ]).

\(^11\) See AEJ, II/1, S. 20: B. Piotrovski points that it is difficult to agree definitely with this assumption, but it is clear that the stones have been brought here from other places (see Пиотровский Б.Б., Ванское царство (Урарту), Москва, 1959, стр. 58-59): M. Salvini considers it possible to locate Alniuni city in Nairi-Khubushkia, and the transportation of the acropolis’ stones from the stone-pit, not far from Van, corresponding to the locations of Sugunia and Artsashkun(u) (see Salvini M., Geschichte und Kultur der Urartier, S. 35-36).

\(^12\) The father of Armenian history, Movses Khorenatsi (the 5th c. AD) tells that Manavaz from Haik’s descendants inherited Hark (see Մովսես Խորենացի (հատուկ՝ Մովսես Խորենացի), Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Երևան, 1991, էջ, 36).

\(^13\) This version is more possible for the author as he himself notes (see AEJ, II/1, S. 21, 24).

\(^14\) N. Adonts criticizes Lehman-Haupt for such a conclusion, based on the similarities of both kings; but this is not the only argument Lehman-Haupt brings (see Ադոնց Ն., op. cit., pp. 186-187).

carrying consciously the titles of the Assyrian king, tried to challenge the global ambitions of Ashurnasirpal in such a way as well.16

The partly legible inscription (on the left and right sides of the niche, carved into the rock on the southern side of the Van rock face, and discovered by V. Belk and Lehman-Haupt) the latter considered relating to the reigning period of Sarduri.17 As Lehman-Haupt noted rightly, the sacrificial animals are listed in Assyrian in the inscription; the style of the wedges looks like the inscription of Sarduri and the content, on the door of Mher. It did not preserve a name either of a king or a deity. This inscription, discovered by Lehman-Haupt, remained out of the researchers' attention for a long time.

Later M. Salvini, applying the copy of Lehman-Haupt, supposed that the present text has nothing to do with the Biainian inscriptions; this niche and the inscription could belong to Sarduri I or to an Assyrian king.18 Nevertheless, I. Dyakonov, examining the text of the inscription and criticizing M. Salvini, concluded that there is a connection with the new Assyrian dialect in the inscription and it is typical to the Biainian texts, defining sacrifice procedure.19 Accordingly, if Lehman-Haupt is righteous, this inscription, having been dated to the 9th century BC could certify about the involvement of sacrifice procedure and deities in the state policy already in that period.

At the same time, basing on the records of the Assyrian inscriptions, Lehman-Haupt supposed that the advancement of the Nairi state toward the northern regions of Assyria took place during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II.20

According to Lehman-Haupt, the Nairians had a considerable advancement to the south, in the territory belonging to Assyria in previous times, during not only the reign of Shalmaneser I, but also Ashurnasirpal II.21

Ashurnasirpal II centered his attention on the Syrian direction, where Damascus had taken a leading role.22 The coalition of Damascus and Hamat, which extended to

16 See Lehmann, C. F., Šar kiššatî, "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete", Bd. 8, Weimar, 1896, S. 200, 202. Investigating the abovementioned inscription, G. Vilhelm came to a conclusion that the royal titles and nicknames of Sarduri corresponded to the titles of Ashurnasirpal II; the inscription is related to the new Assyrian letter style and dialect. According to the researcher, the composer of the inscription being from the cities of the northern part of Assyria, was a writer by profession, mastering some important formulations of royal inscriptions of the previous decades. He was brought to Tushpa during a military raid, or he came to this city by his own will (see Wilhelm G., Urartu als Region der Keilschrift-Kultur, in: V. Haas (Hrsg), Das Reich Urartu. Ein altorientalischer Staat im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr., "Xenia", 17, Konstanz, 1986, S. 106).
17 See Lehmann-Haupt C. F., Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens, S. 63, Fig.41: AEJ, II/1, S. 26-28: CTU, vol. 1, AI-2.
19 Дьяконов И.М., О некоторых направлениях в урартском языкознании и новых урартских текстах, Древний Восток, 1988, 5, стр. 157-158.
20 See AEJ, II/1, S. 21, 395.
Asia Minor, was also seeking a support in Armenia. Hence, according to Lehman-Haupt, there is a need to see causality between the raids of Shalmaneser III against the Arameans and into the Armenian Highland\textsuperscript{23}. Shalmaneser III succeeded in holding up the Armenian mountaineers and united with them Arameans, thus preventing the danger, hanged over Assyria\textsuperscript{24}. In the subsequent centuries the Biainian kings were maintaining allied relations with the enemies of Assyria, especially with the Aramean states of Northern Syria.

The Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II pointed out in one of his inscriptions that he conquered the lands from the headwaters of the Subnat River to the Urartu (Ararat) country. Lehman-Haupt locates Subnat in Mesopotamia, on the way from Nineveh to Tur-Abdin, near the Western Tigris\textsuperscript{25}. In the similar texts of Ashurnasirpal II the name of Nirbu is mentioned instead of Urartu. The researcher was previously assuming that one has to perceive the Arart/d/ mountains in the face of the most ancient testimony of Urartu in the Assyrian inscriptions\textsuperscript{26}.

The author noted that the Assyrians used the name “Urartu", adjacent to Mesopotamia, for the country and population north to them\textsuperscript{27}.

According to Lehman-Haupt, Ashurnasirpal II failed to invade into the central regions of Armenia, because Sarduri had built the Van stronghold to hold up the Assyrian raids.

The defensive role of the castle was given importance during the siege; at that time the material provision of the castle was being provided from the other shore of the lake\textsuperscript{28}. The researcher was also thinking that the castle was protecting the port built by Sarduri\textsuperscript{29}.

\textsuperscript{22} See Lehmann-Haupt C.F., Israel-Seine Entwicklung im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte, Tübingen, 1911, S. 72, 75.

\textsuperscript{23} The military-strategic interests of Assyria in the north and west were connected with each other, which is reflected both in the inscriptions and in illustrations (see Schachner A., Bilder eines Welthrechts, Kunst- und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Verzierungen eines Tores aus Balawat (Imgur-Enlil) aus der Zeit von Salmanassar III, König von Assyrien, ”Subartu," XX, Turnhout, 2007, S. 227-228).

\textsuperscript{24} See AEJ, I, S. 443.

\textsuperscript{25} See Lehmann-Haupt C. F., Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens, S. 22.

\textsuperscript{26} See AEJ, I, S. 443: Grayson A.K., Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114-859 BC), The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods, vol. II, Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1991, A.0.101.30 (1-20a): Дьяконов И. М., Ассирио-вавилонские источники по истории Урарту (үրարթ), "Вестник древней истории", Москва, 1951, N 2-4. Nirbu or Nirib may also mean a mountain pass (see ibid., ref. 4). Lehman-Haupt locates Niribi as a country on the southern side of Ararat mountains, which is bordered with the Mesopotamian lowland (see AEJ, I, S. 443). Movses Khorenatsi noted, ”then he (Hayk) gives birth to his son, Aramaneak, in Babylon, and left for the country of Ararad, which is located in the north (see Մովսես Խորեն ացի, էջ 33). We have to note that the form Ararat is available in the manuscripts of this work.


\textsuperscript{28} See AEJ, II/1, S. 20, 22.

\textsuperscript{29} C. F. Lehman-Haupt had an opinion that the level of Lake Van was lower then, and the port was 1 km away from the stronghold; the water reached almost the castle during the water-level fluctuations (see op. cit., p. 18).
According to Lehman-Haupt’s concept, a power change took place during the reign of Arame, whom the Armenians glorify as their hero and potentate\(^\text{30}\); the power of the Nairi state unit in the Armenian Highland passed to the Biainian (Khaladian) dynasty\(^\text{31}\). The author tries to provide a suchlike ground for the absence in subsequent years of the title “king of the Nairi countries” from the title list of the Biainian kings\(^\text{32}\). The facts of Artsashku being the capital city of the state during Arame’s reign and the Biainians spreading their rule both in the southern and the Lake Van eastern areas of the Armenian Highland only in later times, were considered important\(^\text{33}\). Sugunia is mentioned in the southern area of Arame’s country during the raid organized in the first year of Shalmaneser’s (III) reign\(^\text{34}\). There are different opinions about the localization of Sugunia, but in all cases the researchers locate it in the southern part of the Armenian Highland, between the lakes of Van and Urmia\(^\text{35}\), having already been included in the sphere of Arame’s political power\(^\text{36}\). It follows from poetic texts, ascribed to the invasion in 856 BC, during the third year of Shalmaneser’s (III) reign, that the king received a tribute from the city of Turushpa\(^\text{37}\). The city of Aramalu is mentioned in the description of this invasion in the central districts of Arame’s state, in the neighborhood of the capital city Artsashku\(^\text{38}\).

The analysis of the records of the inscriptions about Artsashku did not bring the researchers to a definite conclusion\(^\text{39}\). The mentioning of Tushpa (Turushpa) enables to

\(^{30}\) See Մովսես Խորենացի, էջ 43-44.

\(^{31}\) AEJ, I, S. 13.


\(^{33}\) The author considers that the Biainians were living in the territories to the north and north-east of the Tigris river and in adjacency of the Aratsani river; the capital Artsashku was situated north of the Lake Van (see AEJ, II/2, S. 595, 679, 851).

\(^{34}\) See RIMA, vol. III, A.0.102.1, 29b-33a, 33b-40a, A.0.102.2, i23b-25a, A.0.102.28, 10b-18a.


\(^{36}\) See Pirotrovsky B., op. cit., p. 60.

\(^{37}\) See RIMA, vol. III, A.0.102.17 (57).

\(^{38}\) See AVIIM, N 27 (II-54): RIMA, vol. III, A.0.102.2, ii56b-60a. A. Fuchs considers that Aramali is mentioned here as a city, which had not a king and is concerned directly the devastation of the Biayna centers around Artsashku (see Fuchs A., Uaraniou in der Zeit, Biainili-Urartu, The Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich 12-14 October 2007, "Acta Iranica" 51, Peeters, 2012, S. 159)

\(^{39}\) N. Adonts thinks that Artsashku is Manakertz, and there is need to locate Aramali (the domain of Arame) in Apahunik, and Zangium in Aghiovit (see Մովսես Խորենացի, էջ, op. cit., pp. 85, 354). S. Yeremyan locates Artsashku (Archesh), Alnuni, Riar and Arbu in the areas of Aramairali, north and north-east of the Lake Van (see Երեմյան Ս., Ուրարտու պետությունը 860-590 թթ. մ.թ.ա. ). B. Piotrovski locates Artsashku in the upstream of Aratsani, near Diadin; G. Melikishvili does it for the north-western part of the Lake Urmia, N. Harutunyan for Artske (see Pirotrovsky B. B., op. cit., p. 55: Меликишвили Г. А., op. cit., p. 32, Артюнян Н. В., Биайнили (Урарту) с.108). M. Salvini locates Artsashku in the areas south or south-west of the Lake Urmia (see Salvini M., Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer, S. 31). Criticizing the standpoint of Salvini, St. Kroll says that positioning Artsashku in the areas either north or east of the Lake Van, in the adjacency of Aratsani, continues to be a modern problem (see Kroll St., Salmanassar III. und das frühe Urartu, Biainili-Urartu, S. 167).
make a guess about the possible route of the raid from Dayeni. The Assyrian army moved to Artsashku from Dayeni, passed through Adurú and Eritía mountains and destroyed the city of Aramalu and the adjacent towns, then moved to the city of Zanziuna, the Sea of Nairi and the Gilzanu countries. The latter is located in the southwestern part of Lake of Urmia.

Lehman-Haupt did not examine separately those inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, where Artsashku and Aramale are mentioned together. The native city of Rusa, Arbu and the city of Sarduri, Riar are mentioned in the province of Armari while describing the invasion of 714 BC, in the 8th year of the reign of Sargon (II). Despite the fact that it is not clear which one of Sarduris is referred to in the inscription, it is evident that the location of the central districts of Arame’s state and the paternal cities of Rusa and Sarduri in Armari is identical.

Lehman-Haupt located Armari between Bazi and Archishak, presuming also that Armari could be farther from Archishak. There is also a need to say that Aramali-Armari means “the male cousins’ province”.

It is probable that the capital city Tushpa was also under the rule of Arame. The fact of not mentioning the title of “the Ruler of the City of Tushpa” by Sarduri, typical to the Biainian kings, and, generally speaking, the absence of the name of Tushpa city indicate also that Tushpa had not still a significance of the capital for the Biainian state.

According to Lehman-Haupt’s supposition, the son of Lutipri, Sarduri included Tushpa and the southern regions of the Armenian Highland in the borders of his political authority. The center of the kingdom was still in the northern coastal part of Lake Van during the reign of his successor, Arame. The assumption that the Biainians established themselves in the southern lands of the Armenian Highland after Arame does not fit the reality. There is a need to note that according to this version, Lehman-Haupt dates

---

40 It is supposed that the mountain of Adurú is Sipan and is identical with the KUR’Eiduru, mentioned in the Biainian inscriptions (see Артюнян Н.Б., Топонимика Урарту, стр. 12-13: CTU, vol. I, β7 70).
41 Eritia is mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon II in the form of Irtia (see АВИИУ, N 49(233)).
42 See RIMA, vol. III, A.0.102.2, ii 47b-56a, ii 56b-60a, ii 60b-63a.
45 See АВИИУ, N 49(269).
47 See Артюнян Н.Б., Топонимика Урарту, стр. 38.
48 See AEJ, II/1 S. 319.
49 See AEJ, II/1 S. 319.
50 See Kroll St., op. cit., p. 167.
51 Sarduri carries the title of MAN GAL-e MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR na-i-riš (see CTU, vol. I, A 1A-1F 1), Ishpuini acts with this title in the bilingual inscription of Kelishin and the title of «[MAN KUR] bi-i-na- ú-e a-lu-si ÙRÚ tu- uš-pa-a [URÚ]», «[MAN GAL]- ú MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN ku-i-na-ši GAR ÙRÚ tu- uš-pa-a- [an URÚ]» had already found a place in his title list as well.
righteously the formation of the state system in the Armenian Highland earlier, before Arame\textsuperscript{52} and had deeper roots. Locating the capital city Artsashku to the north of Lake Van, Lehman-Haupt considered Tushpa as the next capital city of the kingdom.

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

\textsuperscript{52} St. Kroll supposed that the reserve economy of the country had already been formed at the time of Arame (see Kroll St., op. cit., p. 168; Fuchs A., op. cit., p. 138).
CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES AND PERIODIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The ways the specific features of the Armenian historiography have developed, the problems of exploring the specific features of different centuries and their periodization has not attracted too much attention by the researchers. No works covering the whole path trodden by the Armenian historiography have yet been published and generally recognized. The problems of medieval Historiography, have usually been restricted to recounting or simply to presenting the Medieval culture. In general studies of this kind the main attention is focused on characterizing specific historians’ works, rather than on historiographic features of historical periods. It is not surprising that in the Medieval Armenian spiritual Culture the issues of mutual impacts between historiography and literary works have not received special attention either. However, the problem of periodic classification of the Medieval Armenian history writing has become a starting point for putting forward some new issues of theoretical nature as well as for making generalizations.

However, prior to raising those questions one has to tackle the key issue of periodic divisions. It is to be noted in this connection that it is extremely difficult to offer a single crucial criterion of dividing the Medieval Armenian history writing into individual stages. It is to be pointed out at once that the efforts to directly link the course of writing history to the socio-economic rel-

1See e.g., Մ. Աբեղյան, Հայոց հին գրականության պատմություն, գիրք առաջին, «Երկեր», հատ. Գ, Երևան, 1968, Ibid., Հայոց հին գրականության պատմություն, գիրք երկրորդ, «Երկեր», հատ. Դ, Երևան, 1970, Կ. Քիպարեան, Պատմություն հայ հին գրականության, Պէտրոզավոր, 1992:

2Thus, the monumental work «Հայապատումը» by Gh. Alishan is a research work and a reading book at the same time. In Volume 1, the author showed in different sketches the literary and scholarly legacy of the Armenian historians of the 5th to 18th centuries, as well as diverse problems with regard to the creative impacts. Volume 2 contains large fragments from the same authors (Ղ. Ալիշան, Հայապատում, հ. Ա–Բ, Վենետիկ, 1901): K. Mutafian’s notes are concerned with the Armenian Historiography as a whole, see C. Mutafian, Quelques spécifites de l’historiographie arménienne, «Հանդէս ամսօրեայ, 2010, pp. 253–274: The only large study of the Medieval Armenian Historiography was a 3-volume work by L. Babayan (see Բաբայան, Դրվագներ Հայաստանի Վաղ Ֆեոդալիզմի դարաշրջանի պատմագրության (5–8-րդ դդ..), Երևան, 1977: Դրվագներ Հայաստանի զարգացած ֆեոդալիզմի դարաշրջանի պատմագրության (IX–XIII դարեր), Երևան, 1981: Դրվագներ Հայաստանի XIV–XVIII դարերի պատմագրության, Երևան, 1984), retaining the seal of the Soviet mentality and has a descriptive character.
tions are below all criticism. E.g.: characterizations like “Historiography of the Early Period of Feudalism”, or “Historiography of the Period of Developed Feudalism” can lead to a blind alley, since for the subsequent centuries the Armenian reality does not provide opportunities to suggest relevant characteristics. Therefore, to logically describe the path of the Armenian Historiography, use can be made of a direct benchmark principle.

To do a further search, it is necessary to arrive at a general conclusion with regard to another important issue, as to which are the chronological indicators of the Medieval Historiography? In trying to answer this question, it may seem that the issue of the origin of the Medieval Armenian Historiography cannot be a subject of any serious discussion. The 5th century, as a period of inception, can be regarded as a natural borderline, although comprehending a given century will unavoidably require analytical approach to the antecedent periods of time. The final chronological borderline can incite discussion. With regard to the in-depth phenomena, the terminal period of the Medieval historiography can be pointed out as the 70-80s of the 18th century. The matter is that the historical works written in those years by Movses Baghramyan «Նոր տետրակ» and Michael Chamchian “Armenian History” had substantially distanced themselves from the Medieval mentality and clearly absorbed the West-European socio-political and scholarly impact. In the subsequent decades, too, particularly in Armenia Proper and in the adjacent areas, the Armenian authors had written books impregnated with the Medieval traditions as well as historical works representing the same genres, being however unable to change the course of historical development. No matter how disputable can be the characterization of the “New Armenian Historiography”, the generally accepted truth is that in the late 18th century the Armenian spiritual activities surrendered their positions attained in the Middle Ages.

Now about other issues. The image of the initial stages of the Medieval Armenian Historiography, its typological features also determine the crucial ideological factors of shaping the spiritual culture. In different epochs, e.g., there were differences in the Armenian life, in the Eastern and Western perceptions of history, mythological and epic world outlook, as well as the traces left by Christianity.

Also of fundamental significance are the issues of mutual relationships between the written and oral cultures. It is beyond doubt that the oral tradition has had a great impact on history writing, while by no means diminishing the differences among the echoes and traces of the folk-created and popular compositions in the relics of the written culture. Another problem is that the oral tradition at different epochs had resulted from creative efforts of different public groups pursuing diverging ideological objectives, therefore historiography carries unmistakable seals of that ideological confrontation.

The issue of language and style of the works on history is also connected with the interrelations between the oral and written cultures. Not uncommonly, the folk and often poetically organized compositions have determined the basic structure of the historical books. Meanwhile, the folk pieces have also
been rewritten in prose leaving an indirect or mediated influence stipulating a choice of models for historical presentations. There have also been reverse phenomena. On occasions of relaxed positions of the official or elite culture the historical compositions were created in verse, thus expanding their capacity to be transferred to next generations. The same tendencies are attested by the facts of eliminating the verses in the past.

The historical compositions take their origin from the conservative strata, therefore the issue of their language is particularly significant. The quality of belle-lettres mostly belongs to the Early Medieval compositions, particularly those written in Classical Grabar of the 5th century. Meanwhile, as far back as the 10th c., the written works were compiled from the live word in a very distinctive language. Within the subsequent centuries, with the settlement of the Middle Armenian, linguistic differences became more conspicuous. Towards the end of the Medieval period, the linguistic differences had nearly made impossible mere recordings of the historical events by the immediate partakers. The language of history writing remained Grabar, although the vivacity of the lost language was controlled by the very few. Therefore, a new method became popular of dual authorship of a single historical composition. E.g., the Histories by David Bek and Abraham Yerevantsi (Abraham of Yerevan) were recounted in colloquial language, in the native dialect. The Mkhitaryan monks enriched those oral compositions with new facts rewriting them in Grabar, reinforcing the newly composed pieces with the ideological orientation typical for the traditional historiography.

When offering a periodic division of historiography, it is impossible to circumvent the widely spread problems of the types of creativity or belonging to a genre of historical compositions in the Middle Ages. In the Armenian Medieval historiography historical works were created following certain principles, possessing their own genre-type originality, however, more often than not the genres were not discretely delimited. As to the Medieval authors, they kept trying to determine the genre varieties of the preceding history writers and their compositions, however, the current characterizations being largely conventional, they can hardly be adopted without reservations. The genre differences had been stipulated not only by the authors’ objectives, their level of preparedness, knowledge or breadth of coverage; they must have rather had deeper causes. Particularly great was the role of variations in the perceptions of time and space.

It is easy to notice that “History” as a separate genre had seized a commanding role at the initial stage of the Armenian History Writing. That is the title of the majority of compositions of historical type written in the Armenian Middle Ages. From the genre point of view, “history” is systemic presentation with prevailing chronological or thematic approaches. The exemplary pieces have been those that retained the strict chronological order. Chronological or thematic deviations were considered to be structural defects. Histories are also such compositions which give a chance to reveal the author’s outlooks and scrutinize in detail the causes of events and phenomena, feedbacks and conse-
quences. In the structures of histories a special place belongs to Introductions declaring the authors’ intentions and creative principles. Careful attention was dedicated to maintaining proportions: «չնուազեցուցանել զեղեալսն եւ կարճակտուր պատմել բանիւք անփութութեամբ»¹. As a rule, history writers compared themselves to a skilled captain who would assuredly bring to completion a difficult undertaking, i.e., would reach a quiet haven. The early Medieval historians had often quoted letters and documents. However, it was not by default that they should have been executed on the basis of authentic documents. E.g., the correspondence quoted by Movses Khorenatsi between the Roman Emperor Diocletian and Trdat III is a result of literary creation. Letters, as e.g. the letter by Emperor Morik to the Persian King Khosrov II, show the reality and the soul of a time period. However, they are not word-by-word reproductions. The same can be said about the speeches pronounced by significant historic personalities.

From the scope of geographic perception, the “histories” mostly present the Armenia’s past, including individual episodes in the history of neighboring countries. Therefore, the historical works created in the Armenian environment have predominantly been “Armenian Histories”.

As to the genre, the one having the closest connection with history is chronicle writing. The chroniclers focused their attention on events taking place within comparatively short periods of time. Their foremost problem was not explanation of events and phenomena, but rather a coherent registration of happenings. In chronicles, the coherence of the interior structure is quite simple. The chronicler, having finished his writing on the antecedent years, goes over to presenting his version of the events that follow. Chronicles mainly deal with military and political events. Considerably less attention was concentrated upon the country’s interior life or spiritual and cultural affairs. The chronicles have experienced heavy impacts from the antecedent historical traditions. A great number of chroniclers continued the compositions walking in the footsteps of their predecessors.

Chronicle writing has paved its way into the future since the 7th century. The first chronicle that has reached us was written in the late 7th century and in the new literature is ascribed to Philon Tirakatsi². It had a compilatory character and was based on “The Armenian History” by Movses Khorenatsi (Movses of Khoren) and on a number of translated works³. The Armenian materials occupy those two modest places which can be considered characteristic for the chronicles gradually adopting a national character. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that in the last sentence of the Chronicle the event is dated in the

¹ Ղազար Փարպեցի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, «Մատենագիրք Հայոց», հատ. Բ, Անթիլիաս-Լիբանան, 2003, էջ 206:
² Տե Փիլոն Տիրակացի, Ժամանագրութիւն, «Մատենագիրք Հայոց», հատ. Ե, Անթիլիաս-Լիբանան, 2005, էջ 899-902:
³ See Բ. Սարգիսեան, Անանուն ժամանագրութիւն, խմբագիր յօրինեալ յԷ դարու իհնագոյ ժամանագրաց, Վենետիկ, 1904, pp. 5–29; Հ. Բարթիկյան, Անանիա Շիրակացուն վերագրվող մի «ժամանագրութիւն» և նրա հեղինակի հարցի շուրջ, «Բանբեր Մատենադարանի», 8, Երևան, 1967, էջ 57–77:
Armenian Era\(^1\), and so we encounter the first case of dating the events with regard to years in the entire Armenian Historiography\(^2\). Regrettfully, through lack of material, we are deprived of a further development process of the chronicle genre. One can offer some remarks on a large work on the basis of a Chronicle by Mathew of Edessa. Here the registration is started with the events of 951–952\(^3\), while this date can by no means be regarded as having a special meaning or, even less so, as having a revolutionary significance. It remains to assume that Matthew of Edessa (Mathevos Urhayetsi) had at his disposal a chronicle starting with the events of the 10th century, whereby the events were sequentially dated in the Armenian era. It is beyond doubt that in the Armenian Historiography of the 8th to 10th centuries new attempts were undertaken to write chronicles\(^4\), with Matthew of Edessa continuing the tradition as a successor, rather than the founder of the genre. One of the characteristics of chronicles is that they have to continue with no end, those types of work can have no termination by definition, and have to be filled in nonstop, and Matthew of Edessa’s work was fulfilled in 1136 with the help of Grikor of Kesun (Grikor Kesuntsi)\(^5\), and in the following century it was put in the basis of the Chronicle by Sempad the Constable\(^6\). The titles of this work show the place it occupied within similar works in the Medieval Historiography. In the first printing the publisher entitled it as The history of the Armenians and the Greeks of Constantinople in the chronological order or in the sequence of time\(^7\), i.e., to be considered history, whereas at a later date the same composition was characterized as a chronicle\(^8\), while at times it was called annals\(^9\). This can be explained by the fact that the composition by Sempad the Constable started as

\(^{1}\) See Փիլոն Տիրակացի, ժամանակագրութիւն, էջ 969.

\(^{2}\) See Ա. Տեր-Ղեդենև, Թվականությամբ ժամանակագրությունը հայ պատմագրության մեջ, «Պատմաբանագրական հանդես», 1979, թ. 1, էջ 35: Following the tradition, the author ascribed the Chronicle to Anania Shirakatsi, writing: “The first historian who used the Armenian numerals was Anania Shirakatsi”.


\(^{4}\) In the course of those centuries, in Byzantium, there was a formation of the genre of Chronicle as an individual genre in Historiography see М. В. Бибиков, Историческая литература Византии, Санкт-Петербург, 1998, с. 80–94, cf. Theophanos the Confessor (Byzantine sources, IV), Translation from the original, introduction and commentaries by H. Bartikyan, Yerevan, 1983, pp. V–XIX, (in Armenian), Theophanos’ Successor (Byzantine sources, Ye.), Translation from the original, introduction and commentaries by H. Bartikyan, Yerevan, 1990, pp. VII–XXI.

\(^{5}\) Մատթեոս Ուռհայեցի, էջ 406–478:

\(^{6}\) Սմբատ Սպարապետ, Տարեգիրք, Վենետիկ, 1956 (Publisher Սերոբէ Ագըլեան).

\(^{7}\) Սմբատ Սպարապետ, Պատմութիւն Յունաց ի Կոստանդնուպօլիս և Հայոց Մեծաց ըստ կարգի ժամաց, Մ ոսկվա, 1856 (Publisher Voskan Hovhanniseants).


history (anyway, the author had openly declared his intention to that effect), but later it adopted the nature of annals.

If annals originate from histories, then the genre of annals is genetically linked with chronicles. The European annals and the similar pieces emerging in Russia as “letopis” are identified as a structural entity. In the compositions of this genre records are entered with regard to years, so that the events taking place within the same period can display no internal or logical link, for all differing events (combat, intruding armies, rebellion, earthquake, plague, natural disaster, extraordinary cosmic or planetary phenomena, pestilence or any unusual occasion) the common thing is their simultaneous occurrence. Chroniclers register time in its various manifestations. In the chronicles, dating mistakes are extremely rare, while concise presentation is a top priority. Chroniclers are often people who have not received historical training or those who have vague ideas about the surrounding areas. Therefore they as a rule do not make attempts to establish correlations between different events. Chronicles are also noted for the multiple significant data of the local character, which enables us to discover historical images of different cities or areas.

During the centuries following the inception of the Armenian historiography, there was a formation of certain historiographic traditions, the Medieval historians were following some creative patterns. Particularly, the dissemination of the genre of chronicles prompted the coverage of reality of the preceding centuries. Under these conditions, compilation was inevitable, the general picture emerged by means of quoting from the works by the previously existing authors. In this connection a certain role also belonged to Medieval ideas of the author’s self-awareness. Manifestations of author’s self-awareness and pride in the Armenian reality could be encountered in the early Middle Ages, while the antique traditions had been still there. Classical incorporations of this type of author’s feelings can be seen in the “Armenian History” by Movses of Khoren.

In the subsequent centuries under the influence of Christian ideology the author’s capabilities were habitually subjected under an emphatic underestimation. Medieval writers strove to display their modesty and their limited powers. As a rule, they described their creative capacities in much the same manner. In this sense a different approach is displayed perhaps only by Mkhitar of Ani (Mkhitar Anetsi), whose rating of his own work is rather high: «բանիւք կար և որաւք և զարմանազան իրաւք հարուստ և ընդանեգոյն նոր և ծանոթ զրուցավք»2. The prevailing custom was the outlook that the author’s objective was not to provide the fundamentally new ideas, but rather to give another account of the events and phenomena that have been regarded as common knowledge. Therefore, to address other authors borrowing extended quotations from them was by no means considered a fact diminishing the

---

value of any composition.

Practicing compilation, the authors never followed the principle of precision. True, the Medieval history writers have usually pointed out the previous authors in the Introduction. However, attesting to some author, the writers did not consider it mandatory to make use of his work. The author made the mention to add more credibility to the content. Besides, in the opinion of Medieval historians, the multiplicity of references would testify to the high quality of their own works. In the Medieval History Writing a popular device was when an author compared his composition to a bunch of flowers picked up on a valley, while the work he has done was compared to the actions of an assiduous bee. The same logic was followed in Asoghik by Stepanos Taronetsi, which, after enumerating the writers of the preceding ages, addressed his indentor as follows: «Ղուրանի խորհրդանշում է ստեղծագործություն ստեղծագործություն իր հինական մայրաքաղաքական համարակալի օրվա վրայում առանց զարգացրած գործիների և ամենամյա հատկությունները դրված մուտք գրավելու».

When making references, the history writers did not see much difference between bibliographic works of different times. In many cases, in order to mention a contemporary writer of an event, e.g. Moses of Khoren, the historians made references to some works by authors following the Patriarch of History. Thus, the authors of the 12th – 13th centuries, when mentioning the Histories by Movses of Khoren or Agathangelos, in actual fact made use of later writings for purposes of compilation. The works by the Medieval History Writers had an enormous significance in stipulating the rehabilitation of manuscripts of preceding centuries, however it should be kept in mind that every historian had pursued his own objectives. Some of them may have made not too much account of keeping intact another author’s work while making references to it, as well as of interfering and amending the text and making voluntary abridgements, besides, they more often than not updated the sociological, geographical or ethnic terminology used by their predecessors.

When doing compilation, the historians did not give a lot of thought to the comparison of their attested data, or to their authenticity with regard to the original sources. In some cases they noticed some apparent controversies between different authors, but they were never too zealous to make any conclusions about it. The first priority for the Medieval History Writers was adequate information, while its verification was left to their readers.

The Medieval historians in the course of their work often borrowed manuscripts from other monasterial libraries or from distinguished personalities. The manuscript’s host, as a rule used to spurn them trying to get back his manuscript as soon as possible. Therefore, the copyist calligraphers were trying hard
to make extended compilations to make a future use of them, thus they were becoming authors of new compositions unintentionally. It is a known fact, e.g., that a detailed description of “History of the Tartars” written in the Mongolian period was within a short time transformed into the composition titled “History of the Nation of Archers” that has lately been attributed to Grigor Akner-si. The researchers sharing this view recognize the authorship of Grigor Vardapet with no regard for the ancient (copied in the Akner Monastery) records or multiple written data containing the work “History of the Nation of Archers”. In all those compositions Grigor looked like an ordinary copyist. Thus, when ending the copy of Mikhail Asori’s Chronicle he noted: «գրեցաւ գիրքս ձեռամբ տառապեալ Գրիգորոյ», and then he did not hesitate to characterize himself using «Մեղուցեալ գրչիս Գրիգորոյ», and similar expressions. Moreover, he pointed out directly that his copy had been copied from the manuscript brought from Avag Waste and he asked to remember «զտէր Թադէոս զհայր Աւագ անապատին, որ զաւրինակս շնորհեաց». From one of the records it is clear that Grigor was in a hurry to finish the work that had been undertaken. «Կատարեցաւ Պատմութիւն տաթարի գործելոց ՀԴ (44) ամաց, բայց համառաւտ և ոչ ամէն»: The reason for this haste was the writer’s health, whereby he asked Priest Hovhannes to continue his work and to bring it to an end.  «Յիշեցէք ի Քրիստոս և զպատուական քահանայն զՅոհաննէս, որ զվերջի տետրս գրեաց, զի մեք էաք յոյժ տկար և անխել»1. Thereby, studies have shown that Grigor had at his disposal a vast historical material and made use of it for the purposes of compilation. Thus, he was an ordinary copyist, rather than an author in his own right2.

The Medieval Armenian Historians started to do the description of their countries after a basic theoretical instruction. It was mandatory for an historian to know grammar and rhetoric in a given domain, i.e., to “write in verses”, since history had not yet attained a status of an individual science. The theoretical training had been accepted in the Armenian reality as far back as in the early Middle Ages, the theoretical legacy was created by the Hellenistic School (mid-5th to 8th c.); of great significance for the Armenian historians were the compositions «Գիրք պիտոյից» The Book of Chreia3, «Արուեստ քերականութեան» (Art of Grammar) by Dionysius Thrax4, and «Յաղագս ճարտասանական կրթութէանց» (Progymnasmata) by Theon of Alexandria (Theon Alexandratsi) Art on Progymnasmata5.

Evidence by the Medieval authors shows that there were two methods of writing history. The first one did not enjoy full respect by the recognized authors. The historical compositions that have been related under the direct

1 Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ. ԺԳ դար, Կազմեց Ա. Մ աթևոսյան, Երևան, 1984, էջ 427–731:
3 Փիրր ապրեագ. The Book of Chreia, Երևան, 1993:
4 Н. Адонц, Дионисий Фракийский и армянские толкователи. Петроград, 1915.
5 Թէովնէայ Յաղագս ճարտասանական կրթութէանց, Աշխատությամբ Հ. Մ անանդյանի, Երևան, 1938.
impression of the events in the colloquial language of the time or in a brute rural dialect merited only disdainful attitude. Thus, Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi, having adequately presented History by Shapuh Bagratuni, noted nonetheless that the historian had not done creative work according to the professional guidelines. From the point of view of the historian who was Catholicos, only those historical writings possessed excellency which were presented according to the grammatical art. The second method of history writing assumed a preliminary knowledge of the theoretical and methodological legacy of the past in compliance with the writing art and with the canonic genre of history writing, and eventually, skills in the classical literary language. Set before an historian were two problems simultaneously: he had to write in the Old Armenian acquired by learning, and to follow the rules of the art Art on Progymnasmata at the same time.

Since Grabar had gradually been turning into a language comprehensible for only a part of the public, the authors spared no effort in creating the language of classical Grabar, which from our current position could be considered an artificial language. It was extremely difficult for them to retain the standards of the classical Grabar, therefore in certain cases they addressed the contemporary colloquial language. In this way in “History of the Universe” by Vardan of Gandzak (Vardan Areveltsi) the description of the remote past was presented in Grabar, while the language of the more recent events was approaching Middle Armenian.

In the Medieval History Writing a widespread creative device was imitation. Thus, it was still Movses Khorenatsi who often addressed the novel “The Romance of Alexander” by Pseudo-Calusthenes regarding that composition as a ready-made repository of comparisons and derivatives of image-bearing expressions. Traces of imitation style can be noticed still in the 8th century, in History by Ghevond, but they show even more in the works of the 10th century by Thomas Artsruni and Hovanes Draskhanakertsi. When Movses of Khoren was at the top of his glory, his Masterpiece “Armenian History” became the model of imitation for most Armenian history writers. The imitation style assumed application of individual expressions borrowed from the compositions of preceding authors to imitate or even copy a composition that was considered a masterpiece.

In this way, Hovanes Draskhanakertsi, when describing both the exterior and the activities of Bagratuni Kings, addressed the style of imitation using the images of the Armenian classical history writing of the 5th century. E.g., when describing Ashot I Bagratuni, he awarded the new dynast the characteristics referred to in the “Armenian History” by Movses of Khoren, even when outlining the two images of TigranYervandyan and Artashes I’s servant Smbat Bagratouni. Hence, Hovanes Draskhanakertsi had performed the previously pro-

1 Մ. Աբեղյան, նշվ. աշխ., Գ, էջ 485–486, Ա. Սարգսյան, նշվ. աշխ., էջ 16–26:
2 Գ. Սարգսյան, Աղբյուրների օգտագործման եղանակը Մ ովսես Խորենացու մոտ, «Բանբեր Մ ատենադարանի», 3, 1956, էջ 42:
3 Մ. Աբեղյան, նշվ. աշխ., հատ. Գ, էջ 485–486, 613–615, Ա. Սարգսյան, նշվ. աշխ., էջ 27–54:
grammed work, rather than having been inspired by the descriptions by the Patriarch of Historians. The imitation style has found multiple applications in works by the authors of subsequent centuries, so that the huge difference in time periods did not present any hindrance to the Medieval history writers.

This phenomenon had been widely spread in the Middle Ages also in other countries, being stipulated by the world outlook. In the Medieval thinking, the most valuable phenomena were those that were typically and generally encountered. The Medieval authors tended to provide the depicted characters with attributes that were considered exemplary. In this connection, alignment between the reality and the imaginary ideal was a thing that gave the least trouble to the Medieval authors. The creative mind was more interested in the image, rather than in a person.

To be particularly noted is the human environment of the historical pieces, the need to interpret the social order. In the course of centuries the social status of historians did not remain the same, very much like other social groups whose spiritual demands were met by the historical compositions. The commanding position in the domain of Historical Writing had nearly always been occupied by the Armenian Clergy. Participation by the secular strata went unnoticed up until the active manifestations of the cultural activities by the Armenian merchants in the late Middle Ages.

It is to be particularly noted that the Armenian History Writing, though developing in close association with saintly literature and particularly with compilations, nevertheless, all the way through it has trodden its own path. In this connection, a crucial role has been performed by the pre-Mashtots Armenian historiographic traditions. Therefore, the word «վարք», either, did not acquire the meaning of "History", as it has done in the Georgian reality. Anyway, it remains unexplained, why in the early Middle Ages they did not start a special collection of Armenian History, particularly with regard to the fact that the issued works were very often continuations of the previous volumes. As seen from the Introduction to History by Ghazar Parpetsi, there have been certain prerequisites in Armenia for creating a selection of Armenian historical works. The historian notes that the first book of Armenian history was compiled by Agatangelos: «այր բանիբուն գիտութէամբ եւ լի ամենայն հրահանգիւ, ստուգաբան ի կարգադրութիւն ճառից եւ յարմարագիր ի պատմութիւնս ասացուածի իւրոյ».

As noted by Faustus of Byzantium, Ghazar Parpetsi was disposed critically, «վասն զի կարգելոցն առ ի նմանէ ի տեղիս ուրեք կարծեցին ոմանք բանք ինչ ոչ յարմարք եւ դիպողք, որպես առաջնոյ ճշգրտաբանութիւն».

So, though Pavstos in actual fact continued the work of Agatangelos, while Ghazar Parpetsi in the fashion of a chronicle, went on recounting the history almost to the end of the world, anyhow, there was a considerable obstacle on the way to creating a selection of

---

1 In this connection a remarkable fact is that I. Javakhishvili dedicated his book on the Armenian Historiography entirely to the problems of evidences and behavior (see ი. ჯავახიშვილი, ძველი სომხური საისტორიო მწერლობა, წიგნი პირველი, ტფილი, 1935):

2 Ղազար Փարպեցի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, էջ 202:

3 Ibid. p. 203
Armenian history writings. The available pieces do not compose a uniform image either in historic reality or world outlook or linguistic style. For the sake of comparison let us again remember the neighboring Georgia, whose manual of selected Medieval works «Քարթլիս Ցխովրեբա» (History of Georgia) was compiled in the 12th century, the first one following the origin of the national Historiography. When compiling the Selection, the editors subjected the initial works to fundamental revision to rule out inconsistencies and recapitations. Besides, to obtain a uniform text, they shortened the initial and the final sections of some compositions. Insofar as those works have retained the mental seal of their authors’ world outlook, in the course of time they have merged into one posing today as a single unity. A realization of such a project in the Armenian reality has not taken place for one reason. It must be taken into account that «Քարթլիս Ցխովրեբա» (History of Georgia) is an official relic of history writing, and with regard to all issues it will reflect the secular and spiritual viewpoint of the top authorities. Elimination of the Arshakounides Wealth ruled out the official recognition of Historiography in Armenia, while an essential controversy in the state-to-church interrelationships in the 4th century had already complicated the shaping of a joint outlook of the Armenian History.

Despite those obstacles, with regard to the Byzantine, Assyrian or the data preserved in Georgian bibliography, already in the early Middle Ages the Armenian historiographic tradition had been fully shaped, there was an original “General Resourse of the Armenian History”, which was named “Armenian History” and «Հայոց պատմությունը» by Procopius of Caesarea1, “A Brief Armenian History” by Michael the Syrian2, and «Քարթլիս Ցխովրեբա» (“Armenian Actions and History”). One of the Georgian works reads literally as follows: “as we are informed by the book on the Armenian customs, which is called «Ավանդագիր» (written traditions), i.e., «Պատմոթին» (History)4”. Thus, the


3 «Հայոց պատմությունը», 6, Տեսանյութերի ժողովրդական, ուու, 2008, էջ 83. The mentioned «Հայոց պատմությունը» Korneli Kekelidze compares with the composition by Movses Khorenatsi making many interesting comments, showing the impact by the views of the Armenian Patriarch of History upon the historical outlooks of Leonti Mroveli (see 3. էջ 13–18);

4 See L. Melikset-Bejek, there were two versions of concise Armenian History that appeared in Georgia in the 9th century. The first one was based on the Armenian, while the second one – on the Armenian-Byzantine sources (L. Մելիքշեն-Բեխ, Հայոց պատմության Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին, հատ. Ա, Երևան, 1934, էջ 71–86):
Georgian writer clearly suggested that there had been an original selection of Armenian historical writings in circulation in Georgian historiographic environment, and that that book had an unusual title “written traditions” («ավանդագիր»). Surprisingly, that name is not attested in Armenian, and has seemingly not been regarded as an accepted title in Georgian. That was the reason why the Georgian historian deemed it necessary to explicate it with the word “history”.

From the very beginning the Armenian history writing was distinctly characterized by an almost complete absence of official nature. In contrast with many adjacent countries whose descriptions of the past had primarily been the histories of their kings, the Armenian reality in all of the Middle Ages had been presented in the palatial historiographic tradition. This exclusive phenomenon will become even more conspicuous if we remember that in the pre-Mesropian Armenian Historiography the predominant tradition were books created at the palace.

One of the distinguishing features of the Medieval Armenian Historiography is the absence of individual historical books dedicated to the history of the Armenian Church. This situation looks strange, since in the array of the Armenian history writers, secular authors are quite scarcely encountered. All the more so that the mass of the books translated into Armenian from Greek in the early Middle Ages mostly consisted of the ecclesiastical history writers, regardless of the fact that some of them were not clerics. Suffice it to mention only Eusebius of Caesarea and Socrat Skolastikos, the authors that had played a crucial role in the whole Christian Historiography and its formation. Although in Byzantium the early 4th century ecclesiastical historiographic tradition had retained its tenacity up until the late 6th century, the secular elements in the ecclesiastical writing started to grow. From the very beginning, in the Armenian reality, the historical works’ purpose was to pass onto the generations of the history of the world and of the political history. In the course of centuries, the past history of the church was related within the framework of the general Armenian history.

The emerging situation could have been mended by Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi, who dedicated one chapter of his composition “Armenian History” to the history of the Armenian Catholicoses, whereby he displaced the origins of the Armenian Church to the 1st century, embracing also the Apostolic Period. He compiled a list of Catholicoses, that in the forthcoming centuries was put in the basis of similar lists by future historians. Attempts by the local spiritual centers to write history had also been made by Stephen Orbelian.

---

1 See Գ. Սարգսյան, Նախամեսրոպյան շրջանի պատմագրությունը, «Պատմաբանասիրական հանդէս», 1969, թ. 1, էջ 108–113:
2 See И. Кривушин, Ранневизантийская церковная историография, Санкт-Петербург, 1998:
3 It can be seen that the merging of ecclesiastical and secular history had become a feature of the Armenian perception of history. In this connection a tell-tale fact is the universally known as the “Subtitle of Azgapatum”. “Armenian Orthodox Church from the beginning to our days told in national attributes” by M. Ormanyan:
4 See Ա. Սարգսյան, ibid., pp. 110–117.
and Zakaria Kanakertsi, while Ghazar Jahkytsi and Simeon Yerevantsi identified the position of the Holy See in Ejmiadzin and the history of its relationships with other Catholicosates.

Taking as a reference point the relevant principles and views, for the Medieval Armenian Historiography one can suggest the following periodization of the Medieval Armenian Historiography, underscoring at the same time the characteristic features of every stage:

In the whole chain of the Medieval Armenian historiographic development we can identify the period of 5–9th centuries as the first stage of organization. The basics of historiography were laid down in the 5th century, during the periods of a total uplift of culture and book writing. In the next centuries the Medieval Armenian Historiography became a progressive and original domain of the Armenian spiritual culture. Within the formation period of the Armenian Classical Historiography, Armenia was the location of an exclusive and fruitful cultural environment. It was shaped under the impact of three important factors: the first one was the antique traditions, which permeated the Armenian environment mostly via the Byzantine channels. The second heavy-weight cultural impact was left by the Christian literary relics. The third important presupposition was the oral historical tradition, particularly the popular novel. In the Early Middle Ages the Armenian History Writing was leaning upon the acquisitions of the popular culture. The most significant source was the popular myths and stories. The Early Medieval authors were very well aware of the orally disseminated stories about individual princely tribes and their glorious past. In the Early Middle Ages in particular, the genre widespread in Armenia was Iranian story. The 5th cc. relics of the Armenian Historiography were written in classical Armenian, being at the same time outstanding specimen of fiction in prose.

An account was made of the history of the immediate past, with the principal focus on “super-occurrence” that had a crucial significance in the life of the country, the Conversion of Armenia to Christianity, the anti-Persian uprising headed by Vardan Mamikonian (450–451) and Vahan Mamikonian (482–484). In this connection, the only exception was Movses Khorenatsi in the array of history writers, who had meaningfully expanded the chronological limits of Armenian History to create the first ever Universal Armenian History. In the 7–8th centuries the achievements of the Armenian Historiography were made possible under the influence of the important regional historical events. They perceptibly ceded to the classical Armenian historiographic relics in their scope and the level of presentation. Generally speaking, the 5th–9th cc. can be characterized as a separate stage in the row of the developing Armenian historiography. Particularly sizable was the role and significance of the 5th century. That century can be regarded as a period of formation for the Medieval Armenian

1 See Բ. Զուգասզյան, Հայ–իրանական գրական առնչություններ (V–XVIII դդ.), Երևան, 1963, էջ 62–100:
2 See Բ. Զուգասզյան, Հայ–իրանական գրական առնչություններ (V–XVIII դդ.), Երևան, 1963, էջ 62–100:
Historiography.

The Medieval Armenian Historiography was in full flourish in the 10–13th centuries. The Armenian history writing of that time is multi-genre, it is notable for the gigantic chronological and geographic scope, the published pieces are noticeable for their finalized shaping of the Christian historiography.

In the Armenian historiography of the late 10th to early 11th century there came a tradition of recounting the worldwide or universal history as a basically new phenomenon, connected with the universal values of Christian ideology. Of the Christian world outlook the destiny of all mankind was considered most important. In this way the universal scope became one of the characteristic features of the Christian Historic Writing.

The universal histories, as a rule, presented the events in an extremely brief way, with an expanded geographical scope. The earliest experience of this kind was performed by Eusebius of Caesarea in the first quarter of the 4th century; he was the first one to try a concise way of presenting history in the form of parallel chronological tables. This historical tradition was revived in the 60s of the 12th century by Samvel of Ani, whose axis of chronological structure was formed by four to six tables displayed simultaneously.

In the following centuries in different part of Armenia there came about several authors who continued to fill in the chronological tables compiled by Samvel Anetsi.

In the 80-s of the 10th century Ukhtanes, an Armenian historian, at the beginning of his History («Պատմութիւն հայրապետաց և թագավորաց Հայոց») intended to recount in parallel the history of the rulers: Armenian, Persian, and Roman. In the second part of the History (History was divided into Georgian and Armenian) the author highlighted the history of the early 7th century Armenian-Georgian division of churches. The more valuable part of History by Ukhtanes, where he posed as a completely autonomous author, was the second part. In the part that has not reached our time, he recounted the story of the “tsat” or “tsad” Armenians covering their baptism and their populated area with the cities, villages, citadels and monasteries. The new historiographic trend to present the panorama of the Christian world, was not developed by Ukhtanes in the next two sections. The first “Universal History” was written by Stephen of Taron in the early 11th century. Another attempt at creating a Universal History was «Մատեան աշխարհավէպ հանդիսարանուն» in Ani in the late 12th century by Mkhitar of Ani. In the second half of the 13th century Vardan of Gandzak wrote the Universal History in the Armenian reality. Essentially, a Universal History is also the 1289 book by Mkhitar of Airivank which was in the form and genre of a chronicle. Here, too, the principal attention is centered upon the early history. In a small work a larger room is dedicated to the creation of the world prior to Adam, and then the two pe-

1 Սամուէլ Անեցի, Հաւաքմունք ի գրոց պատմագրաց յաղագս գիւտի ժամանաց մինչև և ի ներկայս ծայրաքաղ արարեալ, Ofiginal by Ա. Հայրապետեան, Introduction by Կ. Մաթևոսյան, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 5–17:

2 Կ. Մաթևոսյան, Սամվել Անեցու Ժամանագրության ձեռագրերը և նորահայտ սերականները, Երևան, 2009:
periods from Adam to Jesus Christ, and a smaller part described the events between the year 1 and the year 1289. The Armenian authors had larger opportunities to present the so-called “Sacred History” than Stepanos Asoghik, who could do the dating on the basis of only one reliable chronological axis: Armenian Era, trying to dump chronological indicators into the period of time embracing about four centuries. In the meantime, Samvel of Ani and his successors, by virtue of addressing the Year of Salvation, extended the exclusive chronological scale to the Year 1, then, using the Septuaginta year (5198) of creation, presented the history of about six millennia¹.

Supplementing and rewriting the Universal History was stipulated by the availability of the historical books having been translated into other languages. In the 12th century the Armenian translation was issued of the Medieval Georgian Historical manual Քարթլիս Ցխովրեբա, however, it showed a clear influence of the Armenian historiographic tradition². In the next century, Vardan of Gandzak edited the Armenian translation of a chronicle by the notable Assyrian historian Michael the Syrian. The Universal History writing was aided not only by translations of the foreign sources, a crucial role also belongs to the relevant environment. In the medieval cities, there came about favorable conditions for mutual cultural exchanges, there was a growth of interest with regard to the histories of the countries, both close by and far away. Remarkable in this respect is the example of Mkhitar of Ani, who considered it mandatory for historians to know the languages, he made use of Քարթլիս Ցխովրեբա, History of Georgia in the language of the original, he also made a translation from Persian, and was fully informed about the history of the Muslim and Arab countries.

During the following centuries with history writing on the decline, the attempts to write the Universal History nonetheless continued. Efforts had been exerted during the previous centuries to create the written brief variations of historical books. The dominating genre being the short chronicles, certain books in their chronological and geographic scopes enclosed original efforts to create Universal histories³.

During the 13-14th cc. the Armenian authors also started to show interest in the history of the West. Historiographic contacts were established with the Latin historiographers. Thus, the historian Hetum in the late 13th century wrote the history of the Crusaders states – Jerusalem, Antioch and Cyprus. An interesting fact is that the same author wrote the book «Դրացկ պատմութեանց Արևելից Աշխարհի»⁴ (La Flor des Estoiresd’Orient). Besides, the Armenian

¹ Ա. Տեր-Ղետինդյան, Թվականությամբ ժամանակագրությունը հայ պատմագրության մեջ, էջ 43:
⁴ Կ. Մաթեյոսյան, Հեթում պատմիչ Կոռիկոսցին և նրա ժամանագրությունը, Երևան, 2011:
writers continued their translation activities. E.g., Nerses Palianents in the mid-14th century translated into Armenian a chronicle written in Latin by Martinos Lehtsi who represented the history of the rulers of Rome and the Popes.

In a traditional manner, “Armenian History” was written in the early 10th century only by Hovanes Draskhanakertsi, who had actually elaborated a new type of presenting the national past. Surprisingly, his example, with certain deviations, was followed in the 60s of the 13th century only by Kirakos of Gandzak. As to Aristakes of Lastivert, he confined himself to writing on the history of events taking place during his lifetime.

In the Armenian history writing of the 10–13th cc. there was also room for histories of the local areas. Albania (towards the East of Armenia), Vaspurakan’s and Siunik’s early and recent past and the authors’ life-time experience in history writing was an exclusive achievement and was implemented using methods and devices substantially differing and can become a special subject of examination. From among the Medieval Armenian cities – Ani, the most notable one, was described individually, though at a later time, when the capital of the Bagratides had already long been lying in ruins.

At the same time the links with the oral culture remained, there were close mutual influences between the knightly songs and new popular stories. As in the previous centuries, historical discourse and the popular versified compositions served as fuel to the Medieval historians. In that period the living colloquial language was already the Middle Armenian, its elements can be encountered in the historical songs. Historiographic schools had been organized at some large cultural centers. In particular, this phenomenon was noted in the City Ani, whose ethnic and devotional multi-element environments gave forth original relics carrying the influence of urban culture.

The 10–13th cc. authors had presented the early and the middle times on the basis of the previous historians’ books. For them it was essential that the events and phenomena of the long past and their own times be presented in association. In the works by the authors of that time there was a special internal division. The historians described with special care and attention those periods of time that had not been previously covered. At the dawn of the 11th century Stephen Asoghik characterized the third closing book of his work “Universal History” as a “Summary”. The same thing happened with the works by other authors in the subsequent two centuries.

The 14–16th cc. had been noted in the Medieval Historiography as the time of decline in the historiographic thought and creative sterility. For about 300 years the tradition of writing large historical works had been interrupted, small-sized historical pieces became popular. There had been a substantial growth in undersized booklets and small chronicles. Both reminiscences and
small chronicles are valuable original sources, since they provide the real concepts of the military and political situation at specific periods of time, the economic situation, as well as the religious and cultural atmosphere. The authors of memoirs had written their pieces for restricted circles of readers. They never had intentions to beautify history. The problems of the memoir writers were to save those events from oblivion, the events that had produced deep impressions upon the contemporaries. The authors of small works evaded making generalizations on the basis of the previous centuries’ historiographic legacy. They mostly made vast compilations from the works under their disposal. In their books one can more often than not find some errors, related to the remote past. Usually, the territorial scope of small chronicles was vast, while the story went about the history of the past centuries. Gradually, small chronicles had become focused upon the region of their residence.

The authors of historical compositions stood before severe problems, for they had difficulties in selecting content and basic axis for their country. In the mid-19th century, the last hearths of the Armenian statehood were extinguished. The majority of the Armenian princely houses had abandoned the scene, even the Holy See appeared in a difficult situation. Several leading Armenian ecclesiastical centers remained active. Under those conditions, the authors of historical works were deprived of any opportunity to make a competent coverage of life in the Armenian communities.

The only voluminous book written during the period of decline belonged to the pen of Tovma Metsopetsu. Interestingly, he had evaded the study of remote past and regarded as his main objective to produce a description of the present, covering about six decades of historical events. In the Armenian historiography of the decline period there appeared new trends, which was a specific response to the new deep changes in public life. There had been a gradual variation in public taste, under an insecure situation in Armenia the activities of educational centers had been severely hindered, the capabilities for the perception of oral discourse had gone down. It was characteristic for previous centuries that the historians wrote prosaic historical works on the basis of versified compositions. In the 14–16th centuries the situation was reversed. The authors tended to compose in verses which was more comprehensible to the simple people. Interestingly, it was characteristic for the popular culture to record the historical events in verse, passing them orally from generation to generation. Even some generally known historical compositions of the previous centuries and other works of historical nature had undergone a reprocessing. Rewritten to verses were also historical plots that were most spread out and thrilling to the public.

Many historical plaints were written, their characteristic nature being idealization of the past using references to the notable personalities of different periods of time to underscore the tragic circumstances of the current situation. The versified historical compositions do not possess high value as sources.
es; however those pieces are notable as expressions of public opinions of relevant times. Under the conditions of declining education and scholarly thought, the versified historical compositions help support public interest towards the past and have a great educational significance. The same function is carried out by sociological and factographic hagiographical relics which stipulate the deepening national self-awareness and strengthening the feeling of unity by appealing to the defense of Christian Faith.

During the final stage of the Armenian Medieval Historiography, the 17–18th centuries, which can be characterized as a period of a new upgrade, in the Armenian society the high places in economy and culture were tenaciously seized by the high-level enterprising, determined and intelligent trading community. This new public stratum with the center in New Jugha, had developed commercial operations of quasi-worldwide scale. Having seized all important positions, the Armenian trading community dictated its will to the clergy, and the newly arising Armenian intellectuals. The Armenian tradesmen started to acquire an ever-growing role and significance even in the intellectual domain.

Several authors emerged, writers, translators and patron tradesmen, their efforts resulting in the clergy losing their previously occupied exclusive position1. The tradesmen come along with their new perception of literature. They often write notes of their own life, their personal thoughts and experiences in a clear and direct spoken language of their time. It is in the commercial environment that involves new vision of space and time. The writings of the commercial authors are noted for their chronological precision. The Armenian tradesmen, ahead of nearly all countries of the world, introduce revolutionary features into the traditional concepts of territorial distribution.

The Armenian settlements in adjacent and remote countries in their internal structure, surrounding population and specific interrelations with the home country again stipulated the dissemination of new outlooks and ideological patterns. The expansion and reinforcement of settlements resulted in boosting the interest in the past of the host countries of the multiple influential Armenian communities. It is not an accident that historical works were written on Iran and India, i.e., on the histories of the countries in whose economic life the Armenian population had acquired a conspicuous position. Along with the new settlements there were more and more religious conversions especially controversial being the trend of building up association of the Armenians with the Catholic Church. Certain authors, having excellent knowledge of Armenian, had written the Armenian history from the viewpoint of the Catholic Church. A subject that becomes popular in the Armenian Historiography is writing about the history of discussions on faith conversions. Consequently, there came about a requirement to write down the theological maxims of the Church, as well as the history of the interrelations inside the National Church.

The upsurge of the Armenian Historiography had been prepared by large-scale movements in the spiritual life. The century-long drowsiness of the Ar-

menian clergy and the reign of intellectual blackout had resulted in a powerful “movement of hermits” among the Armenian monks. Meanwhile, a growing tendency was noted to familiarize with the literary legacy of the past, to read the Armenian History and the spiritual legacy created in the previous centuries. Due to the careful attitude of notable teachers of that period copies were made of the popular collections, and an inventory was compiled of the Armenian history writers.1

In the 17–18 cc. the intellectual progress accelerated, the intellectual horizons expanded, due to the successful Armenian printing. Printed in 1669 was “History” by Arakel of Tabriz, and in 1695 they printed “Armenian History” by Movses Khorenatsi. Throughout the 18th century a great attention was dedicated to publishing the historical books.

In the 17–18th centuries even traditional historiography showed controversial trends of development. Historical songs were composed, authored by priests or persons of spiritual education. So they had received certain theoretical and literary training, and made use of the previous historiographic achievements and experience. Arakel of Tabriz (1590s–1670) was the most significant author of the new historiographic upgrade, his History is remarkable for its extensive thematic and geographic scope. Although the axis of the book goes through the political events, mostly the history of the Ottoman–Iranian wars, and the deportation ordered by Shah Abbas, the author also described economic issues and praised those Armenian tradesmen who cooperated with progressive clergy. A new phenomenon was numerous facts about the Armenian settlements. The historian made acquaintance with the life of the communities during his multiple travelling experiences.

Zakaria Kanakertsi (1627–1699) initiated a tradition to record historical events based upon oral discourse and popular concepts. The author recorded conversations on Shah Abbas, whether untrue or mythological, or true. The author was quite aware that the substance communicated misrepresented the historic reality, and even advised his readers: to receive exact references on Shah Abbas one has to address History by Arakel Davrijetsi. In order to give preference to folklore, Zakaria Kanakertsi continued the traditions of Faust of Byzantium, Hovhan Mamikonyan, and Ananun Zrutsagir Anonymous Storyteller (alias Pseudo-Shapuh Bagratuni).

In the West–Armenian reality the initiator of the new upgrade in historiography was Grigor Daranaghtsi (1576–1643), who had written the first history of the early 17th century keeping in the center of attention the events going on in Ottoman Turkey and West Armenia. A chronicle of the 30–40s of the 17th c. by Daranaghtsi gives an account of the events that does not only abound in details, but also is remarkable for the author’s evaluations, or even biased opinions. Grigor Daranaghtsi belonged to the authors who, when describing the events was mostly stimulated by his private, very personal impressions and estimations. He merged the spiritual-cultural descriptions with the chronicle of his personal life.

---

1Հ. Անասյան, Հայկական մատենագիտություն, հատ. Ա., Երևան, 1959, էջ XLIII–XLVIII, LII–LV:
The history and reality of West Armenia and the city of Constantinople had also been described in Eremia Chelepi Kiumurjan’s (1637–1695) very large literary and scholarly chronicle. Being one of the most educated intellectuals of his time, he had communicated with foreign spiritual and secular influential circles, maintained personal ties with notable personalities. He was in command of multiple Eastern and Western languages, authored a number of works on history, geography and mapping. Eremia Kiumurjan was active in the cultural environment, including historiography, his contacts having been extremely favorable. He had produced many translations from Greek and Latin into Armenian and from Armenian into Turkish. It needs particularly to be noted that Kiumurjan translated into Turkish his own “Armenian History”, of which the Armenian original has not been preserved. That translation was done by the request from the Turkish historians and covered the most glorious period of the Armenian history. Kiumurjan’s work served as a source for a Turkey-based Arab historian Munajim Bashi (died in 1702) while writing “İani ad-duval” (Universal History) of an enormous size.

In the initial decades of the 18th century, the Armenian authors mostly concentrated their attention on the events of the previous decades and the contemporary cases (Esai Hasan Jalalyan, Stepanos Shahumian, Petros di Sargis Gilanents, Abraham Yerevantsi). However in the 18th century the Armenian surroundings revived the ideas that the narrator had to explore only the remote past. These new perceptions suggest that the whole Armenian history has so far been quite ambiguous, e.g., Hakob Nalian.

In the Armenian historiography of the 17–18th centuries the new world outlook is manifested in memorial, documentary, itinerary type of texts that have recorded the historical events in the form of personal impressions and emotions of the authors. Although the itinerary type of records had a long history, however this genre attained popularity in the late Middle Ages. It was distinguished for its diversified contents, and very circumstantial descriptions of the visited countries. There came about in the form of general descriptions accounts of personal life, family affairs, diversified and abundant data on economic situations.

Very similar developments have occurred to the records of a documentary type. The Armenian tradesmen have usually kept ledgers of their commercial activities, where they recorded the executed deals, as well as happenings remarkable enough to be mentioned in the context of a family chronicle. The most conspicuous in this respect was the Diary by Zakaria Aguletsi (1630–1691). Besides describing the economic situations, he also recounted very different personal, ethnographic and everyday data, as well as many content-generating variations. To be especially noted are his reflections on raison d’être, the significance of wealth, and other issues. On the Diary by Zakaria Aguletsi one can form ideas not only on the commercial situation of a given time, but also on

---

1 See U. Sirap, Քնարար, Երեմիա Չելեպի որպես Մունաջիմ Բաշիի աղբյուրներից մեկը, ՀՀ ԳԱ, Տեղեկ. (հաս. գիտ.), 1960, էջ 143–151.
2 See A. Tereqyan, Մ. Պարիս ։ Մահարադայակություն, էջ 456–457.
the world outlook and psychology. Large diaries were written by representatives of other social strata, particularly Eremia Chelepi Kiumurjan and a notable priest Minas Hamtetsi.

In the first decade of the 18th century, to deposit the events in detail, in figurative style, the trend to show even the every-day details, the direct way of communicating with the reader is taking place even in traditional historic writing. The Armenian Catholics of the time recounted History, which however was, in the way of genre, rather a direct recording of impressions and reminiscences.

The prospective tendencies observed in historiography played a crucial role in the new times.

Translated into English by Hachatoor

ՄԻՋՆԱԴԱՐՅԱՆ ՀԱՅ ՊԱՏՄԱԳՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՅՈՒՐԱՀԱՏՔՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ԲՆՈՒԹԱԳՐԱԿԱՆ ԳԾԵՐԸ ԵՎ ՊԱՐԲԵՐԱՑՈՒՄԸ

(ՄԱՐԳԱՐՅԱՆ)

Միջնադարյան հայ պատմագրության յուրահատկությունների, զարգացման ոլորտերի, սոցիալ-պատմական դասակարգերի համար թուրքերական վիրաբերության նյութերի խնդիրները, ավանդական, ինչն է այս գրական հիմնարկավորության պատմության է, որը հիմունքներն ունեցել է նրան, որ հայ միջնադարյան պատմագրությանը պատմողի վիճակի բացասական ուղին է, փոխանցող ուրարկություն է, այսպես կոչված առավել միջին կարգի հայ պատմագրություն։ Հայ միջնադարյան պատմագրությունը պատմողի նկատմամբ, սոցիալ-պատմական դասակարգերի համար նրանց զարգացման հիմնական ուղին է, որը հայ միջնադարյան պատմագրության պարբերացման անճյուղին է, իսկ իր հսկական դեմքը, տիպաբանական ուղին, Սկզբունքային նշանակություն ունի գրավորության վրա զարգացման և զարգացման գործում` կայանի զարգացման գործում, գրականության զարգացման գործում` կայանի զարգացման գործում, Սկզբունքային նշանակություն ունի գրականության զարգացման գործում` կայանի զարգացման գործում.

Բանավոր ու գրավոր (պաշտոնական և ժողովրդական) մշակույթների փոխհարաբերությունը համապատասխան է դրական բացասական ուղին և դրա համար, սոցիալ-պատմական դասակարգերի համար, հգետևում զարգացում և զարգացման գործում` կայանի զարգացում.

Սկզբունքային նշանակություն ունի գրականության զարգացում և զարգացում գործում` կայանի զարգացում.
ԲԱՆԲԵՐ ՀԱՅԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ 2013 ¹ 1 (1)

տարեգրությունների՝ աննալների, ժանրը գենետիկ սերտ կապի մեջ է գտնվում ժամանակությունների հետ: Այս ժանրի ստեղծագործություններում գրառումները կատարվում են ըստ տարիների, ըստ միևնույն ժամանակահատվածում կատարված դեպքերի որոնց էկրու կամ բոլոր իրադարձությունների համար ընդհանուր ժամանակության մեջ տեղի ունեցած փաստն է: 

Միջնադարյան Հայաստանում պատմիչները հետագայում իմ տեսակի ժանրերով ողջ սույն տեսության համար ընդհանուր միաժամանակ շեշտելու անհրաժեշտություննով շրջագայել են միայն հատկանշական կողմերից դասական դերը դարձել է: Պատմագրության համար առանձին գիտություն դարձավ Միջնադարյան կերպին, բայց այդ ժանրի ստեղծեցները հետագայում այս գիտության համար անհրաժեշտ էին, ինչը ստեղծեց հատկանշական, բարձր սկզբունքների ու ստեղծանմության հիման վրա: Պատմագրության հակիրճ պատմագրական ժանրների միջև հանդիպում է երբեք տարված չէր տեսել շրջակայքի զարգացման տեղեկատվական իրավունքների հետ: Հայերի հետագա բարձրությունը հաճախ առաջանում էր պատմագրության ստեղծագործության դեպքում: Պատմագրության համար անհրաժեշտ էր սահմանափակ տեսություն, որը նրանց համար համաչափ էր հետագա պատմագրական կերպին: 

Միջնադարյան հայ պատմագրությունը հաճախ ուներ պատմությունների փաստաթղթերը և տեսակի ժանրերը։ Պատմագրության զարգացման առաջին փուլը հաճախ չի պահպանում միայն հայ պատմագրության համար նոր համակարգերի միջոցով միացվել էր, սակայն նրանց միջմոտական վայրերի հետ հանձնվել է օգտագործում: Պատմագրության զարգացման երկրորդ փուլը հաճախ ընդունել էր առաջացող պատմագրական կերպի կամ զարգացման ու տեսության սահմանափակում: 

Միջնադարյան հայ պատմագրության զարգացումը հաճախ ուներ ժամանակակից կերպեր ձևավորվել, սակայն ԻΧ–ԱԺ դարերին պատմագրությունը ստեղծելու համար նոր համակարգերի միջոցով տեսակի կառույցներ ծառայել է: Պատմագրության զարգացումը հաճախ օգտագործվում էր տեսակի ժանրի մեջ, որպես վերջնագույն կամ առանձին գիտություն: 

Միջնադարյան հայ պատմագրության զարգացումը հաճախ ուներ հանգուցներ, որոնք կարողանում էին դիմել բազմազան իրադարձությունների հետ: Պատմագրության զարգացման ընթացքում կարելի է ոչնչացնել հայաստանցի պատմության ռեժիմների կամ սևն է: 

Միջնադարյան հայ պատմագրության զարգացումը հաճախ չի ընդունվում կամ կարողանում էր դիմել բազմազան իրադարձությունների հետ: Պատմագրության զարգացման ընթացքում կարելի է ոչնչացնել հայաստանցի պատմության ռեժիմների կամ սևն է:
ԲԱՆԲԵՐ ՀԱՅԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ 2013 ¹ 1 (1)

«Բանբեր հայագիտության 2013» թերթը ձեռնվարությունների մեջ հավացում է, աչքի ընկնում հսկայական և աշխարհագրական ընդգրկմամբ: Միաժամանակ՝ պահպանվել է կապը ժողովրդական բարձրության հետ՝ հայքում և աշխարհում: Պահպանվել է կապը ժողովրդական բանավոր մշակույթի հետ: Ինչպես և նախորդ դարերում, ժողովրդական չափածո ստեղծագործությունները դարձել են միջնադարյան պատմագրության կենտրոնը: Միաժամանակական ժամանակացույցը լուծել է խնդրական վարպետ վիճակի ներկայացուցչության դերը: Սա ներկայացնում է որպես «արդյունավետ և բանավոր» ժամանակակից արաբական արտասահմանյան գրականության դերը: 

XIV–XVI դարերը միջնադարյան հայ պատմագիտության մեջ հավացավում է, որպես պատմագիտության մեջ սնված ժամանակաշրջան: Պատմագրությունը մեծ մեծությամբ զարգացավ արդյունավետ և բանավոր, փորձել է կատարել որոշ շարադրվություններ: Փոստային ժամանակաշրջանում հայագիտությունը կազմակերպությունների մեջ էր մեծ կանգնություն երևում: Այս ժամանակաշրջանում պատմագրությունը ճշգրիտ եղել է ուսմունքի հետ և աշխարհագրական ընդգրկմամբ հայագիտության զարգացումը երևում էր այս ժամանակաշրջանում: 

XIV–XVI դարերն ընդգրկում են հրապարակության վերջին՝ XVII–XVIII դարերի փուլին, որը կարող է հայտնաբերել դեպի հետևի հայկական պատմագրության հասկացությունը, ինչպես նաև դարձնել հայկական հանրագրական ժառանգությունը և հայ ժողովրդական աշխատանքները. Այս ժամանակը ներկայացնում է որպես «սպառնոց ժամանակաշրջան», որի ընդգրկում է նաև պատմագիտության տարբեր բարձրությունները, ինչպես նաև նրանց զարգացման պատմական գրականությունը: Ուշագրավ է, որ իրերը կազմված են պատմագիտության նկատմամբ: Պատմագրության կարևորագույն գրականությունը վերջին էր հայկական պատմագրության բազմազան սատորական բազմությունների և հայկական պատմագրության բնույթի արժեքական էր, որը ծանոթացում էր հայկական պատմագրության զարգացման պատմագրության մեջ:
ОТЛИЧИТЕЛЬНЫЕ ЧЕРТЫ И ПЕРИОДИЗАЦИЯ
СРЕДНЕВЕКОВОЙ АРМЯНСКОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ

(РЕЗЮМЕ)

Проблемы особенностей средневековой армянской историографии, путей ее развития, характерных черт разных эпох традиционно мало привлекали внимание исследователей. Оставался открытым и вопрос периодизации средневековой армянской историографии. В связи с этим нужно отметить, что предлагая периодизацию средневековой армянской историографии трудно руководствоваться единым критерием. Описывая типологические особенности отдельных периодов средневековой армянской историографии, необходимо обратить внимание на мировоззренческие факторы – восточное и западное восприятие истории в армянской действительности, мифологическое и эпическое миропонимание, влияние христианства. Принципиальным является также вопрос взаимоотношений между письменной и устной культурами.

С проблемой языка и стиля исторических сочинений тесно связан вопрос взаимовлияния устной и письменной (официальной и народной) культур. Основным источником для исторических трудов обычно служил фольклор. Хотя стоит отметить и противоположное явление. В условиях ослабления позиций официальной или элитарной культуры, исторические произведения слагались поэтическим языком и, таким образом, передавались из поколения в поколение в устной форме. О схожих тенденциях свидетельствуют также факты изложения исторического наследия в поэтической форме.

Исторические сочинения составляют наиболее консервативный пласт армянской духовной культуры и, следовательно, язык повествования имеет особое значение. Художественную ценность представляют исторические труды раннего средневековья (V век), изложенные на классическом древнеармянском языке. В последующие века, когда изложение в основном велось на живом армянском, в отдельных случаях еще больше обозначались языковые различия. В конце средневековой эпохи языковые различия практически не позволяли непосредственным участникам событий самим записывать свои воспоминания. Именно поэтому широкое распространение получило создание исторических сочинений двумя авторами.

При периодизации историографии невозможно обойти стороной жанровую принадлежность исторических произведений и творческие методы средневековья. В средневековой армянской книжности исторические труды имели жанровые особенности, но не всегда наблюдалось четкое разделение жанров. "История", как отдельный жанр
занимала главенствующие позиции в самом начале формирования армянской историографии. “История” представляет собой систематизированное повествование. Хронологические и тематические отклонения считались структурными недостатками. В “Историях” также раскрывалась точка зрения автора, обстоятельно освещались причины событий и явлений, взаимосвязи и последствия.

“Истории” в основном излагали прошлое Армении, включая разделы, посвященные истории соседних стран. Таким образом, созданные в армянской среде исторические сочинения, в основном, являются “Историей Армении”.

В жанровом плане “история” тесно связана с “хроникой” (“хронографией”). Пристальное внимание хронографов было приковано, в основном, к событиям, занимающим небольшой отрезок времени. Их основная задача состояла не в объяснении событий и явлений, а в упорядоченном изложении фактов.

Если “хроники” берут начало от “историй”, то жанр “летописей” (анналов) генетически связан с “хрониками”. В произведениях данного жанра записи делаются строго следуя хронологии – события одного и того же года не имеют ни внутренней, ни логической связи. Основным критерием для отбора разного рода событий является их синхронность.

В средневековой Армении историографы следовали определенным литературным приемам. Жанр “хроники” требовал возврата к событиям предыдущих веков. В данных условиях для создания всеобъемлющей картины неизбежным приемом являлась компиляция. Армянские историографы средневековья имели возможность приступить к описанию исторических событий, только после получения теоретической подготовки. Историографы должны были в совершенстве владеть грамматикой и “пиитическим” то есть, ораторским искусством, поскольку история в средневековье еще не имела научного статуса. “Подражательный стиль” произведений подразумевал использование отдельных цитат, лексики, стиля авторов предыдущих эпох, следование и даже подражание трудам, считающимися эталоном.

С самого начала, отличительной чертой историографии являлось отсутствие официального статуса, а также отсутствие церковной историографии. Повествование о церкви велось в рамках общенациональной истории.

С учетом вышеизложенных основных подходов и позиций можно предложить следующую периодизацию средневековой армянской историографии, при этом подчеркивая характерные черты каждого периода.

В формировании средневековой армянской историографии, период с V по IX век выделяется особенно. Армянская историография формируется под влиянием трех главных факторов: 1. Античные традиции, проникшие в армянскую действительность из византийской культуры. 2. Христианские литературные памятники. 3. Устные народные предания. В V веке повествование велось на классическом грабаре, а памятники армянской
Средневековая армянская историография переживает возрождение в X – XIII веках. В этот период армянская историография стала многожанровой, охватывала огромный географический ареал и отдаленные исторические эпохи. Одновременно сохраняется связь с устными народными преданиями. Как и в предыдущие века, устная традиция продолжала служить подспорьем средневековым историографам. Именно в этот период впервые в исторические труды начинают проникать элементы разговорного языка.

В XIV–XVI веках в средневековой армянской историографии наблюдается упадок. Появилось лишь одно выдающееся историческое произведение, предпринимались попытки освоить и сохранить приобретения прошлых эпох. Основным жанром данного периода стали памятные записи (колоны) рукописей, где излагалась, как правило, локальная история. Стоит отметить, что особой популярностью пользовались исторические хроники, написанные в стихотворной форме. Вместо классического грабара, повествование велось на разговорном языке того времени.

XVII и XVIII века можно охарактеризовать как период подъема средневековой армянской историографии. Армянские историографы описывали также исторические события тех стран Востока, где находились армянские общины. Благодаря книгопечатанию, широким слоям населения стали доступны также и труды современных историографов. Грабар продолжал оставаться языком историографии, несмотря на то, что им владел лишь определенный узкий круг людей. Именно перспективным тенденциям этого периода и суждено было сыграть решающую роль в Новое время.
Persian and Arabic Calendars as Presented by Anania Shirkatsi
Grigor Broutian
Viktor Ambartsumian Museum of National Academy of Sciences of Armenia
gbroutian@gmail.com

(received: 05/05/2010-accepted: 29/06/2010)

Abstract
Here is an attempt to present the ideas concerning the Medieval Persian and Arabic calendars as offered in the works of the 7th century A.D. Armenian scientist Anania Shirakatsi. The calendars of Christian Persians and Arabs, as explained in Anania’s work, are of the Julian type, with 365.25 days per year. By Persian and Arabic Calendars, he means variants of the Julian calendar used by groups of Christians living in the Persian and Arabic lands. These calendars had a structure very different from what is generally known as Arabic or Islamic and the traditional Persian calendar.

Keywords: Anania Shirakatsi (Shirakouni), Armenian calendar, Persian calendar, Arabic calendar

Introduction
Most of the works of the 7th century Armenian scientist Anania Shirakatsi are published and examined. However, as the majority is in Armenian, these works have not been accessible to those scholars that do not possess the command of the Armenian language1. Yet, Anania’s works provide valuable information on the science and culture of other nations. His calendrical

compendium, called “Tomar”\(^1\), is of particular importance as it gives the description of fifteen nations’ calendars, including those of Persians and Arabs. Today we know more about the medieval calendars of these nations. However, it is most useful to become acquainted with the manner in which these were executed in relation to the scientific traditions of their immediate neighbors—the Armenians. It is no less interesting to see the state of Persian and Arabic calendars in the 7\(^{th}\) century, at the dawn of Islam. The works of Anania Shirakatsi, the great Armenian scientist of that crucial moment in history, allow us to have this most valuable opportunity\(^2\).

**Anania’s Life and Scientific Achievements: An Overview**

Anania Shirakatsi, an outstanding author of the 7\(^{th}\) century, is acknowledged as the greatest scientist of Medieval Armenia. He calls himself Anania Shirakatsi (according to his birthplace) or Anania, son of Jovhannes Shirakouni (Shirakouni as his family name). He is also known as Anania Anetsi (from Ani), Metzn (the Great) Anania, Anania Hamarogh (the Mathematician), etc. In early middle Ages Armenian authors referred to him as Shirakouni. Recently, the name Shirakatsi has become more widespread. Anania lived and worked in late 7\(^{th}\) century, a relatively peaceful short period in Armenian history. We know little about his life and scholarly activity. According to his autobiography, Anania was born in the region of Shirak, in a village called Ani or Shirakawan. His father was Jovhannes Shirakouni, probably a minor Armenian nobleman.

---

1. The word “tomar” in Armenian means calendar. The origin of this word is from Greek ἡμερλόγιο meaning “a book”, “a volume”. As we know now the word “tomar” was used by Anania as the proper name of the part of his “K’nnikon” concerning the calendar.

2. Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī the eminent Iranian scholar of the 10\(^{th}\)-11\(^{th}\) century A.D. gives an extensive account of the calendars used by different peoples in his Chronology of the Ancient Nations. He does not provide any information about the Armenian calendar. However, he gives references to some Armenian feasts (al-Bīrūnī, pp. 211, 298, 309).
According to his own evidence, Anania received elementary and higher education in his motherland, becoming proficient in all sciences (including the Biblical) that were available at this time in Armenia. The schools established in the 5th century by Mesrop Mashtots and Sahak Partev incorporated the Trivium (grammar, rhetoric and logic or dialectic) in their educational program, and this practice continued till the 7th century and beyond.

Anania, however, was not satisfied with the education he had received. He longed for further knowledge; he wished to master the second level of the western educational system of the time—the Quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy). According to Anania’s personal testimony, these disciplines were not taught in Armenia at the time, and there were no textbooks that would allow him to gain knowledge on these subjects. Thus, in order to complete his education, Anania left for Western Armenia, the city of Karin (modern Erzurum), known as Theodosoupolis at the time. In Karin he met Eghiazaros, a well-known scholar. We do not know whether Anania studied here or not, the sources are silent on this issue. We know, however, that from Eghiazaros he learned about another scholar, the mathematician Christosatour, who lived in the ”Chorrord Hayk” (Fourth Armenia), a province in the Western Armenia, which corresponds to Kharpout region in modern Turkey. Anania left Karin to study with him and stayed with Christosatour for six months. At the end of this time, realizing that he could not further benefit from his instruction, Anania embarks on a long journey to Constantinople, in search of a teacher. While in Sinop, he learned from his acquaintances that no good teachers could be found in Constantinople, and that the best one was the famous scholar Tiwkhikos who lived in Trebizond and attracted students from Constantinople itself. He

---

1. From 387 A.D. to the 7th century Armenia was divided between the Roman (afterwards Byzantine) Empires, called “Western Armenia” and Persia, called “Eastern Armenia”.
was the most erudite person of his time, well versed in Greek science, as well as Armenian language and grammar. Anania becomes the student of Tiwkzikos, studying in his school for eight years. In 666 A.D. Anania returned to Armenia where he opened a school and soon gained prominence as a teacher as well as a scholar. The main source of this information is Anania’s autobiography (Anania Shirakouni, pp. 206-209; Abrahamian, 1944, pp. 31-42; Broutian, The Date of Christ’s Birth According the Armenian Literary Tradition, pp. 88-89). We learn from several Armenian sources that the Supreme Patriarch of Armenia, the Catholicos Anastas Akoretsi (ca. 661-667 A.D.) invited Anania and ordered him to compose a textbook that would contain all the sciences he had studied, especially, the Armenian calendar with the corrections it needed. We also know that as a result of this commission, Anania wrote the work entitled “K’nnikon.” Modern scholarship considers this work as a textbook that contained instruction on all disciplines of the time: grammar, rhetoric and logic or dialectic, as well as arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy, in other words, the disciplines included in the Trivium, and the Quadrivium. Besides these, K’nnikon included some practical knowledge and the calendar. Although Anania’s K’nnikon didn’t survive in its entirety, as a single work, parts of it have reached us in various Armenian manuscripts. They are preserved as separate works, some still maintaining the original intent, while others have reached us with considerable editorial changes that reflect the “revisions” executed at different periods in time. It is interesting to note that the oldest known textbook containing the four operations of arithmetic (in a ciphered numerical system) is contained in the surviving portions of Anania’s K’nnikon. As for the parts in Anania’s K’nnikon that relate to the calendar, called “Tomar” it is of particular importance that we can now restore it to its original form (Matevosian, 1974, no.7, pp. 66-78, no.8, pp. 71-81; idem, 1994, pp. 16-30).
The Calendar (Tomar) of Anania

The Tomar (Calendar), which was included in Anania’s K’nnikon, consisted of explanatory texts, theoretical discourses and many calendar tables. The calendars of fifteen Christian nations were represented here. Fourteen of these -indicated by Anania as Hebrews, Arabs, Macedonians, Romans, Syrians, Greeks, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Athenians, Bythanians, Cappadocians, Georgians, Albanians\(^1\), and Persians\(^2\)-had their calendars parallel presented in the part of Anania’s Tomar called “Kharnakhoran”\(^3\). This was a set of especially constructed large tables, twelve in number, showing all the days of the year on separate lines indicating the New Year day, the beginning of each month, the days of the equinoxes and solstices, as well as the important feast days of all the calendars belonging to the nations mentioned above. Some special parameters that allowed the establishment of the phases of the moon for each day of the year were employed in a few auxiliary tables (Broutian, Kharnakhora, pp. 32, 33, 39-46). There were also some texts explaining how to use the above mentioned tables.

One can notice that there are nations in this list that are now recognized not to be Christians. However, we know that in the 6-7\(^{th}\) centuries there were well organized, large Christian communities living among these nations. As Anania has composed his works in mid-7\(^{th}\) century, we shall take into account that we can find in his works only the calendars of different nations as he knew them—it means—as they were before his time (not later than 660-s). On the other hand, we know from the works of Armenian

---

1. This is the Caucasian Albania of early middle ages located in the north-east of Armenia, between the Caspian Sea, the Caucasian mountains, and bordering Armenia with the river Kura.
2. Here we refer to the Christian parts of these nations that existed there until the adoption of Islam.
3. The word “Kharnakhoran” consists of two components: Kharn, the first part of the word means “mixed,” “joined,” “united,” and khoran, the second part means “table,” or “a column within the table.” Thus the word “Kharnakhoran” used by Anania means a table with mixed, joined columns. The Kharnakhoran has reached us in various editions. Due to their wide applicability these tables were subjected to essential changes, depending upon the purpose of application. This is why some copies of the Kharnakhoran preserved in Armenian manuscripts do not include certain parts of the original.
historians of 8th-10th centuries that before the beginning of Islam there was a
strong and well organized Christian community in Iran. For example, they
claimed that the famous king Khosrov Anushirvan (531-579) [Khosrov
Parviz (590-628)] adopted Christianity 3 days before his death and was
baptized by the Catholicos (Supreme Patriarch) of Iran whose name was
Eran (Hovhannes Draskhanakerttci, pp. 66-67; Stephanos T. A., p. 112;
Sebēos, pp. 69-70). As our sources tell us about a community that was ruled
by a Catholicos, who baptized the king, we have to assume that this
community should have been strong enough having a vast number of
members and it should have the complete organization of Christian church
with all official institutional steps. So Anania’s presentation of Iranian
calendar concerns to this Christian part of Iranian society. The same must be
said concerning Arabian and Hebrew calendars. Although we have no
detailed data in our sources about Christian organizations in these nations,
nevertheless we have some evidences about early organized Christian
communities there. We know, for instance, from Anania, that in 1st-2nd
centuries Orewgenēs son of levatorēs composed the 19-year cycles of
Christian Easter for Arabs and Macedonians on the basis of Hebrew cycles
(Anania Shirakouni, p. 295). This means, also, that the Hebrew Christian
calendar was constructed before that. According to Armenian sources all
these calendars were composed by the representatives of Alexandrian
Church. We can for this reason consider it natural that all these calendars
are of the same type. They are all are different variations of Alexandrian
solar calendar.

Indeed, all the calendars of the above mentioned fourteen nations in
Anania’s Tomar are presented according to the Julian system, where the
years have an average length of 365.25 days and the 365 days (12×30

1. We know now that the Oecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. has given a commission to the
Alexandrian Church to regulate the Christian calendar problem and adjust the calendars of all Christian
nations.
days+5) structure is complemented with a single day of the leap year, added once every four years.

The Armenian calendar was also of the same 12×30 days+5=365 days structure, but it did not use the system of a leap year. The duration of the Armenian year was only 365 days, and the beginning of the year was not fixed with respect to the seasons. For these reasons, Anania did not include the Armenian calendar in the Kharnakhoran, instead, presenting it separately in the detailed 532-year tables as well as some other auxiliary tables. These 532-year tables cover the years between 580 A.D. and 1112 A.D. For each of the 532 years some key calendar parameters (such as epacts\(^1\), septenaries\(^2\), etc.) and the days of important feasts are given both in Julian fixed and Armenian moveable months. The enumeration of the years begins from the 29th Armenian year\(^3\) and ends with 560th.

These tables allow us to compare and find the corresponding Roman (Julian) date for every Armenian feast in all the years covered within the period. Once the Roman dates are known, it becomes possible to find the corresponding dates in the calendars of the thirteen nations used in the Kharnakhoran, mentioned above. The process, of course, is reversible. Thus, the calendar tables of Anania’s book allow us to recognize the comprehensible interrelation between the individual calendars of all fourteen Christian nations as well as their interconnection to the calendar of the Armenians.

1. Numbers between 1 and 30 which are added to the number of the day of the year to determine the corresponding lunar phase. These numbers are repeated in 19 years cycles.
2. Numbers between 1 and 7 which are added to the number of the day of the year to determine the week-day. They are repeated in 28 years cycles.
3. Anania begins his calendar table from the 29th year of Armenian Era, instead of the 1st, because according to Armenian Era, the counting of the years began from 552 AD. Omitting a single cycle of 28 years, Anania adjusts (fits) the beginning of his table to both, the Armenian cyclic period of 28 years (solar cycle), and the Alexandrian period of 19 years (lunar cycle).
There also were special explanatory texts interpreting the calendars of the Christian communities among different nations. These texts were called “Duplicates” (“patčēn”- in Armenian). We now know that such detailed explanations existed for Armenian, Roman, Hebrew, Syrian, and Egyptian calendars. Unfortunately, so far we have no information about the existence of such Duplicates for the calendars of other nations (Abrahamian, p. 111).

In Anania’s Tomar the Armenian calendar is the only one with detailed presentation. The Armenian months with the total number of days, their calendar parameters, the names of the days of months including those of the Epagomenai 5 days and also the names of the 24 hours of the day, divided into 12 daylight and 12 night hours are presented in separate tables (MS 1999, Mashtots Matenadaran, fols. 16v-17r).

Among other calendars, the Roman calendar is the one with relatively more detailed description. It is presented in its traditional way, counting the days inversely, using Calendas, Nonaes and Ides\(^1\). The Kharnakhoran gives a detailed explanation regarding the Roman calendar’s unusual way of counting the days.

In the manuscripts of Anania’s Tomar, besides the Armenian, Roman, Hebrew, Syrian, Greek and Egyptian calendars no other calendars are known to contain detailed explanatory texts; only the names of months, their length and their doubles (“krknak”\(^2\) in Armenian, which refers to the two

---

1. In the oldest Roman calendar the first day of a month was called “calenda” from Lat. “calare”-to declare): hence our word “calendar”, Armenian “kałand” meaning the New Year day. The 5\(^{th}\) (in short months) or 7\(^{th}\) (in long months) days in Roman calendar were called “nonae” (or “nonus”). The 13\(^{th}\) (in short months) or 15\(^{th}\) (in long months) days were called “idus” (or “ide”). The origin of these two names is now thought to be from Etruscan calendar and is not completely clear yet (Klimishin, pp. 197-198; Nemirovski, p. 187). The days preceding calends, nonaes and ides were called “pridee” in Latin (“eve” in English). All the other days were called mentioning their position before the following calends, nonaes or ides. For example, instead of saying “24\(^{th}\) of February” it was usual to say “6\(^{th}\) day before the Martian calend (March 1\(^{st}\)).

2. Krknaks were week-day parameters for the months. They would be what are called in Latin “nota” for the beginning of the months. Since Armenian months had 30 days, the Krknak for each month was the Krknak of the previous month plus 2.
days that follow the 28 days of a four-week month) are presented in separate tables. As for the beginning of each month and the New Year day for these calendars, they were given in the Kharnakhoran.

The calendars of the fourteen nations represented in Anania’s Tomar, appear in four groups: Hebrew (together with parallel, Arabic and Macedonian calendars), Roman (together with parallel Syrian and Greek calendars), Egyptian (together with parallel Athenian, Bythian, Cappadocian, Georgian, Ethiopian and Albanian) and Persian. The grouping is based on considerations relating to the New Year day; in each one of these groups the New Year falls on the same day. The Persian calendar is not included in any of the groups because its New Year day does not coincide with that of any one of the calendars mentioned above.

**Persian and Arabic calendars in Anania’s works**
The following is a representation of the Persian and Arabic calendars as they appear in Anania’s Tomar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian months</th>
<th>days</th>
<th>krknaks</th>
<th>Beginning of months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 facebook</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>August 06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 artapeheš</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>September 05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 xurtat</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>October 05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 tir</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>November 04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 murdat</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>December 04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 šahrir</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>January 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 mehr</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>February 02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 apan</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>March 04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 adar</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>April 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 dimah</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>May 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 pehman</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>June 02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 asfandar</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>July 02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>August 01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic months</th>
<th>days</th>
<th>krknaks</th>
<th>Beginning of months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 nisan</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>March 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 iyar</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>April 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 agag'tiras</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>May 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 agagłasar</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>June 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 elt'amuz</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>July 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 elasmar</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>August 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 agagt'al</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>September 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 agalt'Ibat'</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>October 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 elgona</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>November 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 asron</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>December 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Kaland</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>January 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 elgog</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>February 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epagomenai</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>March 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

These two tables given above present:

Column 1: the successive number of months

Column 2: the names of Persian and Arabic months according to MS 1973 in the collection of Yerevan Mashtots Matenadaran (fols. 15v, 34v).

Column 3: the number of days in corresponding months. In the manuscripts of Mashtots Matenadaran the calendar tables of some nations, especially those of Persians and Arabs, do not have this column. Considering the fact that such information, as a rule, exists in other nations’

---
1. The probable cause of this is the fact that the manuscript sources of the Kharnakhoran we now have at our disposal are all copies of 14th or later centuries, and by this time Persians and Arabs had already become Muslims, therefore the information concerning their calendars, being no longer of practical use and significance for the Christian calendars, bore no relevance and thus could be omitted by the scribes who were copying the manuscripts.
Persian and Arabic Calendars...

calendars, we have taken the liberty of completing this column here for those which do not have it in the manuscript.

Column 4: the *krknaks*\(^1\) (the doubles) of months

Column 5: the beginning of months. In the manuscripts the calendar tables do not have this column. We have taken the liberty of inserting it here in order to present the information contained in the *Kharnakhoran* in a more accessible manner, for these calendars as well.

There are also special markings in the *Kharnakhoran* that refer to the place the leap year’s additional day should occupy. March 17, for instance, is preceded by the following note: “Hebrews put the day of the leap year here.” This means that in the other calendars of the same group the place of this additional day will be the same. Thus, the place of the leap year’s additional day in the Arabic calendar should be before March 17, i.e., March 16.

Many copies of the *Kharnakhoran* do not contain information regarding the leap year’s additional day in Persian calendar. However, as the beginning of months is fixed, it must be presumed that once every four years, the day of the leap year will fall on March 3 (March 4 is always the 1st of Aspandar). This is what we observe in some *kharnakhorans*. In the *Kharnakhoran* of Ms no. 2068 (17th century), in the collection of Mashtots Matenadaran (fol. 362v.-363r.), March 3 has the following note: “Persians put the day of the leap year here.”

Such placing of the leap year day, of course, does not always correspond to the knowledge we now have about the Persian calendar. According to modern understanding, the regulation of the Persian calendar was achieved

---

1. This column shows how many days one should add to the septenary of the year to find out the days of the week in that month. For example, if the septenary of the year is 5, and the double (krknak) of the month Khourtat is 4, then the 1st of Khourtat will be 5 + 4 + 1 = 10, and, as 10 is more than 7, we have to subtract 7 and so we get 10 – 7 = 3, i.e. the 1st of Khourtat in such years (with the septenary equal to 5) will be Thursday (Sunday = 1, Monday = 2,...).
by the introduction of an additional month once every 120 years (Saha-Lahiri, pp. 166-167). But we also know that in some cases, the leap year’s additional day was inserted every four years (Lifshits, pp. 320-332). If we accept the structure of regulating the year through the addition of a month once every 120 years, then it would be impossible to fit such a calendar in the Kharnakhoran, parallel with the other calendars. As mentioned above, all the calendars in the Kharnakhoran are of the same Julian type, with years of 365.25 days of average length and an extra day added once every four years. We can deduce that the Christian Persians used a calendar of the Julian type with the day of the leap year inserted once every four years on March 3. The same can be said about the calendar of the Arabs. In Medieval Armenian manuscripts the term “Arabic Calendar” refers to the calendar of Christian Arabs. As for the calendar of non-Christian Arabs, the same manuscripts refer to it as “The Calendar of Muslims.”

The list below presents the names of Persian and Arabic months, along with the variants that have come down through the Armenian manuscripts. Although the main source of the lists with the names of months in different calendars must have been the calendar of Anania, there are variations; sometimes the proper name of a month occurs with many alterations in different manuscripts. Such distortions must have happened while copying the manuscripts – the scribes, for whom most of the names were unknown, and incomprehensible, must have been the source of these discrepancies.

As mentioned above, in some manuscripts of the Kharnakhoran, there is information concerning the calendar of Muslim Arabs. The manuscript no. 2068 (fol. 357v) from the collection of Mashtots Matenadaran, for instance, contains a comparative table that presents Roman, Greek, Syrian months, complete with their days.

---

1. There are cases where the name of the same non-Armenian month occurs in different forms on different pages of the same manuscript.
### Names of the Persian months in some Armenian manuscripts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ginzel, p.278</th>
<th>MS 817</th>
<th>MS 1973</th>
<th>MS 2068</th>
<th>MS 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ferverdin</td>
<td>ʾarwartin</td>
<td>ʾruart</td>
<td>ʾarartın</td>
<td>ʾarvardin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ardebehesht</td>
<td>artabēhēst</td>
<td>artapehešt</td>
<td>artabēhēst</td>
<td>artahešt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Khordad</td>
<td>ʾxurdat</td>
<td>ʾxurtat</td>
<td>ʾxurtat</td>
<td>ʾxurdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tir</td>
<td>tīrtah</td>
<td>tir</td>
<td>tīrmah</td>
<td>teri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mordad</td>
<td>murtat</td>
<td>murtat</td>
<td>murtat</td>
<td>agudat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sharir</td>
<td>ʾšahriar</td>
<td>ʾšahir</td>
<td>ʾšahriar</td>
<td>ʾšahrič</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mihr</td>
<td>mehran</td>
<td>mehr</td>
<td>mehran</td>
<td>mēhr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Aban</td>
<td>aspandar</td>
<td>apan</td>
<td>aban</td>
<td>apani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ader</td>
<td>adar</td>
<td>adar</td>
<td>adar</td>
<td>adar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Dei (Dae)</td>
<td>dah</td>
<td>dimah</td>
<td>dah</td>
<td>dahē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bahman</td>
<td>bahman</td>
<td>pehman</td>
<td>bahman</td>
<td>bahman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Asfendarmed</td>
<td>aswindar</td>
<td>asfandar</td>
<td>aspandar</td>
<td>aspndar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Names of the Arabic months in some Armenian manuscripts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MS 2001</th>
<th>MS 817</th>
<th>MS 1973</th>
<th>MS 2068</th>
<th>MS 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nisan</td>
<td>nisan</td>
<td>nisan</td>
<td>nisan</td>
<td>nisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>iar</td>
<td>iar</td>
<td>iar</td>
<td>iar</td>
<td>iar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>agag tīras</td>
<td>agag tīros</td>
<td>agag tīra</td>
<td>agag tīray</td>
<td>agag tīray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>agag tāsar</td>
<td>agagzanar</td>
<td>agagtāsar</td>
<td>agagzanar</td>
<td>agag tāsar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>el t'amuz</td>
<td>el t'amuz</td>
<td>el t'amuz</td>
<td>el t'amuz</td>
<td>egh t'amuz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>elasmar</td>
<td>elasmar</td>
<td>elasmar</td>
<td>elasmar</td>
<td>el asmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>agag tāla‘</td>
<td>agag</td>
<td>agag tāla‘</td>
<td>agag</td>
<td>Ag la‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>agag tābal‘</td>
<td>agag tābal‘</td>
<td>agag tābal‘</td>
<td>agag tābal‘</td>
<td>agag tābal‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>elgonay</td>
<td>elgt’on</td>
<td>elgona</td>
<td>elgt’on</td>
<td>el gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>asronay</td>
<td>asaron</td>
<td>arson</td>
<td>asoron</td>
<td>arson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>kalandios</td>
<td>kalandios</td>
<td>kalandi</td>
<td>kalandios</td>
<td>kalandis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>elgok’</td>
<td>elgog</td>
<td>elgog</td>
<td>ergog</td>
<td>elgog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the same table, Muslim Arabs (under the name of “Tačik”)\(^1\), are also presented with the names of their calendar’s months and the number of days. There is a special note here telling that the “Muslim” months neither with their beginnings, nor with the New Year’s Day corresponds to the Roman or any other calendar.

Here is the Muslim calendar as shown in the table mentioned above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>days</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muharām</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7 ūrajap</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Safar</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8 šapan</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ūrabi awal</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9 ūramat</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ūrabi axēr</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10 ūshawayl</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūjamaṭ’i awal</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11 zl Ĺay</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūjamaṭ’i axēr</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12 zl Ĺjad</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5

As the table shows, the calendar presented here is a simple lunar one, just like the Islamic calendars we know. The names of these months also occur in Armenian manuscripts in distorted forms. Nevertheless, it is helpful to present the versions that occur in Armenian manuscripts.

---

1. The Armenian text refers to “amisk tačkač,” indicating “the months of Tačiks.” The word “Tačik” in Armenian, in general means “Turk,” or “Muslim.” In this context, we must interpret the word as simply “Muslim.” The etymology of the Armenian word “Tačik” is given from Iranian origin, from Pahlavi “tāčik” meaning “the Arabs of Mesopotamia”, originally from Iranian “tāč”-to run (Ajarian, pp. 365-366).
Persian and Arabic Calendars...

Names of the Arabic Muslim months in some Armenian manuscripts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Muslim Months</th>
<th>First Column</th>
<th>MS 1973</th>
<th>MS 2068</th>
<th>MS 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moharrem</td>
<td>muhamar (muhaam)¹</td>
<td>muhaam</td>
<td>muhaam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safar</td>
<td>safar</td>
<td>safar</td>
<td>safar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebi I</td>
<td>rabi awal</td>
<td>rabil awal</td>
<td>rabil awel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebi II</td>
<td>rabil axer</td>
<td>rabil axer</td>
<td>rabil axer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dschumada I</td>
<td>jamat al awal</td>
<td>jamatal awal</td>
<td>jamatal awel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dschumada II</td>
<td>jamat axer</td>
<td>jamat axer</td>
<td>jamat axer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redsheb</td>
<td>rajab (řjab)</td>
<td>rajab</td>
<td>rajab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schaban</td>
<td>šayan (šayban)</td>
<td>šayan</td>
<td>šahpan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramadan</td>
<td>ramadan (ramatan)</td>
<td>ramatan</td>
<td>ramadan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schawwal</td>
<td>šawal</td>
<td>šawayl</td>
<td>šayyal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhul-kade</td>
<td>zl layta</td>
<td>zel lay</td>
<td>zel xlaté</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhul-hiddsche</td>
<td>zl fjad</td>
<td>zel fje</td>
<td>zel fje</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6

Conclusion

Thus, in the Calendar (Tomar) of Anania Shirakatsi, the calendar of Christian Persians was presented under the name “Persian calendar,” a name that continued to be used in Armenian calendar tradition also in later centuries. This was a calendar of the Julian type, with an average of 365.25 days per year and $12 \times 30$ days $+5 = 365$-days structure in a year, with an additional day for the leap year, once every four years, on March 3. The New Year day was on August 6.

The Arabic calendar that was presented in Anania’s Tomar, as in later centuries, until late Middle Ages, is known in two versions. The first, called

¹ In this column of our table we represent in brackets the names of Arabic months as they occur in the third column of the table of the manuscript if they differ from those given in the first column. See also the previous footnote.
“Arabic calendar,” was the calendar of Christian Arabs, while the second called “Muslim calendar” was the calendar of Muslim Arabs. The first version was of the Julian type, with an average length of 365.25 days per year and $12 \times 30 \text{ days} + 5 = 365$-day structure in a year, with an additional day of leap year, once every four years, on March 16. The New Year day of this calendar was on March 22. The Muslim Arabic calendar was a simple lunar one with 29 and 30 successive days a month. The New Year day of this calendar was, of course, moveable.  

The difference between the new year days of the calendars presented by Anania may be due to some indigenous traditions of these nations. In all of these calendars, the extra day of the leap year follows the last day of the month which is closest to February 28. This leads to minimum discrepancy between these calendars and the Julian calendar.

References

1. It is a pleasure for me to express my thanks to my referies and especially to M. Bagheri for their very useful notes and remarks that helped me to make this article better.


Stephanos Taronetci Asolik, *Universal History*, prepared for publication by St. Malkhassian, St. Petersburg, 1885, (in Armenian).

**Manuscripts**

1. Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, manuscript 817 (1411).
2. Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, manuscript 1971 (1632).
4. Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, manuscript 2001 (1373).
5. Yerevan, Mashtots Matenadaran, manuscript 2068 (17th c.).
To “solve” the Armenian question once and for all, the Young Turk leaders had determined to exploit The First World War to their own advantage and massacre and expel Armenians from Western Armenia and Cilicia, thereby compelling the international community to face the facts. The plan was put into action without delay\(^1\). Within the next few months and further, Armenians were massacred and forcibly deported from the western part of their Motherland (western and central regions of the Armenian Highland) and Asia Minor. During the Armenian Genocide more than 1.5 million Armenians fell victim to the bloody Turkish yataghan\(^2\). Material and spiritual harm, too, was immeasurable. Age-old memorials and magnificent historic monuments - the unique evidence of Armenia’s rich spiritual life and cultural heritage - were destroyed and reduced to ashes.

The Armenian people in Mush, Sassun, Van, Edessa-Urha (Urfa), Shapin-Garahisar and elsewhere stood up against the Turkish slaughterers to defend their rights, lives, honor and Homeland.

The Armenians of Svedia, inhabiting the southernmost part of Cilicia, engaged in heroic resistance as well. In July 1915, the Ottoman government set in motion a plan to deport Svedian Armenians, entrusting the task to the prefect of Antioch, Marouf, and the myudir\(^3\) of Svedia, Khalit. The Armenian population of Kebusiyeh, Vakif, Haji Habibli, Yoghunoluk, Kheder Beg and Bitias - the six villages perched spherically on the southern and eastern slopes of Musa Ler (“Dagh”) - cherished a naive hope that they would remain unaffected due to the fact that their place of residence was remote from all the other Armenian communities. Meanwhile, on July 30, deportation orders were given by Marouf, along with “profuse promises” that “the relocation will be safe and peaceful and the government will assist and ensure the deportees’ survival, further shelter, etc.”\(^4\)

Hopes of escaping displacement were now fading. Therefore, a meeting was called, during which the majority of attendees - the influential and distinguished Armenian intellectuals of the six villages - who fully grasped the primary purpose of displacement, resolved that they should resist the Young Turk regime.

---

2 A scimitar.
3 A provincial governor.
4 Արզումանյան Մ. Վ., Դարավոր գոյամարտ, Երևան, 1989, էջ 406:

---

THE EPIC STRUGGLE OF MUSA LER

Gasparyan R. H.
PhD in History
Realizing that the forcible removal would lead to carnage and physical destruction nonetheless, large sections of the Armenian population, with trust in glorious traditions of their fighting skill, took the path of a massive resistance. "Should the worst of evil come about, fight like a lion and perish in your highlands, rather than slavishly give in to the foe, like a flock of sheep, and then die in disgrace". Upon his return to the home village of Yoghunoluk from exile in Zeitun, Dikran Andreassian spread the word about the ongoing expulsions and massacres, impelling the people to their ultimate decision to take up arms against the Turkish butchers - the Ottoman and Young Turkish rulers, who committed the Armenian Genocide.

On August 1, following the myudir’s new deportation edict, the majority of Svedian Armenians made an important decision to fortify themselves in the highlands, with livestock and food supplies, and seek liberation by putting up a strong organized resistance. “Nearly all of Kebusiyeh and a part of Haji Habibli and Bitias defied the Ottoman edicts”. According to Hakob Davtyan, 4231 Svedian Armenians chose to go up the mountain.

Upon the arrival at the summit of the mountain, the Armenians set up camp in Tamlacheg, Gushcheghz and Gezelcha, where topography, fairly impregnable, offered favourable defence prospects. The newcomers had made an irrevocable decision to struggle against the Turkish forces for as long as possible, making good use of the mountainous terrain. Once atop the mountain, they embarked on solving urgent problems, with a disappointing start though. Each encampment had appointed a separate military power. The lack of unified command, in spite of constant contact and agreement between the senior leadership, led to further difficulties.

The construction of defensive fortifications, which commenced on August 2, continued day and night until the Turks’ first offensive attempt. All along the settlements, multiple defensive fighting positions and posts were structured, trenches were bored, and rocks and boulder-stones were piled to shower the enemy with from the mountain peak.

On August 7, Khalit, having boastfully pledged to remove Armenians from the mountain within a day, launched an assault out of Yogh Aghzli with a company of 200 soldiers. He tried to profit by the incompleteness of fortifications’ construction and spontaneity of action. 20 Armenian combatants were promptly dispatched from Taratalan, till reinforcements would arrive from nearby encampments. The Turks opened a heavy fire and tried to break through the Armenian’s right flank but were thwarted by the valiant defenders, whose flanking and front cross-fire forced the enemy to surrender in the gathering darkness. The aim, pursued by the Turks in the first battle,
was to assess the Armenians' combat readiness. After a six-hour clash, there were 5 or 6 killed and a score of wounded among the Turks.8

During the two days that followed, the precise number of the Armenian fighting force was determined, all able-bodied men were split up into sections of 10, and commanders were appointed. Connection was set up between the positions, and signalmen designated. The construction of fortifications was mostly completed but there was a desperate shortage of arms and ammunition. As a reporter of "The Times" wrote, "Incredibly, there were barely 600 physically healthy men among the resisters, of whom only a quarter was armed with guns, the rest had plain hunting rifles."9

In the early hours of the morning of August 10, the Turkish 2000-strong regiment under the cover of fog, sneaked close to the Armenian posts and launched a surprise attack. Two enemy cannons ripped through the Armenian first line of defense. Taken by surprise and heavily outnumbered, the mountain warriors were unable to resist and retreated to the second line. The Turkish thugs, thrilled by an imaginary triumph, rushed forward with wild shrieks and whistles but the Armenians' death-sowing bullets impeded their advance;10 however, this did not last long. Both weaponry and military strength worked to the Turks' advantage and, after a series of attacks, they managed to reach Taratalan, whereupon the camp of Gezelcha was subjected to intense shelling. The people had to take refuge in Gushcheghaz, where the enemy was at last upset. Musa Ler resisters had succeeded in repulsing the enemy’s continuous forays.

Thoroughly familiar with the terrain and deployed effectively, the Armenians made good use of the natural and newly constructed fortifications and inflicted heavy blows on the enemy. "Every single bush was a hiding place for Armenians but a deadly trap for Turks," as is justly observed by acclaimed Austrian writer and humanist Franz Werfel.11 The battle lasted for 12 hours and consequently the enemy was chased away. Three Armenians were wounded and two killed that day, while the Turks suffered more than fifty casualties.12

On August 11, a meeting was convened in Tamlacheg. As a result, a centralised military station was set up and all of the Armenian forces were transferred to Tamlacheg. Furthermore, a joint defence council was established. Dikran Andreassian was appointed to head the council; the members included Hetoum Filian, Sahak Antekian, Movses Der-Galoustian and others, 16 in all.13

Yesayi Yaghoubian became the military leader with two assistants, Movses Der-Galoustian and Habet Iskenterian. The fighting force was split up into 43 sections, to be led by corporals. Additionally, a squad was formed, made up of thirty volunteers, whose

---

8 Մուրադյան Հ. Մ., Էջեր հայ ժողովրդի հերոսական անցյալից, Երևան, 1983, էջ 174:
9 Գենոցիդ արմենի Օսմանյան կայսրություն՝ ժողովրդական հերոսության տրամագիր, Երևան, 1982, էջ 364:
10 Անդրեասյան Տ., Երևան, էջ 35:
11 Վերֆել Ֆ., Մուսա լեռան քառասուն օրը, Երևան, 1964, էջ 508:
12 Անդրեասյան Տ., op. cit., p. 38.
13 Անդրեասյան Տ., Զեյթունի տարագրությունը և Սուետիո ապստամբությունը, Հալեպ, 1935, էջ 68:
commanders - Yesayi Yaghoubian, Bedros Tmlagian and Bedros Toutaglian - were renowned for their boldness and military skill. As clashes broke out, this squad, faster than lightning, would rush to side with the lookout soldiers and take on the first blow until the main forces would get in.

After the first failure, the Turks intensified preparations for the capture of Musa Ler. The Turkish authorities issued a call to arms to residents of neighbouring Muslim villages, and soon a sizeable division of 3,000 regular soldiers and 4,000 volunteers was established.

On August 19 and 20, one or two more assaults launched by the Turkish forces were driven off by the resisters of the Musa Ler (Mountain of Moses), who, albeit surrounded on all sides but with never-ending fighting spirit, managed to offer a fierce resistance, resulting in heavy Turkish casualties. The situation, however, was precarious for Svedian Armenians whose ammunition and food stocks were running low; regular enemy corps tailed by a rag-tag mob craving for killings and looting versus almost unarmed heroes, with virtually no hope of rescue or way out, yet able to withstand the Turkish troops’ continuous attacks. From the sea alone could the chance of survival come forth. Thus, to attract the attention of Allied battleships, the Armenians hoisted two banners, one of which bore Dikran Andreassian’s inscription in English "Christians Are in Danger" and the other was embellished with a big red cross.

On August 19, the Turkish regiments under the direct command of Rifat Bey attacked upon Savouloug and Tamlacheg but had to retreat soon, injured by falling rocks and boulder-stones dumped off the top of Musa Ler. The Turkish regular army unit of nearly 7000, accompanied by gangs of outlaws and marauders, tried to break through the defensive line of Taratalan and approach the Armenian positions, but were intercepted by the deadly fire of the fearless resisters. The latter pushed back the enemy forces, which were advancing in the direction of Gezelcha, Sheikh-Ordu and Savouloug, while a throng of brave Armenian women confronted the enemy, who was heading towards Tamlacheg. The female warriors showered the Turks with rocks and made them flee in panic. During the night, the resisters’ western positions were ambushed, and then the heaviest attacks followed one another. When the Turkish hordes were too close to the barracks a few valiant Armenian warriors forced the enemy to surrender.\(^\text{14}\)

Early next morning, the enemy’s offensive attempts were renewed with full force and, despite the Armenians’ stern counter-measures, Turks were able to approach the settlements. The enemy’s assault was so vicious that there seemed to be no hope of rescue. In the evening the Turks felt confident of winning and looked forward to the dawn to finally annihilate a handful of brave hearts. However, fighting broke out during the night. Musa Ler resisters, surrounding Turks on all sides, launched a surprise attack, and caused enormous confusion in their ranks. A conspicuous success was of the greatest importance to the Armenian resisters. The faith in their own strength and

\(^{14}\) Անդրեասյան Տ., Զեյթունի անձնատվությունը, էջ 53:
liberation was restored. Considerable supplies of food, medicine and ammunition - 95 Mauser rifles and 10,000 bullets - were obtained. As Dikran Andreassian wrote, “Every fighting occasion claimed the lives of at least 600-700 enemy soldiers.”

Having faced a big defeat the Turks tightened the siege in an attempt to either make the Armenians die of hunger, or force them to capitulate. Minor skirmishes would break out daily. Meanwhile, the Turkish government was concentrating over-15,000 troop reinforcements at the base of Musa Ler. On September 5, the crew of a French battleship, Le Guichen, patrolling in the vicinity and sighting the banners, dropped the anchor to pick up the on-duty soldiers, who handed in SOS messages to Captain Joseph Brisson and related the plight of Musa Ler defenders. Unable to offer any assistance without official permission, Brisson promised to inform the heroes of Musa Ler within the following eight days what aid the French high command would be able to afford. On the same day, Le Guichen bombarded the village of Kebusiyeh, where a segment of the Turkish army was deployed, and away she sailed afterwards.

On September 7, realizing that they were threatened with a shameful defeat upon the arrival of the French Navy and that Armenians were in fact victorious by dint of their heroic resistance, Turks rallied their troops for an all-out offensive from Sheikh-Ordu. Armenians, encouraged by imminent salvation, would repel an unending round of attacks with a strong determination throughout the day.

On September 10, the long-awaited relief did arrive. From September 11 through 14, under the command of Admiral Louis Dartige du Fournet, the French cruisers Le Guichen, Le Desaix, Le D’Estrées and La Foudre, along with another British warship, evacuated the 4058 people from Musa Ler and conveyed them to Port Said. According to Bishop Torgom, Primate of the Armenian Diocese of Egypt, the number of the Turkish yataghan survivors on Musa amounted to 4,200.

The heroic resistance of Musa Ler is a glorious chapter in the turbulent history of Armenia.

It proved again that the Armenian nation’s liberation was feasible through armed struggle - the only way of defending the Motherland with the unconditional right to independent existence.

Translated from Armenian
by M. L. Yandyan

15 Մուրադյան Հ. Մ., op. cit., p. 181.
16 Անդրեասյան Տ., Զեյթունի անձնատվությունը, էջ 55:
17 Геноцид армян..., стр. 466.
18 Барби А., В стране ужаса-мученца Армения, Тифлис, 1919, стр. 64-65.
19 Սահակյան Ռ. Գ., Ցեղասպանության պատմությունից, Երևան, 1990, էջ 188:
Humanity entered the 20th century with great achievements. The progress of science and technology was accompanied by the innovations in economy, in everyday life and in other spheres as well. Mankind reached the new level of development in the terms of civilization. The progress was evident also in the fields of education and culture.

Armenia was still divided into two parts, between the Russian and Ottoman Empires. At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century the issue of the Armenian people’s liberation became more urgent.

The 20th century was marked not only with huge progress and achievements of mankind but also with destruction, cultural and human losses caused by two World Wars.

The first quarter of the 20th century was particularly tragic for the Armenian people. The Genocide of the Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire and in Western Armenia at the beginning of the 20th century was the first greatest tragedy of mankind. The Armenian Genocide has a number of manifestations and is undeniable by a series of facts:

- Turkish state planned policy in extermination of race.
- The extermination of Armenians by all the levers of state apparatus (army, administrative and police powers), by Muslim - Turkish and Kurdish fanatic, retarded mob.
- Deprivation of the Armenian people of its Motherland - the main purpose of the Genocide was to deprive Armenians of their ancient Homeland.
- Any means of extermination were acceptable for Turks; the slaughter was terrible and there are numerous testimonies of foreign missionaries, representatives of the diplomatic and military officials about it.


2 All the photos are taken from “Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story, by Henry Morgenthau, Garden City New York, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1918” Edition - https://goo.gl/jQW3fi

3 The Armenian people also had significant achievements in the fields of science and culture.

4 The perception of Homeland for Armenians was and is the whole of Armenia (Western Armenia and Eastern Armenia).
Turkish (Decrees of Talaat Pasha, Enver Pasha and others), allied countries’ (Great Britain, France, Russia), German, Austrian, American State archive ratifications, etc. contain undeniable evidence about the Armenian Genocide.

The documentary testimonies by the foreigners that were engaged in diplomatic and missionary work in Turkey acquire a special significance.

Such valuable materials can be found in the famous testimonial work of Henry Morgenthau.

Henry Morgenthau (senior) was born on April 26, 1856 in Germany, then in 1865 his family moved to USA. In 1877 Morgenthau graduated from the Columbia University, faculty of Law. He was engaged in financial, diplomatic and public activities.

In 1899-1913 he was the head of big financial companies. In 1912-1916 he participated in the election campaign of U.S. president Woodrow Wilson and was the head of the Democratic Party’s financial system.

In 1913-1916 Henry Morgenthau was the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, where he represented the interests of allied countries that were in war with Turkey. He was the defender of Christians in Turkey at that period and took compassion on them.

Henry Morgenthau condemned the Armenian Genocide committed by the government of the Ottoman Empire. “Ambassador Morgenthau explicitly described to the United States Department of State the policy of the Government of the Ottoman Empire as “a campaign of race extermination”. Morgenthau’s actions were supported by US Secretary of State Robert Lansing who on July 16, 1915 ordered: “The Department approves your procedure… to stop the Armenian persecution”. The U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau’s testimonies are summarized in his publications.

Before analyzing Morgenthau’s Story, it should be noted that there are numerous documents in archive ratifications that describe the Ottoman policy of extermination of Armenians.

On July 24, 1915 the American consul of Kharberd Leslie Davis wrote to Ambassador H. Morgenthau, “It has been no secret that the plan was to destroy the Armenian race as a race, but the methods used have been more cold-blooded and
barbarous, if not more effective, than I had at first supposed... I do not believe there has ever been a massacre in the history of the world so general and thorough as that which is now being perpetrated in this region or that a more fiendish, diabolical scheme has ever been conceived by the mind of man... It would be that even if all the people had been allowed to perish on the road. As the greater part of them, however, have been actually murdered and as there is no doubt that this was done by order of the government, there can be no pretense that the measure is anything else but a general massacre. This document reveals the reality. Such documents are kept also in the archives of Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, USA, Vatican, etc. They are particularly described in the Resolutions № 106 (January 30, 2007) and № 252 (September 22, 2010) of the United States House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs. The 8th point of the Resolutions records that "The United States National Archives and Record Administration holds extensive and thorough documentation on the Armenian Genocide, especially in its holdings under Record Group 59 of the United States Department of State, files 867.00 and 867.40, which are open and widely available to the public and interested institutions".

"Ambassador Morgenthau's Story" describes memoirs of the U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau about the Genocide, severe murders, torture and deportation of the Armenians. Moreover, Morgenthau mentions that it was only the small part of what the Armenian people underwent. In 29 chapters of the book the diplomat analyzed deeply the bloody events referring to the official sources and their analyses.

One of the main topics of the book refers to the Genocide committed by Young Turks and the role of German imperialism during World War I.

In his book, studying German-Turkish policy, Morgenthau reveals the intentions of the latter, shows the preparation process to the WW I, involvement of Turkey in war by German force, and reveals the nuances of their military-diplomatic policy.

In the 22nd Chapter of the book H. Morgenthau describes the retreat of the Navy of the Triple Entente countries from Dardanelles and the creation of the proper situation for the implementation of the Pan-Turkish program, the theoretical theses of which were the base of the governing party "Union and Progress".

The 22nd Chapter of Morgenthau's Story titled "The Turks reverts to the ancestral type" reveals the sources of Turkish conquests, the creation of huge Turkish Empire and the role it played in the bloody destiny of people of conquered countries. This is how Morgenthau describes the life and policy of Turks: "Essentially the Turk is a bully and a coward; he is brave as a lion when things are going his way, but cringing, abject, and nerveless when reverses are overwhelming him. And now that the fortunes of war

---

9 http://freebooks.do.am
were apparently favouring the Empire, I began to see an entirely new Turk unfolding before my eyes”¹¹.

Morgenthau is of opinion that Turk has only one genetic feature, that is the qualities in military affairs. “They had no alphabet and no art of writing; no books, no poets, no art, and no architecture; they built no cities”¹². The author states that Turks treated the subject peoples as “dirt under their feet”¹³.

The concepts of “liberty”, “equality”, “constitutionalism” were replaced by “Pan-Turkism” after the revolution of Young Turks in the Ottoman Empire¹⁴.

---

¹¹ Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story, pp. 275-276.
¹² Ibid. pp. 277-278.
¹³ Ibid., p. 285.
territory three thousand years ago”. Morgenthau assures that Armenia (which was under the dictatorship of the Turks) was the tortured Homeland of the Armenians and the proofs of it were the cuneiform inscriptions of the largest Armenian city of Van. The ambassador assures that in the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians were the most civilized nation who adopted Christianity as a state religion in the fourth century; therefore Armenian Christian church was the most ancient one in existence. Morgenthau emphasizes the fact, that the Armenians have regarded themselves as Europeans, they speak an Indo-European language, their racial origin is believed by scholars to be Aryan.

According to Morgenthau, Abdul-Hamid decided to “cleanse” the country from Armenians in order to “get rid” of the Armenian Question. The Ambassador testifies that Turkish policy of extermination of the Armenians was planned by the Turkish state. “The physical destruction of 2,000,000 men, women, and children by massacres, organized and directed by the state, seemed to be the one sure way of forestalling the further disruption of the Turkish Empire”.

Morgenthau writes, that “for nearly thirty years Turkey gave the world an illustration of government by massacre... in 1895-96 nearly 200.000 Armenians” became the victims of Abdul Hamid's slaughter policy. Morgenthau mentions that through all those years the existence of the Armenians was a nightmare. Their property

---

15 Ibid., p. 287.
16 Ibid., p. 288.
17 Ibid., p. 289.
18 Ibid. In reality, during those years over 300.000 Armenians were slaughtered in the Ottoman Empire.
was stolen, their women and young girls were kidnapped and forced to live in Turkish harems. Other sides of Turkish slaughter policy were revealed in the book as well.

In the last part of the 22nd Chapter the author speaks about the role of German policy in these events, the policy, which supported the Turks to make Armenia “their homeland”. Abdul Hamid’s Armenian massacres were succeeded by new persecutions against Armenians. Being on the threshold of European war (here Morgenthau means World War I) almost every day the Armenians were persecuted.

Just a few months after revolution the Young Turks continued to implement ideas of Abdul Hamid and more cruel massacres were held in Adana (1909), where more than 35,000 people were murdered\textsuperscript{19}.

In 1890-s the Turkish government was supported by Imperial Germany. In 1898 Emperor Wilhelm II arrived in Constantinople and encouraged Hamidian slaughter policy. World War I gave an opportunity “to make Turkey exclusively the country of the Turks”\textsuperscript{20}.

Ambassador Morgenthau sent many messages to his state and presented the horrific atrocities during the “campaign of race extermination” against Armenians\textsuperscript{21}. Here is one of them.

\textsuperscript{19} Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story, p. 290.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., p. 292.

\textsuperscript{21} https://www.congress.gov/bill/110th-congress/house-resolution/106/text
In the 23rd Chapter (titled “The Revolution” at Van) of the book, Morgenthau represents the extermination of Armenians in Van province by Turkish army after the retreat of Russian troops.

The populations of Armenian villages of Van were subjected to horrible massacre. Armenian beautiful women were kidnapped by Turkish villains. Four days Armenian villages were subjected to massacre and plunder.
Refugees at Van crowding around a public oven, hoping to get bread. These people were torn from their homes almost without warning, and started toward the desert. Thousands of children and women as well as men died.

This is how Morgenthau represents the murder of Armenian young people: “On April 15th, about 500 young Armenian men of Akantz were mustered to hear an order of the Sultan; at sunset they were marched outside the town and every man shot in cold blood. This procedure was repeated in about eighty Armenian villages in the district north of Lake Van, and in three days 24,000 Armenians were murdered in this atrocious fashion”22.

In the Story actions of extermination of the Armenians in Van by Djevdet Bey’s are introduced in details. The author admires self-defense of the Armenians, their heroism, the entrance of Russian troops into Van after 5 weeks of fighting and the flight of Turks23.

The testimony of American medical missioner, doctor Ussher is horrific: “When the Russians began to collect the bodies of Armenians who had been murdered in the province, with the result that 55,000 bodies were burned”24.

Ambassador Morgenthau’s description of the villainy against Armenians in the 24th Chapter of his memoirs is thrilling.

While describing in details the policy of the Ottoman Empire concerning Christians, he notes that Armenian young conscripts were disarmed and were used as manpower. They were taken out of the city 50-100 people in each group and were slaughtered in deserts. Morgenthau’s memories of Armenian’s slaughter are numerous; the author

22 Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story, p.297.
23 Ibid., p. 299.
24 Ibid.
describes some of them. He writes about the Vali (governor) of Van, Djevdet Bey, who got preeminent infamy as the “horseshoer of Bashkale” for nailing horseshoes to the feet of Armenian victims\(^\text{25}\)。

Morgenthau mentions that the Central government of the Ottoman Empire “announced its intention of gathering the two million or more Armenians living in the several sections of the empire and transporting them to this desolate and inhospitable region (the Syrian desert and Mesopotamian valley)... As a matter of fact, the Turks never had the slightest idea of reestablishing the Armenians in this new country. The real purpose of the deportation was robbery and destruction; it really represented a new method of massacre. When the Turkish authorities gave their orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race\(^\text{26}\). Morgenthau describes and interprets this “new method of massacre of a whole race.” Many pages of the book describe in details horrific scenes of the deportation of the Armenians: “Village after village and town after town was evacuated of its Armenian population, under the distressing circumstances already detailed. In these six months about 1,200,000 people started on this journey to the Syrian desert\(^\text{27}\).

\(^{25}\) http://www.armenian-genocide.org/statement_morgenthau.html

\(^{26}\) Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story, pp. 308-309.

\(^{27}\) Ibid., p. 314.
The real intentions of the Turkish government are shown and condemned in the following lines of Morgenthau’s Story: “It is absurd for the Turkish Government to assert that it ever seriously intended to "deport the Armenians to new homes"; the treatment which was given the convoys clearly shows that extermination was the real purpose of Enver and Talaat”28.

In the 25th and 27th chapters of his book Morgenthau represents in details the villainous genocidal policy of Talaat and Enver against the Armenians.

Henri Morgenthau’s testimonies are undeniable proofs of the Armenian Genocide and confirm the fact of the planned slaughter by the Turkish government.

28 Ibid., p. 318.
The Armenian intellectual and scholar A-Do (Hovhannes Ter-Martirosyan, January 4, 1867- February 7, 1954) is one of the prominent figures of Armenian life at the end of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. He is one of those rare personalities who dedicated their entire conscious life to the scrupulous study of modern and contemporary history of the Armenian people.

Since September of 1885 A-Do had started correspondence with the newspaper "Mshak"; afterwards, he became its Yerevan correspondent. In 1889-1891 he studied and graduated from the Yerevan Diocesan School.

In 1890, the organizational structure of ARF (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) was formed in the Yerevan Province, among the founders of which was A-Do as well. Party organs were established in Etchmiatsin, Mastara and other places by his and his party friends [Gedeon Aharaonyan, Galust Aloyan (Toros, Davrish) and others] efforts. A-Do took part in transportation of weapons and ammunition to Western Armenia, but after a while left Dashnaktsutiun.

The "Macedonia" brochure of A-Do, which is relatively little known to the present scholar community, got published in 1903, where he had made an interesting conclusion that the reform program of May (adopted by the government on May 11, 1895 for the Armenian provinces) was an anti-Turkish impetus for Macedonia, moaning under the Ottoman rule.

Another brochure of A-Do presents the inhabitant of Akhsran village of the Archesh region of Van province (villayat), Murad, who quit his birthplace because of massacres of the 1890s.
In the 1990s A-Do had been already a known figure in the socio-political life of Yerevan and enjoyed the respect of society. His coeval Yeprem Sargsyan provided the following characteristic: “He was one of a great stature, with a thin and sinewy face, black and distressful eyes, and sad expression. He was serious up to greyness and self-contained. It seems as if he had always a busy min...”

In October, 1905 A-Do was enrolled in the first year of the Kharkov University’s faculty of Law as a free listener. In 1905-1906 fervent revolutionary actions and strikes were going on in all of Russia, as well as in Kharkov, where the students had an active role. At that time the Governor-General of Kharkov was General Nikolay Peshkov, whom A-Do should meet in 1916, when the former was appointed the Governor-General of Western Armenia by the Tsar Nikolay II.

The first Russian Revolution provided an opportunity for Russian as well as Armenian progressive figures to publish a number of books, having been banned by the censorship until then. A-Do made use of this opportunity and submitted to publication the study about Michael (Mikael) Nalbandyan.

The revolutionary movements forced A-Do to leave his studies unfinished and return to Yerevan, where the Armenian-Tatar clashes were going on in full swing. The young scholar collected a great number of materials on the cause and process of the said clashes. In July, 1905, he went to the provinces of Sharur and Nakhidjevan, then to the province of Gandzak in October, 1906.

The work, shedding light on the history of clashes, remains a unique and scrupulous investigation on the Armenian-Tatar clashes up to now; the author himself was in the places of fighting and collected evidence of witnesses and participants.

In 1908 A-Do wrote the work “The liberation movement in Russia,” the publication of which sparked the anger of the Russian authorities. A criminal case was initiated against him. The censorship office of Tiflis confiscated the entire edition of the book by the order. But A-Do succeeded in keeping a considerable part of the edition away from confiscation. And as long as the investigation was in progress, the young researcher decided to travel to St. Petersburg to study at the Psychoneurological Research Institute. At the same time, he was inspiring to carry into life his long-standing dream - to be in Western Armenia and to collect statistical data about the Western Armenians.

On June 23, 1909 A-Do crossed the Russian-Turkish border and reached the Kogovit’s town of Daruynk (Bayazet) on the same day. Staying two days in the town, he has pointed out that the local Armenians were behind their Russian-subject compatriots (in Eastern Armenia) in terms of progress. That was the kind of negative and

---

4 Սարգսեան Ե., Ադօ (Յովհաննէս Տէր Մարտիրոսեան), «Հայրենիք», Պոստոն, 1952, թիւ 4, էջ 91:
5 Ա-Դօ, Միքայէլ Նալբանդեանի կեանքի հետաքրքիր մի Էջ և Բակունինի նրան գրած նամակները, Երեւան, 1908:
6 Ա-Դօ, Ազատագրական շարժումը Ռուսաստանում իր ծագման առաջին օրերից, Երեւան, 1908:
7 Հիշողություններ, էջ 102:
catastrophic consequences of the Ottoman rule for the socio-economic conditions of the Western Armenians.

The scholar visited Van, Mush, Sasun, Karin-Erzerum, Khnus and other localities in Western Armenia, gathering statistical data on the number and places of inhabitations of the native Armenian population. The scholar published the outcomes of his research on Western Armenia in two volumes.

The trial that was held in Yerevan on March 17, 1909, condemned A-Do to imprisonment for a year period, and 987 examples of the confiscated books were to be obliterated. A-Do appealed the court's decision, sending it to St. Petersburg and for the answer was to come after two or three months he decided to use the time for visiting Western Armenia to fill the missing and incomplete statistical data. The records about the Ottoman tax collection were insufficient. He crossed the Russian-Turkish border once more and went to Daruynk (Bayazet) and several surrounding villages. The travel lasted eight days.

In mid-July of 1909 it became known that the Trial Chamber of the Caucasian Viceroyalty had refused to annul the judgment. A-Do was forced to obey. He carried out the prison sentence in the jail of Nerkin Akhta (at present town of Hrazdan, Kotayk district of the Republic of Armenia).

At the beginning of 1914 A-Do explored the archive of Khachatur Abovyan [for the period of his inspector work (1843-1848)] at the Yerevan Gymnasium archive. A-Do wrote a large article, based on the obtained materials, a part of which was published in the fifth series of the newspaper “New Stream” (“Nor Hosanq”) in 1914, having been completely published in the issues of “Gorts” (“Labor”) magazine (№ 5-6 and 7-8). In sum, the birth date (1809) of Kh. Abovyan was clarified.

On August 1, 1914 the First World War broke out. Seizing the favorable opportunity, the Young Turkish government carried out the Armenian Genocide. A significant number of Armenian populations of the Russian-Turkish frontier areas quit the places of their inhabitation and retrieved salvation in the Caucasian Viceroyalty, Yerevan province and other Armenian districts, as well as in Baku, Tiflis and the Northern Caucasus. A-Do couldn’t watch from the sideline in such conditions and started researches among the refugees to make clear their statistical and relief opportunities.

In 1915 the Armenians confronted the Turkish and Kurdish slaughterers in various localities of Western Armenia. Van-Vaspurakan was one of such spots. The Armenian population of Van city was able to gain a victory on May 4, 1915, being besieged by the excessive forces of both Turks and Kurds for a month. The advancement of the Russian Army and the Ararat volunteer regiment contributed to the mentioned victory. A provisional bureau was organized (Governorship) under the guidance of the prominent...
figure of the Liberation movement, Aram Manukyan. Armenian public, ecclesiastical and political figures hotfooted to Van to support the Armenian authority. A-Do, too, arrived in Van among others.

The travelling of A-Do began on June 14, 1915, and terminated on July 25 of the same year. He started gathering evidence on the fights, the Armenians had sustained both in Van and in the province, the mass killings of Armenians and the functioning of Armenian authority in Van.

A-Do described the impression he had of the Armenian authority’s operation in Van in the following way: “Everyone - the employees of that governor’s residence were writing, calculating, listening, responding, having been under the burden of tasks, and many applicants and supplicants were satisfied; they were doing all this untiringly, humbly and with the consciousness that they were called to serve a stately idea”.

On July 14, news came that the Russian units of the Caucasian IV Army Corps had began to retreat, refusing to provide weapons and ammunition to the defenders of the city. The Armenian authority of Van called on compatriots to be enrolled in combat units, having been organized. The unexpected retreat evoked a terrible panic among the population. As a consequence, the mass departure of the Armenian population of Van-Vaspurakan began.

A-Do offered his service to Nikol Aghbalyan, who instructed him to take some of the collected manuscripts to Etchmiatsin. A-Do, Hakob Ter-Hakobyan (Irazek) and Isahak Ter-Ghazaryan rushed to the harbor, where nearly 200 manuscripts brought from Akhtamar, were being transposed from the parked boat to a cart. The precious cargo reached Etchmiatsin in July 24. Varazdat Teroyan, too, had a similar assignment from Aram.

On Januray 1, 1917, the head of the Ethnographic Commission, formed in Etchmiatsin, Archimandrite Garegin A Hovsepian (subsequently, the Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia Garegin A Hovsepian, 1943-1952) and the member-secretary of the Commission, Ashot Hovhanniessyan informed A-Do that a course of actions had been taken to publish a collection under the title “Vshtapatum” (“The Book of Mourning”), suggesting to bring his participation to these initiatives and to write an article about the movements of Armenian refugees.

10 Հիշողություններ, էջ 190:
11 Հիշողություններ, էջ 210: «Հորիզոն»-ի 10 հոկտեմբերի 1915 թ. № 229-ում տպագրվում է Արամի նամակը, որտեղից տեղակայվել ենք, որ ձեռագրերը տեղափոխվել են նրա հրամանով:
12 Հիշողություններ, էջ 224: Testimonies about the organization and implementation of massacres were gathered from the refugees, who had found shelters in various places of the Transcaucus, to have published a book under the title of “Vshtapatum” by the initiative of Baku Committee of ARF in 1916 (Վշտապատում. Հայոց Մեծ Եղեռնը ականատեսների աչքերով. Կազմողներ` Ամ. Վիրաբյան, Գ. Ավագյան, Երևան, 2005, էջ 3).
In the mid-January of the same year the commissioner of the Caucasian Stations of the Red Cross’ Petrograd brigade Sirakan Tigranyan spoke to A-Do, offering to set out for Salmast, where the food supply base station of the mentioned brigade was located; there was a need to investigate the everyday life and needs of refugees as well as to make clear their number\(^\text{13}\).

A short while later A-Do left for Salmast (Persia) (by the offer of the commissioner of the Caucasian Stations of the Red Crest’s Petrograd brigade), where he collected statistical data on the refugees. On April 12, 1917, A-Do and the surveyor of the Salmast food supply base station’s schools, H. Ter-Hakobyan set off for Persia. They reached Tabriz on April 13, the cultural center of Atrpatakan’s (Atropatene) Armenians.

Armenians were living in two quarters in this city, in Ghala and Lilava. A-Do took the route to Salmast on April 16. There, the scholar investigated not only the conditions of the inhabitant Armenians, but also those of Syrians, and laid down a respective statistics on them\(^\text{14}\). He visited the birth place of Raffi, Payajuk, as well as Savra village; he talked with the local inhabitants and gathered information both about the great writer’s life and about the prototypes of the heroes of his compositions.

A-Do has provided readable records on the Assyrians of Julamerik. According to his calculations, the number of Syrians reached 13260, who had taken shelter mainly in Ghalasar and Payajuk villages\(^\text{15}\). The scholar sets apart the sister of the Syrians’ leader Mar Shimun Benami, Surma khanum, who was simultaneously the first counselor of her brother\(^\text{16}\).

A-Do had a bad impression especially of the ineffable persecutions the native Armenian population of Aghbak province was subjected to. He toured numerous places, recorded various stories on the Turkish-Kurdish brutalities, but “what has happened in Aghbak, regarding the Armenian people, never happened before in any place. Terrible scenes of massacres, mass forcible conversion cases and sceneries of the Armenian families’ assimilation by the Kurdish families had taken such shapes in this region that we saw nowhere before.”\(^\text{17}\) When the Russian Army settled down in Northern Persia, a great number of “kurdified” Armenians reaffirmed their Armenian ethnicity. In addition, the Armenians, having been forcibly converted during the Hammidian massacres, were among them\(^\text{18}\). A-Do has given special praise to the activities of the regional commissioner of Van, Kosti (Constantine Hambardzumyan). The scholar recorded painfully that 70-80% of the population were displaced. The military operations were not permitting the Armenians from Van, who outlived several mass departures, to return to their native places.

\(^{13}\) Հիշողություններ, էջ 224:


\(^{18}\) Op. cit., 253-258:
A-Do stayed in Van for five days. He collected statistic data on various regions of Vaspurakan as well as on the local Kurdish tribes. Finalizing his researches, he set off for Yerevan in June 17 and in five days was there.

The scholar’s official journey lasted two months and ten days. While in assignment he had time to publish the voluminous article, “The last five years of Kh. Abovyan’s life” in “Gorts” periodical.19

A difficult and alarming situation was created in Armenia at the end of 1917 and at the beginning of 1918. The military units of the Caucasian Army were leaving the Russian-Turkish front, departing to Russia. A disorder was created in the Caucasus and Armenia because of that.

Making use of the fact that the great part of the Russian Army was departed, the Ottoman command began a major offensive almost on the entire length along the front in February of 1918. In addition to that, an anti-Armenian Georgian-Tatar cooperation took shape.

The Turkish Army, advancing rapidly, appeared in the Ararat Valley in May of 1918, threatening to annihilate completely the Armenian people. Despite the difficult situation, A-Do continued to record the events and facts. He has thrown light in more details on the heroic battles of May 1918, their organization and process. The scholar wrote a special survey about these decisive events of the Armenian people’s history, applying not only the press of the time and the archive of Armenian corps, but also his own observations. He was particularly warm when presenting the principal actors of the heroic battles, General Movses Silikyan (Moysey Silikov), Dro (Drastamat Kanayan) and colonel Daniel Bek Pirumyan as “Holy Trinity”.

A-Do has elucidated in full details the measures taken by the Republic of Armenia to improve the situation of refugees, to restore the devastated economy of the country and to suppress the Turkish-Tatar riots.

World War I ended on October 30, 1918, by the victory of the Entente Powers and the Turkish Army began to retreat from Armenia.

After WWI the government of the Republic of Armenia took a decision to investigate the Turkish ferocities as well as to compile a compact work, where the participation of Armenians in the military operations and the self-defense battles of Western Armenians would have been presented. The initiator was the Central Council of the Armenian Compatriotic Unions, which was governed by the Armenian eminent writer and socio-political actor Hovhannes Tumanyan. He had taken over the governance of the “Investigating Commission on the damages the Armenian People suffered during the World War”, established in Tiflis at the end of 1918.20 A “Historical-
Military Commission” under the guidance of General Al. P. Kulebyakin was operating in parallel with the commission. The Armenian prominent historian Leo had joined its staff.

On December 4, 1918, the report of H. Tumanyan on the creation of Investigative Committee, its problems and actuation was heard at the meeting of the Armenian Compatriotic Unions’ Central Council. Four sub-committees or sections were organized, “Historical-Political”, “Military-Historical”, “Economic” and “Criminal”.

The “Historical-Political” section was guided by Leo. Both he and the other members of the commission were deeply conscious of the responsibility they had to go through. A very short period was provided for the Commission. During that period, it had to be able to collect, arrange and put in writing an enormous quantity of documents as well as the recollections of immediate participants of military operations.

At the beginning of December, A-Do received a formal offer from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, Sirakan Tigranyan, to take part in the affairs of a Special Commission, operating in Tiflis, which had to compile and summarize the human and property losses the Armenian population underwent during WWI. A-Do set out for Tiflis at the beginning of 1919 and met with one of the commission members, General Tigran Baghdasaryan. After having considered the problem, he found it unsuitable to participate in the affairs of the Commission.

In 1919 Armenia’s Union of Consumer Societies was founded (Haycoo, Armcoop), and A-Do got a job there, serving until 1949; he served as the Head of the Statistical Department.

A-Do was keeping on the scientific researches, having been prepared to write a special survey, which would embrace the period between WWI and 1919.

On March 16, 1920, the scholar turned to the bureau of Armcoop, informing that “My work, dedicated to the events of the last two years, is ready for publication, which is stopped owing to lack of paper”22. He had a request of providing him with paper of nearly 30 pounds with a relevant fee for the work’s publication. A-Do was even willing to transport the paper, allocated for Armcoop, from Tiflis to Yerevan at his own expense, but the bureau rejected his request.23

The refusal of the Armcoop’s bureau didn’t discourage the scholar and he made a request to archimandrite Gyut Ter-Ghazaryan on March 29, 1920. A-Do brought to mind that father Arsen had promised to assist him in obtaining the paper. At the end of the letter, A-Do had remarked that he was ready to send the book for publication without...
any remuneration provided that “publication should be done immediately and as accurately as possible”\textsuperscript{24}.

Perhaps, receiving unsatisfactory response or being unable to solve the problem of the paper, A-Do turned to the Military Ministry of the Republic of Armenia and sent his voluminous work for consideration in April 1920, which was entitled “The accouchement of Armenian nation”. On April 24 of the same year, the Military Headquarters of the Republic of Armenia made an official request to the Interior Minister Abraham Gyulkhandanyan, informing that Hovhannes Ter-Martirossyan had presented a typewritten survey in Armenian, which was dedicated to WWI and the involvement of Armenians. The Military Minister asked to appoint a person with an eye to have his participation in the works of the Commission. The Commission should provide a professional decision to settle the matter of having the work by A-Do published. The content of the work was attached to the writing\textsuperscript{25}. Probably, the further events, the rebellion of May in 1920, the Turkish invasion in September and the sovietization of Armenia in December 2\textsuperscript{nd} made impossible the publication of the work.

On December 2, 1920, the Soviet power was established in a considerable part of Eastern Armenia. The struggle under the command of Garegin Nzhdeh against the Bolshevik forces was lasting in Zangezur (Syunik). After the suppression of the nationwide uprising of February in 1921, the Soviet authorities began to seek ways for compelling the Mountainous Armenia to give up the armed struggle through persuasion and negotiations. A delegation, consisting of Davit Ananun (Davit Ter-Danyelyan), Hovhannes Melikyan, A-Do and others, was sent to Zangezur for that purpose.\textsuperscript{26} As E. Sargsyan points, the mentioned persons advised the fighters not to believe the Bolsheviks in contradistinction to the members of the official delegation, Melnikov and Artashes Karinyan. A-Do was telling his own and reliable friends, “They lie, do not believe them, they deceive”.\textsuperscript{27} Simultaneously, E. Sargsyan adds, “A-Do returned with the broken heart, but saying again, like the old and virtuous party-man, that “you know your affairs better, move cautiously!””. He took upon himself to deliver the aid, we had provided, to the friends’ families.\textsuperscript{28}

During the Soviet years, A-Do worked tirelessly in the sphere of cooperation, Armcooop. Certainly, the Soviet cooperation was not the model he had dreamed of, but he continued his work activities like his endeavors in all other areas, occupying various positions.

\textit{Translated from Armenian}
\textit{by V. M. Gharakhanyan}

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, §. 57, g. 2, q. 1160, p. 20 թգ.:  
\textsuperscript{25}ՀԱԱ, փ. 201, ց. 1, գ. 29, թ. 14-15:  
\textsuperscript{26}Սիմոնյան Ա. Հ., Խորհրդային Հայաստանի և Լեռնահայաստանի կառավարությունների Սիսիանի բանակցությունները (1921 թ. մայիս), Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների, 1998, N 2, էջ 69:  
\textsuperscript{27}Սարգսյան Ե., op. cit., p. 93.  
\textsuperscript{28}Ibid.
The Armenian Genocide - the crime against humanity, has become, by the brutal constraint of history, an inseparable part of the national identity, the thought and the spiritual-conscious inner world of the Armenian people. As the years go by, interest toward the Armenian Genocide grows steadily due also to the fact of the recent recognition of this historical evidence by numerous countries. However, the official Turkish and the pro-Turkish historiographers try, up to the present day and in every possible way, to distort the true historical facts pertaining to the years 1915-1923, the most tragic period for the Armenian nation.

Numerous studies, collections of documents, statements of politicians and public officials, artistic creations of various genres about the Armenian Genocide have been published in various languages, but all these colossal publications did not include the voice of the people: the memoirs and popular songs narrated and transmitted by eyewitness survivors who had created them under the immediate impression of the said historical events. These memoirs and songs also have an important historical-cognitive, factual-documental and primary source value. The Armenian nation itself has endured all those unspeakable sufferings. And, as in the elucidation of every political crime, the testimonies of the witnesses are decisive, similarly, in this case, the testimonies of the eyewitness survivors are of prime importance; every one of them has, from the juridical point of view, its evidential significance in the equitable solution of the Armenian Case and in the recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

Being deeply conscious of all these facts, as early as 1955, I, a student at the Yerevan Khachatour Abovian Pedagogical University, began to write down the testimonies of the eyewitness survivors of the Armenian Genocide, when it was not possible to speak explicitly about the Armenian Genocide in Soviet Armenia, when the exiled repatriates, the eyewitness survivors miraculously rescued from the
massacres were living in fear of being unjustly accused and deported anew. Despising difficulties of all kinds and conscious of the historical-scientific and the factual-documental value of the materials associated with popular oral tradition, I followed the call of my Western-Armenian blood and acted on my own initiative. Later, starting from 1960, I continued my work under the patronage of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia, and, from 1996, also of the Museum-Institute of the Armenian Genocide of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia (being engaged, at the same time, in other scientific research works). Under the scorching summer sun and in the icy winter cold, I went on foot, from district to district, from village to village, searching and finding eyewitness survivors miraculously rescued from the Armenian Genocide. I approached them tactfully, without diverting their attention with irrelevant questions, and let them freely express their immediate impressions. I wrote down (and also audio- and video-recorded), deciphered and studied the bewildering memoirs, the impressive stories and the diverse historical songs, which they narrated and sang. The originals of all the popular materials are kept at the archives of the Museum-Institute of the Armenian Genocide of NAS RA.

These popular testimonies have been presented in my numerous publications and especially in the voluminous edition “The Armenian Genocide: Testimonies of the Eyewitness Survivors” (in Armenian)\(^1\) which was translated and published also in English\(^2\) and Turkish\(^3\).

Each of the books in three languages are composed of two parts:

---

1 Սվազլյան Վ., Հայոց ցեղասպանություն. Ականատես վերապրողների վկայություններ, Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Գիտություն» հրատ., 2000, 500 էջ: Սվազլյան Վ., Հայոց ցեղասպանություն. Ականատես վերապրողների վկայություններ, Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Գիտություն» հրատ., 2011, 880 էջ:


a) **Academic study**, where the genre and typological peculiarities of the popular testimonies are elucidated; in addition, the whole course of the Armenian Genocide is presented and substantiated with popular memoirs and songs of historical nature (in native Armenian and foreign Turkish languages).

b) **Primary source originals** (700 units), which include the Memoir-Testimonies communicated by the eyewitness survivors, historical Narrative-Testimonies, Song-Testimonies and Notations of Songs.

The volumes are provided also with a Documentary-informative table about the eyewitness survivors and about the popular materials communicated by them, as well as the Photographs of the survivors, Summaries in different languages, a Glossary, Commentaries, Indexes: Thematic Index, Index of Personal Names, Toponymic and Ethnonymic Indexes, and a Map, giving an idea about the deportation and the genocide of the Armenians realized in the Ottoman Empire.

The great majority of the eyewitnesses who have transmitted these popular materials are representatives of the senior generation; they are Armenians, who were forcibly exiled from their historical native cradle, deported during the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923), realized by the Young Turks in the Ottoman Empire, from Western Armenia, from Cilicia (1921) and the Armenian-inhabited provinces of Asia Minor (Anatolia) (1922, the Smyrna Calamity).

In the course of these historical events, the vast majority of the Western Armenians (more than 1.5 million) were ruthlessly exterminated, while those who, having been plundered, left destitute and exhausted, were miraculously rescued, reached Eastern Armenia or scattered to different countries of the world, after going through the harrowing experience of deportation and witnessing the victimization of their kinsfolk and compatriots. Subsequently, a fraction of those survivors was repatriated periodically to Eastern Armenia from Turkey, Greece, France, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, the Balkan countries, and the U.S.A.. Those repatriates settled in the newly built districts on the **outskirts of Yerevan**, which symbolize the memory of the former native cradles in Western Armenia (Aygestan, Sari Tagh, Shengavit, Noubarashen, Vardashen, Nor (New) Butania, Nor Aresh, Nor Kilikia, Nor Arabkir, Nor Zeytoun, Nor Sebastia, Nor Malatia, Nor Marash), as well as in different **regions of the Armenian SSR** (Nor Kharbert (Harpoot), Nor Kessaria (Kayseri), Nor Hadjn, Nor Ayntap, Nor Moussa Ler (Dagh), Nor Yedessia (Urfa), Edjmiadsin (now: Vagharshapat), Hoktemberian (now: Armavir), Ararat, Talin, Hrazdan, Leninakan (now: Gyumri), Kirovakan (now: Vanadzor) and elsewhere).

Upon meeting the eyewitness survivors miraculously saved from the Armenian Genocide, I always found them silent, reticent and deep in thought. There was valid reason for this mysterious silence, since the political obstacles prevailing in Soviet Armenia for many decades did not allow them to tell about or to narrate their past in a free and unconstrained manner. Consequently, I have discovered them and recorded the said materials with great difficulty.
During more than 60 years, owing to my consistent quests in various regions of Armenia, as well as during my short-term personal or scientific trips to the Diaspora: Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Greece, France, Canada, the U.S.A. and Turkey, I have constantly searched and discovered representatives of the senior, middle and junior generations of survivor-witnesses of the Armenian Genocide. I have gotten closely acquainted with them and have tried to penetrate the abysses of their souls. The great majority of the eyewitness survivors are representatives of the senior generation; the eldest survivor was born in the 19th century, Maritsa Papazian (b. 1874, Samsun).

Yielding to my solicitous exhortations, they began to narrate, with bursting agitation and tearful sobs, reliving anew their sorrowful past, the heart-breaking experiences they had retained in their memories, about how the policemen of the Young Turks and the criminals released from the jails had forcibly expelled the Western Armenians from their Native Cradle, their Motherland, from their well-organized and flourishing homes, and had inhumanly dismembered their parents and kinsfolk, had dishonored their mothers and sisters, and had crushed the new-born infants with rocks right in front of their eyes...

The popular testimonies, transmitted by the eyewitness survivors, provide also the possibility of subjecting the genre and typological peculiarities of similar materials to a scientific investigation.

Let us refer now to the popular historical testimonies - memoirs, narratives and songs - communicated by the eyewitness survivors.

The historical memoir-testimony is the compilation or the narration of any person’s reminiscences of those past events, people or encounters, with which he/she had a connection. The precise description of the real facts and events in the memoir is combined with the personal impressions of the narrator. The memoirs narrated by the eyewitnesses of the Armenian Genocide represent the impressive description of the period they have lived in, including the very important aspects of the Armenian Genocide, as well as the multifaceted pictures of the public and popular life.

The popular historical memoirs narrated by the eyewitness survivors cover a wide range of topics: they reflect the beauty of the native land, their daily patriarchal life and customs, the time in which they lived, the conditions of the communal-political life, the important historical events, the cruelties (the extortion of taxes, the mobilization, the arm-collections, the burning of people alive, the exile, the murder and the slaughter) committed in their regard by Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and also, the leaders of the government of the Young Turks (Talaat, Enver, Djemal, Nazim, Behaeddin Shakir…), the forcible deportations organized by the latter to the uninhabited deserts of Mesopotamia (Deir-el-Zor, Ras-ul-Ayn, Rakka, Meskenê, Surudj…), the inexpressible
afflictions of the Armenians (walking till exhaustion, thirst, hunger, epidemics, dread of death...), as well as the righteous and noble struggle of the various sections of the Western Armenians against violence to protect their elementary right for life (the heroic battle of Van in 1915, the struggle for existence in Shatkh, Shapin-Garahissar and Sassoun, the heroic battles of Moussa Ler and Edessa (Urha-Urfa), and later, in 1920-1921, those of Ayntap and Hadjn), the national heroes distinguished in the heroic self-defensive battles (General Andranik Ozanian from Shapin-Garahissar, Armenak Yekarian from Van, the Great Mourad [Hambardzoum Boyadjian], Yessaye Yaghoubian from Moussa Ler, Mkrtich Yotnoghbayrian from Edessa, Adour Levonian from Ayntap, Aram Cholakian from Zeytoun, the national avenger Soghomon Tehlirian), and numerous other well-known and unknown Armenians, who struggled against violence shoulder to shoulder with the popular masses, who were martyred, who often warded off the danger and survived...

Every one of the eyewitness survivors told his/her memoir in his/her own Armenian parlance, often in dialect or in Armenian mixed with foreign languages, also in Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish, English, French and German.

The popular oral materials I have written down, tape-recorded or video-recorded are the eyewitness survivors' recollections of their direct impressions, their meditations, reflections, expectations and testimonies with the true and authentic reproduction of the live pictures of the lot befallen the Western Armenians. All the eyewitness survivors, irrespective of their specialty, are, as a result of the cruel life experience they have had, enriched and sagacious individualities, for whom, first and foremost “a man should be a man”, in spite of his nationality⁴ as Artavazd Ktradsian (b. 1901, Adabazar) has noted in the beginning of his memoir.

In the same spirit are the testimonies of Arakel Tagoyan from Derdjan (b. 1902)\(^5\) and Nektar Gasparian (b. 1910), from Ardvin\(^6\).

The memoir-testimonies narrated by the eyewitness survivors of the Armenian Genocide, as a variant of the popular oral tradition, are either brief and concise in structure or voluminous and protracted, and include also various dialogues, citations, diverse genres of popular folklore (lamentations and heroic songs, tales, legends, parables, proverbs, sayings, benedictions, maledictions, prayers, oaths, etc.) to confirm the trustworthiness of their narrative, to render their oral speech more reliable and more impressive. In particular, \textit{the eyewitness survivors themselves have felt a moral responsibility and a sense of duty with regard to their narratives. Many of them have crossed themselves or have sworn before communicating their memoirs to me.} And an oath is a sacred word and a holy thing, which does not tolerate falsehood. As Loris Papikian (b. 1903), from Erzroom, told at the beginning of his memoir: "...I should tell you first that if I deliberately color the events and the people, let me be cursed and be worthy of general contempt..."\(^7\)

By subjecting the said memoirs and historical songs to a scrupulous quantitative and qualitative analysis, I have ascertained that, as there is no man without memory, similarly, \textit{there cannot exist a nation without memory}, inasmuch as memory is the life of a man or a nation, the past and the history of the years they lived, as Jews, Greeks, Gypsies and the other aggrieved nations have.\(^8\) And if any nation, in the present case the Turkish nation, has not preserved its historical memory, therefore it has not lived and has not felt all those afflictions.

It should be pointed out also that the testimonies - the memoirs and songs I have written down, recorded, studied and published on my own initiative are increasing with every passing day, following their first publication in Armenia, in 2000, and that is an interminable process, inasmuch as every Armenian has his family grief and losses. Besides, there are countless testimonies (in different dialects, in different languages, hand-written, audio- and video-recorded) in all the countries where thousands of Western Armenians were dispersed as a result of the Genocide, gathered in various archives and in private ownership. These also have to be deciphered, published and put into scientific circulation as factual-documentary testimonies of the collective historical memory of the Armenian nation about the Armenian Genocide.

\(^5\) Ibid, T. 96, p. 229.
\(^6\) Ibid, T. 81, p. 199.
\(^7\) Ibid, T. 88, p. 214.
The Armenian Genocide, which was perpetrated at the beginning of the 20th century, has been directly perceived by the senses of the eyewitnesses and it has been indelibly impressed in their memory. As a survivor from Ardvin, Nektar Gasparian (b. 1910), has confessed: “...More than 80 years have passed, but I cannot forget up to this day my prematurely dead beloved father, mother, uncle, grandmother, our neighbors and all my relatives who were brutally killed, and we were left lonely and helpless. During all my life I have always remembered those appalling scenes, which I have seen with my own eyes and I have had no rest ever since. I have shed tears so often...”9

Verginé Gasparian (b. 1912), from Ayntap, has also narrated: “...The Turks slaughtered my father Grigor, my mother Doudou, my brother Hakob and my sister Nouritsa before my eyes. I have seen all that with my own eyes and cannot forget until this day...” (The survivor began to cry and was not able to continue narrating her memoir - V. S.)10.

The eyewitness survivors of those historic events, dolefully reliving their sad past, have transmitted to me their personal memoirs about their historical native cradle, their native hearth and their beloved kinsfolk, who, alas, have long since died. They have carried those personal memorial pictures during their whole life, unable to free themselves from the oppressive nightmare. And since the memoirs narrated by the survivors represent the immediate impressions of the particular historical events that became the lot of the Western Armenians, therefore they have deep historicity.

Objectively reproducing the life, the customs, the political-public relations of the given period, the memoirs communicated by the survivors are spontaneous, truthful and trustworthy, possessing the value of authentic testimonies. As Yeghsa Khayadjanian (b. 1900), from Harpoot [Kharbert], has bitterly testified: “Now, out of our 7 families, only I have survived.”11

Verginé Nadjarian (b. 1910), from Malatia, has also confirmed: “...Our family was very large, we were about 150-200 souls. My mother’s brothers, my father’s sisters and brothers. They slaughtered them all on the road to Der-Zor.” Only three of us were left: I, my mother and my brother...”12 This fact has also been confirmed by Hazarkhan Torossian (b. 1902), from Balou: “...So many years have passed, but up till now I cannot get to sleep at nights, my past comes in front of my eyes, I count the dead and the living...”13 Thus, even the numerical calculations they have communicated are true.

Hrant Gasparian (b. 1908), from Mush (Moosh), has particularly emphasized that circumstance, asserting at the end of his narrative: “...I told you what I have seen. What

9 Svazlian V., op. cit., T. 81, p. 199.
13 Ibid, T. 129, p. 278.
I have seen is in front of my eyes. We have brought nothing from Khnous. We have only saved our souls. Our large family was composed of 143 souls. Only one sister, one brother, my mother and I were saved”

These factual testimonies, calculated one by one, analyzed point by point during the whole of the eyewitness survivors’ subsequent lives and assembled with the historical events, are beyond any doubt. They, nearly always, speak in their memoirs of the senior members of their family, their grandfathers, grandmothers, parents, as well as their close relatives and other members of the family, often mentioning their names and dates of birth. Consequently, the data they have transmitted to me are so exact and trustworthy, that even kinsfolk who had lost one another in the turmoil of the Genocide, by reading the memoirs printed in my books, have sometimes, after decades, found each other from various continents of the world and expressed their gratitude to me.

The main person appearing in memoir-telling is the character of the narrator. He/she not only tells about the important historical events, incidents and people, but is also interpreting them, displaying the main traits of his/her outlook and of his/her personality, the specific point of view of his/her approach, his/her particular language and style. Consequently, the memoir narrated by the eyewitness is unambiguous by its uniqueness; it is the personal biography of the given individual and his/her interpretation of the past, and its main essence remains practically unchanged every time it is retold, since the eyewitness has communicated it as a mysterious confession. And I, with my professional responsibility as a folklorist-ethnographer and remaining loyal to the oral speech of the witnesses, have written down word for word their narratives, realizing that they were entrusting to me their innermost and most sacred secrets to be transmitted to the future generations. It is appropriate to mention here the words of a venerable 94-year-old Zeytouni of proud bearing, Karapet Tozlian (b. 1903). Although he was not literate, he “had murmured every evening,

before going to sleep,” his memoirs and songs “like a prayer,” so that he would not forget them. Consequently, he has communicated to me, with a sacred affection, his recollections so that “they would be written down, they wouldn’t be forgotten and would be learned by the coming generations.” Some eyewitness survivors have, at the last period of their lives, committed to paper what they had seen and felt, in order to entrust them, as a precept, to the following generations, as Galoust Soghomonian (b. 1905), from Bolou, has terminated his hand-written testimony with the following sentence: “I wrote this testimony of mine, so that the coming generations could read and know the sufferings we have endured as a result of the Genocide of the Armenians perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks.”

Worthy of remembrance, in this respect, are the words spoken by the survivor, the well-known literary critic Garnik Stepanian (b. 1909), from Yerznka, at the end of his narrative: “...That which befell our nation in 1915 was horrible. Of our large family, which consisted of more than a hundred people, only fifteen remained alive. My mother’s kinsfolk were all killed or thrown alive into a large pit and covered with earth, which was moving over them. Among the victims of the Genocide were also all the Stepanians, the families of my father’s four sisters. It was a full-scale genocide. I always muse over those events and think about whether we can ever forget them, but we have no right to forget them, since we are small in number... The Armenian nation cannot forget that which it saw with its eyes. And, as Avetis Aharonian said: ‘If our sons forget so much evil, let the whole world blame the Armenian nation’.”

At the same time, the memoirs told by the survivors are also similar, inasmuch as the memoirs narrated in different places, by different sex-age groups...
(men, women, senior, middle, junior generations) depict, independently from one another and almost identically, the historical events of the same period, the analogous historical events and characters, the same horrifying scenes and cruelties, which, when put together, confirm each other, continue and complete one another, tending to move from the personal and the material toward the general and the pan-national. One of the survivors, Tigran Ohanian (b. 1902), from Kamakh, had this circumstance in mind when he concluded his memoir with the following words: “...My past is not only my past, but it is my nation's past as well.”

Consequently, the memoirs of the eyewitnesses, with their contents, describe not only the given individual and his environment, but also the whole community, becoming thus the collective historical memory of the Armenian people.

Nevertheless, the historical memory of the nation also has the capacity to perpetuate. Although more than 100 years have elapsed after these historical events, and many of the miraculously saved eyewitness survivors are no longer in the land of the living, yet the narratives of the representatives of the senior generation have been so much heard, so many times repeated in their families that they have also become the heritage of the coming generations and, being transmitted from mouth to mouth, have continued to perpetuate also in the memory of the next generations as historical narratives.

The historical narrative-testimony is a small-sized prose creation of descriptive and narrative nature about real events or characters. The teller of the narrative is not himself the subject of the event, but the person familiar or unfamiliar to it, who, impressed by what he has seen or heard, tells it to others.

These historical narratives have been mainly written down from the subsequent generations as testimonies of the fact that the historical memory of the nation never dies, but it continues to persist also in the memory of the coming generations.

I have succeeded also in writing down the songs and the ballads of historical character communicated by the eyewitness survivors of the Armenian Genocide, which also form an inseparable part of the people’s historical memory.

The historical song-testimonies are creations in verse on a tragic or heroic theme composed by endowed unknown individuals about the great historical events, which have then passed from mouth to mouth. The songs of historical nature are also lyric poems, in which the emotional world, the thoughts and the mood, the expectations and the demands of the composers are expressed in a picturesque manner. These songs have been mainly created by individuals dissatisfied with the prevailing public life, indignant at injustice, persecution and oppression and passing through an internal tragedy.

The words of these historical songs are simple and unornamented; they artistically reproduce the various aspects of the public life of that period in Turkey, namely, the massacres of the Armenians organized by Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and also, the

---

mobilization, the arms-collection, the deportation and the massacres organized by the government of Young Turks, as well as other factual, affecting and impressive episodes, bold sentiments of protest and of rightful claim.

The songs of historical nature have often served as a basis for musical creations. They can become also a series of songs, which are joined together by the generality of characters, of the theme and the refrains or by the unity of thoughts, feelings and ideas, as, for example, the song series of Deir-el-Zor ("Der Zor çölünde" / "In the desert of Der-Zor")\(^{19}\) or the song series of exile ("Sürgünlük şarkıları" / "Exile Songs")\(^{20}\) and others.

The authors of those historical songs were mainly the Armenian women. The psychological traumatic effect of the national calamity was perceived by every woman or girl in her own manner. Those horrifying impressions were so strong and profound that these songs have often taken a poetic shape as the lament woven by the survivor from Moosh, Shogher Tonoyan (b. 1901), which she communicated to me with tearful eyes and moans:

"...Morning and night I hear cries and laments,
I have no rest, no peace and no sleep,
I close my eyes and always see dead bodies,
I lost my kin, friends, land and home..."\(^{21}\)

Women, who were emotional and sensitive by nature, have borne on their scraggy shoulders the whole weight of the sufferings of the deportation, the exile and the massacres of the Armenians. Consequently, they have vividly described in detail what they have seen with their eyes and felt in the abysses of their souls, since the Armenian mothers have seen off, with tearful eyes, their husbands and sons to serve in the Turkish army. And the men have created songs, where they described that the Armenian soldiers, however, were not given arms, but were sent to toil in the ‘Amelé tabours’ (Labor battalions - Turk.) and they either died of exhaustion there or were killed and thrown in the pits they had dug themselves ("Songs of mobilization, arms-collection and of the imprisoned"). Subsequently, the Turks have compelled the Armenian women to leave their homes, orchards and belongings and to take the road of exile with their children and with their elderly and feeble parents. For months they have marched under the scorching sun, hungry and thirsty, on their feet bleeding from weariness and under the whip strokes of the Turkish gendarmes to the Syrian deserts of Deir-el-Zor, Ras-ul-Ayn, Rakka, Meskené and Surudj. Both in the memoirs and the songs communicated by the eyewitness survivors were described the roads they

\(^{19}\) Ibid, TT. 461-530, pp. 568-577.

\(^{20}\) Ibid, TT. 531-547, pp. 577-579.

\(^{21}\) Ibid, T. 437, p. 563.
passed through, the pillage and plunder of the Turkish gendarmes, the Kurd brigands, the Chechen and Circassian slaughterers, the kidnapping and murder of the Armenian girls, their impalement, their crucifixion and torture to death, the cutting of live women’s bellies in search of gold and of pregnant women to extract the unborn baby, the flaying of live people, the sacrifice of live Armenians instead of a ram or a he-goat at the feet of a mounted Turkish official and the like. That is why the innocent and desperate Armenian girls have thrown themselves, hand in hand, into the Euphrates River in order not to fall into the hands of the Turks, in order not to become the Turks’ wives and not to bear Turkish children (“Songs of deportation and massacre”). A special section has been assigned to the sad songs about the sufferings of the mothers of kidnapped children, of the fatherless and motherless orphans and about the orphanages (“Songs of child-deprived mothers, orphans and orphanages”). Songs reflecting the Armenians’ righteous protest and indignation, those created in protection of their elementary human rights of living and of not tolerating violence, as well as bold songs of self-defense, struggles and battles composed mostly by men are also presented (“Patriotic and heroic battle songs”). And finally, songs of the appropriated Motherland, regret for the lost native land and of hopes of regaining it are likewise included (“Songs of the occupied Homeland and of the rightful claim”).

With their originality and ideological contents, these historical songs are not only novelties in the fields of Armenian Folklore and Armenian Genocide studies, but they also provide the possibility for comprehending, in a new fashion, the given historical period with its specific aspects. Consequently, having been created under the immediate impressions of the peculiar historical events that befell the Western Armenian segment of the Armenian nation, the popular and epic songs of this order are full of historicity and have the value of authentic documents.

These historical songs, created by endowed unknown individuals of different sex-age groups, were widely spread in their time and transmitted to a large extent, and since the people’s anguish was of a massive character, consequently the popular songs, too, had a massive diffusion. They have passed from mouth to mouth, giving rise to new, different variants, so that similar songs have been created simultaneously in different variants and modifications, a fact, which testifies to the popular character of these historical songs.

During my numerous interviews and recordings, the same popular song or its similar variant has been communicated to me by so many survivors that it was impossible to mention the names and surnames of all of them. Hence, I have only put in order the variants in the table of Documentation of my book, mentioning the name, surname, date and place of birth of the eyewitness survivor, who communicated the given song (or memoir), as well as the time, place, language and character (handwritten, audio- and video-recordings) of the recorded material and its number in the archival fund (according to Dr. Prof. Isidor Levin’s Scientific Method of Documentation of Popular Materials).
I should also point out, that the eyewitness survivors of the Armenian Genocide (men or women) have recalled with a bursting emotional experience and tearful sobs the popular songs concerning the abuses and the outrages (mobilization, deportation, exile, murder and slaughter) perpetrated by the Turkish government, as well as about child-deprived mothers, orphans, orphanages and about the occupied Motherland, in as much as these events were directly connected with their historical memory. This circumstance construes the emotional-psychological peculiarity of this class of popular historical songs.

The diverse variants of those popular songs, in addition to their historical veracity, are distinguished by their concise figurativeness and by the subtle or the emotive tunefulness characteristic of the medieval Armenian lament songs. Every line and phrase of those songs is an entire picture, a horrifying scene of the massive tragedy, and the plaintive refrains carry to completion the emotive-psychological aspect of the poetic, vivid mind, whereas, on the contrary, the songs of the occupied Homeland and of the rightful claim are lively, impressive and full of conviction.

Some of the popular historical and epic songs are presented also with their musical notation.

The songs of historical character have been created not only in Armenian, but in the Turkish language as well, since under the given historical-political circumstances the use of the Armenian language in certain provinces of Ottoman Turkey had been prohibited. The number of the Turkish-language songs I have discovered and recorded exceeds 175.

It should be noted that, according to testimonies, “…those who pronounced an Armenian word had their tongues cut; consequently, Armenians living in a number of towns of Cilicia (Sis, Adana, Tarsus, Ayntap) and their environs had lost their mother tongue…,”22 or “the oppression and the persecution by the Turks were so severe that the Armenian-speaking Ayntap became Turkish-speaking, like the other principal towns of Asia Minor. And the last sharp blow to the Armenian speech came from the yenicheris who mutilated the tongues of those speaking Armenian…”23

The ethnographer-folklorist Sargsis Haykouni, living at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, described the political, economic and spiritual state of the Western Armenians of his period: “…The Armenian language was forbidden by Turk mullahs, and the use of seven Armenian words was considered a blasphemy, for which a fine of five sheep was established”24.

---

22 Գալուստեան Գր., Մարաշ կամ Գերմանիկ եւ հերոս Զէյթուն, Նիւ Յորք, 1934, էջ 698:
23 Սարաֆեան Գ., Պատմութիւն Անթէպի հայոց, հ. Ա, Լոս Անճելես, 1953, էջ 5:
24 Հայկունի Ս., Նշխարներ. Կորած ու մոռացուած հայ եր. Տրապիզոնի հայ-մահմետական գիւղերն ու նրանց աւանդութիւնները, «Արարատ», Վաղարշապատ, 1895, էջ 297:
There are numerous testimonies in the memoirs I have recorded, stating that the Armenians living in Sis, Adana, Tarson, Ayntap, Kyotahia, Bursa, Kayseri, Eskishehir and other localities were mainly Turkish-speaking. According to the testimony of Mikayel Keshishian (b. 1904), from Adana: “It was already forbidden to speak or to study Armenian and infringers not only had their tongue cut, but hot eggs were placed in their armpits to make them confess that they were teaching Armenian to others, and if they confessed, they were sent to the gallows or killed.”

The following fragment of a popular Armenian song I have written down also testifies to that fact; it was communicated to me by the survivor from Konia, Satenik Gouyoumdjian (b. 1902):

“They entered the school and caught the school-mistress,
Ah, alas!
They opened her mouth and cut her tongue,
Ah, alas!”

The school-mistress was condemned to such a brutal punishment, since she had dared to teach Armenian to the Armenian children. During the deportation and on the roads of exile, these strict measures had been reinforced. Therefore, the Western Armenians were compelled to express their grief and affliction in the Turkish language as well.

Taking into account the public-political aspects of this sad phenomenon representing the initial level of linguistic assimilation, I have not failed, along with the materials recorded in various dialects, to pay attention also to the Turkish-language (but explicitly of Armenian origin) popular historical and epic songs. Though these songs were created by Armenians and not with a perfect knowledge of the Turkish language (Armenian words and expressions, Armenian names of people and localities are often mentioned, grammatical and phonetic errors are noted), they have, with their ideological content, an important historical-cognitive value. The Turkish-language songs

have been presented, along with the dialectal originals, in their literary English translations.

The songs narrating about the slaughter and massacre of the Armenians have been woven on the roads of exile to Deir-el-Zor, and, since it was prohibited to speak Armenian, the Armenians have expressed their sorrow and affliction in the enemy’s language, in Turkish.

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

While recording and deciphering the memoirs and the songs, I have endeavored to keep unaltered the original peculiarities of the oral speech of the survivors, presenting them with the accepted dialectal transliteration. When writing down the dialectal originals, I have taken into consideration the linguistic shades of the Armenians from historical Armenia, as well as of those from Cilicia and Anatolia.

In writing down, tape- and video-recording the popular materials, I have made special efforts to include eyewitness survivors deported from more than 150 localities (densely populated with Armenians) of Western Armenia [Sassoun, Mush, 

27 “Sabahant kalktim, güneş parlıyor,
Osmanlı askeri silah yağlıyor,
Ermeniye baktım – yaman ağlıyor,
Dininin uğruna ölen Ermeni!”

“I got up in the morning; the sun was shining,
The Ottoman soldier was oiling his gun,
I looked at the Armenians, they were crying bitterly,

Or:
“Der Zor dediklerı büyük kasaba,
Kesilen Ermeni gelmez hesapa,
Osmanlı efrati dönmuş kasapa,
Dininin uğruna ölen Ermeni!”

“The place called Der-Zor was a large locality,
With innumerable slaughtered Armenians,
The Ottoman chiefs have become butchers,
Armenians dying for the sake of faith!” (Ibid, T. 467, p. 569).

Armenians were dying “for the sake of faith” in order not to betray their Christian fate and national identity.

Taron, Baghesh (Bitlis), Sgherd, Bassen, Shatakh, Van, Moks, Bayazet, Igdir, Alashkert, Kars, Ardvin, Ardahan, Baberd, Sper, Karin (Erzrum), Khnoun, Eriza (Yerkzna), Derdjan, Kamakh, Tigranakert, Balou), Cilicia and Asia Minor (Shapin-Garahissar, Arabkir, Harpoot, Malatia, Merdin, Severek, Yedessia, Adiyaman, Derendé, Sebastia, Ordou, Divrik, Gyurin, Tokat, Kghi, Amassia, Samsun, Marzvan, Yozghat, Kayseri, Talas, Everek, Tomarza, Nidé, Konia, Stanoz, Afion-Garahissar, Sivrihisar, Kastemouni, Bolou, Eskishehir, Bursa, Partizak, Biledjik, Adabazar, Nikomedia, Aslanbek, Istanbul, Rodosto, Banderman, Kyotahia, Chanak-Kalé, Izmir, Mersin, Tarson, Adana, Hassanbey, Isis, Fendedjak, Hadjin, Zeytoun, Marash, Ayntap, Deurtyol, Beylan, Moussa Dagh, Kessab, Trapizon and others) and subsequently settled not only in the various suburbs of Yerevan and in the different regions of Eastern Armenia, but also in the Diaspora (Deir-el-Zor, Rakka, Ras-ul-Ayn, Aleppo, Damascus, Ghamishli, Kessab, Beirut, Aynjar, Alexandrette, Baghdad, Kirkuk, Cairo, Alexandria, Ras Sudr, Addis-Ababa, Istanbul, Constantza, Athens, Paris, Lyon, Berlin, Radebeul, Rome, Milan, Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, New York, Boston, San-Francisco, Los-Angeles, Fresno, Moscow, etc.), who, taken together, give a fuller idea of the past and collective historical memory of the world-dispersed Western Armenians, who lost their historical cradle, but have future expectations...

I have included also, as an example, a few testimonies, and historical songs from Eastern Armenia (Sharoor, Nahkhidjevan, Agoulis, Alexandrapol (Gyumri), Talin, Mastara, Nalband, Cherakhli, Spitak etc.) to give an idea that the Turkish government carried out the Genocide of Armenians not only in Western Armenia (1915-1923), but also during invasions the territory of Eastern Armenia, particularly in 1918 and 1920. The Armenians living there were also subjected to brutal violences (suffering innumerable victims and native territories) committed by the Turks, under the leadership of Kyazim Karabakir and others. But the study of the testimonies of the eyewitness survivors of the Genocide of the Eastern Armenians is a separate subject of investigation.

Genocide is a massive political crime and it should not go unpunished, but it should be juridically elucidated also on the basis of the testimonies of eyewitness survivors.

It is time, therefore, that the present government of the Republic of Turkey, too, has the courage not only of recognizing the obvious historical truth, which has been substantiated by written and oral evidences and is not in need of any further proof, but also of condemning the accomplished fact and of compensating the Armenian people for the moral, material and territorial losses resulting from the Armenian Genocide.

Translated from Armenian by T. H. Tsoulkian

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CURRENT PROCESS OF INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION AND CONDEMNATION

Melkonyan A.A.
Academician of NAS RA

The historical facts presented below spread light on the actual reasons of the Armenian Genocide and its pre-planned nature which has so far been and is still being officially rejected by the Turkish authorities of today.

The Armenian Genocide - extermination of the Armenian nation in its Motherland (Western Armenia and Cilicia) is the most horrific act in the history of humanity.

Most part of the 400,000 sq. km. historical Armenia - Western Armenia, appeared under the cruel domination of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. Eastern Armenia first appeared under the rule of Persia and then, in 1830s - under the rule of the Russian Empire. At the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, when most of the Western Armenian provinces formerly occupied by the Russian Empire again passed to the Ottoman Empire, pressured by Russia and then by the great European powers, a special provision was introduced in the peace treaties of San Stefano and Berlin in 1878. According to the provision the Turkish Government was under the obligation of undertaking and carrying out reforms for the Western Armenians who had remained under the Ottoman yoke. In international diplomacy the question of these reforms was termed as “the Armenian Question”.

However, very soon the Turkish Sultan Abdul Hamid II not only forgot about the Berlin Congress provision 61 but also offered a unique way of implementation of the provision - he chose to “solve” the Armenian Question by annihilating the Armenians. Hamid was the first to make Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism a state ideology: the first assumed unification of all Islamic and the second - of all Turkic peoples under the flag of Turkey and waging “a holy war” against “infidel” Christians. Armenians who geographically stood in the way to the plans of Pan-Turkism were targeted in particular.

In order to “solve” the Armenian Question Hamid instigated the contumacious nomadic Kurdish tribes to assault Armenians. In 1891 he established special Kurdish cavalry regiments and named after himself - Hamidiye. The Hamidiye members received government salaries and were authorized to freely plunder and loot the Armenian population. A brutal regime of terror was set up in the country. Strict censorship was imposed.

The years of 1894-1896 witnessed the assaults of the Hamidiye troops upon the villages and towns of Western Armenia. Mass slaughters of Armenians were organized throughout the Ottoman Empire, 300,000 Armenians perished. Thousands of Western Armenians emigrated to different countries; about 100,000 - to Russia, 200,000 to

Europe and America. To escape the pogroms many Armenians were forced to adopt Islam. These violent actions committed by Turkish authorities and subsequent tragic events, were the first manifestations of genocide (geno-race, tribe/ethnos, cide- killing) in the world. Genocide is a state-organized mass crime against a nation or a religious community, aiming at a total annihilation of the given ethnic or religious group.

In July, 1908 the Young Turks seized power in a coup. A constitutional monarchy was established. Promises of ethnic and social equality were made. But soon the Young Turk government showed its real racist tendencies, actually adhering to the chauvinistic policy of Hamid. 30,000 Armenians fell victim to massacres organized in Adana and other parts of Cilicia in April, 1909.

In the secret meeting held in the Greek city of Thessaloniki in 1911 the Young Turks adopted a resolution which stated the intention of turning Turkey into a Turkish state and the necessity of ethnic cleansing. A decision was made under Talaat (the Interior Minister), Enver (Minister of Military Affairs), Jemal (Minister of Maritime Affairs) to try, in case of war, to finally “resolve” the Armenian Question by completely annihilating the Armenian nation and realizing Pan-Turkish plan of establishing “Great Turan”.

Representatives of different nationalities were killed during World War I (1914-1918). However, considering the population density, no other nation suffered so many losses as the Armenians did, particularly in their Homeland - Western Armenia and Cilicia. It was the world’s first organized mass crime - a genocide.

On April 25, 1915 the Young Turk committee adopted an anti-Armenian resolution intending
- to disarm the Armenian soldiers of the Ottoman army accusing them of high treason;
- to arrest and exile Armenian intellectuals from all Armenian-populated regions;
- to deport the Armenian civilian population and to exile them to the Syrian deserts on the pretext of physical and property security reasons;
- to send the copies of the resolution to governors.

The copies of the command were sent to all governors. Those who refused to carry out the above-mentioned orders, regardless of nationality, were subject to liability.

April 24 (morning of 25), 1915 saw the arrest of numerous Armenian intellectuals (according to official Turkish data 2345 people); political, national, religious leaders, teachers, doctors and other professionals in Constantinople. Among them were Grigor Zohrap and Vartkes - members of the Ottoman Parliament, the writers Daniel Varuzhan, Ruben Sevak, Siamanto, Telagadintsi, Yerukhan and others. Nazaret Chaush in Zeitoun and Vramian in Van fell victim to the plot.

Armenian intellectuals were exiled in three directions - Chankri, Chorum, Ayash. Varuzhan and Sevak were killed near Chankri, Zohrap - near Edessa-Urha (Urfa). Approximately 200 thousand Armenians in the Turkish army were disarmed and
executed by firing squad. The famous Armenian composer Komitas who witnessed the Turkish atrocities and miraculously escaped death, became mentally disabled.

A Special Organization for deportation (TeVṣkilât-ı Mahsusa) was set up. Young Turk Committee member Behaeddin Shakir coordinated special chete forces consisting of intentionally released convicts to raid on Armenian villages and displace the population. Mass deportations started in May, 1915. From May to October native Armenians of Karin-Erzrum, Trabzon, Van, Baghesh (Bitlis), Amid (Diyarbakir), Sebastia (Sivas), Adana, Iconium, Aleppo and other provinces were killed or deported.

On June 15 twenty Armenian Hnchak party members, among them the famous activist Paramaz (Matheos Sargsian) were hung in Sultan Bayazid Square, Constantinople.

The whole Armenian population of Cilicia, with the exception of the Musa Ler resisters, were deported.

The caravans of Western Armenian deportees stretched to Erznka (Erzincan), Derjan, Kharpert, Malatya, Aleppo, Der Zor. The worst massacres took place when crossing the Euphrates - near the town of Kamakh and in the Syrian desert of Der Zor.

From 500,000 Armenian deportees in Der Zor only 10-20,000 survived the disaster. Hundreds of thousands people left their Motherland and found refuge in different countries of the world.

According to the German humanist Dr. Johannes Lepsius an estimated 1.5 million Armenians perished in the Ottoman Empire during the Armenian Genocide. Apart from this, immense material losses were caused - 15 million francs. The Armenian districts of 170 towns, 2800 villages, 2350 churches and monasteries, 1500 schools and colleges were destroyed.

When the US Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire Henry Morgenthau expressing his complaints on the mentioned atrocities to Talaat Pasha said that he would have to be answerable to the Armenians for what he had done, the latter replied cynically that there were no more Armenians to be answerable to, and that he had done more in three months than Sultan Hamid did in three decades.

Turkey’s ally Germany constantly backed and encouraged the Young Turks. Famous humanists Y. Lepsius, A. France, F. Nansen, V. Bryusov, A. Block and others raised their voices in defence of Armenians.

The Armenian avengers (Soghomon Tehlirian, Arshvir Shirak, Aram Yerkanian, Artashes Gevorgian and others) committed assassinations of the Genocide orchestrators Grand Vizier Talaat, Minister of Maritime Affairs Jemal, leader of chete regiments Behaeddin Shakir, Prime Minister Said Halim, governor of Trabzon Jemal Azmi and others. The operations are known as “Nemesis” (in classical mythology the Greek goddess of vengeance).

A hundred years later, in 2016 German Parliament recognized the Armenian Genocide (https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/03/world/europe/armenian-genocide-germany-turkey.html)
Thus the Armenian Question was “resolved” through the Genocide of Armenians. The Armenian people not only suffered tremendous physical and material losses but also were deprived of the Motherland, the historic Homeland - Western Armenia and Cilicia. Later the issue of the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide and the compensation for it was formulated as the Armenian Cause (Hay Dat).

As Armenia lacked independent statehood, for seventy years (1921-1991) the pursuit of the Armenian Cause was mainly carried out by the Armenian Diaspora. Noteworthy are the years of 1945-1947 when, on behalf of the Armenians, the issue of the Western Armenian lands was again raised but this time within the frames of the Soviet foreign policy. However, it was strongly opposed by the Anglo-Americans. Soon the issue faded into oblivion in the USSR. Moreover, the Khrushchev regime of 1950s declined any territorial claim to Turkey. The Armenian Cause became a taboo in the Soviet Union.

Since 1965 (after the official commemoration of the semi-centennial of the Armenian Genocide) Armenia has participated in the pursuit of the Armenian Cause. According to Armenia’s Declaration of Independence (August 23, 1990), the Supreme Council of the Armenian SSR

“Expressing the united will of the Armenian people;
Aware of its historic responsibility for the destiny of the Armenian people engaged in the realization of the aspirations of all Armenians and the restoration of historical justice;
Proceeding from the principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the generally recognized norms of international law;
Exercising the right of nations to free self-determination;
Based on the December 1, 1989, joint decision of the Armenian SSR Supreme Council and the Artsakh National Council on the "Reunification of the Armenian SSR and the Mountainous Region of Karabakh:
Developing the democratic traditions of the independent Republic of Armenia established on May 28, 1918”;

DECLARERS
“The beginning of the process of establishing of independent statehood positioning the question of the creation of a democratic society based on the rule of law:
1. The Armenian SSR is renamed the Republic of Armenia (Armenia). The Republic of Armenia shall have its flag, coat of arms, and anthem…”

The Declaration had twelve points; according to the 11th point: “The Republic of Armenia stands in support of the task of achieving international recognition of the 1915 Genocide in Ottoman Turkey and Western Armenia”\(^4\).

\(^3\) On September 21, 1991 the Republic of Armenia declared its independence.

The President of the Republic of Armenia R. Kocharyan raised the issue of the Armenian Genocide in September 1998 at the UN General Assembly session and a year later, in October 1999, at the OSCE Summit. Then the issue of the Armenian Genocide several times was raised in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The question was also touched on in different speeches of the RA Minister of Foreign Affairs and other officials. The issue is a serious argument against Turkey (its government is engaged in a well-financed campaign of denialism and distortion of history) and in favour of Armenia in various international organizations. Actually many countries, official institutions and organizations as well as individuals started to condemn the Genocide.

Since 1965 until the present, the Armenian Genocide has been recognized and condemned by Uruguay, Cyprus, Argentina, Russia, Greece, Canada, Belgium, France, Italy, Vatican, Lebanon, Switzerland, Netherlands, Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Venezuela, Chile, Sweden, Bolivia, Austria, Germany, Luxemburg, Brazil, Bulgaria, Paraguay. Regions or provinces recognizing the Armenian Genocide include: parliaments of several regions of Spain (Basque Country, Catalonia, Balearic Islands, Navarre, and the city of Burjassot), United Kingdom (Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland) and Australia (New South Wales, South Australia); the city councils of Aleppo and Deir ez-Zor of the Syrian Arab Republic; the Tehran regional government; the State Assembly of São Paulo, the Legislative Councils of States of Ceará and Paraná (Brazil); Quindío department (Colombia); 45 U.S. states, etc.

Among all these resolutions adopted by the mentioned countries, the document passed by the State Duma of the Russian Federation in April 1995 mentions the historical Homeland of Armenians - Western Armenia.
Thus, it is evident that the existence of independent Armenian statehood and its activities in foreign policy along with the organizational activities of Hay Dat (the Armenian Cause) have had a paramount importance in international recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide\textsuperscript{13}. As follows from the “Pan-Armenian Declaration on the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide”, the State Commission\textsuperscript{14} on the Coordination of Events Dedicated to the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide, in consultation with its regional committees in the Diaspora, “considers the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide an important milestone in the ongoing struggle for historical justice under the motto “I remember and demand”\textsuperscript{15}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} \url{http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.151/current_category.7/affirmation_detail.html}; \url{http://www.genocide-museum.am/rus/Russia_Duma_Resolution.php}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Melkonyan A. A., The Armenian Genocide: from international recognition and condemnation to reparations and restitution. -Fundamental Armenology, Issue 1, 2015.
\item \textsuperscript{14} The Chairman of the Commission is RA President Serzh Sargsyan (\url{http://www.president.am/en/press-release/item/2014/05/27/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-Commission-on-coordination-of-activities-dedicated-to-100th-anniversary-of-Armenian-Genocide/}).
\item \textsuperscript{15} \url{http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/29.01.2015-hrchakagir.php}
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
A number of conceptual approaches make up the basis of this article. The most important of those is the following: the foreign policy of Turkey obtained a “new quality” during the rule of the “Justice and Development Party” (JDP), since 2002, which could be characterized as adventurism. It stems from the baseless extreme imaginations of the JDP leader, the prime minister of the country, and, subsequently, the president R. T. Erdoğan about the foreign political potentialities of Turkey, which implied, and that was his intention, insurance for the dominant role of Turkey in the surrounding region, particularly in the Near East. In fact, Turkey has neither the necessary potential nor authority to reach this goal. In reality, the active involvement of Turkey in the Syrian crisis and the large scale support of anti-governmental forces there (including such an extremist and genocidal organization as the Islamic state) are conditioned by an objective very far from that reality. This “Erdoğanist” or adventurist tendency of Turkey’s regional policy is being expressed from time to time in the Transcaucasus policy, too, which constitutes a menace particularly for Armenia.

This new tendency of Turkey’s foreign policy owes much to Ahmed Davutoğlu with its final shaping and “theoretical” basing. He is the author of a geopolitical theory on the basis of which is the perception of the Ottoman Empire (which a long time ago passed into oblivion), as the main precondition of present day Turkey’s “great-power policy.” In other words, the author builds his geopolitical analysis based on a non-existing phenomenon. This conceptual approach differs essentially from the geopolitical imaginations of the pre-erdoğanist republican Turkey, that is, the Kemalist period.

Occupying high positions in the governments of “JDP” from 2003, Davutoğlu got a chance to have an immediate influence on the foreign policy of Turkey.

At the same time, he was endeavoring to give a practical character to the results of his theoretical searches in the geopolitical sphere. From this point of view, in 2004 he
proclaimed the thesis that Turkey has to aspire to become “the central power”\textsuperscript{5}. Thus, a transition was being made from the Ottoman Empire that existed in the past to modern Turkey, which should take the role of a centre making decisions for the nations and governing them which in former times were under the Ottoman rule. In other words, a “theoretical” grounding was provided for the dominant position of Turkey in an extensive region, which included the Balkan Peninsula, Transcaucasus and the Near East. Afterwards, Davutoğlu recognized publicly that the foreign policy of Turkey is henceforth based on the ideology of Neo-Ottomanism. During one of the meetings of the “JDP” administrative board in 2009 he declared: “We are called new Ottomanists. Yes, we are new Ottomanists”\textsuperscript{6}.

In addition, Davutoğlu also formulated the five new principles of the renewed Turkish diplomacy, of which the most important was, probably, the notorious principle of “zero problem with neighbors”\textsuperscript{7}. It was aimed at disguising the aim of Turkish diplomacy in the Erdoğan period to compel the neighboring countries to accept unconditionally the dictations of Turkey in the questions of foreign policy.

The concept of Neo-Ottomanism as a new and basic one of the foreign policy of Turkey, adventurous in its essence, took a final formulation step by step by the efforts of A. Davutoğlu. The actions of Turkey, based upon the concept of Neo-Ottomanism, have become apparent in the sphere of foreign policy since 2006. At first, it was expressed through the desire of Turkey to act as an intermediary in various regional confrontations\textsuperscript{8}. Later on, as we pointed out, the “great-power” and adventurous intentions prevailed in Turkey’s foreign policy, feeding upon the ideas of Neo-Ottomanism.

The new foreign policy of Turkey began gradually to put its stamp on the denialist policy conducted during decades against the Armenian Genocide. It was subjected to some transformations, maintaining, anyhow, its denialist and falsifying essence. The main intention of these transformations (and the Neo-Ottomanist foreign policy) was the “great-power” adventure. That is why the Turkish denialism has tried to act on the one hand in a more “gentle” and “soft” manner outwardly in the period of Erdoğan and JDP’s governing; on the other hand, it undertook impudent steps to overcome Turkish falsifiers of the Kemalist period.

At the beginning, Erdoğan and his teammates were merely continuing the policy of their predecessors toward denying the fact of the Armenian Genocide. In particular, the notorious “Coordinating council of the struggle against the groundless affirmations concerning Genocide”, which had been founded by the directive of the Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit still in 2001, was actively operating. Its chairman officially was the Deputy

\textsuperscript{5} Prof. Dr. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Turkiye merkez ülke olmali, - Radikal, 26.02.2004.
\textsuperscript{6} See Cumhuriyet hükümetinin yeni osmanlicilik hedefi,-Stratejik araştırmalar enstitüsü, Istanbul, Haziran 2010, s. 4.
\textsuperscript{7} Prof. Dr. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Türkiye merkez ülke olmali,-Radikal, 26.02.2004.
\textsuperscript{8} See Սաֆրաստյան Ռ., Արկածախնդրության ակունք ները. Թուրքիան և իրադրության սրումը Մերձավոր Արևելքում 2006 թ. ամռանը, Միջազգային հարաբերություններ. Հայկական աշխարհ, 2013, թիվ 6, էջ 10-12.
Prime Minister; various high-ranking persons of the government agencies were involved in the board of this organization - the Deputy Commander of the General Headquarters, the First Deputy Ministers of Justice, Foreign and Internal Affairs, the Heads of Departments of both National Security and Public Relations of the General Secretariat of the National Security Council, the First Deputy of Head of the National Intelligence Service, the Head of the General Department of the State Archives, the Chairman of the Turkish Historical Association and the representative of the Propagandist Foundation, operating under the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister’s Office.

The “Coordinating council…” and the working groups it created operated actively during the governing period of the “JDP”. This activity proceeded mainly behind closed doors because of which it is impossible to clarify fully what kind of legal problems were in the center of their discussions. In November 2006 the foreign minister and the Deputy Prime Minister A. Gül, who was officially at the head of “Coordinating council…”, made statements, which proved that a “scrupulous” work had been carried out to explore possibilities to move the question of “groundless affirmations concerning Armenian Genocide” to international instances. Speaking in the parliament, he mentioned that retired diplomats as well as Turkish and trustworthy foreign legists were involved in those operations. It was also noted that the adoption of this “new approach” by Turkey had been “assessed positively” by a number of other countries.

The statement by A. Gul was accepted with satisfaction by some political powers and figures. The main opposition party of the country, the Republican People’s Party, pointed out that it was the real author of that idea. The retired diplomat Gündüz Aktan, who was regarded in Turkey as the “spiritual father” of “the international-legal” direction of the struggle against the recognition of Armenian Genocide, characterized the statement of Gül as “extremely brave”. The retired ambassador and the deputy of parliament from the Republican People’s Party, Şükrü Elekdag was among the supporters of the statement by the Foreign Minister. For a long time occupying the post

9 The leader of the ultra-chauvinist and pan-Turkish “The Nationalist Movement Party”, D. Bahçeli, was occupying the post of the Deputy Prime Minister in the coalition government of B. Ecevit. Bahçeli was the first chairman of the notorious “Coordinating council…”.

10 See Սաֆրաստյան Ռ., Թուրքիայի պայքարը Հայո ց ցեղասպանության միջազգային ճանաչման ու դատապարտման դեմ ներկա փուլում. նոր միտում, Արևմտահայության պահանջատիրության հիմնախնդիրները (գիտահետազոտական միջազգային գիտաժողով), Կիպրոս-Նիկոսիա, 18-19 ապրիլի 2008 թ.: Գիտական զեկուցումների ժողովածու, Երևան, Արևմտահայերի ազգային համագումարի նախապատրաստման միջազգային կազմակերպչական կոմիտե, 2009, էջ 150-155:


12 Ermeni iddialarına karşı tıtiz çalışma. - Hürriyet, 15.11.2006.

13 Ibid.


16 Now deceased.

of Turkish ambassador in Washington, he had gained an immense “experience” in the denying of the Armenian Genocide\(^{18}\).

In April 2005 the Prime Minister R. T. Erdoğan wrote a letter to the President of the Republic of Armenia, Robert Kocharyan, offering to organize a joint commission, which had to “ascertain whether or not there was genocide”\(^{19}\). Thus the foundation of the “new image” of Turkey’s denialist policy was officially laid, which aims not simply to deny the fact of genocide, but to try to reach the goal of the denial through taking more “subtle” steps and putting the real fact under question.

Later, the tendency of such “subtle” denialist policy took a new form; the affirmation about “sharing the joint pain”, resulted from the losses of both Armenians and Turks during World War I, was pushed forward. This new form of Turkish denialism is not less dangerous than the “traditional” falsification of the historical facts. Moreover, it is even more immoral in its essence as it tries to equate the executioner and the victim.

In 2015 Turkey found itself in a hard situation. On the one hand, the Neo-Ottoman adventurism made the geopolitical situation of the country rather difficult\(^{20}\). On the other hand, it came under serious pressure because of numerous significant worldwide events implemented by the Republic of Armenia and Armenian Diaspora on the occasion of the Armenian Genocide Centennial. Under these conditions Erdoğan took a step, which was unprecedented by its insolent character even for the period of Turkish policy of denialism and falsifications lasting for decades; on April 24 he invited the President of the Republic of Armenia, Serzh Sargsyan, among other heads of state, to attend the event of the 100\(^{th}\) anniversary of the victory in the Çanakkale (Gallipoli) battle\(^{21}\). Naturally, Serzh Sargsyan rejected Erdoğan’s insolent invitation\(^{22}\).

Thus, the expansionist adventurism during Erdoğan and JDP’s governing period, called Neo-Ottomanism, in the foreign policy was coupled with an unprecedented insolence in the sphere of denying the Armenian Genocide.

Translated from Armenian

by V. Gharakhanyan

---


\(^{19}\) Koçaryan’a mektup, - Milliyet, 14.04.2005. Robert Kocharyan: "Your suggestion of discussing the past cannot be effective if it does not include a discussion of the current situation and the future of relations between our countries...The political atmosphere should be prepared for the dialogue. To move mutual relations forward is the duty of the politicians. We cannot leave this responsibility to the historians....We can establish an intergovernmental commission to study every problem between our countries and begin the discussions without any precondition" (Robert Kocharyan Letter to Prime Minister Erdogan, April 26, 2005, https://goo.gl/Ykb9DI

\(^{20}\) Рубен Сафрастян. Неоосманизм – это роковая ошибка Турции, - EADaily, 04.09.2015.

\(^{21}\) Ռուբեն Սաֆրաստյան. Թուրքիան ցեղասպանության 100-րդ տարելիցին ընդառաջ փորձում է նորանոր հնարքներ գտնել, - Լրագիր, 17.01.2015.

\(^{22}\) https://goo.gl/LS2ckU
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY
The project entitled *Arménia: Atlas* has been completed within a grant programme of the Youth Foundation of Armenia, a partner organisation of the President of the Republic of Armenia.

The Atlas has been prepared by Duty of Soul NGO with the support of RAA Foundation.
Artsakh (also known as Lesser Siunik) Province of Armenia Major constitutes the extreme northeastern portion of the Armenian Plateau. Its northern and central districts lie in the basin of the river Kur and the southern ones in that of the Arax. From the north southward, the major rivers of the catchment basin of the region are the Artizat, Gandzak (also called the Water of Voskanapat), Kurak, Sevjer, Injat, Tru (with its three major tributaries, the Lev, Dukhu and Trighi), Khachen, Kafkar, Htonhashen, Varunda and the Ishkananagat (all these rivers mainly flow in an easterly direction).

The Gyansshas (3,725 m), Mivar (3,340 m), Albirak (3,066 m), Metz (Greater) Kirs (2,725 m) and Dizapart (2,448 m) are the loftiest peaks in the region where the terrain is mostly mountainous.

Since times immemorial Artsakh has always actively participated in all the spheres of life in Armenia, playing a great role in the military, political, economic and cultural affairs of the country.

The archaeological monuments unearthed in the territory of Artsakh (such as those in Arzakh, Metz (Greater) Tagher, Shenshi, Khoja, Aranjadzor, etc.) prove that the region has been inhabited since the Neolithic era (going back to over 300 thousand years) without any intervals.

Between the 9th and 7th centuries B.C., Artsakh was under the political supremacy of the kingdom of Urartu (also called Vane and Araratian); this is proved by a cuneiform inscription found in the territory of Tavain Village, in present-day Geghardavank Region, RA. Under the Armenian royal dynasties of the Omrides (6th to 2nd centuries B.C.), Artsakesis (189 B.C. to early 1st century A.D.) and Arashakids (66 to 428), Artsakh formed part of the Armenian state.

According to the Asbakhawhakats, a 7th-century Armenian work on geography, Artsakh had 15 districts: Metz (Greater) Kvenik, Kasa-i Parne, Kalghi, Agche, Tsi, Berdudzor, Vaykashik, Metz (Greater) Arak, Rot# Panak, Panik, Pakparak, Mukharak, Myus (the other) Habab, Harjank and Sisakan-Vostan.

In the 9th century, Artsakh succumbed to the Arab rule despite the severe resistance put up against the invaders under Prince Yesayi Abu Mans’ leadership. After its liberation from the Arab yoke, the region shifted into the possession of the Armenian Bagratids (885 to 1045) together with some principalities (such as Khachen and Kkishi) and part of the kingdom of Paroiss. It should be noted that by then the principality of Khachen had considerably expanded its territories, thanks to which, in the west, the lands of Artsakh reached the monastery of Shogag; in other words, the domains of Khachen went beyond the borders of Artsakh proper, including certain portions of the neighbouring province of Siunik, particularly the eastern and southern shores of Lake Sevan.

The princely houses of Artsakh retained their lands, with some minor territorial changes, until the Mongol invasions of the 1220s. The devastating Mongol domination of the 13th to 14th centuries seriously affected the economic and cultural life of the region. Besides, it weakened and entrapped the Armenians of Artsakh to such an extent that they proved unable to repel the incursions of the Turkic tribes of the Khar-Koyunlus and Ak-Koyunlus continuously invading the region in the 15th to 16th centuries.

The period between the 16th and 18th centuries, when Artsakh was under Persian rule, was marked by repeated outbursts of Turkish-Persian wars which brought only calamities and devastation to the region. On the other hand, however, in the 17th century, the Persian shahs restored the former rights of some major and minor old Armenian princely houses, this leading to the establishment of a number of semi-independent principalities (mellikdoms) in Artsakh. In order to further strengthen themselves against foreign incursions, in the late 17th century, these principalities entered into alliance and united into the mellikdom of Khamus. It comprised the mellikdoms of Glyastan, Jereber, Khachen, Varunda and Dizih, their common borders reaching from the vicinity of Gandzak to the river Arax. In the west, the mellikdom of Khamus bordered on another group of Armenian principalities—the mellikomes of Voskanapat, Gogharkunik and Kashatagh—the territories of which stretched all along its western border.
ensuring its security against foreign incursions mostly made for plunder.

In the second half of the 1720s, the melikate of Khamsa suffered a disastrous attack by the Ottoman army which caused formidable depredation in the region, subjecting the local inhabitants to unceasing persecution and slaughter. The situation aggravated even further as the neighboring Islamic khanates and sultanates joined the Ottomans together with hordes of Lezghians to kill and plunder the population of the region. It was during this very period that a lot of Armenian districts, including Zakar, Mjapor, Tzaz (Upper Khachen), Kashatagh, Kashunik, and Kaskavan, were almost completely or just totally stripped of their Armenian inhabitants. Many other districts—such as Shankor, Gardman, Vayots Dzor, Tzegn, Dzor and Arwak—were partially depopulated. The Armenians of hundreds of villages in a number of districts, including Kaspaghk, Share, Dasan, Khachkan, and the adjacent ones, converted to Islam under the threat of death. Even the Melik-Yeganes' descendants (they represented a branch of the melikic of Dzirak), living in the village of Tog in Arzakh, renounced their Christian faith (in the Soviet years, they had the family name of Yeganes and were considered Azerbaijanis).

As for the melikate of Khamsa located in the heart of Artashat, it mostly succeeded in putting up organized self-defense against these raids. However, the mass slaughters, deportations and emigration left the region with a drastically reduced number of population; moreover, Khamsa lost the district of Tzaz (Upper Khachen), which was of vital importance to it.

Later the Armenian melikic relations were spoiled by some moods of mutual intolerance and egotism. Under these circumstances, they completely neglected the national interests of the Armenians; people which should have been placed high above everything else (it goes without saying that in this way, they played into the hands of their enemies, particularly some nomadic tribes of Turkic origin). Therefore, for instance, Melik Shahmarz, the leader of Varan District, allowed the occupation of the fortress town of Shushi, situated in the heart of Artashat, by the chieftain of the tribe Javanshirke, Panah. In 1747 the latter established the khanaate of Karabakh and started gradually fortifying and expanding its borders by invading the weakening Armenian melikates and seizing more and more lands from them.

In 1805 the khanaate of Karabakh became part of the Russian Empire although local governance continued being carried out by Muslim governors now called hajis (the successors of Pasha’s son, Brahik Khan). In 1822 it was disintegrated, being incorporated into the newly-established province of Yezilbeyet a short time later.

During the period of Russian rule, some immigrants, particularly Germans and Russians (banned from the countries as sectarians) arrived in the region (the former in 1818 and the latter in the 1840s). Within a short time, several German colonies and over twenty Russian villages were established there.

It is interesting to note that the immigrants introduced some novelties in the region; thus, the Russians who had brought new agricultural tools helped the natives improve their farming skills, while the Germans acquainted them with new methods and approaches in house construction, viticulture and crafts.

While attending to the housing problems of the immigrants, particularly the Russians, the tsarist authorities exercised rather a rough and even brutal policy against the natives of Artashat; thus, entire plots of land were seized from the Armenian villages and allocated to the newly-established Russian ones. Moreover, in 1865 all the inhabitants of the ancient, purely Armenian village of Paris were banished and it was allocated to the Russian immigrants. This policy of discrimination created an atmosphere of mistrust in the region, affecting negatively the interrelations of the two nations. Nevertheless, in terms of law observance, the period of Russian reign was incomparably better than that of the khan's rule: the leaders of the gangs (the so-called shahechis) attacking and plundering particularly the Armenian villages were often arrested and sent into exile.

From the very first years of the establishment of their rule in the region, the Russian authorities planned to force the Caucasian Turks (this was a collective name used with reference to various tribes of Turkic origin) into assuming a sedentary mode of life (they were threatened with banishment if they refused to do so). Supposedly, this would keep them away from their savagery (it should be noted that they plundered the immigrants as well). Indeed, it was rather difficult for the tsarist government to re-model the Caucasian Turks, accustomed to preserving their existence through plunder, into law-abiding citizens. In fact, this process took several decades, being completed only in the 1910s. However, even after giving up their nomadic life, the Turkish tribes kept attacking and plundering the villages of Artashat like the Lezghians of Daghestan who did the same in the 18th century with the only difference that they did not live there permanently.

The Caucasian Turats' transition to a sedentary mode of life completely changed the ethnic distribution picture in Artashat. The point is that beginning with the times of the Mongol invades, the natives of the region had gradually withdrawn from its plains that were considered more vulnerable to be able to more effectively defend themselves against foreign raids. The Ottoman threat of the 1720s stripped them of certain territories in the highlands of the region as well so that they eventually found themselves huddled in the middle zone of mountainous woodland where the terrain was more convenient for self-defense. As a result, after the aforementioned transition, the long chain of Armenian-inhabited villages lying along the foothills of the region appeared as clumped between the Caucasian Turats from below and from above.

The results of the population censuses carried out in 1886 and 1914 proved quite interesting: within 35 years, an average increase (through natural reproduction) was predominantly observed among the Russians, the Armenians and Germans following them in the second and third places respectively. As for the Caucasian Turats, surprising as it is, a sharp reduction of population number was fixed in almost all their villages, despite their evidently higher growth rate. As noted by some researchers of those times, the reason was their transition to a sedentary mode of life, as prior to that, the members of the same tribe were registered for several times in their various (including summer and winter) encampments.

The Armenians of Arzakh considerably suffered in the aftermath of the Armeno-Tatar fights of 1905 to 1907, which had been incited by the tsarist authorities. A great number of Armenian villages were destroyed and plundered, the Russian powers following all this with compassion and a flagrantly biased attitude (later Armenian historians properly punished those Tatar villages the inhabitants of which had been particularly cruel and brutal towards the Armenians).

On 27 May 1918, a state called Azerbaijan emerged into the political arena, its establishment having been planned by Turkey. On 28 May of the same year, Armenia declared independence, after which the Musavatist authorities of Azerbaijan started laying territorial claims on Artashat, attempting to annex it to their country. During the same year, the National Council of Karabakh convened three congresses in Shushi (on 22 July as well as on 6 and 17 September) refusing to recognize the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan over Artashat. This rejection was further ratified by two decisions of the same Council made on 19 February and 25 April 1919. Besides, on 4 March 1920, another similar decision was adopted by the 8th congress of the National Council of Karabakh. In response to all this, on 23 March of the same year, the Musavatists bands and the Turkish troops together launched attacks against the Armenian quarters of Shushi City and numerous Armenian villages in Artashat in an attempt to make the local Armenians succumb to Azerbaijan's demands.

In the long run, in 1923 Artashat was "cut out" into the Autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh, which did not include Northern Artashat and the district of Shubemian. With Stalin's desire and approval, it was annexed to Soviet Azerbaijan, hav-
ing been deliberately stripped of its common border with Soviet Armenia.

Despite this situation, the Armenians cherished hopes that justice could triumph in the Soviet Union. The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia, Aghasi Khanjian, attempted to raise the issue of the secession of the Autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh from the Republic of Azerbaijan and its reunion with Soviet Armenia. In 1935, however, he was shot to death because of these very endeavours. After the disintegration of Transfederation (1936), the extremely limited rights of the Armenians living within the Autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh were restricted even further.

Until 1988 the issue of the secession of the Autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh from Azerbaijan was shrouded in silence although it was never consigned to oblivion. On 20 February of the same year, the extraordinary session of the Regional Council of the People’s Deputies of the Autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh adopted a decision to apply to the Supreme Council of Azerbaijan with a petition to break away from that republic and to apply to the Supreme Council of Armenia with a request to be incorporated in the republic. Another petition was addressed to the USSR Supreme Council with the expectation to receive a positive settlement of the issue.

The Azerbaijani authorities responded to this petition with the brutal slaughter of Armenians living in different cities and about 100 villages in Azerbaijan, outside the borders of Artsakh. The pogroms proved particularly bloody in Sumqayt, Baku, Kirovabad and a number of other cities. In the aftermath of the anti-Armenian hysteria raging throughout Azerbaijan, more than 450,000 Armenians were forced into leaving their birthplaces.

On 2 September 1991, the joint session of the Regional Council of the People’s Deputies of the Autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh and the District Council of Shusha declared Artsakh (Nagorno Karabakh) an independent republic. Iniated at this, the Azerbaijani authorities launched a true war against the Armenians of Artsakh who just wanted liberty: it lasted until May 1994 and ended in the brilliant victory of the Armenian side.

To summarise, the Armenians’ struggle for the freedom and independence of Artsakh goes as far back as 1722. It was interrupted in 1918 and suppressed in 1923. The murder of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia in 1935 postponed the settlement of the issue of Artsakh’s independence, but only until 1988, when the Armenians’ struggle was re-awakened. It was eventually crowned with a glorious victory gained at the cost of the incessant work and unspeakable sacrifices of thousands of Armenians, 7,000 of whom lost their lives while building this victory.

The Republic of Artsakh (Nagorno Karabakh) has been enjoying independence for already a quarter of a century. From time to time, Azerbaijan launches diversion attacks to show that it has not reconciled itself to the loss of Artsakh, a historical Armenian land that has never belonged to it (just another act of military aggression was launched early in April 2016, being repelled with honour, like all the previous ones).

The free and independent Republic of Artsakh, which has mostly recovered from the wounds of the war, is an embodiment of the realisation of the dreams of the entire Armenian nation, an infinite source of pride and enjoyment to every single Armenian. It has a growing generation that is just as old as the independence of the country; a generation that is deeply proud of its fathers’ struggle and achievements. It goes without saying that the Armenians of Artsakh will further strengthen their sacred homeland that has regained freedom at the cost of so much suffering.

With every passing year, Artsakh is becoming more and more beautiful, prosperous and powerful. It represents the second Armenian republic with over 150,000 peaceful and hard-working inhabitants. It is beyond doubt that in the nearest future it will celebrate its re-unification with the Republic of Armenia, which will mark another turning point in its history.
St. Hripsime (Johann), a pilgrimage site; 
Ornak (Hrepanak) Monastery of Tver (Takht), where the body of Vaghamak (Vehag) was first taken; 
Hagman Bar Foundation—standing before those deserving its water and dying up before those unworthy of it; 
South Astravaran (Holy Virgin) (Church) of the monastery of Khat (the Apostle) (Khtavanak), a bishop residence; 
The seat of Yeghish (Evelisk) the Apostle, where his right hand is kept, a bishop residence; 
Charcherd (Chardar) Monastery, a bishop residence; 
Bishop Aghajanian and Patriarch Hovhannes. And in the place of the son-in-law martyrdom that was in Arzata a snare started growing; it was known as a remedy for (various) pains. And a Persian named Asiam suffered martyrdom here?; 
Shakhakhar Monastery, a bishop residence where Peter the Apostle’s chains are kept; 
Hazarat Cholos; 
Bekaghaghat (Pitkaghat) Monastery, a bishop residence; 
Khachavank Monastery, a bishop residence, which was built by the (Holy) Enlightener; 
Trdgen (Geghavet) (Shamsi) Cholos; 
[Sh.] Yeghish (Evelisk) Cholos; 
Tarshambat Monastery; 
St. Hako (Jacob) Monastery, a bishop residence, where a relic of (Sh.) Hako the Sargma Pontiff of Armenia is kept; 
Kasamat (Virgin’s) Cholos; 
Hraz (Hrato) Monastery, a bishop residence; 
Asam (the Apostle) Cathedral for survivors; 
[North] Khachavank Monastery of Trnaq (Rhaki), a bishop residence; 
Asam (the Apostle) Cathedral for survivors; 
[Royal] Khachavank Monastery of Trnaq (Rhaki), a bishop residence; 
Asam (the Apostle) Cathedral for survivors; 
Khachavank Monastery, a bishop residence, with Yeghish’s grave, a relic of King Vaghamak is kept there; 
Metech Cholos; 
Moni: Kizhapp: some Tata hermits and believers were buried here (here) amidst stacks of barley and wheat. 
A mountain: The queen and many people suffered martyrdom here (here) and the place was called Naghakarab (City Hill). 
Kiata Cholos; 
Yeghish (Evelisk) Monastery, a bishop residence; 
Marshamakan Khach (Sh. Thaddeous brought here) a piece of the throne in which the Saviour had been washed. 
Aznas (Monastery), a bishop residence and the first of the (Holy) Enlightener’s grandioses Oltagos. And they say that great King Vaghamak had a vision through which he found a bottle of blood that was Fretz Zakarian’s, a relic of (holy) Bishop Parseghn and a relic of Joseph of Armavir. Grigor’s right hand and grave are here [in Aznas]. 
South Khach (Holy Cross Church) of the Holy (Sh.) See of Gandoska, a Catholicos residence? Magistros (otherwise Jhambri) had the (Holy) Enlightener’s poro (tomb) brought here. A relic from the Holy Baptist’s head is kept here together with some relics of the holy martyrs Hristbhat and Davit Dvortov. 
Kasamat (Virgin’s) Convent of Asiamtara (Village); 
Saghaghak (Saghaghak) Cholos; 
Vaneen (Vanis); 
The river Totor (Taret), which runs to the east, passes through the city of Perto (Pert) and merges into the river Yer; 
Tver Asiamtara (Old Coupel), a pilgrimage site; 
Pomea (Pomey) Cholos; 
Koye (Ladzmar) City (on the vicinity of which) Khosrov was tortured to death; 
Tarshambat Cholos; 
Perto (Pert) City, King Vaghamak’s residence; 
The site where David and Hrastavak suffered martyrdom; 
South Noah (Holy Sign) Monastery, a bishop residence; 
Vor (Upper) Zekmen (Zokam): Hrazvank Cathedral of Ohranuotu; 
Parvoss Monastery, a bishop residence; 
Kotparak (Gudukel) Monastery, a bishop residence; 
Kasamat (Virgin’s) Convent of Vakhanap; 
Kosan (Kosian) Cholos; 
Kasamat (Virgin’s) Convent; 
Khachavank Monastery; 
Gitor’s South Khach (Holy Crown), a pilgrimage site; 
Khachavank Cholos, a pilgrimage site; 
Yeghish Monastery of Ghanagah (Kranak), a bishop residence; 
Ynla Manukh (Three Infant’s) Monastery, a pilgrimage site, where some relics are kept; 
Charch Cholos, with Eo and sometimes more monks; 
Khatvkh Khach of Punghar, a pilgrimage site; 
Asakuy Cholos; 
[North] Amatapkala (Holy Savion) Cathedral of Kyutiel (Kyuties); 
Parshak, a pilgrimage site; 
Nertso Zekmen (Lower Zekmen); 
Kasamat (Virgin’s) Convent of Kontrakt (Kontrat); 
The river Serevkk (Shamkar), which flows eastward and irrigates the plain with so many canals that it (eventually) runs out of water; 
Archimandrite Tzavos’s grave, a pilgrimage site; 
Khakhajukh (Khakhajukh) Monastery, a bishop residence; 
Goh Cholos; 
Sagiya Monastery, a bishop residence; 
[South] Armanakhal (Holy Savion) Monastery, a bishop residence, with Khosrov’s grave (in the neighborhood); 
Migador, a pilgrimage site; 
Khalikyan (Khakhak) a caravanus; 
Krisman (Gensmen) (Gumman) District, with the grave of Archimandrite Hravhmas Meirhagios of blessed memory.
1. A view of Shushi City
2. A view of Tence Village, Khachik District
3. A view of Gunashen Village, Khachik District
4. The house (1889) of Prince Mosey Yer-Girgenti in the centre of Gunashen Village, Khachik District
5. A view of Barsevan Village, Bardzhan District
6. A view of Gunasen Village, Shakhertian District
7. A view of Dchara Village, Askeran District
8. A late 19th-century house in Gunashen, Khachik District
9. Matenek Village, Bardzhan Sub-District, Shakhertian District
10. A view of Darwaz Village, Askeran District
11. A view of Myrashen Village, Martak District
12. A partial view of the house built by Prince Mosey Yer-Girgenti in Gunashen Village, Khachik District, in 1889

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION MAP OF ARTSAKH. 1914

© NAG-HEVAN
5.2. A manuscript of 1413 (Artsakh. State Historical Museum of Local Lore)

5-6. Several pages of illuminated from a manuscript of 1559 bound in Uvanchak (Yeghiche Anahit) Monastery

5. 10. Two pages from a manuscript of 1626 bound in Gandzak Monastery
1. The 14th-century fountain of Tugh Village, Halidzor District
2. Public Fountain (1971), Stepanakert District, and its construction inscription
3. The 15th-century fountain of Kender oil Village, Halidzor District
4. The 19th-century fountain of Motolrum Village, Stepanakert District
5. The fountain (1799) of Yaghet Village, Halidzor District
6. The fountain (1893) of Park Pish Monastery, Stepanakert District, and its inscription commemorating its repairs
7. The fountain of Makaravan Village, Halidzor District
8. The construction inscription of the fountain (1799) of Yaghet Village, Halidzor District
9. The fountain (1877) of Rigor Village, Karvachor District
10. The fountain (1913) of Taghman Village, Halidzor District
1. The 17th-century bridge of Tsitnous Village, Karvach Karas District
2. The stone bridge of Karvach (Early Middle Ages), Subur District
3. A bridge in Otsarum Village, Khesber District
4. The 18th-century bridge of Boyuk over the river Vosaro, Karabakh District
5. The bridge of Lake OATS over the river Vosaro, Karabakh District
6. The 18th-century bridge of Irevan over the river Tsuraj, Karabakh District
7. The 17th-century bridge of Talin over the river Khabata, Hadrut District
8. The stone bridge of Balaamit (Middle Ages), Vosaro District
9. The bridge of Akhagyur over the river Vosaro, Akhagyur District
10. The Bridge (1665) of Makary, Artsak village near Askeran village, Askeran District
11. Yares Bridge of Runak Village over the river Arten, Askeran District
12. Excevisa (High-Medieval) Bridge over the river Sevan in the area between the small villages of Vorash and Nort zarówno, Shamshyan District (in fact, the bridge is now abandoned but ever, but thanks to the deviations of its original course)
1. A partial view of the remnants of Tigranakert, Azatavan District, 1st century B.C.
2. A partial view of the castle of Askeran.
3. A partial view of the remnants of Chandreb (Sarkisli) Castle, Marakert District, which adjoin its gate.
4. Pashen Castle, Gevorki District.
5. A partial view of Chandreb (Unberd) Castle.
6. A partial view of Paba Castle, Kasagh District.
7a. Partial views of Hambatun Castle, Shushavan District, and its fair gate.
8. The castle of Otyubin, Shushavan District.
9. A partial view of the remnants of Hambatun Castle, Marakert District.
10. A partial view of the remnants of Akhtamar Castle, Marakert District.
11. Church Castle, Gevorki District.
1. Kluchdzer Monastery, Shaki District, 6th to 7th centuries
2. Gdokhow Monastery, Martakert District, 1216 to 1334
3. Yerpatazat Monastery, Martakert District, 7th century
4. Ghvaramutsot Church of Sts. Gevork and Grigor, Shaki District, 19th century
5. Tumassan Monastery, Kecharis District, 5th to 6th centuries
6. Ghdz Monastery, Shaki District, 1241 to 1244
7. The monastery of Kars, Shushavan District, 1st to 4th centuries
8. Noravank (Tumansanc) Church, Dalapet District, 6th century
9. Khachkants Monastery, Martakert District, 12th to 13th centuries
10. Aravas Monastery, Martakert District, 4th to 5th centuries
11. Ani (Ani) Monastery, Ani District, 5th to 17th centuries
12. Kapan Church, Kapan District, 4th to 14th centuries
WORKS RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF ARTSAKH
ARMENIA: CIVILIZATIONAL VECTOR IN THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE SILK ROAD

Danielyan E. L.
Doctor of Sciences (History)

The Armenian cultural heritage, historically representing the holistic - material and spiritual culture of Armenia from the Neolithic (the 10th - the first half of the 6th millennium BC), Eneolithic (the middle of the 6th - the 4th millennium BC), Bronze (the second half of the 4th - the middle of the 2nd millennium BC) periods to the Iron Age (the second half of the 2nd millennium BC and further), Antiquity and the Middle Ages is attested in the Armenian Highland by archaeological monuments, rock art and petroglyphs, spiritual sources, epic sagas, architectural monuments, khachkars (cross-stones), cuneiform inscriptions, ancient and medieval written sources, manuscript book painting - miniatures, spiritual music, folk art, carpet weaving, ceramics and jewelry, etc.

The more than five thousand year old statehood of ancient and medieval Armenia (Հայք-Հայաստան) [area of about 440 thousand km² - Great Armenia, Armenia Minor, Armenian (Northern) Mesopotamia, Cilician Armenia], genetically, by its Armenian ethno-cultural structure [led by Հայկազունք (the Haykians)] is rooted in the Armenian Highland.

2 About more than eight thousand year old roots of the Armenian ethno-cultural heritage testify glottochronological studies conducted by the newest methods. According to the primary results, “Hittite lineage diverging from Proto-Indo-European around 8,700 years BP, perhaps reflecting the initial migration out of Anatolia. Tocharian, and the Greco-Armenian lineages are shown as distinct by 7,000 years BP, with all other major groups” [Gray R.D., Atkinson Q.D., Language-tree Divergence Times Support the Anatolian Theory of Indo-European Origin, Nature, vol. 426, 2003, pp. 435-438]. Later, the authors considered the earliest period of the spread of agriculture from the Armenian Highland via Asia Minor into Europe and, in this regard, the divergence of the Indo-European language family – 8000 to 9500 years ago [Remco Bouckaert, Philippe Lemey, Michael Dunn, Simon J. Greenhill, Alexander V. Alekseyenko, Alexei J. Drummond, Russell D. Gray, Marc A. Suchard, Quentin D. Atkinson, Mapping the Origins and Expansion of the Indo-European Language Family, SCIENCE, vol. 337, 2012, pp. 957-960]. On the outline maps presented by the authors, the area of “inferred geographic origin of the Indo-European language family” also includes the territory of the Armenian Highland (a cradle of agriculture), which is not mentioned in the text, where, instead of it, again incorrectly, is used the term “Anatolia” or “modern Turkey” (Ibid., pp. 958-959). In scientific terminology the term “Anatolia”, in accordance with the historical reality, means only Asia Minor, located to the west of the Armenian Highland [The Encyclopedia of World History. 6th edition, Boston, New York, 2001, pp. 37, 39].
3 Մովսէս Խորենացի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Երևան, 1991, էջ 37-42.
For millennia Armenia has been connected with the nearby and remote countries by trade routes, which with time formed the system of the highways of the Silk Road, from China to India - Bactria - Tokharistan - Sogdiana - Iran - Armenia - Mesopotamia - Asia Minor, the countries and cities of the Mediterranean Sea’s eastern basin (Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, etc.) and Europe (Greece, Rome, etc.).

Civilizational contribution of Armenia to the history of the Silk Road in ancient and medieval times (in different geopolitical conditions) was determined by economic, state legal and cultural factors, the conclusion of international trade agreements, the high level of architecture, urban planning and craft production, developed network of trade routes, the export of raw materials and products, import of goods in the domestic market, as well as their transit to other countries, keeping and preservation of trade routes, active participation in international maritime trade and the development of commercial and financial capital, etc.

Exported from the Neolithic epoch, obsidian (mined in the mountains of Armenia)⁴, the development of metallurgy and handicraft production, as well as internal and external trade in the Eneolithic, Bronze and Early Iron Ages⁵, the ancient sources’ data

on external relations of the Armenian kingdoms of Aratta (according to the Sumerian epic about commodities exchange between Aratta and Sumer in the 3rd millennium BC), Armanum (the second half of the 3rd millennium BC), Hayasa (the second half of the 2nd millennium BC) and Nairi testify to the early trade relations of Armenia with the countries of Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean basin.

In the first millennium BC the most active periods of Armenia's participation in international trade were the epochs of the kingdoms of Ararat-Van (Urartu), Great Armenia and Armenia Minor, in particular, the period of the reigns of Artashes I (189-160 BC) and his grandson Tigran II the Great (95-55 BC) - the King of Kings of the Armenian Empire, stretching from the eastern borders of the Parthian Iran to the Mediterranean Sea in the West, from the Black Sea and the major mountain range of the Caucasus mountains in the North, to Syria, Egypt and the Persian Gulf in the South. The most part of the Western Asian system of the Silk Road, including the highways passing through Iran, Mesopotamia and Armenia to Asia Minor and the Mediterranean Sea, was under the control of Armenian King of Kings Tigran II the Great. The developed urban planning and security of the highways of the Great Silk Road on the most part of the territory of Western Asia included in the Armenian Empire were the expression of the civilizing activities of Tigran II the Great. He founded a new capital, Tigranakert (in Aghdznik) and some other walled cities (also named after him) in
Great Armenia (Artsakh, Utik, Gogtn/Goghtan), and other parts of the Armenian Empire\textsuperscript{12}.

In the Late Antiquity and, particularly, in the Middle Ages, with the change of the geopolitical situation, in the epochs of the Armenian Arshakuni (65-428) and Bagratuni kingdoms of Great Armenia (885-1045), the reunited state of Armenia (the second half of the 7\textsuperscript{th} century), later the Armenian Rubenian Principality (1080-1197) and the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia (1198-1375), as well as in the periods of the rise of the Armenian Principality of Artsakh-Khachen (from the 10\textsuperscript{th} to 16\textsuperscript{th} century)\textsuperscript{13} and the Zakaryans’ state (centers: Ani, Dvin, Gag) (the end of the 12\textsuperscript{th} - the first decades of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century), Armenia maintained its important military and strategic position in Western Asia and economic significance in international trade. According to the medieval Armenian historian Aristakes Lastivertsi (1002-1080), Armenian "worthy merchants... working on land and at sea, strived to deliver their property to Artsn (near Karin-E.D.), and the inhabitants of Kars accumulated great wealth by sea and land". The historian called the Armenian Bagratuni Kingdom’s capital Ani "the world famous city"\textsuperscript{14}.

\section*{THE SILK ROAD IN ANCIENT AND EARLY MEDIEVAL TIMES}

The significance of Armenia in the development of international trade has also been manifested in the field of conclusion of trade agreements and elaboration of legal acts. Among them are the Armenian-Byzantine trade agreement of 891\textsuperscript{15} and later - the agreements of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia with the commercial centers of Venice,

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{13} Ուլուբաբյան Բ.Ա., Խաչենի իշխանությունը X-XVI դարերում, Երևան, 1975:
\textsuperscript{14} Պատմութիւն Արիստակիսի Լաստիվերտցւոյ, Երևան, 1963, էջ 74, 83, 133:
\textsuperscript{15} Иованнес Драсканакертци, История Армении (перев. с древнеарм., вступ. статья и комментарий М.О. Дарбинян-Меликян), Ереван, 1986, стр. 128, 316, прим. 2.
\end{footnotesize}
Genoa, and others. The contribution of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia to abolishing of the so-called "coastal law" (Jus litoris)\textsuperscript{16} is of great importance. The medieval Armenian writer and lawgiver Mkhitar Gosh (1120-1213) condemned "coastal law" in his famous work "The Code of Laws." The Armenian kings of Cilicia, especially Levon I\textsuperscript{17} (1198-1219) and Hethum I (1225–1270) made every effort to abolish it\textsuperscript{18}.

In Antiquity and the Middle Ages the capitals and major cities of Great Armenia flourished - Van, Erebuni-Erevan, Armavir, Yervandashat, Artashat, Tigranakert, Vagharshapat, Dvin, Jughar, Nakhijevan, Kars, Ani, Bagaran, Shirakavan, Karin, Artsn, Kars, Manazkert, Mush, Artańuj, Arvin, Gandzak,\textsuperscript{19} as well as of Cilician Armenia - Sis, Ayas\textsuperscript{20} and others on the highways of the Silk Road.

Armenia and neighboring countries had suffered great calamities as a result of the invasions of eastern hordes of nomads - Seljuk-Oghuz-Turks (in the second half of the 11th century AD), the Mongol-Tatars (1236 - the 14th c.), Kara Koyunlu and Aq Koyunlu (the 15th c.), as well as the Ottoman-Safavid wars of conquest and territorial partitions (1555, 1639), which destroyed, established since ancient times the system of the Great Silk Road\textsuperscript{21}.

The Armenian Genocide, planned, organized and committed by the Ottoman and the Young Turk regimes, and continued by the Kemalists in the agonizing Ottoman Empire and Western Armenia, Cilician Armenia, and in some regions of Eastern Armenia, along with the annihilation and deportation of the Armenian population also resulted in the destruction of the Armenian cultural values and the trade and economic spheres of the country.

The holistic historical heritage of the Armenian people territorially includes the Republic of Armenia, the Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh) Republic, Northern Artsakh, Utik (Gardman, Gandzak...), Northern Gugark (Javakhk, Tregyk...), Nakhijevan, Paytakaran in Eastern Armenia and subjected to the crime of genocide Western Armenia, Cilician Armenia and Armenian Mesopotamia. However, the UNESCO designers of the international program of the Silk Road did not taken into consideration the actual history, but took as a basis the modern "political world map", where the Republic of Armenia is presented within the limits resulting from huge human and territorial losses.

\textsuperscript{16} A plundering practice existing from ancient times in Europe and Asia.

\textsuperscript{17} Levon II, Prince of Cilicia, after crowning - King Levon I (Wayne G. Sayles, Ancient Coin Collecting VI, Iola, WI, 1999, p. 36).


\textsuperscript{19} Манандян Я.А., О торговле и городах Армении в связи с мировой торговлей древних времен, Ереван, 1954. Мартиросян А., На Великом Шелковом пути, Ереван, 1998.

\textsuperscript{20} Микаелян Г. Г., «История Киликийского армянского государства», Ереван, 1952.

\textsuperscript{21} A monastic scribe in Crete wrote with horror about the capture of Constantinople (1453) by the Turks: "There never has been and never will be a more dreadful happening” (Palmer A., The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire, New York, 1992, p. 1). Victor Hugo noted: “Les Turcs ont passé là: tout est ruine et deuil” (V. Hugo., Oeuvres complètes. Poésie I. Paris, 1985, L’enfant, p. 476).
of the Armenian people as the result of the Armenian Genocide, as well as the conclusion of the Moscow and Kars illegal treaties, due to the Bolshevik-Kemalist criminal conspiracy22 and enforced decisions of the Caucasian Bureau (1921)23.

In 1988 UNESCO launched a ten-year project entitled: "Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue." The goal of the project is defined in the following statement: "The Silk Roads have highlighted the fruitful dialectic and give-and-take in the unending dialogue between civilizations and cultures. They show how the movement of people, and the flow of ideas and values, have served to transform cultures, and even civilizations... Through this project, UNESCO has sought to shed light on the common heritage, both material and spiritual, that links the peoples of Eurasia"24. In the course of the project's realization were carried out dozens of conferences and seminars, created movies, etc. however, on many sites containing information about the UNESCO project, incorrectly using the names "Anatolia" and "Turkey" in relation to the territories of Western Armenia and Cilician Armenia, and not mentioning the Armenian Highland and the whole of Armenia, is presented disinformation, completely falsifying the whole history of Armenia and, accordingly, the history of the Silk Road, as can be seen, for example, from the following passage: "Caravanserais were built mainly for travellers pilgrims and wandering dervishes in regions like Anatolia where East and West met"25. "Linking Turkey, the Caucasus, Western China, Iran, Afghanistan and India, the caravan routes transformed them into one huge cultural and economic zone... "The United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture" is committed to integrated, comprehensive study of the heritage of ancient civilizations, the flourishing of many of them is directly linked with the development of contacts along the Great Silk Road"26.

But what is the relation of Turkey with the heritage of ancient civilizations? Gross injustice is the mention of Turkey in connection with the Silk Road project along with a number of countries - the creators and keepers of ancient and medieval cultural traditions of the native peoples. Contrary to them Turkey is responsible for the crime committed against humanity and civilization, the first genocide of the 20th century - the Armenian Genocide. After committing the genocide against Armenians (1.5 million were killed) Turkey continues the genocide of culture - the destruction of the Armenian historic heritage in Western Armenia, including Cilician Armenia.

France, England and Russia in their Joint Declaration of May 24 1915 condemned Turkey of committing "new crimes against humanity and civilization"27 (it meant a new...
stage of crimes in 1909-1915 after the massacre in the 90\textsuperscript{th} of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century). The Entente Reply to President Wilson’s Peace Note stated, that one of their aims was “the turning out from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, as decidedly foreign to Western civilization”\textsuperscript{28}.

The Treaty of Sèvres (10.08.1920) retains its value as a document of international law. The President of the United States Woodrow Wilson’s Arbitral Award (ratified with the signatures of the arbitrator Woodrow Wilson and Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby and The Great Seal of the United States) is final and binding\textsuperscript{29}.

The consultants of UNESCO and other organizations dealing with political and cultural problems of the region must know the truth, on the one hand, about the history of Armenia, the crime of the Armenian Genocide committed by Turkey and the capture of Western Armenia, including Cilician Armenia, etc., and, on the other hand, about the Azerbaijani crimes - deportation, pogroms and massacres of the native Armenian population of the districts, towns and villages of some regions of Eastern Armenia (Nakhjhevan, Artsakh and Utik: Getashen, Shahumyan, Maragha, Gandzak…), as well as the Armenian population of the left bank of the Kura River (Shaki, Vardashen, Shamakhi, etc.) and the Cis-Caspian (Baku, Sumgait) and other cities.

The representatives of UNESCO declare about the integral study of the Silk Road, restoration of its history, however, they ignore the truth of history itself, particularly in relation to the holistic civilizational heritage of Armenia. In studying the history of the Silk Road and designing the international project it was necessary to have Armenia presented in its full historical content. On the contrary, the UNESCO project on "studying the Silk Road", in connection with the Armenian lands out of the Republic of Armenia goes, hand in hand with the falsifications perpetrated in the fields of archaeology, history and cartography of Armenia by Turkey and Azerbaijan, which have absolutely no relation to ancient and medieval Armenian civilizational heritage of the western and some eastern territories of Armenia annexed by them, moreover, they are continuously busy destroying it.

Guided by Pan-Turkism, Turkish authorities, having as their basis the genocidal experience of the Ottomans, the Young Turks and Kemalists, in the 30\textsuperscript{th} of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century under the guidance of Kemal Atatür̂k and his henchmen fabricated

\begin{itemize}
\item 28 Entente Reply to President Wilson’s Peace Note, January 10, 1917 https://goo.gl/hrzUaI
\item 29 Papian A.A., The Arbitral Award on Turkish-Armenian Boundary by Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States of America (Historical Background, Legal Aspects and International Dimensions), Fundamental Armeology, Issue 1, 2015, p. 221, 233.
\end{itemize}
pseudoscientific "Turkish historical thesis". Azerbaijani falsifiers, on the other hand, adhered to the fraud of the type of "Buniativshchina" (the 60-80s of the 20th century) nurtured on the Turkish Armenophobic policy's yeast. At present, Turkish and Azerbaijani falsifications with the "rebirth" of Neo-Osmanism are experiencing a "boom" of the new phase of falsifications, with the support of their external patrons.

In the information war against Armenia, Turkish-Azerbaijani propaganda, falsifying the historical realities, uses the international podiums. It seemed that the UNESCO project would serve historical truth, but, on the contrary, there is observed the "Turkish-Azerbaijani trace". Moreover, it can be stated that in relation to the falsification of the history of Armenia in favor of the Turkish-Azerbaijani alliance, the project "Integral Study of the Silk Road" is the quintessence of falsifications carried out by the Turkish "research institutes" in close cooperation with some external research centers. Thus, when the question in the project concerns the historical heritage of the whole territory of Armenia, the real facts of historical science are ignored by such organizations.

In September of 1998, the international conference entitled "TRACECA - Restoration of the Historic Silk Road" under the auspices of the European Union was held in Baku, in the framework of “TRACECA Programme (transport corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia) for the first time initiated at the Conference in Brussels, in May 1993, involving Ministries of Trade and Transport from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan”. In 2008, at the next conference of TRACECA again held in Baku, the transport Minister of Turkey talked about the "revival of the historical Silk Road" and, as if "thanks to it a new infrastructure project entered into the life of the member states". In reality, Turkish authorities are busy with denying the Armenian Genocide and the realization of the ideologically Pan-Turkic "Caucasus platform". Thus, Turkey and Azerbaijan historically

---

33 http://www.traceca-org.org/ru/traseka/istorija-traseka/
34 http://www.traceca-org.org/ru/traseka/history-of-traceca/
35 http://www.traceca-org.org/ru/traseka/istorija-traseka/
36 In connection with the activities of Prime Minister of Turkey Erdogan in creation of the "Caucasus platform of peace and stability" (20 August, 2008) (http://www.panarmenian.net/eng/world/details/42830/ http://www.armtoday.info/default.asp?Lang=_Ru&NewsID=5469), it is necessary to remember that regardless of its format, any idea of creation of such a regional structure initiated by Turkey, which denies the Armenian Genocide, in its basis, inevitably will have a "rebirth" of the program of creation of the ideologically Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic
having no relation to the history of the Silk Road and its heritage, in their annexationist
goals are turning it into the target for their falsifications. At the same time, the next
victim of savage annihilation of the Armenian historical and cultural heritage became the
last group of ten thousand destroyed khachkars (cross-stones) in the cemetery of the
ancient Armenian city of Jugha37, located on the highway of the historic Silk Road.

A very peculiar form acquires the patronage of some responsible persons of the
UN in relation to the falsifications of Turkey. In 2005 the so-called "Alliance of
civilizations" was created with the active participation of Prime Ministers of Spain and
Turkey38. During the opening of the 2nd forum of the "Alliance" (April 6, 2009) in
Istanbul, Prime Minister Erdogan, in the presence of heads of a number of states made
a "statement" absolutely not corresponding to historical reality. He in particular said: "On
behalf of my country and nation, I would like to express my great pleasure in hosting the
Second Forum of the Alliance of Civilizations in Istanbul... this land has been rather the
home of peace, tolerance, a culture of coexistence, mutual compassion and respect"39.
Contrary to such an obvious lie, the Decree issued on January 5, 1916 by the Minister
of War Enver Pasha40 shows the antihuman face of the Turkish occupants: "It is
important to change into Turkish all names of provinces, regions, villages, mountains
and rivers belonging to Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian and other non-Muslim peoples.
Making use swiftly of this favorable moment, we beseech your help in carrying out this
order"41.

Further, Erdogan deepening into the labyrinth of falsification of history, stated: "Not
only Istanbul alone, but almost every city in Turkey today sustains the traditional
symbols of peace, harmony and tolerance that have been in existence here throughout
history... There have also been provocative acts in Turkey, as in many countries around
the world, aiming to harm this climate of brotherhood and friendship. But our society,
moulded in a culture of tolerance and dialogue for thousands of years, has never
allowed such divisive acts to prevail and has always chosen to stand together against

"independent Caucasus," elaborated by the Turkish criminal government and a group of Caucasian Muslims in 1915, in
Constantinople (Istanbul) (Georgia and the War, Zurich, 1916, pp. 33-34; Аветисян Г.А., К вопросу о «Кавказском

37 This crime was committed at the beginning of the 21 century. The Armenian cemetery was desecrated and
transformed into a shooting range (Jufa. The Annihilation of the Armenian Cemetery by Nakhijevan’s Azerbaijani
Authorities, Beirut, 2006). About historical monuments of Jugha see; Այվազյան Ա., Ջուղա, Երևան, 1984:

38 Lachmann Niels, In the Labyrinth of International Community: The Alliance of Civilisations Programme of the United
Nations, Cooperation and Conflict, June 2011, vol. 46 (2), pp. 185-200. Some experts opposed the creation of an
"Alliance of Civilizations" in the framework of the United Nations (Schaefer B., The U. S. Should Oppose the Proposed
civilizations).

39 The Alliance of Civilizations Second Forum Opening Statement. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of the

40 Enver Pasha was one of the main perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide.

41 Sahakyan L., Turkification of the Toponyms in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, Montreal, 2010, p.
14.
those plots aiming to undermine our friendship. On the basis of these experiences in Turkey, I would like to express our distinct pleasure in being able to convey messages of peace to the world. The facts show quite the opposite. There can be no word about “thousands of years”, because the Seljuk-Oghuz-Turkic nomads (from Trans-Altai deserts and Aral steppes) appeared in Western Asia only from the second half of the 11th century and later. Their devastating raids, along with the captivity and murder of peaceful population, the destruction of many thriving cities and cultural centers, destroyed also the system of the Silk Road. About the Ottoman Turks Arnold Toynbee noted that their “eponym, ‘Osmân, was the son of a certain Ertoghrul who had led into Anatolia (Asia Minor - E.D.) a nameless band of Turkish refugees: an insignificant fragment of the human wreckage....”

Erdogan speaks about “a culture of tolerance and dialogue,” but in reality his speech serves as a disguise for the Turkish government’s policy of the denial of the Armenian Genocide. On April 24, 1915 it was just in Constantinople (Istanbul) that thousands of Armenian intellectuals, political, national, religious leaders, teachers, doctors and other professionals were arrested and killed with the sanction of the Young Turks’ government.

It should be noted that in contrast to the Russian Chronicles and Historiography (which retained the ancient Armenian names) and the policy of foundation of new cities in the Russian Emire - New Nakhijevan, Grigoriopol, Armavir named after the ancient and medieval Armenian names, in the Ottoman Empire, and later on, in the Republic of Turkey, as a result of genocidal policy, as in the past, as well as at present is prohibited the mention of the Armenian geographic names (Western Armenia, Ararat, Masis, Aratsani, and many others), which are either distorted or destroyed by the direct sanction of the Turkish authorities.

On the one hand, in the framework of the Silk Road project, Turkey presents its "program" allegedly in modern "political boundaries", including the occupied Western Armenian lands, on the other hand, as can be seen from international events and Internet sites, Armenia, is represented in the Silk Road project of UNESCO only within the limits of the Republic of Armenia. Moreover, Western Armenia (including Cilician Armenia) - the largest part of the Motherland of the Armenian people, not only is not represented in the Silk Road project of UNESCO, but this project is used against the Republic of Armenia and the Artsakh Republic. For example, in June 2008 at a conference entitled "New Silk Road Business Opportunities" held in Chicago [partners and cosponsors: the Central Asian Productivity Research Center, the Turkish Trade

42 The Alliance of Civilizations Second Forum Opening Statement, p. 2.
44 Даниелян Э.Л., Философское осмысление истории Армении в историографическом контексте российско-армянского цивилизационного диалога. В кн: Армения в диалоге цивилизаций, Нижний Новгород, 2011, стр. 11-18.
Office in Chicago, and the Commercial Section, Consulate of Pakistan (Chicago); participating countries Turkey, Azerbaijan, Pakistan, Kazakhstan and some others] were presented completely distorted facts and false attacks addressed\(^{46}\) to the Republic of Armenia in connection with the victorious results of the liberation struggle of Artsakh.

Turkish authorities sanctioning the annihilation of the Armenian cultural and civilizational values and incorrect using of the term “Eastern Anatolia” instead of \textit{Western Armenia}, exploit the Silk Road project, pursuing Pan-Turkic aims, as, for example, follows from tourism website “All about Turkey "desired" by Burak Sansal. This website falsificator of history presents himself, as “a licensed professional tour guide, introducing tourists of many nationalities to Turkey and its wonders since 1990”. As he says: “I'm also trying to promote Turkey through this award-winning website which is fully created by myself. Whether you're visiting Turkey or just interested, you can have an idea about our country scrolling through the pages.” Burak knows that the term “Anatolia” corresponds to Asia Minor, but falsifying historical geography, he wrongly uses the term “Eastern Anatolia” instead of \textit{Western Armenia}. Along with many names of the cities and towns that are marked on the so-called “Anatolian Silk Road Itinerary”, mentioning also the cities of Western Armenia (including Armenia Minor) - Erzrum (Karin), Erzincan (Eriza/Erznka), Mush, Kars, Ardahan, Van, Bitlis (Baghesh), Sivas (Sebastia), Tokat, Amasia, Diyarbakir (Amid) etc., Burak writes: “The Ministry of Tourism is planning to reactivate the Silk Road on which these unique examples of our cultural heritage still stand”. The forger then writes: "The caravan routes transporting silk, china, paper, spices and precious stones from one continent to the other followed several itineraries in Asia before arriving in Anatolia, which served as a bridge linking it to Europe via the Thrace region.... After the Turkic Republics in Central Asia acquired their independence, the idea was raised to revive the Silk Road both as a trade route and as a cultural and historical heirloom with the aim of restoring the inns and caravanserais to meet present day requirements”\(^{47}\). Thus, Burak presents the plans of Turkish officials, who are eager to privatize the Silk Road not only in the part of the highway within the system of trade routes [crossing Western Armenia (including Cilician Armenia and Armenia Minor)] of Great Armenia, but proclaiming all the republics of Central Asia (i.e. Middle Asia) “Turkic”. But it is necessary to remember that, for example, the Tajik language - the official language of the Republic of Tajikistan belongs to the Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian languages of the Indo-European family\(^{48}\), etc.

\(^{46}\) \url{http://lists.econ.utah.edu/pipermail/a-list/2008-June/035334.html}.

\(^{47}\) All about Turkey with tour guide Burak Sansal. \url{https://goo.gl/dBfWj3} \url{http://www.allaboutturkey.com/anatolia.htm} \url{http://www.allaboutturkey.com/erzurum.htm} \url{http://www.allaboutturkey.com/eastern-anatolia.htm}

Thus, Turkey through the "Alliance of Civilizations", fabricated under the auspices of the UN and "The Silk Road project", initiated by UNESCO, as well as falsely using the term "Eastern Anatolia", appropriates the cultural heritage of Western Armenia, including Armenia Minor, Cilician Armenia and Armenian Mesopotamia, committing the genocide of Armenian culture. On the other hand, in the political-economic and cultural projects elaborated by certain international circles the cultural heritage of the Armenian people is presented only within the limits of territory of the Republic of Armenia, pressed into regional pseudo-concept "Southern Caucasus" (in reality, the Caucasus and all its parts are to the north and east of the Kura River). But, for a true scientific and historical approach to the study of the history of the Silk Road it is necessary at the international level to implement actually the idea of protection of cultural and historical heritage of each people (monuments of architecture, works of art, manuscripts, etc.), especially of the Armenian nation, subjected to genocide in the western part of its Homeland - Western Armenia (including western part of Great Armenia, Armenia Minor, Cilician Armenia and Armenian Mesopotamia).

In order for the project "Integral Study of the Silk Road" to be scientifically founded and serving the dialogue of civilizations, it is necessary to present the historical and cultural heritage of Armenia in its territorial entity: Eastern Armenia - the Republic of Armenia, the Artsakh (Nagorno Karabakh) Republic, Northern Artsakh, Utik (Gardman, Gandzak...), Javakhk, Nakhijevan and Paytakaran, as well as Western Armenia, including Armenia Minor, Armenian Mesopotamia and Cilician Armenia. A truly scientific approach to the history of the Silk Road in line with the dialogue of civilizations can become one of the guarantors of the security of the world civilization with its spiritual and cultural roots in Armenia.49

49 George Gordon Byron about Armenians, the Armenian Motherland - Armenia and the Armenian language wrote: "Whatever may have been their destiny - and it has been bitter - whatever it may be in future, their country must ever be one of the most interesting on the globe; and perhaps their language only requires to be more studied... It is a rich language... If the Scriptures are rightly understood, it was in Armenia that Paradise was placed... It was in Armenia that the flood first abated, and the dove alighted" (Lord Byron's Armenian Exercises and Poetry. Venice: in the Island of St. Lazzaro, 1870, pp. 8, 10-12). D.M. Lang highly appreciating the contribution of Armenia to the world civilization, particularly, wrote: “The ancient land of Armenia is situated in the high mountains... Although Mesopotamia with its ancient civilizations of Sumeria and Babylon, is usually considered together with Egypt as the main source of civilized life in the modern sense, Armenia too has a claim to rank as one of the cradles of human culture. To begin with, Noah’s Ark is stated in the Book of Genesis to have landed on the summit of Mount Ararat, in the very centre of Armenia... Again, Armenia has a claim on our attention as one of the principal homes of ancient metallurgy, beginning at least five thousand years ago...” (Lang D. M., "Armenia: Cradle of Civilization", London, 1970).
ARCHAEOLOGY
ARMENIAN ARCHAEOASTRONOMY AND ASTRONOMY IN CULTURE

Areg Mickaelian*1 and Sona Farmanyan2

1Byurakan Astrophysical Observatory (BAO), National Academy of Sciences, Byurakan 0213, Aragatzotn Province, Armenia
2M. Abeghyan Institute of Literature, National Academy of Sciences, 15 Grigor Lusavorich Str., Yerevan 0015, Armenia

Received: 25/02/2016
Accepted: 12/03/2016
Corresponding author: Areg Mickaelian (aregmick@yahoo.com)

ABSTRACT

A review is given on archaeoastronomy in Armenia and astronomical knowledge reflected in the Armenian culture. Astronomy in Armenia was popular since ancient times and Armenia is rich in its astronomical heritage, such as the names of the constellations, ancient observatories, Armenian rock art (numerous petroglyphs of astronomical content), ancient and medieval Armenian calendars, astronomical terms and names used in Armenian language since II-I millennia B.C., records of astronomical events by ancient Armenians (e.g. Halley’s comet in 87 B.C., supernovae explosion in 1054), the astronomical heritage of the Armenian medieval great thinker Anania Shirakatsi’s (612-685), medieval sky maps and astronomical devices by Ghukas (Luca) Vanandetsi (XVII-XVIII centuries) and Mkhitar Sebastatsi (1676-1749), etc. For systemization and further regular studies, we have created a webpage devoted to Armenian archaeoastronomical matters at Armenian Astronomical Society (ArAS) website. Issues on astronomy in culture include astronomy in ancient Armenian cultures, ethnoastronomy, astronomy in Armenian religion and mythology, astronomy and astrology, astronomy in folklore and poetry, astronomy in arts, astrolinguistics and astroheraldry. A similar webpage for Astronomy in Armenian Culture is being created at ArAS website and a permanent section “Archaeoastronomy and Astronomy in Culture” has been created in ArAS Electronic Newsletter. Several meetings on this topic have been organized in Armenia during 2007-2014, including the archaeoastronomical meetings in 2012 and 2014, and a number of books have been published. Several institutions are related to these studies coordinated by Byurakan Astrophysical Observatory (BAO) and researchers from the fields of astronomy, history, archaeology, literature, linguistics, etc. are involved.

KEYWORDS: archaeoastronomy, historical astronomy, cultural astronomy, landscape archaeology, astroarchaeology.
1. INTRODUCTION

Astronomy is one of the ancient sciences in the world, as well as in the Armenian Highland. On the other hand, Armenia is rather rich in archaeoastronomy and the Armenian culture is rich in evidences of astronomical knowledge, both in ancient times and its modern reflections. Being among the most advanced interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary sciences, archaeoastronomy and astronomy in culture (AAC) involve astronomers, historians, archaeologists, ethnographers, philologists, linguists, artists and other representatives of science and culture. That is why it has such popularity.

Armenian AAC include many creations related to astronomical knowledge, including calendars, rock art, mythology, etc. On the other hand, from the professional point of view, this subject is rather poorly developed in Armenia. There are only individual studies on various related issues (especially many studies related to our medieval great thinker Anania Shirakatsi, see below) but not coordinated actions to manage this important field of investigation. This paper is aimed at presenting a general overview to mention and summarize some recent activities. A review is given on archaeoastronomy in Armenia and astronomical knowledge reflected in Armenian culture.

Several Armenian institutions are related to these studies coordinated by Byurakan Astrophysical Observatory (BAO). To systemization and further regular studies, Armenian Astronomical Society (ArAS) has opened a webpage dedicated to AAC (www.aras.am/Archaeoastronomy/astronomyancientarmenia.html). Armenian astronomers are members of SEAC, IAU working groups on Astronomy and World Heritage, Archaeoastronomy and Astronomy in Culture and other international organizations.

2. ARMENIAN ARCHAEOASTRONOMY

Armenia is one of the most ancient countries in the world. On the other hand, the Middle East (where the Armenian Highland is located) is regarded as the cradle of the civilization.

Astronomy in Armenia was popular since ancient times and Armenia is rich in its astronomical heritage (Herouni, 2006; Mickaelian, 2008; 2014; Parsamian, 1999, 2014; Tumanian, 1985). Armenian archaeoastronomy includes:

- names of the constellations,
- ancient observatories,
- Armenian rock art with astronomical content,
- ancient Armenian calendar and other (medieval) calendars,
- astronomical terms and names,
- records of astronomical events by ancient Armenians,
- Armenian medieval great thinker Anania Shirakatsi’s astronomical heritage,
- medieval sky maps,
- medieval astronomical devices, etc.

It has been suggested that the first division of the sky into constellations was made a few thousand years ago in the Armenian Highland and nearby areas (Olcott, 1911; Flammarion, 1880). This is based on the names of Zodiacal and some other constellations. The main arguments are the period of visibility, precession calculations, animals involved (that lived in these areas), archaeological studies, cultural traces in the history, folklore, etc. In addition (surprisingly), Zodiacal constellation signs are similar to ancient Armenian symbolism. Many other papers indicate that the first division of the sky into constellations in any case was done in the area of Mesopotamia (e.g. Belmonte, 2015).

Figure 1. Zorats Karer. Stones Nos. 60, 62 and 63 and a schematic explanation how our ancestors could make observations of the celestial bodies through the holes. Photo by one of the authors

Two of the ancient observatories discovered in Armenia, namely Zorats Karer (or Karahunge) and Metzamor are especially well known. Karahunge is the Armenian twin of the Stonehenge and is considered to be even older (Parsamian, 1985a; 1985b;
Armenian archaeoastronomy and astronomy in culture

Bochkarev & Bochkarev, 2005; Herouni, 2006; Martirosyan, 2015). It may be considered as one of the widespread megalithic structures in Europe and Asia (Scuderi et al., 2014). Figure 1 shows how our ancestors could observe the celestial objects through the holes made in the stones. Beside these two observatories, Sevsar, Astghaberd, Portablur and Agarak have also been revealed.

The Armenian rock art (numerous petroglyphs of astronomical content) is especially unique and famous (Tokhatyan, 2014; 2015; Ter-Gulanyan, 2014). Most of such carvings are found in historical Armenia and neighbouring countries. We give in Figure 2 examples of the Armenian rock art and extracted examples of figures from different stones. Original stone with dots and other elements should be related to the calendar. A number of celestial objects (Sun, Moon, planets, comets and stars) are often present.

Ancient and medieval Armenian calendars are well studied and described (Tumanian & Mnatsakanian, 1965; Badalian, 1970; Broutian, 1997; 2015; Tumanian, 1972). At least 3 of them are well-known: Hayots Bun Tvakan (Armenian Main Calendar, begins on 11 August 2492 B. C.), Hayots Mets Tvakan (Armenian Great Calendar, begins on 11 July 552 A. D.) and Hayots Pqpr Tvakan (begins on 11 August 1084 A. D., Armenian Small Calendar). Ancient Armenian names of the months, days and even of each hour are survived and presently used in the religious (Apostolic) calendar.

Astronomical terms and names used in Armenian language since II-I millennia B. C. (Armenian names of the planets, constellations and some stars) may be divided into two types: 1) those originated in Armenia and being unique, and 2) those taken from ancient Greek and transformed (translated or transliterated) into Armenian (Harutyunian, 2015; Yeghikian, 2015).

Records of astronomical events by ancient Armenians have always been important for the history, particularly for the establishment of exact or possibly true dating. Their role in historical records is well established (e.g. Polcaro et al., 2008), as they help in revealing many unknown to historians facts and dates. Armenians have observed Halley’s comet in 87 B. C. and this event was carved on the coin by Armenian king Tigranes II the Great (Gurzadyan & Vardanyan, 2004). According to some authors, the Supernovae explosion in 1054 on the location of the present Crab nebulae was observed in Armenia in May 1054 compared to the Chinese observations in July of the same year (Pskovskij, 1982).

Armenian medieval great thinker Anania Shirakatsi’s (612-685) astronomical heritage is huge (Anania Shirakatsi, 1962; Conybeare, 1897; Semyonov, 1953; Nazaryan, 2013; 2014; Petri, 1964; Arevshatyan, 2014; Danielyan, 2014; Eynatyan, 2014; Harutyunian & Mickaelian, 2014; Mirumyan, 2015). Among his 29 works, 13 have relation to astronomy (calendars, tables, papers about Earth, Moon and sky). His views were rather advanced for his time. A webpage dedicated to Anania Shirakatsi is available at ArAS website (www.aras.am/FamousAstronomers/shirakatsi.html).

Other medieval Armenian astronomy-related historians and scientists were Moses Khorenatsi (410-490), Davit Anhaght (VI c.), Hovhannes Yezznaktsi (1230-1293), et al.

Similar to Johann Bayer, Jan Hevelius, Nicolas Louis de La Caille and some others, Armenian scientists have left medieval sky maps with the names of constellations and bright stars. Some lists have been survived since Moses Khorenatsi and Anania Shirakatsi, but the most important full sky map was produced by Mkhitar Sebastatsi (1676-1749) in 1749, “Astghalits Erkinq” (Figure 3). 63 constellations are drawn with their Armenian names coming from earlier centuries (the mythological ones) or translated from European maps (those introduced during 17th-18th centuries).

Several astronomical instruments were found from the Middle Ages. They are described by B. E. Tumanian (1958; 1985). Particularly interesting is the astronomical-geodetical device astrolabe built by Ghukas (Luca) Vanandetsi (XVII-XVIII centuries).
3. ARMENIAN CULTURAL ASTRONOMY

Cultural astronomy is sometimes regarded as the cultural interpretation of archaeological evidence relating to astronomy (Iwaniszewski, 2015a). On the other hand, the astronomical knowledge has been reflected in various cultural creations, from ancient calendars (discussed in Section 2) to modern arts and handicrafts (Stavinski, M. 2010a; 2010b). Cultural astronomy is represented as a set of interdisciplinary fields studying the astronomical systems of current or ancient societies and cultures. In recent years, considerable attention has been paid to this sphere, particularly international organizations were established, conferences are being held and journals are being published. Armenia is rather rich in various evidences of cultural astronomy.

Here we list the main topics related to Astronomy in Culture (most of them also given in Ruggles, 2015). Issues on astronomy in culture have been described in a number of papers, including by the authors of this paper (Farmanyan & Mickaelian, 2015a; 2015b; Harutyunian, 2000):

- astronomy in ancient Armenia and related cultures (heavily related to Armenian archaeoastronomy),
- ethnoastronomy, which is the study of the knowledge, interpretations, and practices of contemporary cultures regarding celestial objects or phenomena and is tightly connected with the national culture,
- astronomy, religion and mythology (Farmanyan, 2015; Farmanyan & Mickaelian, 2014; Vardumyan G., 2015),
- astronomy and astrology (even though astrology is regarded as false science, it has had a great influence in the history of astronomy and is part of astronomy in culture),
- astronomy in folklore and poetry (Harutyunian, 2014; Arakelyan, 2015),
- astronomy in arts. Astronomy in music (Var- dumyan A., 2015),
- astronomy in fashion (clothes, carpets, etc.),
- astronomical terms and astrolinguistics (Harutyunian, 2015; Yeghikian, 2015). As mentioned, many constellations and stars, the 5 planets visible by naked eye, and many other astronomical terms in Armenian are known since the I-II millennia B.C.,
- astroheraldry, i.e. astronomical signs on state flags, coats of arms, coins and banknotes, stamps, etc. (Mickaelian & Farmanyan, 2015). Astronomical signs used in other fields may be combined as astrosymbolism. It is strongly reflected in various Armenian writings: petroglyphs, hieroglyphs, syllabic, and modern alphabets (Figure 4).

A number of recent studies in the Armenian cultural astronomy were carried out by Farmanyan & Mickaelian (2014), Farmanyan (2015) and others.

A similar to Archaeoastronomy webpage for Astronomy in Armenian Culture will be created at ArAS website and a permanent section “Archaeoastronomy and Astronomy in Culture” has been introduced in ArAS Electronic Newsletter “ArASNews” (www aras.am/ArasNews/arasnews.html).

4. SUMMARY

We reviewed the Armenian astronomical heritage reflected in archaeoastronomical sites and docu-
ments, as well as in ancient, medieval and modern culture.

During the recent years (2007-2014), we have organized a number of meetings, where archaeoastronomy was involved, including those completely devoted to this subject. A number of books have been published. The last meeting, held in 2014 was the first meeting on Relation of Astronomy to other Sciences and Culture and Society and for the first time it involved the subject Astronomy in Culture. The list of these meetings related to AAC is as follows:

- Archaeoastronomy seminar dedicated to Anania Shirakatsi’s 1400th anniversary, 13-14 July 2011, Byurakan.
- Meeting “Relation of Astronomy to other Sciences, Culture and Society” (RASCS) combined with ArAS XIII Annual Meeting, Sessions “Archaeoastronomy” and “Astronomy in Culture”, 7-9 Oct 2014, Yerevan (Harutyunian et al., 2015).

Abstracts of JENAM-2007, the meeting “Astronomical Heritage in the National Culture” (2012) and RASCS (2014) are available in Astrophysical Data System (ADS). Proceedings books have been published for the latter two.

A number of institutions in Armenia are involved in AAC. So far, BAO coordinates AAC related actions. UNESCO (UNESCO-IAU Astronomy and World Heritage Initiative (AWHI), e.g. Ruggles, 2013) has officially recognized BAO as the coordinator in Armenia in the field of Astronomy and World Heritage, a sub-project of UNESCO World Heritage project. BAO representatives also are involved in IAU Working Groups Astronomy and World Heritage (WGAWH) and Archaeoastronomy and Astronomy in Culture (WGAC) and the European Society for Astronomy in Culture (SEAC, Société Européenne pour l’Astronomie dans la Culture). In Armenia, there are several institutions connected to AAC and involved in related inter- and multi-disciplinary studies:

- NAS RA V. Ambartsumian Byurakan Astrophysical Observatory (BAO) (www.bao.am),
- NAS RA Institute of History (www.academhistory.am/en),
- NAS RA Institute of Archaeology and Ethnomymology (www.archaeology.sci.am),
- NAS RA M. Abeghyan Institute of Literature (language.sci.am/en),
- NAS RA H. Acharian Institute of Language (litinst.sci.am/en),
- Matenadaran, Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (www.matenadaran.am).

One can regard Astrotourism (which is part of the Scientific Tourism) as part of Astronomy in Culture. Since 2009 (International Year of Astronomy, IYA-2009, declared by UNESCO), we also develop these activities in Armenia that includes observations of starry skies, acquaintance of tourists to native astronomies with the help of archaeo- and ethnoastronomy (Iwaniszewski, 2015b), visits to modern observatories, space museums and planetaria, as well as popular astronomical lectures.

Astronomical journalism is part of the scientific journalism, as most of topics of the latter relate to cosmic subjects: astronomy/astrophysics, space flights, extraterrestrial intelligence, cosmic catastrophes, and even UFOs and astrology (Stavinschi & Mosoia, 2010). In 2010, we have created scientific journalism in Armenia by opening a group of interested journalists and researchers and circulating related regular press-releases to mass-media. Numerous articles, online info materials, radio and TV programs and interviews followed, so that such items increased by a factor of 10-20.

After the foundation of IAU South West Asian Regional Office of Astronomy for Development (SWA ROAD) in Armenia, AAC became one of the main directions of its activities. We consider AAC as the most important and appropriate area of astronomy (and perhaps science in general) that can be close to public and play a significant role in the development. SWA ROAD has won a project funded by IAU OAD and a number of events are planned for 2016, including conferences, study of the field, construction of database and webpage, etc. Having SWA ROAD, now the Armenian AAC project also includes regional studies, so that this large area, where very high concentration of world heritage sites and matters are observed, will undergo combined and comparative investigations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank the organizers of SEAC-2015, particularly Prof. Vito Francesco Polcaro for the kind invitation to the meeting and his hospitality. This work was partially supported by the Swiss Agency for Development
and Cooperation SDC. SF would especially like to thank the personnel of Matenadaran, the museum of ancient manuscripts in Yerevan, Armenia.

REFERENCES


Ruggles, C. L. N. (2013) UNESCO’s Astronomy and World Heritage Initiative: Progress to Date and Future Priorities. American Astronomical Society, AAS Meeting #221, id.91.01.


PHILOSOPHY AND LAW
CIVILIZATION’S THEORY
IN GEOPOLITICAL CONCEPTIONS

Eduard Danielyan

The idea of the origin and development of civilization belongs to the historic categories within the scope of philosophic theories and interpretations. The entity of the spiritual-cultural, economic and political elements and the chronological sequence are characteristic for civilization. Therefore, each philosophic idea or definition concerning it, bearing the imprint of its time, has modern sounding, conditioned by cognitive and informational comprehension. In this way, the research of the theory of civilization went in two directions - scientific-cultural and, with the geopolitical purposes – in the direction of political sciences.

Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), analyzing the problem of the civilization’s concept, stated: “Every Culture has its own Civilization... The Civilization is the inevitable destiny of the Culture... Civilizations are the most external and artificial states of which a species of developed humanity is capable... The transition from Culture to Civilization was accomplished for the Classical world in the 4th, for the Western in the 19th Century” [1, p. 24-27].

Arnold Toynbee (1889—1975) accepted “the genesis of a civilization as an act of creation involving a process of change in Time” and that “the cultural elements are the essence of a civilization.” [2, II, p. 1 ; IV, p. 57]. Putting “upward movement of religion” at the basis of his philosophical concept of the development of civilization A. Toynbee wrote: “If religion is a chariot, it looks as if the wheels on which it mounts towards Heaven may be the periodic downfalls of civilizations on Earth. It looks as if the movement of civilization may be cyclic and recurrent, while the movement of religion may be on a single continuous upward line. The continuous upward movement of religion may be served and promoted by the cyclic of birth-death-birth.” [3, p. 6, 26] and civilizations “are particular beats of a general rhythmical pulsation which runs all through the Universe” [2, I, p. 205].

According to Marc Bloch (1886-1944), “a generation represents only a rela-
tively short phase. Longer phases are called civilizations”. Taking into consideration the historical process of rising and falling civilizations, based on ethnographic, religious, technological and other peculiarities, he wrote: “The antitheses of civilizations appeared clearly as soon as the contrasting features of exotic lands were noted. Will any one deny that there is a Chinese civilization today, or that it differs greatly from the European? But, even in the same region, the major emphases of the social complex may be more or less abruptly modified. When such a transformation has taken place, we say that one civilization succeeds another. Sometimes there is an external shock, ordinarily accompanied by the introduction of new human elements, such as between the Roman Empire and the societies of the high Middle Ages. Sometimes, on the other hand, there is simply internal change. Everyone will agree that the civilization of the Renaissance is no longer ours, despite the fact that we have derived such a liberal inheritance from it” [4, p. 187-189].

More complete formulation of civilization has been defined by Will Durant: “Civilization is social order promoting cultural creation. Four elements constitute it: economic provision, political organization, moral traditions, and the pursuit of knowledge and arts. It begins where chaos and insecurity end. For when fear is overcome, curiosity and constructiveness are free, and man passes by natural impulse towards understanding and embellishment” [5, p. 1].

According to the 18th century Enlightenment historians’ concept, history had become progress towards the goal of perfection of man’s estate on earth [6, p. 146]. As Edward Gibbon noted: “Every age of the world has increased, and still increases, the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue, of the human race” [7, Ch. xxxviii]. After the First World War a tendency of a cyclic theory of history, which came from Hegel’s three civilizations to twenty-one civilizations of Toynbee [2, I, p. 1], appeared.

A. Toynbee wrote: “In A.D. 1947 the fortunes and future of the peoples of Western Europe are still a matter of concern to the world as a whole, because this little patch of territory on the extreme edge of the vast Eurasian Continent has been the seed-bed of the Western Civilization that now overshadows the Earth. The decline of Western Europe - if she really were to fall into a lasting decay - might still be as serious for the prospects of civilization as was the decline of Greece in the last century B.C.” [3, p. 5-6].

The philosophical approach to the concept of civilization led the thinkers to its social interpretation and the cognitive perception of human nature in the context of the world civilization.
Isaiah Berlin (1909-1997), generalizing his historical outlook on freedom, noted: “The Enlightenment philosophes assumed that human values could be derived from facts about human nature. They believed that all men wanted the same things and that these things were not in conflict” [8, p. 201]. According to Marc Bloch’s observation, “There must be a permanent foundation in human nature and in human society, or the very names of man or society become meaningless” [4, p. 42].

Sigmund Freud considered human as more biological than social entity and tried to approach the social environment as something historically given and not in constant process of creation and transformation by man himself. He wrote: “Civilization is a process in the service of Eros whose purpose is to combine single human individuals, and after that families then races, peoples and nations into one great unity, the unity of mankind” [9, p. 69].

Expansionist policies and wars aimed at the conquests and redistribution of natural, economic and human resources systematically brought to the world’s geopolitical repartition accompanied by the destructions and enormous human losses. The rise, expansion and fall of empires and states fighting against each other for a predominance was accompanied by ups and downs of civilizations.

In different times devastating wars and violence between and within the states and societies, which were considered to be civilized, make theoretically obscure the demarcation line between barbarism and civilization. Voltaire (1694-1778) said: ”I want to know what were the steps, by which man passed from barbarism to civilization,” and concluding he wrote: “If you have nothing to tell us except that one barbarian succeeded another on the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes, what is that to us?” [2, I, p. 114-115].

After the First World War in western philosophy came the period of “pessimism” which was followed by the ideology of “liberal democracy”. Francis Fukuyama noted: “Our own experience has taught us, seemingly, that the future is more likely than not to contain new unimagined evils, from fanatical dictatorships and bloody genocides to the banalization of life through modern consumerism, and that unprecedented disasters await us from nuclear winter to global warming” [10, p. 3-4 ; cf. 11, p. 11].

In contrast to creative and constructive elements of civilization, destructive forces have blackened the history of mankind, reversing the idea of the world civilizational progress and having destructive consequences for the world civilization [12]. The western thinkers, who considered the First World War as “a critical event in the undermining of Europe’s self-confidence”, had been pondering on turning
into “deep historical pessimists” [10, p. 5].

From the second half of the 19th century till 1923 the Turks (the Sultan and Young Turk governments and then the Kemalists) criminally committed the Armenian Genocide in the most part of the Armenian Fatherland - Western Armenia and Armenian Cilicia, and other regions annexed by the Ottoman Empire, killing 2 million and deporting 800,000 Armenians. The catastrophic culmination of the Armenian Genocide was in 1915 [13, էջ 130-132; 14, 4-5; 16, с.11]. In the volume “The Mainstream of Civilization since 1500” the authors noted that in the First World War “Germany suffered approximately 2 million military dead, Russia 1.7 million, France 1.3 million, Austria-Hungary 1.1 million, Britain and its empire 750,000 and 250,000 respectively, Italy about 500,000, Turkey somewhat less, and the United States 114,000… and at least 1.5 million Armenians whom the Turks had massacred in 1915.” [15, p. 788]. The Armenian Genocide is the crime against humanity and civilization, for which Turkey bears responsibility [16].

Complex culturological investigation of more than five thousand-year-old Armenian history gives ground to define the Armenian Highland as the cradle of the Armenians and the world civilization. In civilizational developments decisive role belonged to the spiritual and cultural, natural and economic resources of Armenia and the strategic position between East and West [17, p. 8; 18, p. 202-227]. The significance of Armenian in the world civilization has been highly valued by Calmet (1672-1757) (L’Arménie a été nommée le «Berceau de la Civilisation ») [19, p. 162; 20] and David Marshall Lang in his book “Armenia Cradle of Civilization”: “The ancient land of Armenia is situated in the high mountains... Although Mesopotamia with its ancient civilizations of Sumeria and Babylon is usually considered together with Egypt as the main source of civilized life in the modern sense, Armenia too has a claim to rank as one of the cradles of human culture. To begin with, Noah’s Ark is stated in the Book of Genesis to have landed on the summit of Mount Ararat, in the very centre of Armenia. From the Ark, Noah’s descendants and all species of living beasts, and birds are supposed to have issued forth to people the globe. Whether or not we attribute any importance to the Book of Genesis as a historical source, none can deny the symbolic importance of its account of Noah’s Ark, which is cherished by both believers and unbelievers all over the world. Again, Armenia has a claim on our attention as one of the principal homes of ancient metallurgy, beginning at least five thousand years ago. Later on, Armenia became the first extensive kingdom to adopt Christianity as a state religion pioneering a style of Church architecture which anticipates our own Western Gothic” [21, p. 9]. This idea bears the testimony to the recognition of the role and place
of Armenia's contribution to the history of civilization.

According to the Sumer epic “Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta” (Aratta was called “the country of sacred rites (or laws)” [22] and the Book of Genesis, the Armenian ethno-spiritual roots were hallowed in the Ararat mountains (Aratta= the Armenian Highland [23, p. 59-81]. The spirituality of the mountains of Ararat is reflected also in other works of world art (Joseph Turner, Hovannes Ayvazovski, James Tisso, Salvador Dali) and literature. As Lord Byron wrote with a poetical inspiration: “Whatever may have been their (Armenians-E.D.) destiny - and it has been bitter - whatever it may be in future, their country must ever be one of the most interesting on the globe. If the Scriptures are rightly understood, it was in Armenia that Paradise was placed. . . It was in Armenia that the flood first abated, and the dove alighted” [24, p. 8].

The Armenian civilization is rooted in the very cradle of the world civilization, so it is a unique case in the human history when the world and ethnic roots of civilization have had the same basis [25, p. 30-56]. During millennia Armenian civilization underwent rises, as well as suffered heavy losses.

Armenia originally being at the centre of the witness of the Light-worship later appeared to be the outpost of the Christian world in the East. Armenia contributed greatly to the world treasury of culture. In the course of time Armenia suffered heavy losses caused by the eastern and western disastrous conquerors, and, particularly, the invasions of the eastern nomads.

The Seljuk Turks were nomadic tribes from Central Asia. Arnold Toynbee wrote: “Their eponym, 'Osman… had led into Anatolia (Asia Minor - E.D.) a nameless band of Turkish refugees: an insignificant fragment of the human wreckage…” [2, II, p. 151]. Later, the Ottoman Sultanate emerged on such a savage basis. It was an alien heterogeneous body plunged with its deadly tentacles into the conquered lands which had long civilized history. Wherever stepped the Turkish nomad the land turned into a desert. Victor Hugo noted: “Les Turcs ont passé là: tout est ruine et deuil” [26, p. 476] (“The Turks passed here; everything is ruined and mournful”).

A monastic scribe in Crete wrote about the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks: “There never has been and never will be a more dreadful happening” [27, p. 1-2]. William Gladstone (1809 – 1898) also stated that “… wherever appeared the Ottomans they left a wide bloody track everywhere; and wherever penetrated their dominion civilization perished, vanished from sight” [28, c. 6].

In the last decade of the 19th century during the Armenians’ massacres perpetrated in the Ottoman Empire, when, alongside with the enormous human losses
suffered by Armenians, the civilizational values created by the Armenian nation were destroyed, William Gladstone in his speech delivered in 1895 said: "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization."

Even in hard times Armenian creativeness exhibited itself in the Motherland as well as abroad [29]. Lord Bryce noted: “The educated Armenians, notwithstanding all they have suffered, are abreast of the modern world of civilization. Among them are many men of science and learning, as well as artists and poets. They are scattered in many lands. I have visited large Armenian colonies as far west as California, and there are others as far east as Rangoon. Many of the exiles would return to their ancient home if they could but be guaranteed that security and peace which they have never had, and can never have, under the rule of the Turk. May we not confidently hope that the Allied Powers will find means for giving it to them at the end of this war, for extending to them that security, which they have long desired and are capable of using well?” [30, Preface].

A. Toynbee, who highly valued the significance of the original Armenian civilization, noted in 1915: “The Armenians are perhaps the oldest established of the civilized races in Western Asia, and they are certainly the most vigorous at the present day. Their home is the tangle of high mountains between the Caspian, the Mediterranean, and the Black Seas. Here the Armenian peasant has lived from time immemorial the hard working life he was leading till the eve of this ultimate catastrophe. Here a strong, civilized Armenian kingdom was the first state in the world to adopt Christianity as its national religion. Here the Church and people have maintained their tradition with extraordinary vitality against wave upon wave of alien conquest from every quarter... The Armenian is not only an industrious peasant, he has a talent for handicraft and intellectual pursuits. The most harassed village in the mountains would never despair of its village school, and these schools were avenues to a wider world... The Armenian has lost the undivided possession of his proper country... the original Armenia, east of the upper Euphrates and north of the Tigris... the intermittent sufferings of the Armenian race have culminated in an organized, cold-blooded attempt on the part of its Turkish rulers to exterminate it once and for all by methods of inconceivable barbarity and wickedness” [31, p. 17-19; 2, III, p. 18].

At the Peace Conference (1919) “the Allies have declared... to President Wilson that one of their aims is "the turning out of Europe of the Ottoman Empire, as decidedly foreign to Western civilization"[30, ch.III]

At the threshold of the 21st century the American journalist Robert D. Kaplan
witnessed the destruction of the Armenian civilization in Western Armenia, where he traveled, reaching Trabzon. He wrote that except for an occasional ruin “every trace of Armenian civilization has been erased…” [32, p.318].

Highly valuing the Church in the context of civilization, Bertrand Russell wrote: “The Church represented at once continuity with the past and what was most civilized in the present” [33, p. xvii].

The destruction of the Armenian and world masterpieces of architecture – the churches among great many monuments of high historic value - is a crime committed by the Turks against civilization. That is the continuation of the Armenian Genocide – the crime against humanity [34]. In Eastern Armenia, in native Armenian territories of Nakhijevan, Artsakh and Utik it had been done by Turks-”Azerbaijanis” since the Soviet times. They continued the Genocide of the Armenian culture in post-Soviet time too and at the beginning of the 21st century destroyed last groups of the Armenian cross-stones (khachkars) [35]. That monstrous crime was not a clash of civilizations or cultures, but the continuation of the Genocide against culture as a result of the misanthropic anti-Armenian Pan-Turkic policy. Concerning Artsakh Baroness Caroline Cox and Prof. John Eibner noted in 1993 that the destruction of the Armenian monuments by the “Azerbaijanis” was accompanied by the ethnic “cleansing” [36]. Owing to the Artsakh liberation heroic victory, natural life of the Armenian civilization is in the process of restoration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (Mountainous part of Artsakh and the liberated lands). This historic reality comes to prove that the native land and the national culture-creating civilizational values need to be protected with arms.

An important ideological guarantee of the independence and recreation of the national statehood - obtained through the national-liberation struggle - is the Armenological historical resource, the protection of which is the barest necessity in the system of the information security.

Amid the current geopolitical developments «the problems of the information and its constituent part – the spiritual security and the protection of spiritual values became the most important task of the national security» [37, էջ 3]. In this context the disclosure and classification of the information-generated threats endangering the security of the national-civilizational processes are rather conditioned by deep comprehension and realization of the national interest. Moreover, “modern globalization contains the elements of expansionism in the ideological and spiritual-cultural spheres” and that, in its turn “reflects the national interests of the affecting (carrying out the information attack-E.D.) country and thus may damage the na-
tional civilizational and informational-spiritual security of the passively conformable ones” [38, p 8]: Thus, the protection of the rooted in millennia historical heritage - the pillar of the Armenian national system of values - by the information means is one of the pledges of the national security’s guarantees [39, p 6-12].

Touching on the civilizational processes S. Huntington wrote: “The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics… Conflict between civilizations will be the latest phase in the evolution of the conflict in the modern world” [40, p.1].

Out of the historic context an oversimplified vision of civilization’s future may bring to its interpretation only as a political system. Because, for example, if we take the period of the Cold war, that “was an ideological and geopolitical struggle between two opposing systems,” [41, p.73] i.e. communist and capitalist systems, and not a fight between the “communist” and “capitalist” civilizations.

Cultures, as main constituents, bridge civilizations through their inner potential of creativeness. According to Isaiah Berlin, “Enlightenment rationalism supposed that conflicts between values were a heritage of mis-education or injustice and could be swept away by rational reforms, by indoctrinating individuals into believing that their individual interests could be fully realized by working exclusively for the common good” [8, p. 202].

Owing to diversities in cultural values it is possible to speak about competitiveness and mutual influence among cultures and civilizations. On the one hand, nation presents itself to the world by culture, on the other, the continuity of culture conditioned to the national tradition’s preservation.

In contemporary approaches of political science the problem of tradition has become the subject of discussion within the ideology of liberal democracy. According to Fr. Fukuyama, “A remarkable consensus concerning the legitimacy of liberal democracy as a system of government had emerged throughout the world over the past few years, as it conquered rival ideologies like hereditary monarchy, fascism, and most recently communism… Liberal democracy may constitute the “end point of mankind’s ideological evolution” and the “final form of human government” and as such constituted the “end of history.” That is, while earlier forms of government were characterized by grave defects and irrationalities that led to their eventual collapse, liberal democracy was arguably free from such fundamental internal contradictions… But these problems were once of incomplete implementation of the twin principles of liberty and equality, rather than the flaws in the principles themselves” [10, p. xi].

Fr. Fukuyama interpolated the views of Kant (“The History of the world is
none other than the progress of the consciousness of Freedom”) [42, p. 11-26] and Hegel (“The Eastern nations knew that one was free; the Greek and Roman world only that some are free; while we know that all men absolutely are free”) [43, p. 19] in his conception. At the same time Fukuyama noted: “Hegel has frequently been accused of worshipping the state and its authority, and therefore of being an enemy of liberalism and democracy” [10, p. 60].

Against all social and institutional demerits the idea of “liberal democracy” is treated as a panacea with subsequent “levelling” of political and cultural structures in different countries and subjection of their economies to the centralized transnational system. Fr. Fukuyama wrote that history “as a single, coherent, evolutionary process” came to its end, because whether “it makes sense for us once again to speak of a coherent and directional History of mankind that will eventually lead the greater part of humanity to liberal democracy? The answer I arrive at is yes, for two separate reasons. One has to do with economics, and the other has to do with what is termed the “struggle for recognition” [10, p. xii].

Historically, democracy was a result of the society’s natural development and it was specific to a statehood originated from the patriarchal times as people’s participation - assembly parallel to government system derived from the council of elders. It assembled for consulting and taking part in making decisions on important questions for the country. From ancient times this institution was known among Armenians – the natives of the Armenian Highland – as Ashkharhazhoghov (the Assembly of the world (i.e. the Armenian world - the Motherland). Its traditional place of assembling became the field of Dzirav spreading from the slopes of sacred Mt. Npat, at the upper reaches of the Aratsani River (the Eastern Euphrates).

In classical meaning the idea of democracy has been known in Europe since the times of ancient Greece (the 5th -4th cc. BC), as a form of government in some Greek polis-states, which theoretically found its reflection in the works of ancient Greek philosophers [33, p. 114, 189-190].

The methods of modern democracy create opportunities for peaceful political and social developments. But, as noted Fr. Fukuyama, “That was not to say that “Today’s stable democracies, like the US, France, or Switzerland, were not without injustice or serious social problems” [10, p. xi]: In regard to such transformations Spengler’s thesis may be applied: “Democracy is the completed equating of money with political power” [1, ch. XX ; cf. 44, p.59]: At the same time, in regard to his time Spengler, presenting his ideas about the final phase of the formation of civilization, wrote: “Money, also, is beginning to lose its authority, as the last conflict is at
hand in which Civilization receives its conclusive form - the conflict between money and blood... Money is overthrown and abolished by blood” [1, ch.21].

Accepting technology as a corner-stone of the future liberal-democratic order of the world, Fr.Fukuyama wrote: “Technology makes possible the limitless accumulation of wealth, and thus the satisfaction of an ever-expanding set of human desires. This process guarantees an increasing homogenization of all human societies, regardless of their historical origin or cultural inheritances”. Then it sounds like a “doctrine” of a new “liberal world”: “All countries undergoing economic modernization must increasingly resemble one another: they must unify nationally on the basis of a centralized state, urbanize, replace traditional forms of social organization like tribe, sect, and family with economically rational ones based on function and efficiency, and provide for the universal education of their citizens” [10, p. xv].

Discussing Fr.Fukuyama’s ideas on democracy Vladimir Moss wrote: “The contradiction consists in the fact that while democracy prides itself on its spirit of peace and brotherhood between individuals and nations, the path to democracy, both within and between nations, actually involves an unparalleled destruction of personal and national life...” and not much “has been said about nationalism how it protects nations and cultures and people from destruction (as, for example, it protected the Orthodox nations of Eastern Europe from destruction under the Turkish yoke)” [45, ch. 10].

Fr. Fukuyama correlating the Plato’s interpretation (soul = a reasoning part + a desiring part (eros) + thymos, “ spiritedness” (or the desire for recognition)) of thymos (“soul, spirit, as the principle of life, feeling and thought”) [46, p. 810] with the Hegel’s thesis about “struggle for recognition” (which “is as old as the tradition of Western political philosophy”), wrote that the combined teaching of liberal democracy “ultimately arises out of the thymos, the part of soul that demands recognition... As standards of living increase, as populations become more cosmopolitan and better educated, and as society as a whole achieves a greater equality of condition, people begin to demand not simply more wealth but recognition of their status” [10, p. xvi- xviii].

Thus the “thymotic pride” is presented as the driving force of individuals to democratic government. If “desire of recognition” is understood as the motor of history, in this case many phenomena, such as culture, religion, work, nationalism, and war are going to be reinterpreted: “A religious believer, for example, seeks recognition for his particular gods or sacred practices, while a nationalist demands recognition of his particular linguistic, cultural, or ethnic group. Both of these forms of rec-
ognition are less rational than the universal recognition of the liberal state, because they are based on arbitrary distinctions between sacred and profane, or between human social groups. For this reason, religion, nationalism, and a people’s complex or ethical habits and customs (more broadly “culture”) have traditionally been interpreted as obstacles to the establishment of successful democratic political institutions and free-market economies" [10, p. xix].

In this regard, national-cultural peculiarities are considered to be obstacles or the elements subject to clash in the structural developments of the societies within the bounds of democratic values. This way of thinking along with the theory of the clash of civilizations demonstrates its obligatory character, which leads astray of the idea of the genuine democracy. At the background of such a methodological approach to the selective prosperity’s idea the following statement of Philo of Alexandria (or the Jew) (BC 20-50 AD) may be traced: “I believe that each nation would abandon its peculiar ways, and, throwing overboard their ancestral customs, turn to honouring our laws alone. For, when, the brightness of their shining is accompanied by national prosperity, it will darken the light of the others as the risen sun darkens the stars” [47, II.vii.44]

Thus, some modern philosophical theories reflect different approaches to the world civilizational developments. Democracy, sometimes being «exported» from the countries of «stable democracies», has become a stumbling-block in intergovernmental relations. There is a trend to monitor, ideologically denationalize and even threaten by it. The idea of democracy, being pressed into service of the expansionist political systems’ propagation, is distorted in the network of the information-generated threats and used during the information wars.

Meanwhile, pessimistic teachings appeared, which ranged from “anti-philosophy” to the manifestation: “philosophy is dead” [48], as well as metaphysics, which is «destilling» history from its main constituents by «de-mystification» of histories and historians [49, p. xii]. Meanwhile, there is no need to relegate any constituent part of history, because the ways of Weltauschauung’s formation, rising on the basis of creative values, being considered in the light of David the Invincible’s definition (“Philosophia (Arm. imastasirutyun) has a goal to embellish human souls”) [50, p. 118], the History presents itself in the wholeness (including transcendental perceptions) within the system of the philosophical knowledge concerning the world cognition [51, p. 47-48].

The following statement: “Anti-philosophy does not believe in anything but in itself. No God, no country, no parents” [52, p.1] sounds as the negation of traditional
values. Contrary to such a statement: “Nihilism is the rationalist’s answer to idealism. It is the viewpoint that traditional values and beliefs are unfounded and that existence is meaningless… While sociologically nihilism is culture without values, fundamentally it is life without a soul” [47].

The following statement can serve as an answer to the followers of “anti-philosophy” and foretellers of “the death of philosophy”: “Yes, a wave of barbarism and a spate of bad philosophy; but never the utter end of philosophy until human beings have lost their ingenuity, curiosity, troubles, contradictions, and hopes” [53].

S. Huntington’s theory of the clash of civilizations is based on the idea of a civilization “as a cultural entity… Arabs, Chinese and Westerners, however, are not part of any broader cultural entity. They constitute civilizations. A civilization is thus the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity…” [40, p. 2.]. In such an interpretation civilization is defined from the point of view of cultural identity “both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people. Civilization identity will be increasingly important in the future, and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations… The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another” [40, p. 3].

The perception of natural developments of cultural-civilizational phenomena without clashes is based methodologically on the research of the ways of the dialogue between civilizations. Touching on the problem of local peculiarities of cultures and civilizations in regard to the thesis about interaction between different civilizations, “the controlled development of civilization as prerequisite for self-preservation of mankind” was considered as a transitional phenomenon [54, p. 73]: V. Yakunin, considering the historic truth as the corner stone of intercivilizational dialogue, wrote. «Human communities are constantly upcoming identities, lying in permanent dynamics. The philosophy of their evolutions is determined by historical conditions, under which they have been shaped. In different periods this process acquires different facets, and it is not always straight and what is more, predictable… It would seem wise to approach setting goals and selecting means to reach them in the process of successive approximation, by keeping to historical truth and without upsetting the unity of the universal and special in the course of discussions about the role and place of intercivilizational dialogue in bringing together peoples and races» [55, p. 141]:

According to the dialogical principle, “A recurring theme in the global evol-
tion of cultures is that all history has been a struggle between two competing paradigms or models of what it means to be human; a struggle between the egocentric view of man and the emerging dialogical human being” [56].

Thus, the ecumenical system of cooperation among respectively sovereign nations elaborated through a "dialogue of cultures" is considered to be “not only important; it is urgent. … The subject of a dialogue of cultures is culture in the broadest scope of the term. What is true in any part of culture as a whole must also be demonstrably true in any of its divisions” [57].

Wide scientific-cultural contacts are characteristic to the societies with high civilizational system of values. Deep-rooted cultures do not come into collision with (or absorb) each other in such processes, but enriching mutually, contribute to the treasury of the world culture. The original and translated literary heritage of the Armenian “Golden Age literature” (the 5th century) is a classic example of such a phenomenon. Due to the efforts of the Armenian translators the Armenian reader can read in the mother tongue the philosophical works of Aristotle, Ars Grammatica of Dionysius Thrax, Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius of Caesarea and others. Owing to the Armenian translations The Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus, The Apology of Aristides the Athenian, Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea, and others, the Greek originals of which were lost are preserved.

The importance of the dialogue between civilizations was put on agenda by the General Assembly of the United Nations in November 1998 by a unanimous resolution, which proclaimed 2001 as the "United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations” [58].

An importance is given to the concept of the historic mission in relation to nation-civilization from the standpoint of the theory of civilizational coexistence of nations. Therefore, it was considered urgent in the Armenian civilizational context to perceive this mission by revelation of historical essence of the Armenian people and to offer «the formula of coexistence of civilizations» [59, էջ 26-27].

Cultures owing to their variety may compete and undergo mutual enrichment and bridge civilizations through their creative potential. Meanwhile, the clashes belong to the sphere of expansionist politics.

Thus, philosophical comprehension of the civilizational phenomena in the context of the cognition and assessment of the cultural developments has got a fundamental significance in perception and preservation of the national and common to all mankind values in the wholeness of the world civilization.

February, 2009.

69
Reference Sources and Literature

14. Барсегов Ю.И., "Геноцид армян - преступление против человечества" (о правомерности термина и юридической квалификации), Ереван, 1990:
28. Гладстон В., Восточный вопрос. СПб, 1876.
34. Ю.Барсеров, "Геноцид армян - преступление против человечества" (о правомерности термина и юридической квалификации), Ереван, 1990.
37. Հարությունյան Գ., Քաղաքակրթական գործոնը տեղեկատվական անվտանգության հիմնախնդիրների համատեքստում. – 21-րդ դար, №2, 2006.
39. Դանիելյան Է., Թաիրյան Վ., Հայոց պատմական ժառանգության պաշտպանության գործը և անվտանգ տեղեկատվական արդի միջոցները. – նոյ.: «Հայրենիքը կազմակերպություն զարգացնելու և համազգացնելու սահմանումների բարդություն», համագործակցության փաստաթղթերի (13-15 հունիսի, 2003), գիտականների ժամանակակից գիրք, 2004:
48. Philosophy is Dead. www.essentialism.net/philosophy_is_dead.htm
50. Դավիթ Անհաղթ, Սահմանք իմաստասիրութեան, Ե, 1960:
51. Danielyan E.L., History and Metahistory in the Context of Metatheory, - Philosophy and Metaphilosophy, 2007:
53. Peter Suber, Is Philosophy. Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, 47374, U.S.A. Copyright . 1993, Peter Suber. peters@earlham.edu.
54. Markaryan E.S., Transition to the Controlled Development of Civilization as a Condition of Self-Preservation of Mankind, Erevan, 2004..
59. Սարգսյան Տ., Հայկական քաղաքակրթությունը որպես բեկումնային նախագիծ, «21-րդ դար», N 2, 2006:
Hethum I is rightly considered to be unique and original among the Armenian kings. His activities were towards strengthening the Armenian statehood and spiritual power. Having been crowned at a very early age he dedicated his conscious life to the strengthening of the state and church. The change of dynasty in Cilicia and generally in the medieval civilization was a huge historical event which could bring to enormous changes. However, it is worth mentioning in honour of the Hethumyans that the process of the Armenian statehood didn’t suffer serious damages during the reign of its first king. Anyway, the truth is that change of dynasty in the proper sense didn’t occur, as L. Ter Petrosyan mentioned being thoroughly deep in the matter. It is also worth mentioning that the political activity of the founder of the Hethumyan dynasty was also within the period of the devastating invasion by the Mongols. The above-mentioned couldn’t but affect his activity. Therefore, the political activity of his second term was mainly based on that new circumstance under which the Armenian secular and spiritual political thought was trapped. He was actively engaged in the diplomatic relations of the Middle East of that time. His visit to Mongolia is particularly considered to be one of the best initiatives of the Armenian diplomacy. Moreover, it had not only purely Armenian but also territorial significance providing somehow benevolent attitude towards the Christian community of the Middle East. The situation in the Middle East had significantly changed in the afore-mentioned period; the danger revealed by the Mongols reshaped the political map of the territory. Hethum had to operate in such conditions. It is worth mentioning that the latter was one of those unique kings of Cilicia, during whose reign the relationship with the Armenian Church was almost solely friendly and complementary concerning the most serious state issues. Indeed in all that was due to the complicated political situations, a huge role was given to the rightly balanced and reasonable policy of the king. But parallel to that fact it is worth to point out the existence of Constantine Bardzraberdzi, one of the greatest leaders of the Armenian Church. The period of his reign (1221‒1267) almost coincided with the reign of Hethum (1226‒1269). It should be especially mentioned that Constantine Bardzraberdzi was consecrated Catholicos with the efforts of Constantine – the father of the king, who had
THE RELATIONSHIPS OF SECULAR AND SPIRITUAL POWERS...

a huge role in the crowning of Hethum as well. In the whole further course we can see that these two representatives of the supreme secular and spiritual powers of the Cilician sector of the Armenian nation were acting in a coherent way, without serious contradictions. This cooperation of Armenian secular and spiritual powers was visible both in secular and spiritual processes as mentioned above. In spite of the seemingly quite calm dogmatic situation of the period, it is worth stating that this period also contained dogmatic as well as intra-ecclesiastical problematic issues that made the leaders of both institutions operate in a possibly united way. So the meeting held in 1243 in Sis was organized by «his (Hethum’s) instruction»². So some information about the motives of organizing that meeting was found in the works of Kirakos Gandzaketsi. According to him, one of the greatest priests of the time – Archimandrite Vardan Areveltsi visited Jerusalem in about 1240. On his way back in 1241, Vardan met Catholicos Constantine in Rumkale/Hromkla³. Thereafter the Archimandrite stayed in Rumkale for several years. «Recognizing him, Constantine didn’t want to part with him and linked him with the name of God to himself…»⁴.

So as a result of united thoughts of those two church figures the Ecclesiastical Assembly of Sis was held in 1243. Certainly the convocation of this assembly has a peculiar role in the histories of both Armenian Church and Armenian jurisprudence. «The Canons adopted by the Assembly was the last canonical statutory in the Armenian reality and it regulated intra-ecclesiastical as well as secular relations as marital-family, criminal and others»⁵. It should be also mentioned that Areveltsi had a huge influence on the king himself. A similar view was expressed by P. Antapyan immersed in the activities of Areveltsi: «Vardan Areveltsi was one of his (Hethum’s) educators, spiritual guardians, advisers, and apparently the confessors as well. This circumstance gives grounds to insist that he was also involved in the state affairs undertaken by the king»⁶. According to the preserved information we can think that the statement of P. Antapyan, that Areveltsi was even the educator and spiritual guardian of the king, is not at all exaggerated. Kirakos Gandzaketsi then thoroughly referred to the issues that served as a ground for the meeting: «marriage with relatives, divorce, fornication, Lent indiscretion, ordination with bribe, etc.»⁷. As a result it was decided to hold a special Church meeting for the solution of the current problems, in which the secular power in the face of the king and the Cilician aristocratic class representatives also participated. As mentioned above, though, the meeting was held by Hethum’s permission. «…With the participation of the bishops of the Cilician World and the surrounding provinces; by the instruction of the king Hethum and ours (Catholicos)»⁸. As a matter of fact, we can state, that the right of holding Church meetings belonged solely to the Catholicos. Its

² Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, 1961, 303:
³ Օրմանեան Մ., սյուն 1900:
⁴ Մաղաքիա Արքեպիսկոպոս Օրմանեան, հ. Բ, տպագրվել է 1899, 2001:
⁵ Օրմանեան Մ., 2014, 467:
⁶ Անթապյան Փ., Գիրք Բ, 1989, 6:
⁷ Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, 303:
⁸ Օրմանեան Մ. (Ormiany mistakenly connects this meeting with the name of Hethum stating that it was held by the instruction of the latter. Source: Օրմանեան Մ., տպագրվել է 1900).
formulation was given by Mkhitar Gosh: «He (Catholicos) commands to call meetings»⁹. This meeting, though, had an obvious disadvantage: in fact, excepting Vardan, no representatives of Greater Armenia (Mets Hayk) and secular and spiritual powers of North-East Armenia, which was more important with its political, spiritual and economic significance in the Armenian environment, participated in the meeting. It is also worth stating the fact that: «... the Armenian Episcopal chairs didn’t participate in the election process of Hovhannes VI Ssetsi (1203), Constantine A Bardzraberdzi (1221) and Hakob Klayetsi (1268), but accepted their Patriarchal authority. The thing was the same in the election process of Grigor Anavarzetsi (1293–1306), and it was even when he was known for his Latin-oriented position»¹⁰. Of course, all of that had its reasons. The participation of representatives of the provinces of «Hayots Mecats» (The Armenian Outstanding People) in similar meetings was extremely difficult. And mostly it was connected with technical obstacles. Hence it is not accidental that Church meetings held in Cilicia were without the «Eastern» presence. However, it took place with the presence and initiative of the two leaders of Armenian spiritual and secular powers bearing the title of «Amenayn Hayots» («Catholicos of All Armenians»/«His Holiness»). At the same time the fact must be stated that V. Areveltsi, who was one of the active initiators of the meeting and was present at it, essentially, carrying authority in the «East», was the representative of the ecclesiastical authority of that very region. That is, we can state that the ecclesiastical authority of Greater Armenia (Mets Hayk) was in a peculiar sense represented at that meeting by Areveltsi. Among various ecclesiastical organizational issues, the financial problem of ecclesiastical authority stood out in the resolutions passed at the meeting. Perhaps, the representatives of “eastern dioceses” responsible before the Catholicoses reigning in Rumkale were not performing their financial duties. It becomes clear in Vardan Areveltsi’s undermentioned record: «Bishops serve the patriarchate with their gain in accordance with rules, as Saint Gregory the Illuminator wrote, that people pay tithe to priests, the latter give that to bishops, and bishops hand it over to the patriarch». The fact that the issue had a great importance at the meeting can also be seen in the continuation: Vardan Areveltsi was sent to the eastern regions to implement the resolutions adopted throughout the meeting. «Vardan Vardapet (celibate priest) sent to the East by the Catholicos came, visited the provinces ruled by bishops and lords, gave them orders and demanded an agreement. Though most of them had gone astray and had been infected by the vice of avidity, and that was bothering them, they did not dare to object and took an oath and signed the agreement. Thereafter, the representatives of ecclesiastical and temporal powers of Greater Armenia, actually, although unwillingly, agreed to the presented points¹¹. It is also necessary to mention that the implementation of the resolutions, adopted at the clerical meetings in Cilicia, in the eastern regions was conditioned rather by the «auctoritas» possessed by the Catholicos and the king, than the imperative nature of the meetings. Regardless of different territorial and conditional levels, however, the ecclesiastical and temporal powers of the

⁹ Մխիթար Գոշ, 136:
¹⁰ Թորոսյան Վ., 2011, 111:
¹¹ Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, 310:
regions of Greater Armenia had to some extent to reckon with the pan-Armenian titles of the king and the Catholicos. Vardan Areveltsi, who had undertaken the presentation of the resolutions, passed at the meetings to the ecclesiastical and temporal powers of Greater Armenia, finally managed to extort a «paper of approbation», i.e. a commitment to carry out the canonical resolutions of the meeting. As mentioned above, perhaps, the problem of financial engagement had a crucial role in accepting the resolutions with reluctance. Indeed, some of the resolutions adopted at the meeting, which were providing some concessions for the Catholic church, could contain certain portions of displeasure, which, however, could not be of a decisive significance. Another fact should be indicated as well: Vardan arrived in Greater Armenia carrying the resolutions of the meeting with him only in 1246. Sending the resolutions, passed on vital problems for the church with a three-year-delay, was at least strange. The Catholicos and, why not, Hethum as well should have been interested in quick implementation of canonical resolutions, shouldn’t they? Perhaps, two versions might be possible in this respect. The resolutions were delivered in very 1243 or in the following year, however, were not accepted by those ruling in the East. Therefore, the ignorance of the resolutions induced Vardan Areveltsi personally to deliver the resolutions to the East, where he was famous. The other possible version is the military-political situation developed in the region. The Mongols had already conquered Southern Armenia and the battle of Kyosedagh was going to take place in 1243, which would change the political map of the territory. The Cilician authorities had not established any diplomatic relations with the Mongols yet. The problem, first of all, concerned the security of roads. Smbat Constable himself visited Mongols only in 1248. Shortly after, when Hethum left for Karakorum too, he had to pass through disguised. In such conditions, indeed, the prompt implementation of the canonical resolutions of the church was for a while secondary for The Cilician authorities. On the other hand the problem of the physical security of truces was a serious one. The second version can be considered far more possible. Anyhow, the total implementation of the canonical resolutions in the East failed. Unfortunately the reasons are unknown. Perhaps, the main issue was again the financial problem. And the Catholicos, again with the help of Vardan Areveltsi, sent the sententious circular on making the canonical decisions to the East. «And in 700 AD and in the 30th year of our Catholicosate… We heard that vices and problems have only increased here»\(^{12}\). This time, however, the admonishments of the Catholicos served their aims: this is proved by the lithographs of the very 1251, through which it becomes clear that the secular and spiritual authorities had not just accepted the observations of their patriarch but also started to implement them: «By the will of the Holy Spirit and Catholicos Constantine, with the help of Great prince Ishkhan Shahnshah, we, the bishops of the episcopate of Bjni, St. Vanakan and St. Gregory, affirmed the sententious rules, in order not to allow the appointments of vicars or celibate priests (Vardapet) by bribess»\(^{13}\). But the discussion of the rules of the meeting of Sis continued in the «East» also later and based right on this perspective, there should be discussions on the 1270’s Dzagavan’s meeting. The

\(^{12}\) Խաչիկեան Լ., հ. Ա., 1995, 168:

\(^{13}\) Եղիազարյան Հ., 1963, թ. Թ‒Ժ, 46:
next stage of the collaboration of V. Areveltsi, Constantine Bardzraberdzi and Hethum was connected with the relationships of theirs with the Catholic Church. It is notable that there is an appeal in the sententious list on obeying the new lords, the Mongols. This also was not accidental, taking into consideration the Cilician leaders’ intention to get closer with the Mongols, which was considered to be another matter of discussion\textsuperscript{14}. In the very 1246, when the delegate of the Catholicos left for Greater Armenia, the Pope of Rome addressed Hethum with a special letter. The letter mentioned the unification of the two, moreover, all the Christian churches, based on the circumstances that the Pope’s throne was founded by the senior Apostle of Christ, Peter, so his seniority was to be accepted. In the Pope’s letter there were a number of accusations addressed to the Armenian Church stating that the latter had digressed from the truthful belief: the contrast with the Catholic Church was comprehensibly taken into consideration on the above-written. It is clear that the case was mostly political covered by sanctity. And the problem was not a new one for the Armenian Church. Also this geopolitical situation required a lot of flexibility from the Armenian king. The Mongolian presence in the region and the desire to become allies with the Armenian kingdom had designed a new situation over the Armenian civilization of the Cilician region. And right in this situation the Catholic Church brought into question its seniority. It’s clear that such kind of activity is connected with the idea of the unification of Mongols with the Christian environment. In such a situation, as they considered in Rome, the problems should be first solved with the Eastern Churches. And here the Armenian Church played an important role. In this context we shall also observe the later visit of Hethum to Karakorum and the trial to include the Mongols in the Christian environment. In this way the Armenian clever king tried to take the enterprise of this important issue from the Catholic Church into his own hands. Hethum addressed to the Catholicos about responding to the indictments, and the Catholicos assigned this task to Areveltsi. The represented response of the latter which was sent to the king, and in which the indictments were denied in detail, should really be considered one of the greatest works of Vardan Areveltsi. The latter had the biggest knowledge about religious issues at that time in Cilicia, so it was not by occasion that namely he became the author of this work. Thus staying loyal to the style of resolving problems diplomatically, he was asked to write a quite gentle replication. Point by point Areveltsi countered the charges, substantiating their inadequacy. In the end he proclaimed the idea of Church union unrealistic. Accordingly, revealing the absence of the interest towards the real union before the Pope’s Throne, Areveltsi suggested to remain loyal to the commandments of the Armenian Church, not to deviate from them as well as to inform in the case of a continuation of similar writings from the Pope’s Throne and to receive the assistance of the Armenian Church. Areveltsi also argued that all the Disciples of Christ were equal. Shortly afterwards apparently by the same person’s exhortation the Cilician elite attempted to objectively substantiate the above-mentioned idea. Constantine Bardzraberdzi, certes, with the knowledge and direct participation of the Armenian King, soon after, in 1247, established Artaz Episcopate and launched monastery rebuilding labours. In the same year, a special Church Encyclical was

\textsuperscript{14} Itoughhium L., 169:
The relationships of secular and spiritual powers...

Published. This fact probably served as an objective response to the proposal on the unification with the Catholic Church. The point was that the monastery was named after Apostle Thaddeus and hereby, apparently, the apostolic status of the Armenian Church would be emphasized: «Defending the thesis on the equality of the Apostles, the leaders of the Armenian Church brought alongside Apostles Peter and Paul, who were declared the founders of the Catholic Church, two other Apostles – Bartholomew and Thaddeus… who had passed away in Artaz province, Armenia, laying the cornerstone of the Armenian Church». Other religious officials of the period, such as Vanakan Vardapet, also sought to prove the fact of the Armenian Church being Apostolic. Assuredly, this step was one of the brilliant episodes of the diplomatic activities of the Cilician Armenian civilization. Besides liaising with Rome, the establishment of a new episcopate was aimed at fortifying the priority of the Cilician spiritual and secular leaders throughout episcopates of Greater Armenia, where it was conspicuously weakened. The leader of Artaz newly-established episcopate would fully be within the sphere of the Cilician party’s influence in contrast to the leaders of the other episcopates who, as a rule, represented local influential princely houses by the principle of «paronterutyun». In such cases the influence of the royal court would be distinctly grown in Greater Armenia. Besides, the newly-established episcopate would encompass the Armenians of Antropatene along with Maragha and Tabriz cities within its administrative boundaries. Taking into consideration that Maragha and soon afterwards Tabriz themselves would become the administrative centers to the Mongol Empire of the region and that the possibilities of their integration in the Christian civilization throughout the problematic period and particularly in the Cilician palace were estimated fairly high, hence the establishment of the episcopate gave the opportunity to be much more active in this issue as well. The next episode of Hethum’s and Catholicos Constantine’s relationships with the Catholic Church was already connected with the requirement brought forth by Pope Innocent IV, in 1251. And here the spiritual and secular elite of Cilicia demonstrated its capabilities to resolve problems through diplomatic channels. The issue at first glance was merely religious. Propounding the thesis, that the Holy Spirit emanated from God and his Son, the Pope required acceptance of a similar approach from the Eastern Churches as well, where, understandably, the Armenian Patriarch had a primary role. It is noteworthy that the Pope: «Addresses a letter to King Hethum and requires a response». Whereat, «And they (King and Catholicos) convoked the wise men of their land in the city of Sis, among them Armenians, Greeks, Assyrians and other nations, whoever was there in their land».

15 Խաչիկյան Լ., Հատոր Բ, 1999, 50:
16 Գիրք Թղթոց, 533‒535:
17 Խաչիկյան Լ., 51:
18 Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, 330:
19 Նույն տեղում:
essence, should have been implemented more profoundly and providently. The response letter was to be provided by the time’s prominent ecclesiastical figures, undoubtedly by Vardan Areveltsi, VanakanVardapet, Hovsep et al. The result was a response letter with a truly diplomatic answer: «…The Spirit emanates from God, is seen through his Son»20. With this answer the Armenian elite evidently declined Pope’s proffer, at the same time not opposing the latter roughly.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Անթապյան Փ., Վարդան Արևելցի, Կյանքը և գործունեությունը, Գիրք Բ, Երևան, 1989:

Գիրք Թղթոց, Թիֆլիս, 1901:

Եղիազարյան Հ., Բջնիի վանքը և Բջնի գյուղի մյոււանքները, «Էջմիածին», 1963, թ–Ժ, էջ 46:

Թորոսյան Վ., Հայ աշխարհիկ և հոգևոր իշխանությունների փոխհարաբերությունները XII–XIV դարաշրջանում, Երևան, 2001:

Խաչիկյան Լ., Մարտոց, 1251 թվականին: Արեւնետների թագավորությունը Վեսպալանի պատմություն, հ. Ա., Երևան, 1995:

Խաչիկյան Լ., Ահաբ, 1999:

Խաչիկյան Լ., Էջմիածին, աշխատություններ, հ. Ա., Երևան, 2001:

Մաղաքիա Արքեպիսկոպոս Օրմանեան, Ա զգ ապ ատ ու մ, հ. Բ, սյուն 1899, Մայր Աթոռ Ս., Էջմիածին. 2001:

Մխիթար Գոշ, Գիրք դատաստանի, Երևան 1975:

Վաղարշյան Ա., Հայոց Պատմություն, հատոր երկրորդ, գիրք երկրորդ, Իրավագիտություն, Երևան, 2014:

Տեր–Պետրոսյան Լ., Խաչակիրները և հայերը, հատոր Բ, Երևան, 2007:

---

20 Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, 333
ԱՇԽԱՐՀԻԿ ԵՎ ՀՈԳԵՎՈՐ ԻՇԽԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ
ՓՈԽՀԱՐԱԲԵՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԸ ԿԻԼԻԿԻԱՅԻ ՀԱՅՈՑ
ԹԱԳԱՎՈՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՈՒՄ 1240–1250 ԹԹ.

ՀԱՄՖՈՓՈՒՄ
Հեթում I-ը հայ գահակալիների շարքում իրավամբ համարվում է յուրօրինակ ու ի-նքնատիպ։ Նրա գործունեությունը միտված էր հայկական պետականության ու հոգևոր իշխանության ամրապնդմանը։ Նա գործուն մասնակցության էր իրավանից այդ ճանաչությանը Մերձավորարևելյան տարածքում կյանքային գործունեություններից հետ։ Հեթումը Պետական գահակալու այս պաշտամքը համարվեց իր ժամանակաշրջանի Մերձավորարևելյան տարածքում կյանքային գործունեության մեջ գործունեություններից մեկն էր, որ որպես նրա սեփական գրավոր գործուն կարդացրեց իր դերը սահմանադրական ֆիզիկական իրավական աշխարհի կառուցման նպատակներում։ Կոստանդին Բարձրբերդցու աթոռակալման ժամանակաշրջանը (1221–1267 թթ.) համընկավ Հեթումի գահակալման (1226–1269 թթ.) հետ։ Կոստանդին Բարձրբերդցին կաթողիկոս էր օծվել Կոստանդին թագավորի ջանքերով, և հարդյունս փոքր դերակատարում չէր ունեցել Հեթումի հայոց թագավորության բնակչությանը։ Հեթումը Պետական գահակալու բնակչությանը իր մասնակցության էր կարդացում կյանքային գործունեության այս կոչ։ Նրա կյանքային գործունեությունը նախկինում հաստատվում էր, այնուհետև հրավիրումներ առանձնահատակ գործեցին իր մասնակցության կյանքային գործունեության նկատմամբ։ Նրա կյանքային գործունեության ընթացքում հայոց թագավորության ֆինանսական այնպիսի հարցերը կազմում էին միայն այնպիսի վարքագրական, որոնցով կազմված էր իր պաշտոններից ու կյանքի պաշտպանության համար։ Հեթումի կյանքի ընթացքում էլ ընդունեցին իրենց կաթողիկոսիները համարվում էին իրենց գահակալական սահմանների համար։ Հեթումը Պետական գահակալու բնակչությանը իր գահի կազմակերպության մեջ համարվում էր իր հարցի լուսաբանության դերակատարում և իր գահի պաշտպանության գործունեության մեջ գործեցին իր կյանքի գահակալական սահմանափակումների։ Հեթումի կյանքային գործունեության մեջ Մերձավորարևելյան կյանքային գործունեության նպատակները կատարում էր իր պաշտոնների կյանքային գործունեության մեջ։
ԴԱՎԻԹ ԹԻՆՈՅԱՆ

Արևելցին, որն իր վրա էր վերցրել ժողովի որոշումները Մեծ Հայքի աշխարհիկ և հոգևոր իշխանությունների ներկայացնելը, կարողանում է ի վերջո կորզել վերջինից «ձեռագիր հավանութեան», այն է ժողովի կանոնական որոշումները կատարելու պարտավորագիր։ «Արևելքու» կանոնական որոշումների ամբողջին ի կատար ածումը ձգվում է սակայն մինչև 1251 թ.։ Վարդան Արևելցու, Կոստանդին Բարձրբերդցու և Հեթումի համագործակցության հաջորդ դրվագն արդեն կապված է կաթողիկոսի հետ։ Մեծ Հայքի Երազու, Հռոմի պապը հատուկ նամակով դիմել էր Հեթումին. Վերջինս երկու եկեղեցիների միավորման մասին խոսք էր գնում, այնուհետև իր դիմումը վերջինից հակադարձել է Վարդան Արևելցուն։ Կետ առ կետ Վարդան Արևելցին հակադարձում է ներկայացրած մեղադրանքներին, հիմնավորելով դրանց սնանկ լինելը։ Վերջում նա ներկայացնում է եկեղեցիների միության գաղափարի անիրատեսությունը։ Կիլիկյան վերնախավը փորձում է առարկայության հիմնավորել վերոգրյալ միտքը։ Կոստանդին Բարձրբերդցին 1247 թ. հիմնում է Արտազի թեմը և սկսում է վանքի վերաշինման աշխատանքները. Բանն այն է, որ վանքը կրում էր Թադէոս առաքյալի անունը և հասկանալիորեն շեշտվով էր հայոց եկեղեցու առաքելական կարգավիճակը և Հռոմի հետ ակնկալվելիք հորիզոնական հարաբերությունները։ Կաթողիկոսին այս դիմումը հանձնարարվեց Վարդան Արևելցուն, Վանական վարդապետին, Հովսեփին և ևս մի քանիսին։ Հարդյունս պատասխան թղթում ձևակերպվում էր իրավամբ դիվանագիտական պատասխան. «…զհոգի ի հօրէ ելեալ և յորդւոյ երեգալ»։ Այս պատասխանով հայկական վերնախավը փաստացիորեն մերժեց պապի առաջարկը, միաժամանակ իր երկիրը ժամանակը վերջնականապես:
ВЗАИМООТНОШЕНИЯ СВЕТСКИХ И ДУХОВНЫХ ВЛАСТЕЙ В КИЛИКИЙСКОМ АРМЯНСКОМ ГОСУДАРСТВЕ В 1240-1250 ГГ.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Царь Хетум Первый (1226‒1269 гг.) воистину является одним из заурядных властителей своего времени. Он был активным субъектом в переднеазиатском регионе, одним из редких киликийских властителей, в период правления которого отношения государственной власти с армянской церковью были союзническими. Эти дружелюбные и союзнические отношения между церковью и государственной властью были построены при деятельном участии величайшего правителя ААЦ Костандина Барзбердкого. Время правления главы государства и церкви почти что совпадали. Надо отметить также, что католикос был избран на этот пост благодаря открытой поддержке Костандина Пайла – отца царя Хетума, что имело немаловажную роль для воцарения юного Хетума. Несмотря на то что в вышеуказанном периоде не было особых церковных междоусобиц в ААЦ, тем не менее были некоторые проблемы внутри церкви, решение которых вынудило глав армянской светской и духовной власти действовать совместными усилиями. Подтверждением стал церковный собор Сиса в 1243 году, в котором приняли участие и представители светской власти в лице Хетума и высших дворян. В Соборе, среди обсуждаемых вопросов, главным был финансовый. Дело в том, что епископы восточных епархий, которые были подвластны Захаридам, не исполняли свои финансовые обязанности перед католикосатом. В итоге Собор принял несколько решений по данному вопросу. Великий армянский философ, богослов Вардан Аревелци доставил в восточные епархии решения Собора, а местные светские и духовные власти дали свое согласие. В восточных епархиях выполнение постановлений, в частности – финансовых, задерживается до 1251 г.

Следующий факт сотрудничества между Хетумом и католикосом связан взаимоотношениями с папским престолом. В 1246 г. Папа специальным письмом обратился к Хетуму, где говорилось о воссоединении двух церквей под предводительством Рима на основании того, что папский престол был создан Петром – старшим учеником Христа.

Хетум за ответом обратился к католикосу, а тот к Вардану Аревелци. Последний отвечает по каждому пункту обвинения в адрес ААЦ. В итоге он обосновы-
вает неосуществимость идеи воссоединения церквей. Год спустя по настоя-
tельству католикоса Костандина создается Артазская епархия ААЦ и начинается
реконструкция храма св. Фаддея. Фаддей был одним из учеников Христа и с этим
Костандин как бы обосновывал претензии Армянской церкви, считая себя равным
с наместником св. Петра. Следующая фаза взаимоотношений Хетума и
Костандина с папским престолом связано с требованием папы Иннокентия IV в
1251 г. В письме Папа требовал от восточных церквей принять одну из догм
католической церкви по которому святой дух исходит из сына и из господа.
Поручение ответить требованию было поручено группе богословов во главе
которых опять-таки стоял Вардан Аревелци. В итоге они сформулировали
поистине дипломатический ответ. Требования Папы не были отвергнуты, но и не
были приняты.
DEMOGRAPHY AND GOVERNANCE
1. Scientific-educational system and economic growth

Indisputably in the 20th century, now and in the future, economic development is mostly based on innovations, especially in advanced technological solutions. In this case, the assessment of the economic consequences of knowledge and education is an extremely significant and contemporary scientific issue. The latter, being a relatively new area of research is sourced from the classical works of economics (A. Smith, A. Marshall, etc.). Conceptual issues of innovative development have been considered especially in the works of J. Schumpeter.1

Qualitative and quantitative assessments of the impact of scientific-educational system have significant importance among economic development issues and are brought to the attention of many researchers. Several applied research studies conducted by samples of different countries and carried out in several directions are dedicated to these issues. In particular, the question of the effectiveness of investments in scientific-educational system has been studied 2. These investments are important components of the economic policy of any country and the approaches on this matter vary significantly in various countries. The principles of assessing correlation between a scientific-educational system and economic development are distinctive in each country 3. Expenditures on science are considerable especially in South Korea and Sweden, which are more than 4% and 3% of GDP respectively and make up 1200-1300 U.S. dollar per capita. In absolute value, expenditures on science are large in the USA and China. An interesting fact is that some countries not having much economic development level, such as Slovenia, Estonia, Iceland, in this regard invest heavily in the science in order not to fall behind the aforementioned countries by expecting high economic efficiency in the future.

Remarkable investigations have been conducted by various countries, which discovered so-called economic efficiency between education and science. These studies reveal a useful experience in system development in this or that country. There

---

are numerous studies concerning the education impact on the economy. The latter have been assessed from different perspectives. For instance, the impact of education has been calculated not only on the income of individual dynamics but also on the macroeconomic indicators of countries. The experience of South Korea is noteworthy in terms of discovering economic efficiency of science, where in the last few decades structural changes in GDP in favor of spendings on science brought about 5-6 times unprecedented growth of GDP per capita4.

The study of the issue is important for those countries, which are on the way to improve the scientific-educational system in order to record sustainable economic growth. The Republic of Armenia (RA) is among these countries. The further economic development of our country also depends on investments in science and education. The RA doesn’t have rich natural resources and geopolitical location contributing to economic advancement. Therefore, economic advancement can mostly be based on the new scientific-technological solutions and information technologies.

During independence statehood (post communist period), the scientific-educational system of our country has passed certain challenges and currently stands on the improvement path. In order to develop a strategy for the further advancement of the RA scientific-educational system, it’s especially important to evaluate correlation between system and economy for the period of our modern history.

The assessment methodology of science and education impact on the economic growth and development is based on extensive international experience of the investigation on the issue.

To assess the impact of science and education on the GDP volume and growth rate, a direct impact of changes in the volume of scientific works and educational services of the public importance (state, private, funded) of these spheres on the economic development has been calculated. Additionally, an impact of scientific-technical advancement and education as factors of economic dynamics have been observed.

Investments in innovation, scientific research and human resources, additionally expansion of grant programs financed by international organizations as well as investments in the developments of corporate nature innovation and scientific-structural developments are essential for GDP growth. The investments simply increase GDP volume and growth rate, as a factor of expanding the volume of educational and scientific and technical services. The results of scientific-educational activities financed by the state budget, private financing and by grant programs are reflected in the GDP of a country as scientific-educational services bought by the entities (including the state) operating in the market. Accordingly, the contribution (∆P(S+E)) of the scientific-

---

educational system on the GDP (G∆P) growth rate (P) has been calculated by the following formula:

\[
\Delta P_{(\text{E}+\text{S})} = \frac{(E_t - E_{t-1}) + (S_t - S_{t-1})}{G\Delta P_{(t-1)}} \times 100,
\]

\[
\Delta P_{(S)} = \frac{S_t - S_{t-1}}{G\Delta P_{(t-1)}} \times 100,
\]

\[
\Delta P_{(E)} = \frac{E_t - E_{t-1}}{G\Delta P_{(t-1)}} \times 100
\]

where S and E reflect the volume of scientific-technical and educational services in the periods t and t-1 accordingly.

The long-term impact on GDP growth is manifested through the creation and investment of new technics, preparation of qualified professionals, and through the enhancement of the country’s competitiveness. Economic-mathematical models accepted in international practice have been used for the assessment of such impact.

Based on the calculations, the direct combined impact of science and education on GDP dynamics on average made up 0.23% in 1995-2013, while the average annual growth rate of GDP made up 7% in that period. By the way, the impact of education was 0.25%, while that of science 0.03% (See table).

The impact of science and education on GDP volume and growth was evaluated as stated with the use of economic-mathematical methods together with the factors of capital and labor in 1995-2013.

The economic-mathematical model has been built on the methodology of the production function, because the international experience of similar studies as well as the situational analysis show that to assess the most realistic impact of education, science and other factors on GDP, it’s important to include capital and labor in the model as the main factors forming GDP. In this regard, it’s appropriate to rely on the logic of Kobe-Douglas function and to define the correlation between mentioned factors by the exponential model. In this case, the calculated model will present also the coefficients of elasticity factors as a reasonable basis for conclusions.

Based on the above, the following dependent and independent variables have been chosen for the construction of the model:

- GDP - GDP in current prices (billion AMD),
- K - Gross accumulation of fixed assets (billion AMD),
- L - The average annual number of employed (thousand person),
- E - The volume of educational services (billion AMD),
- S - The volume of scientific-technical works (billion AMD)
DIRECT INVESTMENT OF SCIENCE AND EDUCATION ON THE GDP GROWTH RATE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>GDP (bln AMD)</th>
<th>GDP growth %</th>
<th>Volume of research works (bln AMD)</th>
<th>Share of science in GDP %</th>
<th>Impact of science on GDP growth %</th>
<th>Education (bln AMD)</th>
<th>Share of education in GDP %</th>
<th>Impact of education on GDP, %</th>
<th>Impact of science and education on GDP, %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>522.3</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>661.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>804.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>955.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>987.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1031.3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1175.9</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1362.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1624.5</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1907.9</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>2242.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>2656.2</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>3149.3</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>3568.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>3141.7</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>113.4</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>3460.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>120.9</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>3777.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>120.7</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>4000.7</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>125.8</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>4272.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>129.9</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average annual rate</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To assess the integral impact of education and science on GDP, the effect of the following 3 variables on GDP has been built:

K - Gross accumulation of fixed assets (billion AMD),
L - The average annual number of employed (thousand person),
E+S - The sum of scientific-educational services (billion AMD),

Taking into account the nature of multilateral indirect and long-term impact of science and education on economic development as well as the behavior of presented numerical series, a preference has been given to exponential correlation between education and science of GDP, in other words to the version of production function supplemented with new factors. Considering the fact that scientific-educational system
influences the economic development not directly, but with a certain lag, a triennial lag was applied in the model. The following model was obtained:

\[ \text{GDP} = 194K_t^{0.35}L_t^{-0.28}(S+E)_{t-3}^{0.54} \]

\[ R = 0.992183 \] (1)

With the same approach the impact of combinations capital-work-science-education, capital-work-education, capital-work-science on GDP volume and progress has been calculated.

To assess the impact of science and education on GDP, the impact of the following 4 variables on GDP has been evaluated:

- \( K \) - Gross accumulation of fixed assets (billion AMD),
- \( L \) - The average annual number of employed (thousand person),
- \( E \) - The volume of educational services (billion AMD),
- \( S \) - The volume of scientific-technical works (billion AMD)

In a result of calculations, the following coefficients of elasticity have been determined:

\[ \text{GDP}_t = 4123 - K_t^{0.28}L_t^{-0.58}S_{t-3}^{0.27}E_{t-3}^{0.33} \]

\[ R = 0.993052 \] (2)

According to model (1), elasticity coefficient of capital is 0.35, that of work -0.28 and that of education and science cumulative indicator 0.54. As the number of employed people during the investigated period from 1995-2013 declined from 1476.4 to 1163.8 thousand people, therefore, the elasticity coefficient of that factor obtained an appropriate meaning.

A model of similar nature was solved for the periods 1995-2008 and 1995-2010. Based on the calculations the elasticity coefficient of capital was made up 0.47 and 0.4 correspondingly, and that of education and science cumulative indicator 0.17 and 0.3. In 2011-2013 the gross accumulation of fixed assets showed a downward trend because of reductions of investments compared with the previous period, in a result of which, the elasticity coefficient for scientific-educational system was increased based on the last model, while that for the capital declined. Therefore, it can be concluded that with the involvement of different years, calculated average elasticity coefficient for scientific-educational system varies from 0.2-0.3. Thus, according to the results obtained, 20-30% of GDP annual volume in 1995-2016 was due to science and education.

An individual impact of education and science on GDP growth has also been observed (second model). Elasticity coefficients accordingly made up 0.33 for education and 0.27 for science. In general, in all model calculations the importance of science in GDP dynamics is relatively low.

This phenomenon proves that scientific-educational system especially scientific works are not aimed at innovative development, the connection between science and
production is weak, fundamental scientific achievements are neither applied in the results of practical scientific-structural developments nor become types of the new technologies and product, the commercialization of which should be followed.

The above-mentioned indicators prove the state of the accomplishments in science and education, in particular, the conversion of knowledge into the value and national wealth. However, the calculations show that in short-term and in long-term phases that processes significantly fall behind the realities of the developed countries.

The analyses have made apparent that a gap arose between achievements of science, creation of scientific concepts and their application and commercialization processes. The same refers to education: highly qualified specialists are prepared and some of them seek jobs in foreign countries, a so-called “brain-drain” phenomenon takes place and thus created scientific potential does not fully serve to the socio-economic interests of the country. In this respect, definitely the most important issue is the strengthening relations between science and production, which is possible, if:

– Partial order and partnership principles are involved in the system financing science,
– Science management system is aimed at innovative development, provision of strong relations between science and production.

2. Innovation potential assessment methodology

In the current conditions of rapid scientific and technical progress, the innovative activity, as stated above, has an obvious impact on economic advancement. Therefore, it`s important to evaluate that influence and the innovative potential. Currently, various and sometimes even contradictory approaches exist for solving the problem. The reason probably is that in different countries and in various economic systems, management of innovative activities is carried out by different models and in this sense, it`s impossible to apply a uniform methodology.

The assessment of innovative potential, first of all, is based on the interpretation of innovative potential. The concept of innovative potential or innovative capacity in economics literature is explained by a variety of approaches.

In some sources\(^5\), the entity of different types of resources necessary to carry out an innovative activity is presented as an innovative potential or capacity. This interpretation by its nature is presented as a resource based approach. The definitions used by the proponents of this approach, are directed only towards estimation of potential and opportunities of the economic system. In another interpretation\(^6\) an innovative potential is considered in terms of results of innovative activity, i.e. actual product, which was obtained in a result of innovative process. In this case, innovative capacity is presented as possible and future innovation product to be created.

\(^5\) www.finam.ru

A point of view can be found in the literature of economics, according to which an innovative capacity should be identified together with scientific-technical or intellectual and creative capacities. This approach is not justified, because according to that opinion innovative activity should be considered only within the given capacities.

Many authors, who study the quantitative assessments of innovative capacity of the economic system, present innovative potential as an integration of resources, infrastructures and results during innovative capacity calculations. With this approach the innovative potential is defined as a system combining its 3 elements: resources, inner and outcome, which are in interaction and depend on each other.

Innovative capacity is a parameter, which allows the region to evaluate the possibilities of its innovative activity and decide innovative development strategy. With this approach, some authors suggest identifying so-called “hidden” resources or possibilities of the country for integrating and implementing them in the future in the innovative system. Indeed, this approach is justified, however, it does not reveal the current situation. In some sources, innovation for the region is measured based on „own” and acquired innovation. Comprehensive assessment of innovative capacity assumes, first of all, the existence of scientifically proved system of indicators and second the existence of a statistical base. Research on the assessment of innovative potential has been most actively conducted only in the last 15 years. There are a lot of problems which are under active discussions.

The main problem of assessing the potential is the identification of a primary principle or model, based on which evaluation factors will be presented. Two approaches are distinguished: from science to innovation and from market to innovation.

Taking into account the first approach, innovative activity is directly based on scientific potential. In those countries, where scientific potential is significant, innovative activity is more active. The most important question here is whether innovative idea is generated in scientific-research field or it’s more a business initiative. Perhaps, it can be stated that two models exist. In one case, scientific research activity can be a source for innovation; in another case, business activity or market can generate an innovative problem or innovative request. In fact, science out of the economic field or without innovation could be, however, innovation without economic consequences could not be imagined.

8 Чекулина Т. А., Тамахина Е. А., Инновационный потенциал региона: содержательные особенности и теоретические аспекты исследования / Т. А. Чекулина, Е. А. Тамахина // Вестник ТГУ. 2011. № 2 (94), стр. 65-70

One of the main issues is whether science and innovation are significantly different activities, which should be managed by different models or which should be supported by various means, or these two areas should be considered as interdependent and as a united system. According to some approaches, scientific research resources undoubtedly play a significant role in business innovation, however, a successful innovation requires knowledge, ability and initiation. Moreover, there is no clear path from successful research to innovation.

Discussions focus on the so-called „innovative chain”, according to which any research leads to innovation. It’s rather complicated to evaluate the results of research, which have not become a market product yet. It should be stated that an innovative chain is not „measurable“. On the other hand, the process from research to innovation shows that this model provides insufficient description of the relation between research and innovation because of several reasons. A considerable part of innovation originates from the idea of the market. As already stated above, innovation is not a sole application of scientific principle. It includes knowledge from many other sources and the difficulty in an innovation system is in ensuring proper balance between science and business.

It’s also important to evaluate so-called „innovative area in the economy. Based on some approaches, innovation is apparent in the field of high technologies. According to some sources, the main innovative area of the US economy is the computer technologies, but in some countries these areas could vary. Some sources state that economic development can not merely be attributed by a sector called „high technologies“10. Innovative policy should contribute innovation in all areas and not only focus on the high technologies. An approach can be considered as a basis that each country can measure its innovative potential based on the characteristics of the industry that is more developed and makes a country more developed.

Another issue is the time lag between „science-innovation-business“. Definitely, scientific result can not directly become a market product. It especially refers to fundamental scientific research. Here also there cannot be one common standard. This also causes problems in terms of assessing innovation potential.

Based on the analyses conducted, the possible models or solutions for assessing the RA existing innovative development potential are observed below.

First of all, several knowledge-based fields and fields having innovative potential should be distinguished in the economy. The priority should be given to the IT sector, but several other sectors of our country deserve attention too, such as instrument making and pharmaceutics. The innovative potential in the RA could be estimated for an individual sector or in macro level, as no systematic data exist for individual enterprises. Currently the RA state statistical service provides some indicators, which describe the scientific research field (research and development costs, the number of research

---

companies and their staff, etc.), patent statistics, scientific publications data as well as macro-parameters concerning the financial-economic and technological environment. It’s obvious that the effectiveness assessment of innovation is restricted, because in general, these parameters do not give the complete picture of the scale, results and quality of an innovative activity.

Summarizing the studies of current approaches concerning the assessment of innovative potential in the economic system, it’s possible to separate the entity of those main indicators, which can describe the development level of the innovative system in a macro level. These are indicators of scientific-technical development level, qualitative indicators of market institutions and legislation development, educational level of the workforce, financial indicators, indicators of knowledge transfer and use, as well as quantitative and qualitative indicators of economic growth.

To evaluate the innovative potential, complex or integral indicators are usually used, which could be useful for the development of the innovative strategy of a country and a region. Integral indicator includes several factors, which can vary based on the specificities of a region or a country. For each factor included in the integral indicator, certain weighted factors should be applied, which derived from experimental (empiric) methods. With such weights, the indicators can be calculated by different methods, particularly by weighted average method. To calculate the integral indicator, three approaches are suggested.

I. Based on the above experience of calculating integral indicators described above, in order to assess the RA innovative potential, a weighted method could be applied. Simultaneously, with the growth indices of different factors, a dynamic analysis of the RA innovative potential could also be conducted. Basically, both absolute and relative values of factors could be considered. Usually, relative indicators are considered as a basis for calculations. Before integrating indicators, weights should be set for each indicator based on the empiric approach with consideration of the following condition:

\[ 0,1 \leq k_i \leq 0.9 \]

\[ \sum_{i=1}^{n} (k_i) = 1 \]

where \( k_i \) – is the weight of the indicator \( i \)

\( n \) - the number of indicators observed

Integral indicator could be defined as follows:

\[ I = (k_1 \cdot C_1) + (k_2 \cdot C_2) + \ldots + (k_n \cdot C_n) \]

where \( C_i \) - is the relative value of an indicator \( i \)


12 The logic in presenting relative values as a basis in presenting values of different quality or dimension in comparable view and dimension (from 0 to 1).
Indicator “I” is calculated for each year. By calculating the growth rate of the series of integral indicators for every year and by averaging the latter (by applying geometric average), it’s possible to get an insight about the innovative development dynamics of a country or a region:

\[ D = \sqrt[n]{1 \cdot r_1 \cdot r_2 \cdot \cdots \cdot r_n} \]

where \( D \) – is an indicator of innovative potential dynamic
\( \sqrt[n]{1 \cdot r_1 \cdot r_2 \cdot \cdots \cdot r_n} \) – is the growth rate of an integral indicator \( (l) \) per year.

The main advantage of this approach is in the simplicity of calculations. Proximity of weights of the indicators can be stated as a drawback, which would lead to inaccurate results.

II. Geometric average of relative indicators is calculated, while empiric weights are not applied in this case.

\[ I = \sqrt[n]{C_1 \cdot C_2 \cdot \cdots \cdot C_n} \]

where \( C_i \) – is a relative value of an indicator \( i \)
\( n \) - is the number of indicators observed.

According to this approach, the components of innovative potential of a region \( (C_i) \) are brought to a comparable appearance (relative indicators are observed). This method is applied to identity the rating of the region among several other regions. 13

Based on the above stated method, it’s possible to calculate the innovative development dynamics (like in the 1st approach).

III. By this approach the impact of different factors is evaluated by econometric methods, through pair regression coefficients. First of all, it’s needed to distinguish the most significant statistical indicators (as an outcome indicator) among prescribed ones describing innovative potential of our country, which mainly reflect on the innovative activity of the country. Based on our analyses those indicators are the volumes of “innovative” sectors of the industry and production and services of information technologies as separately as in combination. The selection of this indicator is stipulated by the fact that it warrants attention and the “outcome” of innovative activity is important for those areas of the economy which are most likely to “absorb” innovation. That is, in those sectors of economy where such products were produced and services provided, which were exposed to technological changes of different degrees over the past five years. The calculated indicator is presented together with other indicators in the table 1.

Absolute and relative values of indicators, characterizing innovation potential are also presented in the table 1. The pair regression coefficient matrix has been built for those indicators. Based on that matrix, those indicators, which are significantly correlated with outcome factor will be defined, i.e. the most significant indicators, which will be merged into the integral indicator will be identified.

13 Алексеев С. Г., Экономические проблемы региона и отраслевых комплексов, Проблемы современной экономики, № 2 (30), 2009.
### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator Description</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The number of scientific-technical companies carrying out scientific and technological works, unit (SI)</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The share of companies engaged in scientific-technical works among existing organizations, % (SIR)</td>
<td>0.540072</td>
<td>0.449607</td>
<td>0.444637</td>
<td>0.381492</td>
<td>0.404759</td>
<td>0.415603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic costs on the research and development (R&amp;D), mln AMD (SE)</td>
<td>7987.9</td>
<td>9276.6</td>
<td>9713.2</td>
<td>9355.7</td>
<td>10912</td>
<td>11929.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The share of domestic costs on R&amp;D in GDP, % (SER)</td>
<td>2.308506</td>
<td>2.455462</td>
<td>2.276641</td>
<td>2.053653</td>
<td>2.259856</td>
<td>2.370765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of research specialists holding scientific degree and carrying out scientific-technical activities, thousand people (SP)</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The share of research specialists holding scientific degree among employed, % (SPR)</td>
<td>0.185622</td>
<td>0.170198</td>
<td>0.170532</td>
<td>0.163258</td>
<td>0.185267</td>
<td>0.186463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of companies with post-graduate studies, unit (AS)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The share of companies with post-graduate studies, % (ASR)</td>
<td>0.340045</td>
<td>0.293493</td>
<td>0.290249</td>
<td>0.33842</td>
<td>0.380228</td>
<td>0.350294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of patents issued, unit (PT)</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of patents issued per 10000 capita employed, unit (PTR)</td>
<td>0.157779</td>
<td>0.159986</td>
<td>0.155184</td>
<td>0.147792</td>
<td>0.159682</td>
<td>0.158493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross accumulation of fixed capital, mln AMD (CP)</td>
<td>1156732</td>
<td>985877.2</td>
<td>1006835</td>
<td>966365.3</td>
<td>965486.6</td>
<td>1045047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The share of gross accumulated fixed capital in GDP, % (CPR)</td>
<td>33.429587</td>
<td>26.09559</td>
<td>23.59884</td>
<td>21.21251</td>
<td>19.99506</td>
<td>20.76766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information and communication technologies (volume in mln AMD) (IT)</td>
<td>196717.3</td>
<td>198739.8</td>
<td>213906.9</td>
<td>234416.1</td>
<td>233830.3</td>
<td>235423.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of ICT products and services in GDP, % (ITR)</td>
<td>5.685138</td>
<td>5.260526</td>
<td>5.013685</td>
<td>5.145626</td>
<td>4.842584</td>
<td>4.678435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The total volume of “innovative” sectors of industry (ID) (mln AMD)</td>
<td>20780.2</td>
<td>22168.7</td>
<td>22673.9</td>
<td>24437.5</td>
<td>24623.4</td>
<td>26825.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The share of products and services of “innovative” sectors of industry in GDP, % (IDR)</td>
<td>0.600548</td>
<td>0.586792</td>
<td>0.531445</td>
<td>0.536423</td>
<td>0.509946</td>
<td>0.533085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The volume of ICT and innovative product and services, mln AMD, (IN)</td>
<td>217497.5</td>
<td>220908.5</td>
<td>236580.8</td>
<td>258853.6</td>
<td>258453.7</td>
<td>262248.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The share of ICT and innovative product and services in GDP, % (INR)</td>
<td>6.2857</td>
<td>5.8473</td>
<td>5.5451</td>
<td>5.682</td>
<td>5.3525</td>
<td>5.2115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The matrix of pair correlation coefficients has been built for the relative values of integrated indicators. Based on the pair correlation coefficients, it’s possible to evaluate the weights of factors with the following approach:

\[ K_i = \frac{R_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{m} R_i} \]

where \( K_i \) – is the weight of the indicator \( i \),
\( R_i \) – is the value of indicator \( i \) (pair coefficient of correlation),
\( m \) – is the number of significant indicators

The value of the weight \( K_i \) is calculated for all significant indicators from 1 to \( m \). Indicators with negative or insignificant correlation coefficients are not included in the list of significant coefficients.

First of all, according to the conducted correlation analysis, significant factors affecting the innovative potential are included within the dynamic context in a particular case during the last 6 years.

Four factors are significant for the share of industrial innovative product and services in GDP (IDR): the share of companies engaged in scientific-technical works among existing organizations, % (SIR), the share of domestic costs on R&D in GDP, % (SER), the number of patents issued per 10000 capita employed (PTR) and the share of gross accumulated fixed capital in GDP, % (CPR). Indeed, the correlation for PTR is rather low, therefore, it will be integrated in the overall indicator correspondingly.

Having the above stated overall picture, it’s appropriate to consider the share of industrial innovative products and services in GDP (%) (IDR) as an outcome, as the number of factors is 4, that is the maximum. With a second approach through geometric average it’s possible to calculate the RA innovative potential (INNP) for 2010-2015.

\[ \text{INNP}_T = \sqrt[4]{\text{SIR} \cdot \text{SER} \cdot \text{PTR} \cdot \text{CPR}} = 0.49 \]

According to results, innovative potential is evaluated 0.49 from the range 0 to 1. However, this figure does not reflect the overall picture. Therefore, the weights of four indicators observed are calculated and their dynamics are emphasized.

Based on the correlation coefficients calculated, the weights of factors could be estimated by the following formula:

\[ K_i = \frac{R_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{m} R_i} \]

where \( K_i \) - is the weight of the indicator \( i \),
\( R_i \) - is the value of indicator \( i \) (pair coefficient of correlation),
\( m \) - is the number of significant indicators

The value of the weight \( K_i \) is calculated for all significant indicators from 1 to \( m \). Indicators with negative or insignificant correlation coefficients are not included in the list of significant coefficients.

After calculating the weights, the integral indicator can be calculated according to the first approach.
In our case the weights of 4 significant indicators have been calculated based on the suggested method:

\[ K_{\text{SIR}} = \frac{0.8}{0.8+0.4+0.2+0.9} = 0.35 \]
\[ K_{\text{SER}} = \frac{0.4}{0.8+0.4+0.2+0.9} = 0.17 \]
\[ K_{\text{PTR}} = \frac{0.2}{0.8+0.4+0.2+0.9} = 0.09 \]
\[ K_{\text{CPR}} = \frac{0.9}{0.8+0.4+0.2+0.9} = 0.39 \]

Taking into account the weights calculated, it’s possible to calculate the innovative potential for each year and see the dynamics of the potential. The dynamics of an innovative potential has been calculated for every year (INNP_i) (table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weighted values of indicator, integral indicator and growth rate of an integral indicator</th>
<th>weight</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The share of companies engaged in scientific-technical works among existing organizations, % (SIR)</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.1890252</td>
<td>0.1573625</td>
<td>0.1556230</td>
<td>0.1335222</td>
<td>0.1416657</td>
<td>0.145461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The share of domestic costs on R&amp;D in GDP, % (SER)</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.3924461</td>
<td>0.4174285</td>
<td>0.3870290</td>
<td>0.3491210</td>
<td>0.3841755</td>
<td>0.40303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of patents issued per 10000 capita employed, unit (PTR)</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.0142001</td>
<td>0.0143987</td>
<td>0.0139666</td>
<td>0.0133013</td>
<td>0.0143714</td>
<td>0.014264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The share of gross accumulated fixed capital in GDP, % (CPR)</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>13.0375392</td>
<td>10.1772801</td>
<td>9.2035476</td>
<td>8.2728789</td>
<td>7.7980734</td>
<td>8.099387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integral indicator of an innovative potential, INNP_i</td>
<td>0.34233157</td>
<td>0.31322749</td>
<td>0.2966303</td>
<td>0.2676208</td>
<td>0.2794602</td>
<td>0.286878</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth rate of an integral indicator of an innovative potential</td>
<td>91.4982763</td>
<td>94.701224</td>
<td>90.220335</td>
<td>104.42395</td>
<td>102.6543</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As calculations showed, the dynamics of an innovative potential had no significant trend in the last 5 years, however, there was a certain declining tendency. In 2014-2015, it had a positive growth rate.
Average growth rate has been calculated by geometric average method and equals to 96.5. This means that no growth was detected in the last 5 years. This phenomenon in our country is explained by the gap between scientific and technical result and its commercialization stated above, which means that in order to enhance innovative potential, it’s necessary to activate market investments together with the scientific component.
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INFORMATIONAL SECURITY
RAPHAEL LEMKIN AND
THE 1948 UN GENOCIDE CONVENTION

The paper concerns the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and largely aims at examining the lexical, semantic, stylistic and functional details of the text of the 1948 UN Convention as compared with the text of R. Lemkin’s Draft Convention on the Crime of Genocide. The texts of these two mentioned documents are treated as samples of genocide discourse, and the comparative linguistic study, ranging from general overviews and theoretical reflections to this particular case, reveals a wide scope of pragmatic and cognitive problems related to the question of linguistic expression of official censure on one of the most vicious crimes against mankind – genocide. I should hasten to add, however, that these are the objectives of research as a whole, and that is being carried out within the scope of a project under the auspices of the State Committee of Science of RA. Today, however, having time restrictions, I would rather concentrate only on some aspects of the question.

We know that the 1948 UN Genocide Convention is the first human rights treaty adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It focuses attention on the protection of national, racial, ethnic and religious minorities from threats to their very existence. It is obviously aimed to eradicate racism, discrimination and xenophobia. Moreover, it underscores the role of criminal justice and accountability in the protection and promotion of human rights. However, the Convention has been too often criticized for its limited scope. In the words of the law scholar William Schabas it was really more a case of frustration with an inadequate reach of international law in dealing with mass atrocities. As he thinks, and as history has shown, this difficulty would be addressed not by expanding the definition of genocide or by amending the Convention, but rather by an evolution in its close relation to the concept of crimes against humanity. Accordingly, «the crime of genocide has been left alone, where it occupies a special place as the crime of crimes».1

It should be mentioned here, that however important the adoption of the Genocide Convention was, the way to its formation was long and uneasy. No doubt, of course, it was the result of consistent, constructive and co-operative efforts by groups of legislators, lawmakers and politicians, but to a greater extent, it owes its existence to the Polish-Jewish linguist and lawyer Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959) who created the world history of genocide after the war and insisted on establishing a legal framework

---

for the recognition of genocide as an international crime to be punished and punishable through international cooperation, and proposed a draft treaty against genocide to the United Nations in 1945.2

Raphael Lemkin was, in fact, a great intellectual, one of the giants of modern ethical thinking, and if the history of the Western moral is the story of an enduring and unending revolt against human cruelty, then he is one of the strongest fighters against that cruelty in favor of the rights of human groups. The genius of R. Lemkin consisted in his ability of reshaping international legislation, introducing a completely new interpretation into the world-wide concept of human rights, thus inspiring the 1948 UN Genocide Convention, and profoundly influencing the history of human rights.

Lemkin’s interest in the subject dates back to his university days though his sensitivity to injustice and violence has developed since very young age. Already a student at Lvov University, he was quite determined to make attempts to prosecute the perpetrators of the massacres of the Armenians.3 His interest in the concept of this specific type of crime and his initiative in developing the notion of genocide and later the term was derived from the experience of the Armenians and the Assyrians massacred by the Turks. (I would like to add here in parenthesis that as far as the origin of the term genocide is concerned, according to the studies by A. Musheghyan’s, the juridical use of the notion genocide – (Vernichtung einer Rasse) first occurred in «Der Völkermord an den Armeniern vor Gericht. Der Prozeß Talat Pasha by Armin Wegner»).4

However, the starting point for R. Lemkin to sum up the results of his research on the problem of terrorism at large, which lately paved a path towards the elaboration and explication of the concept of genocide, and to present those results to the community of professionals was the International Conference on the problem of Unification of Penal Law held in 1927 in Warsaw.5 It was here that he presented the list of offences including piracy, trade in slaves, trade in narcotics, trafficking in obscene publications, terrorism, etc. (he completed the list later), by then envisaged by R. Lemkin as dangerously threatening phenomena for both material or moral interests of the entire international community. His determination of elaborating the rudiments


3 Schabas W., 2000, 25.
of international law concerning the annihilation of human groups and the systematic destruction of the cultural values created by them was so powerful that at the next conference in 1933 in Madrid R. Lemkin proposed to identify all those acts of barbarity, targeted at the extermination of human groups, as well as acts of vandalism meant to destroy works of cultural heritage, as universally recognized condemnable actions, consider them transnational crimes which threaten the interests of the international community as a whole, and create a multilateral convention identifying them as international crime. By proposing his immanent, metahistorical genocide discourse, R. Lemkin extended empathy to all victims of genocides and persecutions, and applied social scientific explanations to both victims and perpetrators.

Lemkin’s discourse is cosmopolitan in the sense that it does not take any particular genocide as a prototype, model or paradigm against which others should be condemned; his moral purpose was to prevent and criminalize genocides in general by seeking to explain their occurrence throughout history. This methodology, which is a good guide for current and future research, is well expressed in his definitions on the recognition of genocide as crime against humanity and served as a basis for the UN Convention on genocide. However, as already mentioned, the adoption of an international law was not an easy task at all. It required a lot of moral pressure to be exerted on the statesmen of the UN member states, to enlist a great number of supporters, to explain and underscore the merits, the desirability and the need for the law to overcome the opposition by the British, the French, the US and the USSR,6 and then, while the UN Genocide Convention was being drafted, to hold conversations and arguments with the draftsmen in order to achieve a possibly full coverage in the Document of all kinds of genocidal offences, because his desire was to safeguard the world against those transnational hazards.

It is of interest for us to note that some genocide scholars believe that when Raphael Lemkin coined the word genocide in 1944 he had in mind the 1915 annihilation of Armenians and the Jewish Holocaust,7 which he considered as two archetypes of crime against humanity. They think, Lemkin did not confine his definition of the term solely to the murder of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, particularly that his interest in the nullification of peoples emerged in his teenage years around the time of the Armenian Genocide.8 Besides, as Lemkin’s autobiography and

---


7 It is however known that while the term Holocaust is used with reference to the systematic mass murder in Nazi-occupied Europe, there was also a large number of non-Jewish people (Slavs, Romanis), people belonging to the LGBT category (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender), etc. who were considered Untermenschen (subhuman). Cf. Berenbaum M., 2005, 125; Cf. also Holocaust Victims. (2016) // Wikipedia. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holocaust_victims>Accessed[September 5, 015].

letters reveal,\textsuperscript{9} he was well aware of the reality that the Armenians were slaughtered for the only reason of being Christians, and the idea, forced into circulation, that the destruction of Armenians occurred as a result of the unfavourable conditions created by War, was far-fetched and groundless. One can say that the Armenian Genocide and later the Jewish Holocaust were, in fact, decisive turning points for R. Lemkin, who took a unique interest in mass atrocities before the draft of the international law was created. Once, while a linguistics student at the University, he asked his professor why the Armenians did not have Turkey’s interior minister arrested after his government’s targeted the murder of Armenians. Lemkin was told that there was no law under which he could be arrested, a reality that troubled him greatly, and above all, the Holocaust of the Jews provided him with an additional impetus for his research and his campaign to have the crime of genocide incorporated into the international law.\textsuperscript{10} And finally, in an interview R. Lemkin himself declared, «I became interested in genocide because it happened so many times. It happened to the Armenians, then after the Armenians, Hitler took action».\textsuperscript{11}

The fact that two earlier drafts were written before the final text was ready for adoption, shows the complexity and debatability of the problem in question. It should be added here that when in 1945 the International Military Tribunal held at Nuremberg, Germany, charged the top Nazi with crimes against humanity the term genocide, though included in the indictment, was just a descriptive term, not a legal one yet. On the other hand, the failure of the International Military Tribunal to condemn what some called «peacetime genocide» prompted immediate efforts within the United Nations General Assembly\textsuperscript{12} to adopt Resolution 96 (I) on 11 December 1946, which asserted that genocide is a crime under international law. Although it provided no clarification on the subject of jurisdiction, it mandated the preparation of a draft convention on the crime of genocide. Thus, on the request of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council of UN started the necessary studies with the intention of drafting a convention on the crime of genocide. The Economic and Social Council instructed the Secretary General to enhance the work on the draft taking the assistance of the Division of Human Rights and a group of three experts (Raphael Lemkin, Henry Donnedieu de Vabres and Vespasien Pella), who were expected to prepare a draft convention accompanied by a commentary. In March 1947 the text titled the Secretariat Draft which is also referred to as Lemkin’s Draft, for Lemkin was one of the most active members of the expert group, was prepared and on 26 June


\textsuperscript{10} Stone D., 2005, 539‒550.


1947 (UN Doc. E/447) proposed to the UN General Assembly by the UN Economic and Social Council. However, in November 1947 on the request of the General Assembly and by resolution 180 (II) the Economic and Social Council continued its work on the Draft without waiting for the observations of all Member States. In March 1948 by resolution 117 (VI) an Ad Hoc Committee with representatives of US, USSR, Lebanon, China, France, Poland and Venezuela was established which began making preparations for redrafting a Genocide Convention. R. Lemkin was not included, as he was not an official delegate. The Ad Hoc Committee, having several meetings from April 5, 1948 to May 10, 1948) dubbed a second draft (the Ad Hoc Committee Draft) with commentaries.

The final text of the Convention, adopted on 9 December 1948, at the 3rd meeting of UN General Assembly in Paris (resolution 260 (III)), was based on the Ad Hoc Committee Draft though the latter was a significantly diluted version of the previous «Secretariat Draft.»

We have to agree that as far as the Convention establishes genocide as an international crime, which signatory nations undertake to prevent and punish, it is of enormous importance. But our comparative-confrontational analysis of the 1948 UN Genocide Convention and what is called Lemkin’s Draft Convention shows that the final text, i.e. the 1948 Convention defines genocide without the precursors and persecution that Lemkin noted in his definitions, and also without taking into consideration certain important stylistic and cognitive strategies or discourse details typical of Lemkin’s language. However, the text of the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and after obtaining the requisite twenty ratifications put forward by article XIII, entered into force on 12 January 1951. In July, 1985, the UN Sub-Commission of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities revised and updated the issue of genocide and its prevention.

Over the next fifty years, after the adoption of the Convention «the two related but distinct concepts – the concept of genocide and the concept of crimes against humanity had an uneasy relationship. Not only was genocide confirmed by treaty, it came with important ancillary obligations, including a duty to prevent the crime, an obligation to enact legislation and punish the crime, and a requirement to cooperate in extradition. Article IX gave the International Court of Justice jurisdiction over disputes between State Parties concerning the interpretation and application of the Convention. Crimes against humanity were also recognized in a treaty, the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, but one that was necessarily of limited scope and

---

whose effective application concluded when the judgment of the first Nuremberg trial was issued. The only other obligations with regard to crimes against humanity at the time existed by virtue of customary international law.»  

While many cases of intended group-targeted violence have occurred throughout history and even since the Convention came into effect, the legal and international development of the term is concentrated into two distinct historical periods: the time from the coining of the term until its acceptance in international law, and the time of its activation with the establishment of international criminal tribunals to prosecute the crime of genocide. Preventing genocide, the other major obligation of the convention, remains a challenge that nations and individuals continue to face.

Unfortunately, life shows that the adoption of this document did not prevent mankind from new deliberate actions of extinction, mass murders in the 20th century and the 21st following it. This unhappy outcome results from the fact that one of the most outrageous acts of annihilation – the Armenian Genocide – has not been widely acknowledged and condemned by the international community. Some also erroneously think that to a greater extent it depends on the failure of the Turkish government to cognize its dark historical reality. We, however, believe that Turkey’s misbehavior concerning the issue must by no means become an hindrance for the progressive part of the international community on its way to denying falsification of history. On the other hand, there does not seem to be any insistence on adhering to the norms established by the Convention in condemning and punishing the countries that keep violating the requirements of the Document.

With the Centenary of the Armenian Genocide in April 2015 and a century-long indifference and denial by Turkey, the issue of the Convention, its applicability and role in acknowledging the Armenian Genocide, let alone reparations, arises once again. Hence in this paper, adopting a new outlook on the problem, we see our task in examining the 1948 UN Convention against the background of Lemkin’s Draft (i.e. the Secretariat Draft) as samples of linguistic texts from linguo-stylistic, pragmatic,
and cognitive perspectives. Our aim is to reveal how the effect of different linguistic interpretations of one and the same idea can vary by stressing and highlighting or hedging and veiling certain debatable or problematic matters. Being a sample of an official document, the text of the convention should be structured straightforwardly, in accordance with its literal interpretation, leaving no room for conjecture, undesirable implications or ambiguity. Our comparative analysis shows how much the communicative effect of the discourse changes when the authors of the Convention revise or rewrite the Draft Convention, polishing, condensing it, unfortunately, discarding certain important ideas, and actually changing the language strategy.20

To illustrate this point we would rather turn to the opening parts of both the Documents. The study of the Preamble of Lemkin’s Draft from a linguo-stylistic perspective brings out its stylistic value.

Preamble

The High Contracting Parties proclaim that genocide, which is the intentional destruction of a group of human beings, defies universal conscience, inflicts irreparable loss on humanity by depriving it of the cultural and other contributions of the group so destroyed, and is in violent contradiction with the spirit and aims of the United Nations.

1. They appeal to the feelings of solidarity of all members of the international community and call upon them to oppose this odious crime.

2. They proclaim that the acts of genocide defined by the present Convention are crimes against the law of nations, and that the fundamental exigencies of civilization, international order and peace require their prevention and punishment.

3. They pledge themselves to prevent and to repress such acts wherever they may occur.

(Draft Convention 1947)

The presence of expressive-emotional-evaluative overtones in the text can be accounted for by the fact that the linguistic units used in it carry specific stylistic charges (universal conscience; irreparable loss; violent contradiction; appeal to the feelings of solidarity; odious crime). Furthermore, it is highly important to note the universality or the sense of a collectivist attitude to the problem. This attitude is first of all evident in highly emphatic formulations describing a number of people naturally associated: high contracting parties; humanity; cultural and other contributions of the group; all members of the international community; the law of nations; fundamental exigencies of civilization; international order and peace.

20 A successful discourse study of political speeches of American presidents has been carried out by S. Zolyan. Cf. (2015) AMN nakhagahner Hayots tseghaspanutyun masin (khusanavoq diskursi imastagortsabanakan verlutsutyun), Yerevan, Limush Press.
RAPHAEL LEMKIN AND THE 1948 UN GENOCIDE CONVENTION

Analyzing the Preamble from a pragmatic perspective, we can conclude that it has two communicative focuses: the doer of a desirable action (the High Contracting Parties) and a deplorable action which should be blocked.

Notably, the authors’ intent in this part of the Document is highly performative, and this means that the Draft can be viewed as a kind of action performed using words. It should be stated from the very start that the performativity in this part of the discourse is specific. First of all the Draft is written in the name of the High Contracting Parties, which means that with the doer of the action in plural, it, in fact, lacks independent initiative. This must be the reason why the performativity of the Preamble is formulated by a specific lexical-grammatical form, namely, third person plural they denoting that a collective doer is prescribed a specific form of action. The collectivist attitude is highlighted once more on the pragmatic level, and the performative verbs proclaim (2), appeal, pledge, require, call upon can be observed in the Preamble. These performatives which constitute direct representatives (proclaiming, that is declaring officially to do action), directives (appealing, that is an earnest request to do action; requiring, that is insisting upon doing action, call upon, that is requiring to do action), commissives (pledging, that is undertaking to do action) name the type of lawful and reasonable conduct which is expected from the Parties who ratify the Document. This performativity is further emphasized by the structure of the Draft Preamble: separate numbering for each performative action to be taken by the High Contracting Parties.

The second communicative focus of the Preamble is the action of genocide which is described with words having inherently negative connotational components in their semantic structure. Accordingly, what genocide does is: defies, inflicts, deprives, destroys, is against. Along with this, genocide is formulated as an action causing inseparable loss, being intentional destruction, in violent contradiction with the spirit and aims of the United Nations, odious crime. The cognitive-pragmatic analysis of the piece of discourse also enables us to reveal the desirable conduct against the crime of genocide, as seen and approved by the authors. So the Parties who ratify the Document are expected to oppose, prevent or repress such action.

Hence, we can conclude that the Preamble of the Draft Convention is designed to produce a highly desirable perlocutionary effect – condemnation of genocide.

Turning to the opening part of the UN Convention, we can see to what extent it matches the Draft.

The Contracting Parties

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world, Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity, and Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required. Hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

(Convention 1948)

165
1. This is addressed to the Contracting Parties, and makes reference to the General Assembly Resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 according to which genocide is defined as a denial of the right of existence to entire human groups,21 as a shock for the conscience of mankind. The analysis shows that albeit the opening of the UN Convention does draw attention to the damage caused to humanity (has inflicted great losses on humanity), it does not indicate the losses in the form of cultural and other contributions represented by human groups22. This must be one of the reasons why it sounds more generalized, hence less distinct. The neutrality of the final text as compared with the Draft, can be observed in the substitution of the adjectival word sequence contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations for it is in violent contradiction with the spirit and aims of the United Nations in the Draft. Obvious is the fact that although contrary and contradiction are elements, semantically more or less contiguous, nevertheless the presence of the adjective violent in the word group violent contradiction in Lemkin’s Draft enriches the negative emotionality in the connotational aspect of the word contradiction, makes it more condensed, exacts and enhances the idea that the United Nations will never be indulgent and tolerant of any manifestation of genocide. Thus, the UN Convention sounds more reserved, hence somewhat neutral, which, generally speaking, is quite acceptable for official-documentary style. The rational and logical basis of an international document is, on the one hand, sure to exclude any confusion or arbitrary opinions. However, on the other hand, having in mind the utmost importance of the question of suppressing any genocidal intention for humanity at large we would choose to give preference to the formulation in the Draft as it expresses more determination, and intolerance of genocidal violence.

2. Similarly, we believe that the use of the attributive combination odious scourge in the UN text instead of odious crime in the Draft again weakens the impression, hence the necessity of intolerant attitude towards barbarity, towards horrendous genocidal events which the Contracting Parties should in any case be decisive not only to condemn, but also to prevent and punish. Scourge is a more general word23 associated with wars, diseases, etc. But anybody who has a more or less clear idea of what a genocide is, let alone those who have experienced it and survived by chance, understand very well that a genocide is much more than just a cause of suffering, it is unimaginably horrible, in fact a crime, a very specific crime which


22 The first draft of the Convention (what we call Lemkin’s Draft) worked out by the UN Secretariat where the Preamble attaches a lot of importance to cultural losses and includes it in the definition of genocide. Cf. <http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/drafts/> Accessed [October 15, 2015].

requires a very severe punishment, particularly in that it is usually intended and
scrupulously pre-planned.

3. Many instances of such genocidal crimes have occurred, many racial,
religious, political and other groups have been destroyed, either entirely or in part.
Thus, the punishment of the crime of genocide is, indeed, a matter of international
concern. Therefore all acts of genocide committed whether by private individuals,
public officials or statesmen on national, religious, racial, political or any other above-
mentioned grounds should be internationally punishable.24

4. Thus, as compared with the Preamble of Lemkin’s Draft, the style of the
opening part of the UN Convention is damped down. Besides, there are formulations
in this piece of discourse, describing abstract collectivistic notions: international law;
the civilized world; all periods of history; humanity; mankind; international co-
operation, which, in a sense, diverge the attention of the addressee from concrete
decisions and concrete actions.

Analyzing the Preamble from a pragmatic perspective, we can conclude that the
above-mentioned communicative focuses have been preserved here. Hence, we can
observe the doer of the desirable action (The Contracting Parties) and the deplorable
action against which the Document was released. However, our analysis reveals a
marked change in the pragmatic intent of the discourse. First of all, as different from
the text of Lemkin’s Draft Convention, the extract lacks the high degree of
performativity due to the change in the structure. The given piece of discourse is
presented in the form of an extended complex-composite sentence with a subordinate
clause of manner, where the actions presented in the form of Participle I denote some
past action (having considered), or state of the doer of action (recognizing, being
convined). Interestingly, all of them are mental actions, done through one’s power of
mind, contrary to the performatives in the Draft, which denote locutive acts, that is
verbal actions, like proclaiming, pledging, appealing, etc. As a result of the mentioned
structural differences the obligation for the Contracting Parties to take certain desirable
actions, highlighted in the Draft, is somewhat veiled in the text of the UN Convention.
The last utterance of the extract is an explicit performative whereby the doer of the
action performs a commissive act, namely, agrees to conform with the requirements
coming next: Hereby agree as hereinafter provided. This act of agreement is a legal
cliché ordinarily used in official documents.

The second communicative focus of the Preamble – the action of genocide, in the
discourse of the UN Convention is quite naturally again presented with words having
negative expressive-emotional-evaluative overtones which, however, are weaker than
those used in the Draft. Thus, genocide is presented as an odious scourge, a contrary
action which is condemned as it inflicts great losses.

24 It is not a mere chance that the General Assembly Resolution 96 (I) invites Member States to
enact the necessary legislation for the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide and
recommends that international cooperation be organized between them to facilitate the speedy prevention
and punishment of it (Fifty-fifth plenary meeting, 11 December 1946. United Nations General Assembly
The cognitive-pragmatic analysis of the piece of discourse also enables us to cognize the desirable conduct against the crime of genocide. The difference revealed between the two pieces of discourse again lies in the field of syntax and the logical structuring of the idea. Thus, the actions expected from the Contracting Parties are linguistically formulated with the help of passive constructions, whereby the doer of the action is veiled and, naturally, the prescribed actions, namely, condemning (is condemned), or requiring (is required) sound less resolute and urgent.

Our comparative analysis enables us to conclude that the wording of the opening part of the 1948 UN Convention is somewhat vague, and designed so as to produce a moderate perlocutionary effect – condemnation of genocide. However, for us from the point of view of the Armenian Genocide, which happened long before the ratification of the 1948 Convention, of particular interest is the final part of the Document which reads:

\[\ldots, \text{Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity, and Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required.}\]

Indeed, there can be no doubt that the damage (physical, cultural, psychological, moral, etc.) inflicted on humanity by genocides is so great that the temporal category, in fact, loses its sense, for genocides must be avoided like the plague, irrespective of when and where they happen, and genocidal intents and attitudes should be weeded out of human mentality, as well as experience. Thus, this formulation in the Convention inspires belief that International law will one day recognize the liability of today’s Turkey for the Genocide of Armenians accomplished by their predecessors. Therefore, vain are the attempts of the pro-denialist scholars who, on the pretext of the UN Convention being ratified only in 1951, reject the possibility of defining the 1915 horrendous events in Western Armenia as genocide. Pushing forward their formal arguments, they ignore a very important source of international law, namely – the customary international law. The latter, though unwritten, however is an established form of international norm (Opinio juris), the presence of which is borne out by the official declaration of Great Britain, France and Russia promulgated on 24 May 1915, where they defined the Armenian Genocide as a crime against humanity and declared the liability of the Turkish government for the crime.\textsuperscript{25} There is another fact, too, to be taken into consideration: the Holocaust also occurred before the final adoption of the UN Convention on genocide, but it was recognized and condemned by International Tribunal. According to international law Turkey’s liability cannot be of punitive nature. But, as a State responsible for the delinquent actions of its predecessors, Turkey must do its best to restore the situation that preceded the crime (restitution). If restitution is impossible to implement, it should provide adequate compensation (financial or material). If this is not possible either, it should finally seek reparation.


168
through satisfaction (which covers a range of acts beginning from a simple apology for damage or loss sustained, to territorial compensation). Thus, in this way the consequences of the crime could be recognized as fully eliminated.26

To sum up I would first of all like to agree that the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide is one of the most important achievements of humanity, and of the experts in human rights. Alongside the legal definition of genocide, rooted in the Convention and confirmed in subsequent case law, there is a legal basis aimed at prevention and punishment of this most serious crime.

We also have to agree on how great the value of Raphael Lemkin’s genocide discourse is, from both legal and humanistic points of view. Its paramount importance can never be repudiated, for it is intended to protect an essential interest of the international community.

However, as our comparative research shows, a somewhat restrictive approach has been applied to the creation of the final text, and some discursive features typical of the Draft language have been ignored. It is revealed in reformulated definitions which sometimes veil the clarity of ideas and the determined negative attitude towards all possible manifestations of genocide. As a result, lexical, morphological and syntactic changes introduced in the final text have reduced the strategic consistency of the text, weakened the expression of intolerance of genocides in the world and determination to punish the perpetrators whoever they be.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


THE ARMENIAN BORDER GUARDS’ HIGHLY SKILLED DEFENSIVE ACTIONS AGAINST THE AZERBAIJANI SUBVERSIVE SQUAD ON FEBRUARY 25, 2017
(the Azerbaijani subversive squad’s destruction by the border guards of the Artsakh Defense Army)

Producer Arshak Zakaryan made public the video material of the border regime violation by the Azerbaijani subversive squad and its destruction. It was totally demolished (on the night of February 25) by the border guards of the Artsakh Defense Army.

On February 25, 2017, around 2:15 am, with the help of thermovision devices our border guards detected an approaching large subversive squad of the enemy, moving towards our state border in the section of the Martuni region of Artsakh. Here, our boys are in the forefront, you can see they have noticed the movement of the enemy soldiers, watching their every step, letting them get closer to our positions in order to make them powerless easier. The enemy very slowly (we have of course speeded up the recording in order not to bore you) is moving towards our positions. And here we see our border guard is cold-bloodedly and calmly walking along our trench, taking his firing point, without panic, without any trepidation. Our boys know what they are doing, they know their job perfectly. He is calmly approaching his firing point. Here we can see one of the evident lies of the Azerbaijani side: that our boys are attacking, but we see that our boys are in our trenches, in our positions, and the enemy has come very close to our border. At about 2:36 am one soldier of the adversary squad returns to their positions; perhaps he has forgotten something and wants to fetch it and the rest of the squad keep moving towards our positions. Our boys watch their movement without panicking, very calmly, as you can see. Three of the enemy squad move off, apparently doing demining work, and the rest of the squad follow them, as soon as they finish demining. At about 2:41 am (now we are showing it at normal speed for you to see that moment), considering it as the right moment, our boys begin neutralizing operation. They start shooting; as you can see some of the enemies are immediately shot dead, and some lie on the ground apparently wounded or avoiding being shot. Here it is clearly seen that our boy with his weapon is calmly walking back along trench from his firing point. The whole action lasted about two minutes. Thus another lie put forth by Azerbaijan is denied here that the Azerbaijanis fought fierce battles for hours repulsing the Armenian attack. I should repeat saying that, as we can see, our boys have not even left our trenches, our positions. Those of the adversary squad who are alive or wounded start removing the ammunition and bullet-proof vests from their wounded friends, leaving them to bleed to death in the neutral zone. Here we see that some of them were able to go back crawling. Some of the wounded are still moving at this moment. Thus, our boys are calmly restarting their job: they are watching the movement of the adversary, probably, the enemy soldiers are not visible to our border guards, because our boys have ceased the fire. Later it is clearly seen that some of the crawling back enemy soldiers also cease moving: they are apparently the wounded ones who either are bleeding or exhausted, while their friends are fleeing in panic, leaving them, as they say, “in the
battlefield”. Here we see that only two of them keep moving: one is quickly crawling back in panic, the other is moving with more difficulty, more heavily, probably trying to take one of his wounded friends with him or maybe it is the ammunition or maybe he is also wounded, because after some time you will see the second moving white spot ceases to move. Here, look he can hardly move and then he also has become motionless. It is already about two, two and a half hours that all of them have been motionless. Now that one is making his last efforts to move on, and leaving there one more white spot (the white spots are the Azerbaijani soldiers) they leave and you can see that it is 5:7 am and those white spots are lying motionless; those are the enemy soldiers and there is no more movement.

And now we can see again that after completing the operation, our boys with calmness proper to skilled professionals, coolly continue their service. No anxiety is noticed in them.

/5:21 am/ Now we will turn to daytime recording. It is the 26th of February when the Azerbaijaniis, under the meditation of the Red Cross are trying to collect the bodies of their soldiers from the field. Now they have gathered, look three cars are standing, probably some of the bodies taken by them are there already, and six cars are waiting for the Red Cross to intercede and get the Armenian permission, after which they will come and collect their soldiers’ bodies from the field.

/5.59 am/ The Azerbaijani positions are to the left, we will show you those 6 cars that are waiting, we will show you after a short while. Here the Azerbaijani soldiers are gathered, those are probably their officers, but as it is characteristic of the Azerbaijani side they tried to interpret our humanity as a weakness and were putting forward some new conditions which were unacceptable for the Armenian side. They only had to come and gather the bodies, but they were putting forward conditions. Here, we see the Azerbaijani corpses scattered in the field. And the white tape is a proof that they were attempting a subversive penetration. As we know, the white tape is used by diversionists at night so that they can take the right way in the mine-free field. The white tape is clearly seen around which the Azerbaijani corpses are scattered. Here we see that very hastily the bullet-proof vests were taken off them, their weapons were taken and they were left by their friends to bleed and die in the field. The white tape is clearly seen, this is also a proof. In this shot we see how close they have come to the Armenian positions, which denies the Azerbaijan’s next fairy-tale as though “their soldiers were near their positions, simply trying to protect their positions from the Armenian attack”. Here, look again how they used this white tape - the sappers go ahead unfolding the white tape. Look how close they are to the Armenian border: it is clearly seen here. The Azerbaijani positions are to the left and the Armenian to the right. Now we will show /8.08 am/ with an arrow, look how close the Armenian positions are, and how far are the Azerbaijani positions from the left. They have come very close to our positions. Now we will make for you closer to see one of the first Azerbaijani soldiers lying there, he was shot on that spot, and based on the recording of the night vision device, we can see that they even have gone back some way crawling. Look at
the bodies scattered around the white tape and you can see that the first corpse is just on that spot where we have put an arrow, i.e. very close to the Armenian positions.

Now, a little reflection on how the Azerbaijani side is trying to distract their public from reality through misinformation and absolute lies. I am sure that a great number of people in Azerbaijani society know that it is ridiculous that such people in Azerbaijan, retired colonels and generals are considered “national heroes”. How can people who have lost the war be considered “national heroes”? And here is the article by a retired colonel Khatai Bakhishov. Thanks to Razm.info for placing that article on its web-site, because most of such articles have been removed from web-sites, in order the absolute lie not to be disclosed quickly. Here the retired colonel is saying that on February 25 the Armenian side battled in the direction of “Nargiztepe” in order to be able to occupy that territory of strategic importance and take the roads to Beylagan, Aghdam, Ghuzanli, Aghjabedi, Fizuli under control. The most ridiculous is that the retired colonel diverted 20 km away, he wrongly described where took place events, the attempt of the subversive penetration of their troops, which they present as “a heroic battle” that the Azerbaijani patrols fought to stop the Armenian side.

Now I will show you via Google map the section that the retired colonel is talking about and where the Azerbaijani breathless soldiers are lying today in the field. Here, pay attention, on the yellow line, the marked dot in the upper section, is just “Nargiztepe” and below is the section where are the corpses of the Azerbaijani soldiers. As I have said already, the colonel is diverted 20km away. The “tongues” of the President of Azerbaijan, the so-called speakers, former colonels, generals, and the so-called “war heroes” use such cheap misinformation. It is ridiculous how those who are responsible for losing the war can be considered “national heroes”.

And look, from here you can see the road the retired colonel has been talking about and I can tell you that modern techniques and weapons make it possible for us to control from our positions the roads mentioned by the colonel and we do not need to advance half or one km in order to control those roads. Now I shall make closer on the map the place where the Azerbaijani soldiers are, so that it can be clear from the map, where the attempt of the subversive penetration was made which was stopped by our border guards. Here, please, the green dot is the section where the Azerbaijani corpses are, and the observation posts from where our boys fired are marked with red colour, the red lines mark the fire directions and the yellow one - the distance to the Azerbaijani positions.

And finally with the yellow is marked the section where is located Nargistepe, mentioned by the retired colonel, which is 20 km to the north of the place of the attempt of the subversive penetration. With such cheap lies and misinformation the Azerbaijani side is trying to mislead their public at least for a while.

*From Artsakh especially for the program Horizon of “Shant TV Company”,
Arshak Zakaryan has been with you; be in peace. Thank you*
ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE
Vardumyan A. D.
Researcher of Matenadaran,
Scientific Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts named after Mesrop Mashtots

Komitas Vardapet (Archimandrite), starting from his academic years in Berlin, with his concert-lectures in various countries abroad, contributed to a large extent to attract the attention of famous composers and musicologists to the unknown for them Armenian medieval and folk music. After each of his concerts, in the foreign press articles full of sincere praise were published in which Komitas was praised as composer, conductor, and performer.

From his professional and renowned teachers, he learned not only different musical disciplines, but also exchanged thoughts and opinions with various famous musicologists. His first teacher, Prof. Richard Schmidt, giving serious knowledge to his alumnus, also very favorably influenced him respecting his personality and Armenian mentality, and never forced on Komitas his musical style. He was proud to have such a student as Komitas.

In 1899 Komitas acquired the title Doctor of musicology and returned to Echmiadzin, where he took over conducting a polyphonic male choir.

Thanks to the unique and unforgettable performances of Komitas, many foreign musicians and musicologists had the opportunity to get acquainted with the centuries-old Armenian music-art and express opinions on Armenian music. The first of them was Prof. Oskar Fleischer, and Komitas was one of the first members of the International Music Association founded by him. At his invitation, in 1899 Komitas repeatedly appeared before the members of the International Music Association with lectures and concerts, which became a revelation for all present. So great was the impression left by the Armenian music in the performance of Komitas that Prof. Fleischer, on behalf of himself and on behalf of other authoritative listeners, expressed his special gratitude to

1 Գասպարյան Գ. Ն., Կոմիտաս: Ժամանակակիցները Կոմիտասի մասին, Երևան, 1960, էջ 11-13:
him and noted that he would gladly assist him in publishing his works in the future. And on behalf of the Berlin branch of the International Music Association, Dr. Max Seifert, impressed by the lectures of Komitas, expressed the opinion that Armenian church music, from the beginning of Christianity to the present day, has remained unchanged, and its origin is due to the ancient temple music, which in turn originated from folk music. The church simply has enriched what the people preserved in its simplicity.

Famous French musicologist Pierre Aubry in 1901, visiting Echmiadzin under the Catholicos Mkrtich Khramyan, wrote a series of articles entitled “The System of Armenian Church Music: Memoirs from a scientific trip to Armenia”, which was published in the journal “Tribune de Saint-Gervais” (1901, 1902, 1903, Paris).

Describing the warm reception that their group in Echmiadzin was awarded, Aubrey notices that some priests spoke fluent French, or German, beside Russian, because they were educated in those countries, and adds the same about Archimandrite Komitas, who quite fluently spoke German and a little French, and thus was very useful at their visit to Etchmiadzin. He notes that already in Paris he heard much praise from Antoine Meillet about Komitas as a connoisseur of church music. Komitas for days covered all the difficult issues for Aubrey and his attendants. Aubrey describes with pleasure the musical life in the seminary, which was given new scope thanks to Komitas and was in high esteem. Komitas taught the theory and practice both of Armenian and European music. The students even learned to play the piano, harmonium and stringed instruments. The adult students did not study music, but sang in the beautiful choirs composed by Komitas. Pierre Aubry was also impressed by the perfect memory of the singing youths, who sang melodies of the ceremony lasting a few hours by heart.

Pierre Aubry’s article ends with Komitas’s wise proverb: “As long Armenian music lasts, Armenia will live for so long.”

In 1906 Komitas moved to Paris to deal closely with the French musical world. There he met Arshak Chopanyan, who supported him in every way, translating his lectures into French, and also publishing them in the magazine “Anahit”, edited by him. In Paris, thanks to the tremendous efforts of Komitas, an unforgettable concert took place, attended by such celebrities of French music as the famous music critic Louis Laloy and the famous writer and musicologist Romain Rolland. The latter before that...
had the opportunity to get acquainted with the soulful performances of Komitas, and after this concert he invited him to the Sorbonne University and asked him to give a lecture on Armenian music and to sing his amazing songs.

Perhaps the mentioned concert was meant by the famous Armenian linguist Hrachia Acharyan in his memoirs about Komitas where he wrote: “I've heard that in 1906 in Paris, after the concert, the famous French composer Claude Debussy knelt down to kiss Komitas’s hands, saying: “Genius Father Komitas, I bow before your talent…”

And after the concerts of Komitas Music in different cities of Switzerland, the newspaper “Gazette de Lausanne” wrote that Armenian music was not only one of the components of human music, but it was also so beautiful that it could cause the envy of magnificent Germany and proud France. It is a pity that the author’s name is not mentioned, but the latter particularly emphasized that these songs should be listened to in the performance of such an artist as Komitas, so that the impression would be complete.

In the spring of 1910 Komitas moved to Constantinople. His numerous concerts were admired by representatives of different peoples of this multinational city. On the following year, at the Union Francais Hall, two important concerts took place that were rated by the European press as the most beautiful phenomena of that music season. According to those who were present at this famous concert, a number of French and European musicians and musicologists could not believe that this was purely vocal music, they rose to the stage to search for unknown musical instruments.

In 1911 Komitas left for Egypt. After reading several lectures in Alexandria and Cairo, he gave a concert with his choir of 190 people in a large hall of the Alhambra Theater for a huge audience. The authoritative press of the Arab world expressed many words of the highest estimate for the art of Komitas. The concert held in Alexandria was exactly repeated in Cairo, and the local newspapers devoted special articles to Komitas. On their columns, along with the detailed articles, a photograph of Komitas was also printed, which in those days was placed in the windows of the stores not only of Armenians, but also of Arabs. And after all these concerts Komitas was presented with a gold chain, a gold purse and a gold pencil as a sign of perfect delight for his art...

In the fall of 1913 Komitas returned to Constantinople, where he again gave numerous concerts. At this time his chorus “Gusan” performed not only the Armenian, but also Western European programs, including Wagner and Mozart. The newspaper “Byzantion” warmly reacted to this concert, noting that Komitas is such a famous talent that if he acted in Europe, he would be highly paid materially, but he is so modest that it

---

11 Հրաչյա Աճառյան, Հուշեր Կոմիտասի մասին: Ժամանակակիցները Կոմիտասի մասին, էջ 80:
12 Մուրադյան Մ., Կոմիտասը և հայ երաժշտության ցուցադրումը Եվրոպայում // Կոմիտասական, 2, էջ 22:
13 Գասպարյան Գ. Ն., Կոմիտաս, էջ 22-24:
15 Ibid, p. 25.
is more important for him to praise Armenian music. A lot of foreigners were present at this concert, including ambassadors of all countries in Constantinople.

Thanks to the highest evaluations of German musicologists, Komitas found himself in close contact with the Association, and in 1914, with great success at the V International Congress of the Music Association, presented Armenian music to the most famous composers and musicologists. After his three lectures the famous German mediaevalist Peter Wagner expressed his admiration and special thanks to Komitas, noting: “I am looking forward to the publication of all the works of Komitas Archimandrite, which contain a huge treasure to cover the dark points of both Armenian and Greek music”\textsuperscript{16}.

The well-known Austrian musicologist, composer and master of Byzantine neumes, lecturer of the University of Vienna Egon Wellesz, who also had the chance to listen to Komitas singing, wrote: “I am surprised at his outstanding abilities. Being a connoisseur of folk songs, he harmonizes them with a rare taste and precision. All those songs that I listened to from Komitas or studied them, above all, prove that Komitas is a rare master of harmonization and polyphony”\textsuperscript{17}.

There is information that Wellesz expressed the opinion that “Armenian Khazes are older than Byzantine (Greek) neumes, and even that at their basis were the Armenian ones”\textsuperscript{18}. It is possible that this opinion of such an authoritative scholar was formed precisely as a result of the fact that he had heard the singing of Komitas...

About the unique art of Komitas, with great admiration wrote the famous French musicologist, Professor of the University of Sorbonne, Frédéric Macler\textsuperscript{19}, expressed the opinion that the work of Komitas Archimandrite is invaluable due to the absolute truthfulness that his trips and living among the people give him. And the president of the Union of French Music, the musicologist Amadeus Gastoue, analyzing the art of Komitas, wrote about the relationship of his music with the French, noting that his visit in 1906-1907 served as an occasion for a wonderful French-Armenian festival\textsuperscript{20}.

And finally, the famous Russian composer and pedagogue Mikhail Gnessin, visiting Constantinople in 1913, after listening to Komitas, highly estimated his works.

Komitas, as a true messenger of Armenian music, after receiving reviews on his lectures (1914), responded with the satisfaction of a man who had completely fulfilled his mission: “Most of all I was touched by the fact that these foreign musicologists, listening to my explanations, understood and were convinced that there is Armenian music in the world, quite original and self-sufficient, as well as Armenian language and

\textsuperscript{16} Բաբայան Մ., Հայ երաժշտությունը Փարիզի մեջ: «Ազ ատամարտ» օրաթերթ, Կ. Պոլիս, 11/24 հունիսի 1914, №1535, էջ 1:
\textsuperscript{17} Ժամանակակիցները Կոմիտասի մասին, էջ 18:
\textsuperscript{18} See: Հայր Ղեւոնդ Տայեան, Շարական Հայաստանե այց Եկեղեցւոյ, բազմահատոր շարակնոցի անտիպ Ահատոր (կազմող` Արփի Վարդումյան), էջ 42:
\textsuperscript{19} The founder of “Revue des Études Arméniennes” in 1919, the authoer of the bool “La Musique en Arménie” (Paris, 1917).
\textsuperscript{20} Կոմիտասական, հ. 2, էջ 265:
Armenian life...”21. In fact, Komitas was pleased not so much for his luck, as for praising Armenian music.

Thus, Komitas during his trips abroad gave numerous concerts and lectures, thanks to which he largely acquainted the international audience with Armenian music, presented the foreign listeners with wonderful moments of his art and was awarded the highest praise worthy of his genius.

21 Հայր Ղեւոնդ Տայեան, Շարական Հայաստանեայց Եկեղեցւոյ, Ա հատոր, էջ 60, 86:
Данный альбом обязан своим существованием усилиям семьи Гукаса Чубаряна: его жены, сына, дочери, внуков, невестки, а также большой моральной и финансовой поддержки академика Юрия Оганесяна, друга, родственника и почитателя таланта Гукаса Чубаряна.

This album was made possible by the efforts of family of Ghukas Chubaryan: his wife, son, daughter, grandchildren, daughter-in-law, and by the great moral and financial support of Academician Yuri Oganesyan, friend, relative and admirer of Ghukas Chubaryan.
Վահան Ստեփանյան/PanARMENIAN Photo - “Մենք” նախագծի համար:
Այս հրապարակությունը պատմում է մեկ անձի ատրակտիվ մարդկային կյանքի մասին, որի դասական և մշակութային ռազմական դիրքին հաջողվել է Մինաս Մենսիկովի կողմից։ Մենսիկովը հայոց գրականության մաս է, որը որոշակի ազդեցություն ունեցել է հայ և ռուսական գրականության զարգացման վրա։

Մենսիկովը ծնվել է 1923 թվականին Լենինգրադում։ Հայկական շարքը զբաղվել է արտակարգ գրականության վերամիավորման աշխատանքով։ Մենսիկովը հայոց գրականության մասնակցող է, որը մեծ ազդեցություն ունեցել է հայ գրականության զարգացման վրա։ Մենսիկովը հայոց գրականության մասնակցող է, որը մեծ ազդեցություն ունեցել է հայ գրականության զարգացման վրա։
Այս էջը կարող է ներկայացվել դեպք ենթադրված: Պատճառը հիմնվում է այն, որ դարձավ դեպք ենթադրված, որի համար թեև հաճախ կարողանում ունենալու մի երկրորդ գործընթաց է կարողանում: Այս երկրորդ գործընթացը կարողանում է կարողանել տարբեր մեխանիզմներից մեկը կազմելու մեջ։

Այս դեպքում տարբեր մեխանիզմներից մեկը կարողանում է կազմել բնական բնակչության մեջ։ Պատճառն է, որ մասերը կազմում են նախատեսված փուլեր, որոնցից մեկն է, որի համար թեև հաճախ կարողանում ունենալու մի երկրորդ գործընթաց է կարողանում: Այս երկրորդ գործընթացը կարողանում է կազմել այն բնական բնակչության մեջ։
רվանական բուրսագրականություն, որ այդ հնագույնից պահանջվում էր, պատճառ դեռևս վկայիչ չէ։ Այստեղ պիոներական ձևավորման տեսանկյունից տեղի էր։ Ժողովուրդներ վկայել են, որ նրանց իրավահետ կանգնության տակ էր խուզում։ Այս հիշատակները թույն են տալիս համապատասխան ժամանակներին։ Հուշագրություններ են տեղի ունենում, որոնք նկարագրում են իրականացված գործունեություն։ Այսպիսի հիշատակներ կարելի է ճանաչել որպես չափաստանալի օբյեկտներ:

«Փաստաթուղթ» ուղղակի հիշատակ է ծնվում։ Պատմաշրջանական մատենագրականությունն է։ Այսպիսի հիշատակներ` լավ սովորել են միջնադար գործունեության։ Հիշատակներում նկատվում է հավաքածու, որի մասին հայտնի են բազմաթիվ պատմական գործունեություններ։ Պատմական այսպիսի հիշատակները համարվում են որպես առանձին գործունեություն։ Պատմական տվյալները համարվում են որպես առանձին գործունեություն։ Պատմական հազարացում պատմական գործունեություն։
Ամենայն սակայն հեշտ է համարել միայն բազմաթիվ սկզբունքներ, որոնք կարող են կազմել ժամանակակից հարցերի լուծման մեջ: Կարծում եմ, որ պատկանում է միջերկրաբանական և քիմիական գիտակցության բնագավառներին։

Անթափանցող իմացությունները երևանային են։

Արտասահմանյութում են համարվում՝ որոշակի առավոտյան առաջադիմություններով։

Այս տեսանկյունից բերված առաջադիմություններից կարևոր է այս համարչությունը։ Ներկայացնելու նպատակներին կատարելու համար ենթադրվում է, որ այս տեսանկյունից երևանային են համարվում։

Արագ ուղղվածության պահանջները հանդիպում են նաև մեկ բազմաթիվ հերթականություններում։

Այս տեսանկյունից բերված առաջադիմություններից կարևոր է այս համարչությունը։
Այս պատմության ժամանակաշրջանում ազգային և էքսուրդ պարտավորություն է 藐 տեղեկագրություն տվել զարգացած հանրակրթական կալման կարևոր գլխավոր կողմերին: Սակայն նշելու էլ համաձայն բանի, որ այս պատմություն ներկայացնում է հենց այս ժամանակաշրջանի փաստաթղթերը: Այս տեղեկագրությունն էլ նշելու էլ համաձայն բանի, որ այս պատմություն ներկայացնում է հենց այս ժամանակաշրջանի փաստաթղթերը: Սակայն նշելու էլ համաձայն բանի, որ այս պատմություն կարևոր կարևոր կազմակերպություն է մեկ այլը կազմակերպություն:
In this article I will discuss the art of Ghukas Chubaryan, an outstanding Armenian sculptor of the second half of 20th century, the Peoples Artist of Armenia, and the member of USSR and Russian Academy of Arts. I will focus on the particularities of the artist’s individual perception of a human image and the nature of its realization in his work.

From the great number of images created by the sculptor, I selected only a few. Among them are works of purely portrait nature as well as monuments dedicated to prominent historical figures. It is well known that the singularities in interpretation of a human image in art are invariably influenced by a number of circumstances – historical, political, social, moral, ethical and aesthetic – which defined the artist’s surroundings during his lifetime. Thus, for a better appreciation of any artist’s work and the contributing factors in his formation and development, it is essential to be familiar with the historical and political setting in which he had to live and work.

Ghukas Chubaryan was born in 1923 in Yerevan and died there in 2009. The larger part of his long and prolific life was spent in a country where culture, and particularly arts – as many of Armenians still remember all too well – were rather strictly controlled by state authorities.

My job today is not to discuss a nonetheless interesting and important topic of how a totalitarian regime that for more than seventy years reigned in USSR was reflected in the artist’s work. This issue does not seem unequivocal to me largely because it is becoming clear that despite the ideological repression during the Soviet period a number of masters, painters, sculptors or graphic artists, produced works of art of very high caliber. Caliber that unfortunately has yet to be attained by the contemporary generation of Armenian artists who live in an environment that is seemingly more favorable to artistic freedom.

Ghukas Chubaryan belonged to a group of noted Soviet Armenian artists, whose art resisted repression by ideological censorship. Moreover, despite not only a total ideological pressure but also terrible hardships in his personal life, he was able to be internally free in his art (as much as it was possible for that period) and to create in accordance with his civil conscience. I will attempt to answer the question of how he was able to accomplish it and what factors worked in his favor.

While the artist’s ideology and therefore the nature of his interpretation of a human image was largely defined by the aforementioned circumstances, nonetheless his individuality and the nature of his personal perception of the world also played an important role in formation of his artistic identity.

Such individuality stood in opposition - sometimes explicitly, but usually implicitly – to the society’s accepted behavioral norms. In a totalitarian regime such resistance was akin to a civil action embodying high moral and ethical ideals.

The future artist adopted these ideals during childhood. He was born into and brought up in a family of highly educated intellectuals, people of progressive democratic views, who possessed traditional spiritual and cultural values. His father, prominent lawyer Grigor Hambardzumi Chubaryan, famous and respected scholar and a professor of the Yerevan State University, belonged to that generation of Armenian intellectuals, who in order to fulfill their patriotic duty relocated from Russia to Armenia in 1920s in order to create Armenian republic and revive Armenian national culture.

Unfortunately, good years of Chubaryans’ life were interrupted by the arrest of the head of the family in 1937. This role automatically passed to the mother, another extraordinary individual. This strong, perseverant, clever, and practical woman received her higher education in attending Moscow Distinguished Courses for Women. In the arduous conditions in which her family had found itself, she admirably managed to overcome everyday hardships while setting the family’s life anew. Even more importantly, she did everything possible to protect her children (descendants of the “enemy of the state”) from psychological damages and breaking under the weight of that stigma. She saved them from feeling anger and resentment, helped them retain important positive qualities: belief in inherent human goodness,
kindness, compassion for sorrows of those close, and allow them to uphold a sense of inner freedom and independence.

These exact qualities became the foundation of quintessence of Ghukas Chubaryan, the sculptor, determined the manner of his perception of man’s nature, and defined his approach to portrait work.

Let us discuss a few examples.

I will begin with one of the most expressive works in Chubaryan’s art, the portrait of his mother, Martha Chubaryan (bronze, 1965).

The image of a mother (here we mean mothers specifically and not the image of motherhood) much like self-portraits is one of the most interesting themes in portrait art because of a great diversity of approaches and interpretations. As an example I will use two essentially contradictory approaches to the subject matter.

In Arshile Gorky’s portrait of “Mother,” with an apparent fidelity to the actual model, the image of Mother, unique in its spiritual depth, can be compared only with the most perfect of the medieval depictions of Holy Mother.

Durer’s graphical portrait of his mother, known for its amazing realism and truthfulness, evokes a different emotion. Despite the outwardly unattractive, already distorted by age features, the face of an old woman is lit by an inner light and the filial love of a passionate painter.

The portrait of Chubaryan’s mother in its execution in a certain way echoes that of Durer. The sculptor does not conceal his feelings towards his mother. And much like Durer, without the least of idealization he shows the face of an old woman marked by life’s hardships.

This portrait is remarkable in many ways. First of all, by its vivid realistic portrayal, which is obvious even to those not familiar with the person. This truthfulness and sharpness of depiction are due to high level of skill in the art of sculpting as well the author’s gift of portrayal. Naturally, the fact that he had an opportunity to observe the model in close proximity for many years helped as well.

On the other hand, this strictly individualized portrait also bears features of a collective and generalized image of a woman and a mother. It conveys all miseries, hardships and tragedies of the beginning of the 20th century: war, famine, loss, and despair. On her face we see the expression of sacrifice and love, perseverance and patience. This portrait is a testament to that time and to the biography of the sculptor himself who created this work marked with profound truth of life.

As to the artistic language of the portrait, it is simple and laconic. Its plastic structure is characterized by wholeness and lacks distracting details (as could have been the case in an execution of a haircut). The overall nature of plastic modeling gravitates to the classical techniques inherent in the artistic language of the sculptor. Thus, the sum of all mentioned qualities of this work allows us to consider it as one of the best achievements in the portrayal art not just of the sculptor but also of the Soviet portrait art as a whole.

Concerning the execution of a human image, another work by Chubaryan is of specific interest: the monument of the prominent medieval scholar, lawyer and legislator Mkhitar Gosh (1967, basalt), located at the entrance of Matenadaran.

This sculpture exemplifies a different type of image execution associated with a complete lack of descriptive materials or a model for a portrait (notwithstanding the nickname “Gosh”, meaning “bald,” acquired by the scholar during his lifetime). In such cases, an image is typically created from author’s imagination. The author must be guided only by an understanding that his duty is to depict a vivid historical figure whose prominent role in the history of national Armenian culture was widely known and duly appreciated by both Gosh’s contemporaries and the scholars of the new time.

To this end, Ghukas Chubaryan was fortunate. With him, he had his father, who had just returned from exile and who, as mentioned before, was a brilliant legislator and knew well the history of law, and especially that of Armenia. Knowing all that was known about Gosh’s life and work, he was able to convey to his son a lot about Gosh’s human and creative essence. This served as a main starting point for the sculptor. Gradually, the notion of the genius individuality of Gosh started to develop in the sculptor’s mind and defined the ideological conceptual basis of the future monument.

However, the search for a plastic prototype able to embody the subject lasted for a long time. And then the master had a brilliant and rather logical idea – to use his own father’s face for the creation of Mkhitar Gosh. This decision proved to be quite effective. It allowed the sculptor to create a vivid in character and convincing in authenticity image of a great medieval Armenian legislator.

The plastic execution of the monument is expressive in its laconicism. Gosh’s figure, clothed in a coat, depicted with very little detail, appears as a mighty column. This simplicity allowed for highlighting of two important details of the statue: the head and the hands holding a book.

Before us - an ascetic man, secluded from everything worldly, deep in thought. The gaze of his tired eyes is directed to eternity. The characteristic features of his Armenian nationality are clearly reflected in the precisely modeled features of his face. The codex in Gosh’s hands is a collection of laws, which in a gesture of bequest he is offering to the viewer. It is not a coincidence that this gesture evokes an association with a canonical gesture of evangelicals presenting a book of Holy Scripture. The analogy drawn by the sculptor is clear and convincing: like Holy Scripture the codex was intended to define laws of justice and order.

Thus, in the execution of the monument to Mkhitar Gosh Chubaryan was able to organically merge two different and seemingly incompatible principles of portrait art: individuality of a
real man with that of a collective character of a historical figure. This gave the monument a distinct force of credibility and artistic truthfulness.

The next work I would like to discuss is a sculpture called “Bunny Girl” (bazalt, 1967). The model for this work was the sculptor’s daughter wearing a masquerade hat. This is one of Chubaryan’s most uncommon works. For one, it is unusual due to an unexpected plastic approach to the artistic concept. With remarkable skill the sculptor “fused” into organic whole the round head of a child and the tall hat in a shape of rabbit’s head with upwardly extended ears.

Chubaryan reached such unity and realism in connecting the two creatures or natures, one of a human and another of an animal, that at first glance the viewer perceives the sculpture as depiction of some unusual unknown creature.

However, having studied the girl’s face, you can observe the actual source of this remarkable character. The face is already endowed with such unique individual traits that are noted psychologically so well that even years later features of the sculpture can be easily seen in today’s appearance of a young woman, who, when she was a girl, served as a model for her father.

In a precisely modeled face one can read a whole complex of psychological nuances: amazement, curiosity, inclination to suddenly smile. In a quiet and reserved way the young girl reacts to her environment but she is also ready to participate in a joyful celebration. This perception is predominantly helped by the contrast between the volume of the hat and the round form of her head, framed by thick hair, with a thin neck of a child, all of which give the portrait a dynamic steadiness and creates an impression that the girl is ready to turn her head right or left.

The open poetry inherent to this portrait is not generally characteristic to the creative search of the sculptor. It emerges very rarely and perhaps only in creation of children’s images. The “Bunny Girl” is one of its most vivid examples. This wonderful composition by Chubaryan with its touching lyricism reveals yet another facet of his creative abilities, which has unfortunately been so rarely used.
A special place in Chubaryan’s portrait gallery belongs to the images of workmen. The conceptual solution of these characters is particularly fascinating.

The topic of labor was one of the most important ones in the ideological agenda of Soviet arts, since all the authority in USSR was considered as belonging to city and farm workers. Oftentimes, whole exhibitions were filled with works extolling heroic deeds of laborers and collective farmers.

This topic was not unfamiliar to Chubaryan. Having been accustomed to work since early childhood, he considered it a sacred task, so it is not surprising that he often turned to depicting laborers. The sculptor’s conceptual solution of these images is characteristic to his work and is interesting from the viewpoint of the history of Armenian art.

I will stop to consider one of the most significant of such portraits known by a double name: “The Welder” or “The Knight.”

The second title is rather befitting considering the particularities in the sculpture’s plastic execution and its figurative meaning. The sculptor keenly noticed an unexpected similarity between a welder’s shielding headpiece, which he pushed back during his work, and a helmet’s visor of a knight. This became the starting point for creation of a deeply meaningful image of a workman.

“The Welder” of Ghukas Chubaryan is easily remembered first of all due to the unique, lively and attractive face of a young man with vividly expressed Armenian ethnic traits. The sculptor executed the workman’s portrait in a complex and profound manner. On the young man’s face we can read a discreet, almost hidden sense of pride and inner dignity. Physical power in him is fused with spiritual greatness. The firm and steady position of his head conveys his trust in himself and his strength; this man evokes a sense of trust, he is someone on whom you can rely.

Another element that attracts attention in the interpretation of the given character is an imprint of fatigue on the workman’s face, which gives the depiction certain honesty and credibility. This aspect, closely related to the topic of labour and having been wonderfully expressed in works of many prominent artists, particularly those of the 19th century (e.g. Jean-François Millet, Constantin Meunier, Edgar Degas and others), was not popular in Soviet art. As people were told, labor was a “thing of pride, honor, and heroism,” fatigue was not becoming of a Soviet man.

All these particularities endow “The Welder” with a complex substance thus setting it apart from many homogeneously realized portrayals of workmen and peasants in Soviet art. “The Knight’s” creation serves as a good example of Chubaryan’s own deeply humanitarian conception of a man that is very evident in his work.

I would like to direct your attention to the flawlessness of the plastic execution of this imaginative choice. Having generalized to the maximum the plastic forms but without it being too schematic, the sculptor achieved an impressive coherence and compactness of the whole. The facial features are clearly defined, accessories, perfectly recognizable, are organically merged with the dimension of the face. This sculpture one of most prominent works by Chubaryan and should be considered as one of the best in its genre in Armenian art.

One of the most powerful and impressive works by Chubaryan is “Let Your Name Be Hallowed” (bronze, 1985).

This work was intended as a tribute to the memory of the author’s brother, who fought and died in a battle near Leningrad at the beginning of World War II. The thought of immortalizing the memory of his brother was on the sculptor’s mind for four long decades, during which time he continuously worked on numerous sketches and drafts.

In 2007 by some incredible chance, in Leningrad suburbs a research group found in a mass grave metal dog tags of Luseghen Chubaryan, Ghukas’ brother. It was then that an idea was born of
are imposing and pompous. There are also some that accent an aspect of tragedy: often, taking the iconography of “Pietà” as a prototype, the sculptors depicted the Mother (possibly meaning “Mother Russia”) over the body of her fallen son.

The sculpture created by Chubaryan is very far from such stenciled works. It shocks not with its size, since it is petite, but with its completely unexpected interpretation, devoid of any heroism or obvious literary narrative. It shocks with the force of piercing expressiveness of the character itself.

Before us is a thin young man, almost a boy, with a shaved head, in a wrinkled tattered obviously second-hand overcoat, wearing dirty boots that are too big for him. He doesn’t even have a rifle; he is holding only an old ragged hat. The questioning look of this unarmed soldier is upward, to the sky. To whom is his gaze directed? Maybe, like Christ, he is praying that his cup of suffering
be taken away from him. Today, knowing the terrible condition in which the Soviet army was in the first months of the war, it is clear what the sculptor was trying to say.

The strength of this work is in the image of the young soldier. I should note that from the beginning the author was not trying to make the sculpture look like his brother. Rather, he wanted to create a collective image of a young soldier mercilessly sent to a sure death. The young man is not attractive. He has a big roughly shaped nose, large protruding ears, thick lips and a heavy chin, his shaved head is far from being of a perfect shape.

However, when you look into his eyes, which show no fear but rather misery, astonishment and silent questioning, the whole image transforms. He no longer seems a tad ridiculous, and his appearance, before so unattractive, assumes another look. Now before us is a beautiful young man, lit by a spiritual light. An aching sense of deep compassion emerges toward this young soul, doomed to a meaningless extermination; you suddenly feel that this person is very dear and close to you.

The young man's head, interpreted in a very expressive way, is a dominant part of the statue; it carries the most meaningful message. The execution of the rest is subordinate to this objective. In order to concentrate the viewer's attention on the face, Chubaryan depicts the soldier with an uncovered head (despite an obviously cold weather): the hat must not prevent him from revealing different psychological aspects of his character in a clearest way possible. This is, undoubtedly, a very successful device of the sculptor. Following the same rationale the sculptor limits himself to a laconic execution of the whole figure. The overcoat is modeled very frugally, so the figure is free from any materialistic attributes. The skinny neck, sticking out of the open collar intensifies this impression.

Summarizing the impressions made by the monument, I must say it is a deeply humanistic work, symbolizing hatred towards war. Its embodiment lacks pathos at all. The statue is not flashy. The author reflects on the tragedy of war with great wisdom and calm insight, qualities that characterize the whole art of Ghukas Chubaryan as well as his conception of a human being.

In order to define the portrait conception in Chubaryan's art I focused on several of his more significant works and using them as examples attempted to demonstrate which features characterize the master's artistic viewpoint, the way he related to the world, the way he regarded people around him, and the way he treated himself.

Summing everything up, one can define Chubaryan's outlook as calm and balanced. In a person he always aimed to find first of all his worthy traits, his human nature, that, which allows to think he was created “in the image and likeness of God.” In people the master highly valued qualities such as sense of honour and dignity, inner freedom and independence. And these were the features that he tried to find and convey in his work. He never focused his attention on negative traits or physical defects of a person. In his work irony or even light good-natured humor were alien to him. He treated everyone, be it a prominent historical figure, a simple worker, a pensioner, a young woman or a child, thee same: seriously, with respect and kindness, but also without idealizing. His vision of man was devoid of falsehood, fake pathos or artificial heroism, sins that are often found in works of Soviet artists. Neither did he like putting special emphasis on pure expressions of human feelings, moments of pain, explicit suffering or loud cries.

Chubaryan's sculptures are different with their bold restraint and inner strength, two features that characterize Armenian art as a whole. And in this sense, his art and artistic conception reflect not only individualism of his artistic identity but are also as indicative of an ethnic character seen in all Armenian art from Middle Ages to modern times.
В данной статье мы обращаемся к творчеству выдающегося армянского скульптора второй половины XX века, народного художника Армении, действительного члена Академии Художеств СССР Гукаса Чубаряна, в частности, к концепции человека в его искусстве, т.е. к особенности индивидуального видения художником образа человека и о характере его трактовки в пластике мастера.

Из большого количества созданных скульптором образов, я отобрал лишь несколько. Среди них – как работы сугубо портретного типа, так и памятники, посвященные выдающимся историческим личностям. Известно, что особенности трактовки образа человека в изобразительном искусстве во все времена формировались под влиянием целого ряда обстоятельств – историко-политических, общественно-социальных, нравственно-этических и эстетических, – характерных для той среды, в которой существовал художник. Следовательно, для более ясного понимания творчества любого художника, обстоятельств его формирования и развития, немало важно ознакомление с той историко-политической средой, в которой ему пришлось жить и работать.

Гукас Чубарян родился в 1923 году в Ереване и скончался здесь же в 2009 году. Основная часть его долгой и плодотворной творческой жизни прошла в стране, в которой вопросы культуры, и в частности, искусства – как многие из нас еще хорошо помнят – достаточно жестко контролировались властями.

В мою задачу сегодня не входит освещение крайне интересного и важного вопроса о том, как тоталитарный режим, более 70 лет царивший в этом, некогда огромном государстве, отразился на его искусстве. Вопрос этот не кажется мне однозначным. Ибо сегодня уже становится ясно, что вопреки давлению идеологического пресса, в советский период нашей истории целям рядом наших мастеров – живописцев, скульпторов и график – было создано немало произведений высокого художественного качества. Качества, которого, к сожалению, пока еще не удалось достичь современному поколению художников, живущих в среде, казалось бы более благоприятной для свободы творчества.

Гукас Чубарян относится к отмеченной группе советских армянских мастеров, творчество которых не было подавлено идеологической цензурой. Более того, несмотря не только на общее идеологическое давление, но и на тяжелейшие превратности его личной судьбы, ему удалось быть в своем творчестве внутренне свободным (насколько это было возможно в те годы) и творить в соответствии со своей гражданской совестью. Попытаемся ответить на вопрос, как это ему удалось и какие обстоятельства содействовали ему в этом.

Мировоззрение художника, а соответственно и особенности трактовки им образа человека, хотя и определялись во многом только в формировании его творческой личности играла и индивидуальность самого художника, характер его личностного мировосприятия.

И эта индивидуальность нередко противилась – иногда открыто, чаще завуалированно – общепринятым в данном обществе поведенческим нормам. В условиях тоталитарного государства такое сопротивление было сродни гражданскому поступку, воплощая более высокие нравственно-этические идеалы.

Эти идеалы будущий скульптор воспринял с детства. Он родился и воспитывался в семье высокообразованных интеллигентов, людей передовых демократических взглядов, следовавших традиционным национальным нравственно-этическим ценностям. Его отец, выдающийся юрист, Григорий Амбарцумович Чубарян, известный и уважаемый в республике ученый, профессор Ереванского Университета, председатель того поколения армянской интеллигенции, которое, исполняя свой патриотический долг, в самый тяжелый для своего народа период, в 20-е годы, переселилось в Армению, чтобы создать армянское государство и возродить национальную культуру.

К сожалению, благоприятные годы семейной жизни Чубарянов были прерваны арестом в 1937 году...
главы семьи; эта роль легла с тех пор на плечи матери, личности также незаурядной. Сильная, волевая, умная и практичная, получившая образование на Высших женских курсах в Москве, она в тяжелейших условиях, в которых оказалась ее семья, смогла достойно справиться не только со сложностями чисто-бытового характера, наладив по-новому жизнь семьи, но и сделала все, чтобы, с одной стороны, предохранить от травмы психику своих детей, объявленных детьми "врага народа", помочь им не сломаться под тяжестью этого кляма, а с другой — уберечь от озлобления и даже в этих условиях сохранить важные человеческие качества: веру в человека, в добро, сочувствие к бедам ближнего, и самое главное — чувство внутренней свободы и независимости.

Именно эти качества легли в основу личностной сущности скульптора Гукаса Чубаряна и определили характер восприятия им природы человека, обусловили концепцию его портретных образов.

Обратимся к примерам.

Начнем с одной из самых выразительных портретных работ во всем творчестве Гукаса Чубаряна, портрета матери, Марты Чубаряны (бронза, 1965).

Образ матери в творчестве художников (я имею в виду в данном случае — образы конкретных матерей, а не обобщающую тему материнства), также, как и автопортреты — одна из интересных по разнообразию подходов и трактовок тем портретного искусства. Приведу для примера два противоположных по своей сути подхода к этой теме. В двойном портрете-картине Аршила Горкого, при всей оцифовке верности натуре, неповторимый по своему духовному наполнению и глубине образ Матери может быть сравнен лишь с самыми совершенными средневековыми изображениями Богоматери.

Иное чувство вызывает известный графический портрет матери Дюрера, отличающийся поразительным реализмом и правдивостью образа. Сквозь внешне ненужные, уже деформированные возрастом черты, лицо старой женщины озарено внутренним светом, согретым теплым сыновьим чувством художника.

Портрет матери Чубаряна по своему образному решению в определенном смысле перекликается с этим портретом. Скульптор также не скрывает своего чувства к матери. И в то же время также без малейшей идеализации изображает лицо старой женщины, отмеченное следами перенесенных жизненных трудностей.

Портрет этот примечен во многих отношениях. Прежде всего, — острым и правдивостью физиономического облика, очевидной даже для тех, кто не был знаком с моделью. Эта правдивость и острая в передаче натуры достигалась и высоким профессиональным мастерством скульптора и его даром портретиста. Конечно, в данном случае его работу облегчало то обстоятельство, что саму модель он имел возможность наблюдать вблизи в течение долгих лет.

С другой стороны, этот остро индивидуализированный портрет приобретает у скульптора и черты общебного, собирательного образа женщины-матери вообще. Он несет на себе печать всех бед и испытаний, всех трагических событий первой половины прошлого века, с его войнами, голодом, утратами и разочарованиями. В ее лице мы читаем выражение жертвенности и любви, стойкости и терпимости.

Портрет этот — свидетельство времени, свидетельство биографии самого автора, создавшего это замечательное произведение, отмеченное глубокой жизненной правдой.

Что касается художественного языка портрета, то он прост и лаконичен. Его пластическая структура отличается цельностью, в ней нет отвлекающих внимание деталей (как, например, могло быть в трактовке прически). Общий характер пластической лепки тяготеет к классическим приемам, в целом свойственным художественному языку скульптора. Таким образом вся сумма отмеченных качеств этого произведения позволяет отнести его к наилучшим достижениям как самого автора, так и всего отечественного портретного искусства в целом.

В решении образа человека у Чубаряна особый интерес представляет памятник выдающемуся ученому, правоведу и законодателю Мхитару Гошу, у фасада Матенадарана (1967, базальт).

Эта скульптура представляет иной тип образного решения, что связано с отсутствием материалов портретного характера (если не считать данного ему при жизни прозвища "Гош", что, как известно, означает "лысый"). В подобных обстоятельствах образ обычно создается исключительно воображением автора. И он должен руководствоваться лишь осознанием того, что задачей его является изображение яркой исторической личности, чья выдающаяся роль в истории отечественной культуры хорошо известна и была по достоинству оценена как современниками Гоша, так и учеными нового времени.

В данной ситуации Гукасу Чубаряну повезло. Рядом с ним оказался вернувшийся из ссылки отец скульптора, (как уже говорилось, выдающийся правовед), прекрасно знавший историю юриспруденции (в частности, — армянской). Зная все, что было известно о жизни и деятельности Гоша, он мог подсказать ему многое о его человеческой и творческой созидательной сущности. Именно это послужило исходной отправной точкой в работе скульптора.

В его воображении постепенно стало формироваться представление о генеральной личности Гоша, об этом ученом из эпохи далекого средневековья. Это представ-
ление и определило идейно-содержательную основу будущего памятника.

Но поиски пластического эквивалента этому содержанию, способного воплотить этот образ, длились довольно долго. И тут мастеру пришла остроумная и вполне логичная мысль: использовать для создания образа Мхитара Гоша портретный облик своего отца.

Такое решение оказалось весьма плодотворным. Оно помогло художнику создать острый по портретной характеристике и убедительный по достоверности образ великого средневекового армянского законодателя.

Пластическое решение памятника очень выразительно в своей лаконичности. Фигура Гоша, облаченного в скупо разработанный по формам плащ, воспринимается как мощная колонна. Эта лаконичность позволила акцентировать две главные детали статуи – голову и руки, держащие книгу. Перед вами – лицо аскета, отрешенного от всего сущего и углубленного в свои мысли. Взгляд его устальных глаз обращен в вечно. В остро моделированных чертах лица ясны выражены особенности национального типа. Кодекс в руках Гоша – свод законов, который он жестом подношения предлагает нам. Жест этот не случайно вызывает ассоциации с каноническим жестом евангелистов, представляющих кодекс со Священным Писанием. Аналогия, проводимая художником, ясна и убедительна: как и Евангелие, Свод законов был призван установить законы справедливости и порядка.

Так, в образном решении памятника Мхитару Гошу Чубаряну удалось органично соединить два, казалось бы, трудно сочетаемых начала портретного искусства – человеческого и животного, – что поначалу, при первом взгляде на скульптуру, зритель воспринимает ее как целое пластическое круглое детское головку и высокую шапочку в виде зайца с вытянутыми вверх ушами.

Чубаряну удалось добиться такой цельности и органичности в соединении этих двух частей, двух начал – человеческого и животного, – что поначалу, при первом взгляде на скульптуру, зритель воспринимает ее как изображение некого необычного, неведомого существа. Однако, рассматривая лицо девочки, замечаешь всю реальную основу этого замечательного образа, уже наделенного неповторимыми индивидуальными особенностями, так понятно и точно психологически охарактеризованными, что ее портретные черты без труда узнаются и в сегодняшней внешности не только молодой женщины, послужившей в детстве моделью для отца. 

В тонко моделированном лице прочитывается целый комплекс психологических нюансов — удивление, любопытство, готовность неожиданно улыбнуться. Девочка реагирует на происходящее вокруг нее со спокойной сдержанностью, но готова стать участницей радостного праздника. Этому ощущению в сильной степени способствует контраст между объемом шапки и округлых форм головы, обрамленной густыми волосами, с тонкой шеей ребенка, что сообщает портрету ощущение динамичной устойчивости и создает впечатление, что девочка готова повернуть голову то направо, то налево.

Открытая поэтичность, присущая этому портрету, в целом не характерна для творческих поисков скульптора. Она проявляется очень редко, и, пожалуй, лишь при воплощении образов детей, и один из наиболее ярких тому примеров дает скульптура "Девочка-Зайчик".

Это замечательное произведение Чубаряна своей трогательной поэтичностью раскрывает еще одну грань его творческих возможностей, к сожалению, так мало испольованную.

Особое место в портретной галерее Чубаряна занимают образы людей труда. Интересно концептуальное решение этих образов.

Известно, что тема труда была одной из важнейших в идеологической программе советского искусства: ведь власть в стране считалась "рабоче-крестьянской", и нередко целые выставки заполнялись произведениями, прославляющими героические подвиги рабочих и колхозников.

Для Чубаряна сама эта тема не была чуждой. Привычный к труду с самого детства, он считал его делом святым, и неудивительно, что часто обращался к изображению тружеников. Концептуальное решение этих образов скульптором характерно для его творчества и интересно для истории армянского искусства.

Остановимся на одном, наиболее значительном из этих портретов, известном под двойным названием "Сварщик" или "Рыцарь".

Второе название вполне правомочно, если иметь в виду особенности пластического решения скульптуры и ее образно-смысловое содержание. Метко подмеченный момент в работе сварщика, откинув защитный щиток на голове, вызвал у художника неожиданную ассоциацию этого щита с рыцарским забралом, что и стало отправной точкой для создания глубоко содержательного образа человека труда.

"Сварщик" Гукаса Чубаряна запоминается прежде всего благодаря индивидуализированному, живому, привле-
кательному лицу молодого человека, с ярко выявленными чертами армянского национального типа.

Портрет рабочего трактован скульптором сложно и глубоко. В его лице мы читаем сдержанное, чуть захваченное чувство гордости и внутреннего достоинства. Физическая мощь сочетается у него с духовным величием. Крепкая, статичная постановка головы передает его уверенность в себе, в свои силы, человек этот вызывает ощущение надежности: на таком можно положиться.

Еще одна особенность обращает внимание в трековке данного образа – печать усталости на лице рабочего, придающая особую правдивость и достоверность изображению. Этот аспект, – тесно связанный с темой труда и нашедший свое замечательное по выразительности решение в творчестве многих выдающихся художников прошлого, в частности XIX века (таких как Жан-Франсуа Милле, Менье, Эдгар Дега и некоторые другие) – не был популярен в советском искусстве. Как так труд, как мы знаем, был “делом чести, гордости и героиства”, и усталость советскому человеку была как бы не к лицу.

Все отмеченные особенности придают образу “Сварщика” тот сложный содержательный заряд, который отличает его от множества однозначно решенных портретов рабочих и крестьян в советском искусстве. В трактовке портретного образа “Рыцаря” четко отразился характер концепции человека в творчестве Чубаряна, отличающейся глубокой, гуманистической направленностью.

Обратим внимание и на совершенство пластического воплощения этого идеально-образного решения. Предельно обобщенные пластические формы, но не впадая при этом в схематичность, скульптор добился исключительной целостности и компактности общего. Черты лица четко и ясно отчеканены, аксессуары, трактованные на пределе их узнаваемости, органично спаяны с объемами лица. Эта скульптура Чубаряна – одна из программных в его творчестве и должна быть отнесена к числу лучших произведений этого жанра в армянском искусстве.

Одна из наиболее сильных и впечатляющих работ Гукаса Чубаряна – скульптура “Da святится имя твое” (бронза 1985).

Работа эта была задумана как посвящение памяти брата, сражавшегося и погибшего в самом начале Великой Отечественной войны под Ленинградом. Мысль увековечить память брата зрея у художника долго, в течение четырех десятилетий, и за это время было сделано немало эскизов и вариантов.

В 2007 году по какой-то удивительной случайности, в окрестностях Ленинграда поисковиками были найдены останки и именной медальон Лусегена Чубаряна, брата Гукаса. Тогда возникла мысль поставить здесь памятник, посвященный погибшим при обороне Ленинграда. К сожалению, эту прекрасную идею скульптору – по не зависящим от него обстоятельствам – осуществить не удалось. И хотелось бы надеяться, что настанет день, когда благодарные потомки вспомнят своих героев и поставят здесь уже созданный для этого места замечательный памятник армянского мастера.

По своему образно-содержательному и формальному решению памятник этот не имеет аналогий ни в советском искусстве, ни, насколько мне известно, в искусстве других стран.

В послевоенные годы, да и в последующие десятилетия, по всей территории Советского Союза было поставлено множество памятников, посвященных победе над фашизмом – огромных монументов в крупнейших городах страны и сравнительно скромных скульптур в деревнях и в городах поменьше. В них, как правило, прославлялись героические подвиги наших бойцов, спасших народы от фашизма.

Памятники эти чаще всего величественны и помпезны. Есть и такие, где акцент сделан на трагическом аспекте, часто, взяв за образец иконографию “Пиеты”, скульпторы изображали Мать (возможно, имелась в виду “Родина-мать”) над телом погибшего в бою сына.

Скульптура, созданная Чубаряном, очень далека от трафаретов. Она поражает, но поражает не своими размерами (они невелики), а совершенно неожиданной трактовкой, лишенной какого-либо героизма или внешней “литературной” повествовательности. Но более всего – силой выразительности, пронзительностью самого образа.

Перед нами – худой юноша, почти мальчик, с бритой головой, в мягкой потрепанной шинели, явно по росту, в грязных, не по размеру, ботинках. При нем нет ни тени страха, а читается лишь грусть, удивление и немой вопрос, – образ этот преображает. Он уже не кажется чуть
нелепым, и даже сама его, некрасивая по сути, внешность наполняется иным содержанием. Перед нами – прекрасный юноша, озаренный духовным светом. Возникает щемящее чувство жалости к этому юному существу, обреченному на бессмысленную гибель, и ощущение, что это – родной и близкий нам человек.

Выразительно трактованная голова юноши является доминантой статуи, именно она несет наибольшую содержательную информацию. И трактовка всех остальных частей фигуры подчинена этой главной цели. Чтобы сосредоточить внимание зрителя на лице, Чубарян изображает солдата с непокрытой головой (несмотря на явно холодную и промозглую погоду): шапка не должна была мешать ему как можно более ясно и четко выявить различные грани психологического образа. Это, несомненно, удачная находка скульптора.

Из тех же соображений художник ограничивается крайне лаконичной трактовкой самой фигуры. Шинель моделирована очень скупо, отчего фигура солдата лишена сколько-нибудь выраженной материальности. Худоба шеи, тянущейся из раскрыто ворота шинели, в свою очередь, усиливает это ощущение.

Суммируя впечатление от памятника, следует сказать, что это – глубоко гуманистическое произведение, символизирующее ненависть к войне. Причем, сделано без малейшего пафоса. Памятник этот не кричит. Автор раскрывает трагедию войны с большой глубиной и спокойной вдумчивостью – качествами, столь характерными для творчества Гукаса Чубаряна в целом, для его концепции человека.

Для решения поставленной нами задачи – выявить портретную концепцию творчества Гукаса Чубаряна – мы проанализировали несколько скульптур, из числа наиболее значительных его произведений и на их примере попытались показать, какие особенности характеризуют художественное мировоззрение мастера, как он относился к окружающему миру, к людям вокруг себя и к самому себе.

Общаяя сказанное, можно определить мировидение Чубаряна как спокойное и уравновешенное. В человеке он стремился увидеть прежде всего его достойные черты, его гуманное начало, то, что позволяет считать его созданным "по образу и подобию Божьему". Мастер высоко ценил в людях такие качества, как чувство чести и достоинства, внутреннюю свободу и независимость. И именно эти черты пытался увидеть и передать в своих работах. Он никогда не заострял внимания на негативных особенностях человека или физических недостатках его внешности. Ему была чужда также ирония или даже легкий, добродушный юмор. К человеку – будь то выдающаяся историческая личность, простой рабочий, старый пенсионер, молодая женщина или ребенок – он относился серьезно и уважительно, доброжелательно, но и без желания идеализировать его. В его видении человека нет никакой фальши, ложного пафоса, нарочитой героизации, – всего того, чем нередко грешили многие художники советского времени. Он не любил также акцентирования человеческих переживаний, моментов боли, выраженного страдания, громкого плача.

Его скульптуры отличаются мужественной сдержанностью и внутренней силой – чертами, характерными для армянского искусства в целом. И в этом смысле его искусство и его художественная концепция выражают не только индивидуальные качества его творческой личности, но и позволяют говорить о них как об особенностях национального характера, которые прослеживаются в армянском искусстве от эпохи средневековья и до новейшего времени.
Մերի օրը արագացած հունիտ կուտակվում վիճակ պահանջում է: Երբեք հունիտ 3 տարի Երևանի, գրանցած տարեկան հունիտ կուտակվում է ազատագրում: Երբ հունիտը միջոցառում կար- ողին կեսի շինքով սեղ կարողանում ուսուցիչների գնում արձանագրել…… Տարիք է դադարեն ի մեկը, որ հայտնա- վակ գիտակցություն Մաշտոցի չունե կարողանում այս շինքով էական: Տեսած հայտնի տեղեկատվություն է արագացած տարեկան հունիտի մրցանակը: Այսինքն հունիտի կուտակվում է վիճակ, լուսաբանվելով այս շինքի, որը հայտնաբերում է մեկ հունիտի արձանագրում: Մոտ օրեր ճակատագրվում են հայտնաբերված մրցանակների մրցանակների մասին հունիտի և կուտակվում քիչ վաժական կողմերի սկզբնական հիմքները։ Պատճառն է, որ հայտնաբերված հունիտների մասին հունիտի և կուտակվում քիչ վաժական կողմերի սկզբնական հիմքները։
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة. إذا كنت بحاجة إلى مساعدة أخرى، فضلًا قدم لي النص العربي بشكل واضح أو استخدم ترجمة الآلة للنصوص العربية إلى الإنجليزية.
պոլիներ: Մեսրույթ ձկի մարմինը, որը վերածված էր սուրճ, ապա հետևանում էր ձկի ազգային տարածքը, հետևյալ փաթցուց, հատկապես, վստահության վերածվածությի պայ-
ստը վերջ, հա սակային պատկեր են փորձ, այսպիսի պատմական պահած
վերջը: Հերոսիչը... Ներկայությունը կարող է առանց մարմի-
նի վերջի: Արաբակիրերի ազդեցությանը ինը նշանակություն ունի:

Հերոս վերջի հարդադարությանը մեկ նմանք, որը

ՆԱՇԻ փշտոցուց հանց ծառայություն՝ Յոթարության
Մասշտաբին ռուսական պատմությունը ցույցից, ուն Յոթարությու-
նից Սպանկության, մեկ բայց, որ Սպանկության փորձ
չէ պաստառ մարդը, սակայնապես ավելի ավելի առավե
ցանումների: Մեն կամարում այսպիսի այսպիսի սալիկ մար
գրվածություն գտներ ուտեցներ սակայն այս, այսպիսի վերջ
նույնիսկ, որ մեկնում է խաղակրիմանը, ուրիշ կերպարից
դասվել կարող է առնել: Սակայն ծրագրից շատ կարճ:
Արաբակիրերը Հուսայնի Սպանկության և երկիրի վերջի մեջ-
գնելուց ավանդականացման համար, և գրականականության կար
մարակեցության օրինակություն:
Теоретические построения у художника, мне кажется, – главным образом результат его практической деятельности. Нередко думаешь, что все уже понял, а начинаешь работу, и вдруг начинаешь понимать, что это только казалось. Подчас приходится оставлять уже почти сделанную вещь и возвращаться к ней; так мне пришлось пережить, когда я делал памятник создателю армянской письменности Месропу Маштоцу для хранилища древнеармянских рукописей в Ереване – Матенадарана. Работа растянулась на многие годы, и, в сущности, по сей день я не ощущаю ее законченной.

Я начал думать о том, как сделать памятник, давно, еще в 1953 году, только окончив художественный институт, обремененный грузом школьных навыков, таких необходимых, но которые потом приходится преодолевать. За эти годы многое изменилось и в нашем понимании архитектуры, и в нашем понимании синтеза, и, главное, в самой жизни, в ее восприятии. Поэтому так сильно изменилась и первоначальная форма проекта. Но самую основу, подход к задаче я сохранил, по существу, неизмененной и, по моему мнению, не ошибся.

Месроп Маштоц – создатель армянской письменности. Правой рукой он показывает алфавит, созданный им в критическую для жизни народа эпоху, когда Армения была разделена между Византией и Персией. Собственная письменность была призвана стать средством сохранения национального самосознания и самобытности народа. Левой рукой Месроп Маштоц показывает на орла – древний символ государственности. Месроп Маштоц – первый наш учитель-просветитель, и я решил изобразить рядом с ним коленопреклоненно внимающего ему ученика.

Месроп Маштоц – родоначальник великой плеяды переводчиков пятого века. В структуру памятника я внес текст из «Притч Соломоновых», первых слов, написанных армянскими письменами: «Познать мудрость и наставление, понять изречение разума». Такая откровенная пословицая повествовательная форма раскрытия содержания диктовалась эпичностью темы и характером пространства, отведенного для скульптуры: большой площадью опорной стены, на фоне которой должна быть развернута композиция; вынужденно медленным восхождением к зданию, когда фигура только постепенно возникает перед зрителем в разных ракурсах. Все это создавало необходимость развернуть тему во времени.

Первые эскизы исходили только из характера пространства и сюжетной мотивировки рассказа, а пластика была выдержана в стиле русского классицизма. Вскоре я понял, что этого недостаточно: нужно найти форму, которая, оставаясь современной, как бы перекликалась с древнеармянской скульптурой, с национальным стилем архитектуры. Необходимо было найти ясную композиционную схему и такую пластическую форму, способную стать носительницей большого содержания, выразить сущность великого события в жизни народа. Только в этом случае мне представлялось возможным избежать литературщины. Моль литературщины способна разъедать любую, даже совершенно «бессюжетную» ткань, ее сущность, видимо, кроется в отсутствии большого стиля и большой художественной правды.

Мне хотелось, чтобы памятник воспринимался как произведение древнего мастера, но живущего в наше время, нашего современника.

Несколько лет я «промучился» над проектом. Поначалу впал в самую настояющую стилизацию староармянских форм. Эту же ошибку я часто замечал и в работах своих коллег. Бывает, искренне ищут стиль, а опрометчиво впадают в холодную стилизацию. Но потом пришло ощущение, что я в точности копирую природу. Такое ощущение, по-видимому, бывает у актера: он прекрасно сознает, что находится на сцене, и в то же время искренне верит, что сейчас действительно Отелло. Независимо от того, сознается ли это как творческая задача или нет, без такого слияния чувственно-зрительного и трезво-логического начал художнику, вероятно, нельзя рассчитывать на успех. Даже добиваясь сходства с
природой, художник в конечном итоге должен уметь отвлечься от нее, а не просто создавать зеркальное отражение. Надо было на собственном опыте постичь важность единства наследия и современности, сочетания национального опыта с опытом общечеловеческим.

Работая над памятником, я должен был учесть многое. Величие подвига Месропа Маштоца заставило современников причислить его к лику святых. Полторы тысячи лет, отделяющие нас от гениального мыслителя, портретной скульптуры нельзя было игнорировать веками выкованную новую реальность. Задача превращения мифа в реальность неизбежно должна была оставить свой след.

В статях других древневермянских мыслителей, уставленных непосредственно перед зданием (мою была исполнена фигура создателя первого армянского судебника Мхитара Гоша), архитектура подсказала иной характер решения. Само фронтальное восприятие скульптур с близкого расстояния, наличие строго ритма, способного объединить в единое целое все фигуры, потребовало большей конкретизации образа. Зритель должен был воспринимать героев эмоционально, непосредственно и воспринимая героев эмоционально, непосредственно ощутить жизненность исторической преемственности. Иначе говоря, если пластическое решение образа Месропа Маштоца я стремился выдержать в духе идеальной гармонии греков (имею в виду принципы трактовки, а не стилистические признаки), то фигуры перед зданием следует выполнить уже в традициях реализма скульптуры древних римлян, римского портрета, более отвлеченное решение здесь было бы неуместно.

Работая над другими памятниками – композитору Спендиарову, поэту Чаренцу, проектируя нарядыб и декоративно-скульптурную обработку, каждый раз берясь за конкретную задачу, убеждаешься, что вовсе не обязан обладать одним какой-либо канон. Но, решая, казалось бы, суть функциональные проблемы, сравнивая свои работы с каким-либо каноном, я убедился, что архитектура, создавая жизненную среду, в которой находит человек, неминуемо отражает мир его духовных ценностей. И вот в этой же функции в качестве своего рода переводчика вступают в действие скульптуры и живопись. Я употребляю термин «переводчик» для того, чтобы, не отрицая способность самой архитектуры выражать эти духовные ценностии, подчеркнуть конкретно-эмоциональный, более непосредственный характер воздействия живописи и скульптуры на человека по сравнению с архитектурой.

На мой взгляд, сама потребность в синтезе возникает из желания человека более живо, лично ощутить общее философское, приблизить всеобщее к конкретному человеку. В этом специфика каждого из «союзников», хотя нельзя отрицать, что и архитектуре доступно конкретное, а живописи – отвлеченное. Смысловая сверхзадача может диктовать смещение различных функций.

Практика показывает, что существует ограниченность трактовки синтеза как стилевого тождества разных видов искусства. Тождественность стилей – лишь частный случай синтеза. Важнее гармонии стилей. Ее значение возрастает, особенно при сооружении памятников в пространстве исторически сложившихся ансамблей.

Подлинный синтез подразумевает, что каждое из искусств говорит на присущем только ему выразительном языке. Когда иной скульптор архитектонику вещи путает с архитектурной формой, то это приводит к «растворению» в архитектуре, а не к синтезу. Единство выявляется в контрасте: сегодняшняя архитектура оперирует сугубо отвлеченными объемами. Отвлеченно может быть и участвующее в синтезе изобразительное искусство, но оно может быть и сверхконтролируем. От такого пластического «столкновения» только усиливается эмоциональная сила воздействия сооружения.

Архитектура античности, средневековья, Возрождения как бы предоставила художнику экспозиционную площадь для показа уже сложившихся и бытовавших в народе образных представлений, будь то образ Зевса или библейских героев.

Конечно, это не исключало создания содержательной формы как таковой. Но и фриз Парфенона, и барельефы колонны Траана, и подавляющее большинство фресок Возрождения – иллюстрации кем-то написанной книги. Личность художника, его отношение к явлениям жизни не представляли ценности сами по себе, а выявлялись только как побочный результат творческого труда. Исключения из этого правила только подчеркивают верность общей закономерности.

Функция современного синтеза уже иная, хотя ее и трудно четко сформулировать. Также нелегко дать и определение понятия «современная архитектура».
Обычно под этим словосочетанием мы подразумеваем весь сложный комплекс архитектурных движений, возникших примерно с первых десятилетий нашего века. Современная архитектура — плод высокоразвитой индустрии, бурного развития науки, лишившей человека иллюзий и превратившей религию в пустую формальность: эпохи, когда в мироощущении человека произошли необратимые сдвиги, заменились масштабы времени и пространства, начался катастрофический рост городов, когда человек создал совершенно новую жизненную среду. Всеобщая грамотность и миллионные тиражи разных изданий, фото, радио, кинематограф, а позднее и телевидение свели к минимуму функцию изобразительного искусства как передатчика информации.

Если добавить социальные и культурные катаклизмы, перемены в ритме жизни, градостроительстве, где модулем стало не отдельное здание, а огромный жилой массив, то можно себе представить все те сложности, которые встают перед художником, решающим современные проблемы синтеза. В этих условиях архитектор, скульптор, художник, вынуждены по-новому объяснить мир, искать новые закономерности развития искусства, чтобы выявить новое мироощущение человека.

Для движения вперед он вынужден искать опору и в древнейших культурах. Ведь в синтезе, пожалуй, наиболее ярко выявляется сущность народных представлений, корнями своими уходящих в глубину века.

Художник ищет новые возможности выражения эмоций и мыслей современного человека. Это становится вместе с выражением своего личного отношения к миру одной из целей работы. Создается ситуация, когда он уже не удовлетворяется только ролью «заполнителя» отведенной для него площади: такой подход ныне воспринимается как анахронизм.

Скульптура и живопись в синтезе искусств, все более тяготеют к задачам, которые в прошлом считались исключительно монополией архитектуры, — к задаче организатора пространства, создания эмоциональной среды. И независимо от того, отвлеченные ли это формы Леже или Мура или конкретные образы Риверы, Ороско, Сикейроса, символы ли это или широкое повествование, способное вобрать в себя многие жизненные явления, скульптура и живопись обретают автономию, а художник из иллюстратора становится автором книги.

Мне кажется, что уже сегодня, говоря о синтезе, мы должны иметь в виду и перспективу хотя бы его ближайшего развития, избегать мимолетного, модного манерничанья. Развитие нашего общества, его технической оснащенности, все больше свободного времени у труженника, с одной стороны, всеобщей образованности и изменения в мировосприятии, с другой, ведут к новым формам синтеза. Наряду с национальными формами уже сегодня развивается интернациональное понимание пластических задач.

Это противоречие только кажущееся. Его боятся только догматические ревнители национального. Какая национальная школа будет от него в выигрыше. Расширяется диапазон чувств, доступных искусствам, вступающим в синтез. Наряду с аллегорией, символикой появится и потребность в романтических, лирических композициях. У труженника, располагающего массой свободного времени, вероятно, появится потребность в нетривиальном размышлении перед небольшой скульптурой или росписью, потребность любоваться всеми нюансами человеческих чувств и цветовых отношений.

Для успешного развития синтеза, мне кажется, все более значительную роль будет играть и контакт монументального искусства со станковым. Именно здесь художник может более свободно искать, экспериментировать, с тем чтобы потом вынести свои поиски в архитектуру. Но как скульптор, работающий и в монументальном, и в станковом искусстве, я пришел к убеждению, что и опыт работы в архитектуре не проходит бесследно для станковых произведений.

Если некогда произошло резкое разграничение этих двух видов творчества, то сегодня, кажется, начинается обратный процесс. Мне думается, как это некогда было в Древней Греции, маленькая терракотовая статуэтка снова станет не менее значительной, чем монументальное произведение, а гигантский монумент будет восприниматься и как общественный символ, и как нечто близкое каждому человеку.

Журнал Творчество, N10, 1971 г.
Հուկաս Գրիգորի Չուբարյան` հայ քանդակագործ

Անվիրվող ժողովուրդ ծնվել է 1917-թվական` Հայաստանի Տավուրի գյուղում: Այստեղ իր ծնոտային զարգացումը ստեղծեց այն պահանջ, որ սրանով տեղի է ենթադրվում հայաստանյան քանդակագործական ճարտարապետության զարգացումը, որը գրավում է նորաստեղծությունների տեսությունը, այդ ժամանակից հետո։
Նիկողայիկյան ստեփան
1937-1950 թ. ծրագրել ծաղկադուռաբար ծաղկելուց սկսեց Կարոտի
արձանագրություններով տեսաներով ստեղծելու միջամասն արձանագրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի
Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձանակարգային ծաղկադուռաբար ծաղկելուց սկսեց Կարոտի
արձանագրություններով տեսաներով ստեղծելու միջամասն արձանագրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի
Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձանագրություններով տեսաներով ստեղծելու միջամասն արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվականներին արձա
գրի ամբուլատորիա Բանակի Արմաթան։ 1937-1942 թվական
295
I was born in Yerevan in June 16, 1923; son of Grigor [Hambartsumovich] Chubarian, founder of Armenian State University, prominent lawyer, Member of the Armenian branch of USSR Academy of Sciences.

I hope not to sound too arrogant when I say that I am a hard worker, destined to decide on matters of vocation, opinions, conscience, and thought, regardless of whether my actions are arbitrary or predetermined. I think of myself as a humanist. I recognize that I or anyone else has a right for a free existence. My civic preferences were formed in a family, where defense of human rights was not only a common subject in court proceedings of my father, a lawyer, but also a topic analyzed at home, with children actively present during these conversations. My aesthetic principles are also a product of my family education, especially the selfless care of my mother, Martha [Markovna] Chubaryan (Babalahanian). Her views were formed during the years she was educated in favorably democratic atmosphere of highly intellectual society of New Nakhichevan and Moscow.

I am rather impartial towards the art of Mayol, Charles Despiau, Bourdelle, Marino Marini. For me the source of inspiration is the plasticity in the Middle Age Armenian art. I believe that the real human values find their true expression particularly in ethnic features. I aspire to it, while remaining true to my own expression.

The study years
I became a professional sculptor during the period between 1937 and 1950. I started learning my craft in 1937 at the sculptural studio of the Yerevan House of Pioneers (a youth organization similar to Boy Scouts of America), led by Samvel Minasyan, a student of Alexander Matveev. At the same time I studied painting at the Terlemezian Art College. After graduating from college, from 1943 to 1944 I studied fundamentals of architecture at the Yerevan Polytechnic Institute; then from 1944 to 1950 I completed my education, graduating with honors from the Department of Sculpture of the newly created Institute of Fine Arts (advisor: Ara Sargsian).

Start of work
The extraordinary prolific work and maturity of students of the art studio at the House of Pioneers attracted overall atte was the beginning of my academic work, which was not interrupted throughout my entire life: first, at Terlemezian Art College, then at my own studio, and later at the Armenian Pedagogical Institute, where I headed the Drawing Department at the College of Fine Arts, as well as working as a professor and a consultant. Since 1997 I am holding a position of the Vice-Chancellor of academic and creative division of the Fine Arts Academy.

The same year of 1941 marked the beginning of my professional carrier as well, as it brought me the first recognition as a sculptor. Since then, my works were exhibited, commissioned, and purchased by the USSR Ministry of Culture, and were further honored by being part of collections and exhibitions of national art galleries.

In 1943, after the opening of my solo exhibition, I officially became a member of the Artists Union of Armenia. Fully engrossed in creation I found unnecessary to interrupt my studies. And in 1950, by the decree of the Artist's Union, I was excluded from its ranks, only to be re-admitted a year later.

My activities at the national and international level
I began to take part in the Soviet Union exhibitions in 1946, when at the Decade of Armenian Art two portraits made by me were exhibited in Moscow. The same year, from the same exhibition, another of my works, the “Portrait of Student Danielian,” was selected by the jury to be presented at the First Festival of Youth in Prague. The work exhibited in Czechoslovakia earned the approval of the press, which has considerably empowered me. This was just the beginning.

Constant participation in the Soviet Union exhibitions began in 1950 with a portrait of my five-year old niece Anahit Zardaryan. This bronze bust was executed in the traditional sculptural plasticity of Donatello. Reproductions of the portraits have appeared on the pages of many magazines, thick and thin. In the future, the echo of my plastic language was heard in Moscow,
Kiev, and Yerevan. Thus in the future, the plasticity of my portrait works was frequently reproduced, bringing me professional recognition. From the mentioned above works, I will also note portraits of copper welders from Alaverdi plant: Avganian, Aroumanian and “Knight” (“Welder”).

Thereafter, until 1990, my work was frequently featured at the Soviet Union and international world’s exhibitions in Moscow, Riga, Vilnius, Beijing, Brussels, Montreal, Berlin, Paris and Warsaw.

**Monument works worthy of mention**

Over the years, the sketches of my composition works won numerous awards at many sculpture and architecture competitions. Based on a sketch for one of the competitions, I made a bronze monument to the great composer Alexander Spendiaryan, placed at the square in front of Opera (architect Phoenix Darbinian). As a result of collaboration with the architect Liparit Sarkisian came the bronze statue of a young Hovhannes Tumanyan in the village Dsegh. I would also note a complex composition of Saint Mesrob, in front of Matenadaran book depository (architect Mark Grigoryan), created from 1953 to 1968, a statue for the medieval legislator Gosh (Matenadaran; in basalt; 1967), a bust of the poet Yeghishe Charents (Yerevan; bronze) and many others.

**Noteworthy easel compositions**


**Easel sculptures**

I would note the one of my mother Martha Chubaryan, of Martiros Saryan and Gosh; portraits of physicists/academicians Flerov, Bogolyubov, Frank, Oganesyan, of Orom Madatyan, Hero of the Socialist Labor; a portrait of the psychologist Michael Mazmanian, etc. I frequently spoke about and wrote for Armenian and Soviet Union national periodicals on the topic of the theory and application of contemporary art.

**My social activities**

Several times I was elected a board member of the Artists’ Union of Armenia, also was elected vice president of the Union. I was a delegate to five congresses of the USSR Union of Artists and a member of the expert committee. I was always involved in social activities at the state and federal levels. I was a member of the Scientific Council of the Art Gallery of Armenia, a member of the Yerevan City Planning Board, a member of the invited tender committees. I was elected by the Armenian Ministry of Culture as a Chairman of the Methodological Board, as a member of the expert committee on the monumental sculpture, and a member of the Committee on awarding the State Prize of the Armenian SSR.

I was elected as a corresponding member (1970) and a full member (1988) of the USSR Academy of Arts.

In 1971 I was approved in the scientific degree of associate professor and in 1978 – in the degree of professor. In 1961 granted the title of Honored Artist of Armenian, in 1963 – Honored Artist of Armenia; in 1972 – National Artist of Armenia. I was awarded the Badge of Honors in 1956 and the Order of the Red Banner in 1986.

July 16, 1998

Yerevan

**From the editor**

In 2003 Gukas Chubaryan was awarded the Order of Movses Khorenatsi.

His works are in collections of the Art Gallery of Armenia, the Russian Museum, Tretyakov Gallery, the Exhibition Fund of the Russian Federation and are in private collections.

Since 1958 he was married to Silva Karagezyan, has two children: son, Grigor, 1959 and daughter Anush, 1965 and three grandchildren: Mariam, Gevork and Luse.

Gukas Chubaryan died on March 23, 2009
Я родился в Ереване в семье основоположника Армянского Государственного Университета, известного юриста, действительного члена Армянского отделения Академии наук СССР, Григора Амбарцумовича Чубаряна в 1923 году, 16 июня.

Без излишнего самодовольства могу сказать о себе, что я труженик, призванный решать вопросы призвания, убеждений, совести, мысли, независимо от того, произведен ли мой выбор идеи или предопределен. Осознаю себя гуманистом. Признаю свое и чужое право на свободное существование. Моя гражданские предпочтения сформировались в семье, в которой задача защиты прав человека была не только ежедневным предметом разбирательств в суде моим отцом адвокатом, но и темой теоретического анализа в кругу близких и присутствующих при беседах детей.

Мои эстетические принципы также результат семейного воспитания, особенно самоотверженной заботы моей матери, Марты Марковны Чубарян (Бабалахян), чьи взгляды оформились в годы ее образования в благоприятной демократической атмосфере интеллектуальных кругов городов Нового Нахичевана и Москвы.

Я питаю особое пристрастие к творчеству Майоля, Деспио, Бурделя, Марино Марини. Моим источником вдохновения является наследие средневековой армянской пластики. Считаю, что настоящие общечеловеческие ценности находят свое ис-тинное воплощение исключительно в национальных чертах. Стремлюсь к этому, оставаясь преданным себе.

Годы учебы
Я стал профессиональным скульптором в промежутке между 1937 и 1950 годами. Начал обучаться своему ремеслу в скульптурном кружке Ереванского дома пионеров, под руководством ученника Александра Матвеева, Самвела Манасяна, в 1937 году. Параллельно учился живописи в Художественном училище им. Терлемезяна. Окончив училище, с 1943 по 1944 год изучал основы архитектуры на архитектурном факультете Ереванского политехнического института, а с 1944 по 1950 г. завершил образование, с отличием окончив скульптурное отделение ново созданного художественного института (руково-дитель Ара Саркисян).

Начало трудовой деятельности
Необычайная плодотворность и зрелость учеников студии Дома пионеров привлекла к себе внимание и не только республиканской прессы. Работа кружка стала предметом серьезного анализа маститых искусствоведов, в виде объёмной статьи на страницах авторитетного союзного журнала «Юный художник». Этим обстоятельством можно объяснить решение моего первого учителя, Самвела Манасяна, перед его отправкой на фронт в 1941 году, поручить руководство кружка Дома пионеров мне, студенту–первоюкурснику художественного училища. Это стало началом моей педагогической деятельности, которая не прерывалась на протяжении всей моей жизни. Я преподавал сначала в Художественном училище им. Терлемезяна, затем в собственной мастерской, в дальнейшем – в Армянском педагогическом институте, где руководил кафедрой рисунка художественного факультета в качестве профессора и консультанта. С 1997 года я проректор по научно-творческой части Академии изящных искусств.

Началом моей профессиональной деятельности ознаменовался тот же 1941 год, который принес мне первое признание как скульптору. С той поры мои произведения стали периодически выставляться, заказываться и приобретаться Министерством культуры СССР, завоевали честь занять свое место в экспозициях и коллекциях картинных галерей.

В 1943 году, после открытия мне персональной выставки, я официально становлюсь членом Союза художников Армении. Продолжая интенсивную творческую работу, я не желаю прерывать свое обучение и по решению Союза художников оказываюсь исключенным из его рядов, чтобы через год, в 1951г., вновь по решению того же правления быть заново принятым.

Моя деятельность на всесоюзном и международном поприще
Я начал принимать участие во всесоюзных выставках с1946 года, когда в рамках декады Армянского искусства два созданных мною портрета были выставлены в Москве. В том же году, с той же выставки, для участия в организованном в Праге первом молодежном фестивале союзным жюри была отобрана моя работа, портрет студентки Даниэльян. Выставленная в Чехословакии работа заслужила одобрение прессы, что немало...
вдохновило меня. Это было начало. Постоянное участие на всесоюзных выставках началось в 1950 году с портрета моей пятилетней племянницы Анаид Зардарян. Этот бронзовый бюст был выполнен в традиции пластики Донателло. Репродукции этого портрета появились на страницах многих толстых и тонких журналов. В дальнейшем отголоски моего пластического языка были услышаны в Москве, Киеве и Ереване. Так в будущем мое пластическое прочтение портретных образов становится предметом частого воспроизведения, принося мне известность.

Из упомянутых работ отмечу также портреты медеплавильщиков Алавердинского комбината: Агваняна, Арзуманяна и «Рыцаря» (портрет сварщика). В будущем, вплоть до 1990 года, мои произведения постоянно оказывались на всесоюзных, международных, всемирных выставках в Москве, Риге, Вильнюсе, Пекине, Брюсселе, Монреале, Берлине, Париже, Варшаве.

Монументальные памятники, достойные упоминания
На протяжении многих лет, на многочисленных скульптурных, архитектурных конкурсах мои эскизы композиционных проектов одерживали победы. На основании конкурсного эскиза был осуществлен бронзовый памятник выдающемуся композитору Александру Спендиаряну, установленный на площади перед Театром оперы и балета (архитектор Феникс Дарбинян). Результатом совместной работы с архитектором Липаритом Саркисяном стал бронзовый памятник молодого Ованеса Туманяна в селе Дех. За ними последовали: комплексная композиция Месроп Маштоц перед книгохранилищем Матенадаран (архитектор Марк Григорян), 1953-68 гг. (базальт), скульптура средневекового законодателя Мхитара Гоша (1967 г., Матенадаран), поэта Егише Чаренца (Ереван, бронза), и многие другие.

Достойные упоминания станковые композиции

Станковые портреты
Портрет моей матери Марты Чубарян, портреты Мартироса Сарьяна, Мхитара Гоша, портреты физиков-академиков Флерова, Боголюбова, Франка, Оганесяна, героини соц. труда Ором Мадатян, психолога Микаела Мазманяна и многие другие.

Я неоднократно выступал и публиковался на страницах республиканских и всесоюзных изданий по темам теории и практики современного искусства.

Моя общественная деятельность
Многократно избирался членом правления Союза художников Армении, был заместителем председателя Союза. Был делегатом пяти съездов Союза художников СССР, членом экспертной комиссии. Вовлечен в общественную деятельность в республиканских и всесоюзных комиссиях. Был членом научного совета Каргинской галереи Армении, членом Ереванского градостроительского совета, членом приглашенных конкурсных комиссий. Был председателем методического совета Министерства культуры Армении, членом экспертной комиссии по монументальной скульптуре, того же министерства, являлся членом комиссии по вручению государственных премий Армянской ССР.


Награжден орденом «Знак почета» в 1956 г. и орденом Красного знамени в 1986 г.

16 июля 1998 г.
Ереван

В 2003 году Гукас Чубарян был награжден орденом «Мовсес Хоренаци».
Гукас Чубарян является Зарубежным почетным членом Российской академии художеств.
Его работы хранятся в картинной галерее Армении, Русском музее, Третьяковской галерее, в выставочном фонде РФ, в частных коллекциях.
Гукас Чубарян скончался 23 марта 2009 года.
Illustration list

38 Head of a Boy, 1941, Gypsum
39 Grandma, 1946, Gypsum
40 Mariam Chubaryan, 1946, Gypsum
41 Student D. Danelian, 1946, Gypsum
42 P. Khazarian, Hero of Socialist Labor medal recipient, 1952, Bronze
43 Head of a Young Worker, 1958, Bronze
44 Anaid, 1952, Bronze
45 Painter A. Paronian, 1958, Bronze
46 “The Knight” / “The Welder”, 1963, Bronze
47 Copper smelter A. Aghvanian, 1956, Bronze
48 Italian Communist Edoardo Donofrio, 1964, Aluminum
49 Sculptor Nvard Zarian, 1964, Gypsum
50 Son (Grigor Chubaryan), 1960, Gypsum
51 Academician Mikhail Mazmanian, 1973, Bronze
52 Mkhitar Gosh (Grigor Chubaryan), 1974, Basalt
53 Mother (Martha Chubaryan), 1965, Bronze
54 Bunny Girl (Anush Chubaryan), 1967, Bronze
55 Smelter K. Khachikian, 1970, Bronze
56-57 Painter Martiros Saryan, 1967, Bronze
58 Isabella Oganessian, 1979, Gypsum
59 Physicist Yuri Oganessian, 1979, Bronze
60 Nobel laureate, physicist Iliya Frank, 1982, Bronze
61 Physicist Georgiy Flerov, 1982, Bronze
62 Physicist Nikolay Bogolyubov, 1987, Bronze
63 Physicist Mikhail Mcheryakov, 1983, Bronze
64 Harvester, 1984, Bronze
65 Sculptor Leo Lankinen, 1987, Bronze
66 Grandson (Gevork Chubaryan), 1990, Gypsum
67 Granddaughter (Mariam Chubaryan), 1985, Terracotta
68 Granddaughter (Luse Saghatelyan), 1987, Gypsum
69 Archeologist and historian Joseph Orbeli, 1987, Bronze
70 “Hallowed Be Thy Name”, 1983, Bronze
71 “Hallowed Be Thy Name”, 1985, Bronze
72 Poet Yeghishe Charents, Yerevan, 1956
73 Poet Hovhannes Hovhannisyan, Echmiadzin, 1959
74 Composer Alexander Spendiaryan, Yerevan, 1952
75 Composer Alexander Spendiaryan, Yerevan, 1952
76 Composer Alexander Spendiaryan, Yerevan, 1971
77 Headstone for the tomb of Karapetian, Yerevan, 1962
78 Tombstone for Soghomonian, Yerevan, 1969
79 “Sorrow” Headstone for the tomb of Isabella, Yerevan, 1961
80 “Mother and Child” (Departing), Yerevan, 1959
81 Mesrop Mashtots, creator of the Armenian alphabet, sketch 1, ,
82 Mesrop Mashtots, creator of the Armenian alphabet, clay version
83 Mesrop Mashtots, creator of the Armenian alphabet, contest version
84-89 Mesrop Mashtots, creator of the Armenian alphabet, Yerevan, 1967
90 Mkhitar Gosh, medieval scholar/writer/legislator
91 Mkhitar Gosh, medieval scholar/writer/legislator, Yerevan, 1967
92 Mkhitar Gosh, medieval scholar/writer/legislator, Yerevan, 1967
93 Mkhitar Gosh, medieval scholar/writer/legislator, Yerevan, 1967
94 Toros Roslin, 1953, Gypsum
95 Toros Roslin, 1966, Bronze
96 Toros Roslin, 1966, Bronze
97 Historian Movses Khorenatsi, 1967, Bronze
98 Poet Hovhannes Tumanyan, 1969, Bronze
99 Poet Hovhannes Tumanyan, for poet’s home museum, Yerevan, 1969
100 Poet Hovhannes Tumanyan, Yerevan, 1969
101 Poet Hovhannes Tumanyan, Yerevan, 1969
102 Monument “Vahagni”, Vahagni, Armenia, 1969
103 Komitas, 2004, Gypsum
104 Komitas and Vishakapar (Dragon Stone). (Contest version 1), 1972, Gypsum
105 Komitas with a flute “Distant Sounds” (Contest version 2), 1973, Gypsum
106 Komitas, 1973, Chamotte
107 Komitas (“Martyrologist”), 1977, Bronze
108 Sketch. Martiros Saryan. Contest version 1, head, 1980, Gypsum
110 Sketch. Martiros Saryan. Contest version 1, 1980, Gypsum
111 Sketch. Martiros Saryan. Contest version 1, 1980, Gypsum
112 Sketch. Martiros Saryan. Contest version 2, head, 1980, Gypsum
113 Sketch. Martiros Saryan. Contest version 2, head, 1980, Gypsum
118 Memorial Statue for Yeghishe Charents., 1984, Gypsum
119 Memorial Statue for Yeghishe Charents., 1984, Gypsum
120-121 “Rebirth.” Set of sculptures for the National Gallery of Art at the Republic Square in Yerevan, Artist, musician, architect, sculptor, Birth od Vahagn, 1978-87, Gypsum
122-123 Sketch. Monument for the 1700 anniversary of Christianity in Armenia., 1998, Gypsum
124 “Rise Up, You, Branded by a Curse”, 1954, Gypsum
125 “Rise Up, You, Branded by a Curse”, 1954, Gypsum
126 “Deer”, Sayat Nova Avenue, Yerevan, 1959
127 “Motherhood”, 1967, Bronze
128 “Sun, Air, and Water”, 1971, Gypsum
129 “Novices”, for Kislovodsk city, 1978, Gypsum
129 “All Power for the Soviets!” Bas-relief project for the building of the Section for Political Education of the Armenian Communist Party, 1978, Graphics
130 Sketch. Mher the Younger, 1980, Gypsum
131 Sketch. Composition sculpture of Mher the Younger. Created for placement in a metro station., 1979, Gypsum
134-135 Five mascarons, Opera building, Yerevan, 1982
Список иллюстраций

38 Голова мальчика, 1941, гипс
39 Бабушка, 1946, гипс
40 Мария Чубарян, 1946, гипс
41 Студентка Д. Даниелян, 1946, гипс
42 Герой Соц. Труда П. Казарян, 1952, бронза
43 Голова молодого рабочего, 1958, бронза
44 Анаид, 1952, бронза
45 Художница А. Ларонян, 1958, бронза
46 Рыцарь (Портрет сварщика), 1963, бронза
47 Медпевивец А. Аравян, 1956, бронза
48 Итальянский коммунист Эдо. Донелло, 1964, алюминий
49 Скульптор Нвард Зарян, 1964, гипс
50 Сын - Григор, 1960, гипс
51 Академик Мазманян, 1973, бронза
52 Мхитар Гошу - Средневековому законодателю, Ереван, 1967, бронза
53 Мать - Марта Чубарян, 1969, гипс
54 Девочка зайчик – Анушк, 1967, бронза
55 Литейщик - Х. Хачикян, 1970, бронза
56-57 Мартiros Сарьян, 1967, бронза
58 Белла Оганесян, 1979, гипс
59 Академик Ю. Ч. Оганесян, 1979, бронза
60 Академик И. М. Франк, 1982, бронза
61 Академик Г. Н. Флерев, 1982, бронза
62 Академик Н. Н. Боголюбов, 1987, бронза
63 Академик М. Г. Мештеряков, 1983, бронза
64 Косарь, 1984, бронза
65 Скульптор Л. Ланкинен, 1987, гипс
66 Вик - Геворг, 1990, гипс
67 Викуля - Мариям, 1985, теракота
68 Викуля - Луса, 1987, гипс
69 Академик И. О. Орбели, 1987, бронза
70 "Да святыся имя твое", 1985, бронза
71 "Да святыся имя твое", 1985, бронза
72 Егше Чаренц - поэт, Ереван, 1956, бронза
73 Ованес Ованисянс - поэт, Эчмиадзин, 1959, басальт
74 Александр Спендиарян - композитор, Ереван, 1952, бронза
75 Александр Спендиарян - композитор, Ереван, 1952, бронза
76 Александр Спендиарян - композитор, Ереван, 1971, мрамор
77 Надгробие Карапетян, Ереван, 1962, басальт
78 Надгробие Согомонян, Ереван, 1969, мрамор
79 Скорбь – надгробие Изабеля, Ереван, 1961, басальт
80 Кад - Инна "Уходящая", надгробие, Ереван, 1959, басальт
81 Месроп Маштоц - создателю армянской письменности, эскиз 1
82 Месроп Маштоц - создателю армянской письменности, глина
83 Месроп Маштоц - создателю армянской письменности, конкурсный вариант
84-89 Месроп Маштоц - создателю армянской письменности, Ереван, 1967, басальт
90 Мхитар Гошу - Средневековому законодателю, Ереван, 1980, басальт
91 Мхитару Гошу - Средневековому законодателю, Ереван, 1967, басальт
92 Мхитару Гошу - Средневековому законодателю, Ереван, 1967, басальт
93 Мхитару Гошу - Средневековому законодателю, Ереван, 1967, басальт
94 Торос Рослин, 1953, гипс
95 Торос Рослин, 1966, бронза
96 Анани Шаракаци, 1966, бронза
97 Мовсес Хоренаци, 1967, бронза
98 Ованес Туманнян, 1969, бронза
99 Ованесу Туманняну - поэту, для дома музея поэта, Ереван, 1969, бронза
100 Ованесу Туманняну - поэту, Село Дех, 1969, бронза
101 Ованесу Туманняну - поэту, Село Ваагни, 1969, медная ковка
102 "Вагн" - памятник славы, Ереван, 1969, сварка бронзы
103 Комитас, 2004, гипс
104 "Комитас с вишапакаром" (конкурсная версия 1), 1972, Гипс
105 "Комитас со свирелью" - "Дальние звуки" (конкурсная версия 2), 1973, Гипс
106 Комитас, 1973, шамот
107 Комитас ("Мартироого"), 1977, бронза
108 Эскиз памятника Мартirosа Сарьяна, конкурсная версия 1, голова, 1980, Гипс
109 Эскиз памятника Мартirosа Сарьяна, конкурсная версия 1, голова, 1980, Гипс
110 Эскиз памятника Мартirosа Сарьяна, конкурсная версия 1, голова, 1980, Гипс
111 Эскиз памятника Мартirosа Сарьяна, конкурсная версия 1, голова, 1980, Гипс
112 Эскиз памятника Мартirosа Сарьяна, конкурсная версия 1, голова, 1980, Гипс
113 Эскиз памятника Мартirosа Сарьяна, конкурсная версия 1, голова, 1980, Гипс
114 Эскиз памятника Мартirosа Сарьяна, конкурсная версия 1, голова, 1980, Гипс
115 Эскиз памятника Мартirosа Сарьяна, конкурсная версия 1, голова, 1980, Гипс
116 Эскиз памятника Мартirosа Сарьяна, конкурсная версия 1, голова, 1980, Гипс
117 Эскиз памятника Мартirosа Сарьяна, конкурсная версия 1, голова, 1980, Гипс
118 Проект памятника Е. Чаренцу, 1984, Гипс
119 Проект памятника Е. Чаренцу, 1984, Гипс
120-121 "Воскрешение", комплекс скульптур для картинной галереи на площади Республики в Ереване. Художник, музыкант, архитектор, скульптор, Рождение Ваагна, 1978-1987, Гипс
122-123 Эскиз памятника к 1700 летию принятия Христианства в Армении, 1998, Гипс
124 "Вставай, проклятым заклейменный"; 1954, гипс
125 "Вставай, проклятым заклейменный"; 1954, гипс
126 "Олени", на улице Саят Нова, Ереван, 1959, бронза
127 "Материнство"; 1967, бронза
128 "Солнце, воздух и вода"; 1971, гипс
129 "Мыры" для г. Кисловодска, 1978, Гипс
130 "Вся власть Советам", проект барельефа для здания полит. просвещения ЦК КП Армении, 1978, Графика
131 Эскиз композиции "Мгер Младший" для метро, 1979, Гипс
132 "Композиция "Призрак Коммунизма", 1985, Гипс
133-133 Композиция "Призрак Коммунизма", 1985, Гипс
134-135 Пять маскаронов, на фасаде Государственного театра оперы и балета Ереван, 1982, гранит
Սոցիալիստական աշխատանքի հերոս Պ.Ղազարյան
Ասպետը, «Զոդողի դիմանկարը»
Քանդակագործ Լ.Լանգինեն
«Ећичу лојс њим ић»
Կոմպոզիտոր Ալեքսանդր Սպենդիարյան
Կոմպոզիտոր Ալեքսանդր Սպենդիարյան
1871-1928
Ալեքսանդր Սպենդիարյան, 71 թ.
Սողոմոնյանի շիրմաքարը
«Վիշտ», Իզաբելլայի շիրիմը
հայոց գրերի ստեղծող` Մեսրոպ Մ աշտոց,
մրցութային տարբերակ

կավե տարբերակ

հայոց գրերի ստեղծող` Մեսրոպ Մ աշտոց,
էսքիզ 1

հայոց գրերի ստեղծող` Մեսրոպ Մ աշտոց,
կավե տարբերակ

հայոց գրերի ստեղծող` Մեսրոպ Մ աշտոց,
մրցութային տարբերակ

հայոց գրերի ստեղծող` Մեսրոպ Մ աշտոց,
էսքիզ 1
հայոց գրերի ստեղծող` Մեսրոպ Մեսրոպոս, 1967
հայոց գրերի ստեղծող Մեսրոպ Մուշինգ, 1980 թ.
Մխիթար Գոշ
Հովհաննես Թումանյան, տուն-թանգարան
Հովհաննես Թումանյան, Դսեղ
Հովհաննես Թումանյան, Դսեղ
Կոմիտաս
Կոմիտասը վիշապաքարով, մրցութային տարբերակ 1
Կոմիտասը շվիով, «Հեռավոր ձայներ», մրցութային տարբերակ 2
Մ. արտիրոս Սարյան, մրցութային տարբերակ 1-ի էսքիզ
Արտիրոս Սարյան, մրցութային տարբերակ 1
Ամրափոր Ասլամյան, մրցութային տարբերակ 2-ի համար արտացոլ
«Վերածնունդ», Երևան քաղաքի հանրապետության հրապարակի պատկերասրահի շենքի քանդակների համալիր

ջակատամարտի կատակերպման պահանջմունքների համաձայն կառուցվել են տաճարի պատերը.
Հայաստանում Քրիստոնեության ընդունման 1700-ամյակին նվիրված հուշարձանի էսքիզ Էջմիածին քաղաքի համար
«Ելի ՛ր, ում կնյանքը անիծել է»
«Եղնիկներ»
«Մայրություն»
«Արև, օդ և ջուր»
«Փոքր Մհեր» մետրո կայարանի հորինվածքային նախագիծը հայտնի էր նախագիծի համար առաջին հորինվածքներով.
Հինգ մասկարոններ, Երևանի օպերայի և բալետի պետ.թատրոնի ճակատ.
Հուշարձաններ
1 Գեներալ մայոր Բենյամին Գալստյան Երևան 1948 ցեմենտ
2 Բանաստեղծ Եղիշե Չարենց Երևան 1956 բրոնզ
3 Կոմպոզիտոր Ալեքսանդր Սպենդիարյան Երևան 1975 բրոնզ
4 Բանաստեղծ Հովհաննես Հովհաննիսյան էջմիածին 1959 բազալտ
5 Մայր և զավակ, «Հեռացողը», ջրամաք
6 «Վիշտ», Շրջանիքային ջրամաք
7 Պատված ժողովրդական ջրամաք
8 Մեծության օրենսդիր Մեսրոպ Մուսային Մոսկվա 1967 բազալտ
9 Պատված ժողովրդական ջրամաք
10 Մեծության օրենսդիր Մեսրոպ Մուսային Մոսկվա 1967 բազալտ
11 Մեծության օրենսդիր Մեսրոպ Մուսային Մոսկվա 1967 բազալտ
12 Մեծության օրենսդիր Մեսրոպ Մուսային Մոսկվա 1967 բազալտ
13 «Վահագն», փառքի հուշարձան Գյուղ Վահագն 1969 կոփված պղինձ
14 Սողոմոնյանի շիրմաքարը Երևան 1969 մարմար
15 Կոմպոզիտոր Ալեքսանդր Սպենդիարյան Երևան 1971 մարմար
16 Գրող Ստեփան Զորյան, ջրամաք
17 Պրոֆեսոր Ռշտունու կիսանդրին էջմիածին 1979 գիպս
18 Լուսինե Զաքարյանի շիրմաքար էջմիածին 2003 բրոնզ

Մոնումենտալ դեկորատիվ աշխատանքներ
1 Հարթաքանդակ Արարատ Երևան տրեստի շենք, Լենինի հրապարակ, Երևան 1952 գրանիտ
2 Բանվոր, կոլտնտեսուհի, մտավորական, զինվոր Կիրովականի գործկոմի շենք 1955 բետոն
3 «Եղնիկներ» Սայաթ Նովայի փողոց, Երևան 1959 բրոնզ
4 Լենինի հարթաքանդակ Հայաստանի Կենտկոմի ճայատ, Երևան 1979 գիպս
5 Դեկորատիվ պուրակային նստարաններ Ժելեզնովոդսկ 1982 բազալտ
6 Հինգ մասկարոններ Օպերայի թատրոնի շենքի վրա 1982 գրանիտ
7 Նարեկացու հարթաքանդակը Մ ատենադարանի ընթերցասրահ 2004 քար

Աշխատանքների ցուցակ
1 Պարկային նախագիծ
2 Բանվոր, կոլտնտեսուհի, մուսրական, գնդիկ
3 «Եղնիկներ» Սայաթ Նովայի փողոց, Երևան
4 Նարեկացու հարթաքանդակ Մ ատենադարանի ընթերցասրահ
Հուշարձանների նախագիծեր

1. Կոմիտասը վիշապատ 1972 Գիպս
2. Կոմիտասը շվիո 1972 Գիպս «Հեռավոր ձայներ»
3. Ալեքսանդր Մ յասնիկյան 1977 Գիպս
4. Ալեքսանդր Մ յասնիկյանի դիմաքանդակ 1977 Գիպս
5. Պետրոս, մո Վերիո տարբերակ 1978 Գրաֆիկա Հայաստանի Կենտկոմի քաղ. կրթ. շենքի հարթապատկերի էսքիզ
6. Պետրոս, մո Վերիո տարբերակ 1978 Գրաֆիկա Հայաստանի Կենտկոմի քաղ. կրթ. շենքի հարթապատկերի էսքիզ
7. Հայաստանի Կենտկոմի քաղ. կրթ. շենքի հարթապատկերի էսքիզ 1978 Գրաֆիկա
8. Հայաստանի Կենտկոմի քաղ. կրթ. շենքի հարթապատկերի էսքիզ 1978 Գրաֆիկա
9. «Մ ցիրի» ք.Կիսլովոդսկի համար 1978 Գիպս
10. Թումանյանի հուշասյան նախագիծ Ավան թաղամասի համար 1979 Գիպս
11. «Փոքր Մհեր» մետրո կայարանի հորինվածքային նախագիծ 1979 Գիպս
12. Մ արտիրոս Սարյան էսքիզ 2 տարբ. 1980 Գիպս
13. Օպերայի կապիտելների էսքիզներ 12 հատ 1980 Գիպս
14. Հայաստանում Քրիստոնեության ընդունման 1700-ամյակին նվիրված հուշարձանի էսքիզ 1983 Գիպս
15. Լուսինե Զաքարյանի հուշարձանի էսքիզ 2003 Գիպս
16. Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձանի նախագիծ 1985 Գիպս
17. Հայաստանում Քրիստոնեության ընդունման 1700-ամյակին նվիրված հուշարձանի էսքիզ 2003 Գիպս
18. «Փոքր Մհեր» շրջանում հասկացածություն հայկագիր համար 1985 Գիպս
19. «Փոքր Մհեր» շրջանում հասկացածություն հայկագիր համար 1978-1987 Գիպս
20. Հայաստանում Քրիստոնեության ընդունման 1700-ամյակին նվիրված հուշարձանի էսքիզ 1994 Գրաֆիկա
21. 1915 թվականի Եղեռնի զոհերի հիշատակին նվիրված հուշարձանի էսքիզ 1994 Գրաֆիկա
22. Հայաստանում Քրիստոնեության ընդունման 1700-ամյակին նվիրված հուշարձանի էսքիզ 2003 Գիպս
23. Լուսինե Զաքարյանի հուշարձանի էսքիզ 2003 Գիպս

Կոմպոզիցիոն աշխատանքներ

1. «Առաջին օգնություն» 1941 գիպս
2. «Կենդանի թիրախներ» 1941 գիպս
3. Տղայի գլուխ 1941 գիպս
4. «Պահապանը» 1942 գիպս
5. «Պապերի պատգամը» 1944 գիպս
6. «Հանքափոր» 1947 գիպս
7. «Անընկճելին» 1950 գիպս
8. «Ելի ՛ր, ում կնյանքը անիծել է» 1954 գիպս
9. «Եվ կգա օրը» 1956 գիպս
10. «Քամին» 1956 գիպս
11. «Առաջին օգնություն» 1957 գիպս
12. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1967 գիպս
13. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1972 գիպս
14. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1973 գիպս
15. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1977 գիպս
16. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1978 գիպս
17. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1978 գիպս
18. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1979 գիպս
19. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1980 գիպս
20. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1981 գիպս
21. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1983 գիպս
22. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1984 գիպս
23. «Սուրեն Սպանդարյանի հուշարձան» 1985 գիպս
14 «Տղաներ» 1958 բրոնզ
15 «Տասներսական հեռավորձևություն» 1960 գիպս
16 «Տասներսական հեռավորձևություն» 1965 գիպս
17 Թորոս Ռոսլին 1966 գիպս
18 Որդին՝ Գրիգորը 1966 գիպս
19 «Հատուկ գործունեություն» 1967 բրոնզ
20 Ստեփան Զորյան 1967 գիպս
21 «Ծովինար» 1969 գիպս
22 «Արև, օդ և ջուր» 1971 գիպս
23 Պրոլետար 1973 գիպս
24 «Արև, օդ և ջուր» 1975 գիպս
25 «Քանդակագործ Նովարդ Զարյան» 1976 գիպս
26 «Արև, օդ և ջուր» 1985 գիպս
27 Մովսես Խորենացի 1991 գիպս

Դիմանկարներ
1 Տղաների գլուխը 1941 գիպս
2 Բուժքույր Նազարյան 1943 գիպս
3 Սուրբ Ալեքսանդր 1945 գիպս
4 Ամուր Ա.Աբովյան 1946 գիպս
5 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1946 գիպս
6 Սուրբ Մոնաստարան 1947 գիպս
7 Սուրբ Սարգիս 1947 գիպս
8 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1947 գիպս
9 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1948 գիպս
10 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1949 գիպս
11 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1950 գիպս
12 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1950 գիպս
13 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1950 գիպս
14 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1952 գիպս
15 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1952 գիպս
16 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1952 գիպս
17 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1954 գիպս
18 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1954 գիպս
19 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1954 գիպս
20 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1956 գիպս
21 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1956 գիպս
22 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1958 գիպս
23 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1958 գիպս
24 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1958 գիպս
25 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1962 գիպս
26 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1963 գիպս
27 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1964 գիպս
28 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1964 գիպս
29 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1964 գիպս
30 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1965 գիպս
31 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1967 գիպս
32 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1967 գիպս
33 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1969 գիպս
34 Սուրբ Ստեփան Զորյան 1970 գիպս
35 Դուլողը՝ Խ.Խաչիկյան 1970 բրոնզ
36 Կոմիտաս, իրական չափ 1972 բրոնզ
37 Ակադեմիկոս Մ.ազմանյան 1973 բրոնզ
38 Կոմիտաս 1973 շամոտ
39 Նկարիչ Գ.Վարդանյան 1974 բրոնզ
40 Մխիթար Գոշ, գլուխը 1974 բազալտ
41 Կոմիտաս «Արտիրոսություն» 1975 բրոնզ
42 Կոմիտաս 1977 բրոնզ
43 Ս.Սպանդարյան 1977 գիպս
44 Դաշնակահար Յ.Զարգարյան 1975 բրոնզ
45 Ակադեմիկոս Ն.Ն.Բոգոլյուբով 1979 գիպս
46 Ակադեմիկոս Գ.Ն.Ֆլյորով 1979 գիպս
47 Ակադեմիկոս Ի.Մ.Ֆրանկ 1979 գիպս
48 Ակադեմիկոս Մ.Գ.Մեսչերյակով 1979 գիպս
49 Ակադեմիկոս Յու.Ց.Հովհաննիսյան 1979 բրոնզ
50 Մ արտիրոս Սարյան 1980 գիպս
51 Մ արտիրոս Սարյան 1980 գիպս
52 Ակադեմիկոս Ն.Ն.Բոգոլյուբով 1982 գիպս
53 Ակադեմիկոս Գ.Ն.Ֆլյորով 1982 բրոնզ
54 Ակադեմիկոս Ի.Մ.Ֆրանկ 1982 բրոնզ
55 Ակադեմիկոս Մ.Գ.Մեսչերյակով 1983 բրոնզ
56 Սուրեն Սպանդարյան 1983 գիպս
57 Սոցիալիստական աշխատակից Ռ.Պ.Ամիրյան 1986 գիպս
58 Ա.Ս.Գրիբոյեդով, կիսանդրի 1986 գիպս
59 Թոռնուհի՝ Լուսե 1987 գիպս
60 Պրոֆեսոր Ա.Աբրահամյան 1987 մարմար
61 Կանդակիչ Լ.Լանդինեն 1987 բրոնզ
62 Հայրը՝ Գրիգոր Չուբարյան 2009 բրոնզ
63 Սոցիալիստական աշխատակից Սարգիս Ղազարյան 2004 գիպս
64 Ս.Մ.Պահանջարան 2004 գիպս
65 Արթուր Արմինի «Փոքր Մհեր» գրքի նկարազարդումներ 1985
## List of works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monuments</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Major General Beniamin Galstian</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Cement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Poet Yeghishe Charents</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Composer Alexander Spendiaryan</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Poet Hovhannes Hovhannisyan</td>
<td>Echmiadzin</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Basalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 “Mother and Child” (Departing)</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Basalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 “Sorrow” Headstone for the tomb of Isabella</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Basalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Headstone for the tomb of Karapetian</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Basalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Mkhitar Gosh, medieval scholar/writer/legislator</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Basalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Mesrop Mashtots, creator of the Armenian alphabet</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Basalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Engineer A. Astvatsatryan</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Basalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Poet Hovhannes Tumanyan</td>
<td>Dsegh, Armenia</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Poet Hovhannes Tumanyan, for poet's home museum</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Monument “Vahagni”</td>
<td>Vahagni, Armenia</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Forged copper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Tombstone for Soghomonian</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Marble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Composer Alexander Spendiaryan</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Marble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Writer Stepan Zorian</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Granite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Bust statue for Professor Rshtuni</td>
<td>Echmiadzin</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Basalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Vladimir Lenin</td>
<td>Sisian</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Basalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Tombstone for physicist Ilia Frank</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Marble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Tombstone for Lusine Zakarian</td>
<td>Echmiadzin</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monumental Decorative Works</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Bas-Relief</td>
<td>On the building of trest “Ararat”, Hanrapetutyan Square, Yerevan</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Granite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Statues: Factory Laborer, Farm Worker, Intellectual, Soldier</td>
<td>City Hall building, city of Vanadzor</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Concrete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 “Deer”</td>
<td>Sayat Nova Avenue, Yerevan</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Bas-Relief of Vladimir Lenin</td>
<td>Facade of the building for Communist Party of Armenia, Yerevan</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Forged copper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 “Sun, Air, and Water”</td>
<td>Zheleznovodsk, Russia</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Cement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Decorative Park Benches</td>
<td>Zheleznovodsk, Russia</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Cement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 “Friendship.” Bas-relief.</td>
<td>Front wall of the “Friendship” metro station, Yerevan</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Decorative Lions</td>
<td>City square, town of Sisian</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Basalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Five mascarons</td>
<td>Opera building, Yerevan</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Granite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Grigor Narekatsi. Bas-relief.</td>
<td>Reading Room at Matenadaran, Yerevan</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projects for the monuments</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sketch. Komitas and Vishakapar (Dragon Stone).</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sketch. Komitas with a flute “Distant Sounds”</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Bolshevik Aleksandr Myasnikyan</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Portrait of Bolshevik Aleksandr Myasnikyan</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 “Rise Up, You, Branded by a Curse” Bas-relief project for the building of the Section for Political Education of the Armenian Communist Party</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Graphics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 “All Power for the Soviets!” Bas-relief project for the building of the Section for Political Education of the Armenian Communist Party</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Graphics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 “Novices”</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Sketch. Memorial Column for Hovhannes Tumanyan for Avan</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Sketch. Composition sculpture of Mher the Younger. Created for placement in a metro station.</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Sketch. Mher the Younger. Two versions.</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sketch. Martiros Saryan. Two versions.</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Sketch. Capitals of the Opera House, 12 pieces.</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Sketch. Sculptures for the cognac factory building in Yerevan.</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Sketch. Martiros Saryan.</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Sketch. Memorial Statue for Suren Spandaryan.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Memorial Statue for Yeghishe Charents.</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 “Rebirth.” Set of sculptures for the National Gallery of Art at the Republic Square in Yerevan.</td>
<td>1978-87</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Sketch. Monument for the 1700 anniversary of Christianity in Armenia to be placed at the Republic Square in Yerevan</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Graphics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Sketch. Monument in Memory of the Victims of the Armenian Genocide of 1915.</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Graphics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Sketch. Monument for the 1700 anniversary of Christianity in Armenia.</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Sketch. Memorial Sculpture for Lusine Zakarian</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compositions</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 “First Aid”</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 “Live Targets”</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Head of a Boy</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 “On Guard”</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 “The Call of grandparents”</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 “The Miner”</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 “Unconquered”</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Toros Roslin</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Frik</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 “Rise Up, You, Branded by a Curse”</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 “The Day Will Come”</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 “Wind”</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 “Motherhood” (Lullaby)</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Marble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 “Tsovinar”</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 “Pillars of Society”</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 “1915”</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portraits</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of a Boy</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse Nazarian</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of an Old Man</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandma</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariam Chubaryan</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student D. Danelian</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballet Dancer A. Abovian</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student V. Hairapetian</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medieval doctor Mkhitar Heratzi</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Terracotta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of a Young Woman</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poet Khachatur Abovian</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladimir Lenin</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pianist Irina Hovannisyan</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. Madatyan, Hero of Socialist Labor medal recipient</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Khazarian, Hero of Socialist Labor medal recipient</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaid</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norayr Poghosyan, etude for Mashtots statue</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toros Roslin</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Darpasian</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Proletarian”</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper smelter A. Agvanian</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper smelter S. Arzumanian</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter A. Paronian</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of a Young Worker</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of the blacksmith Mirzoyan</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son (Grigor Chubaryan)</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son (Grigor Chubaryan)</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The Knight” / “The Welder”</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sculptor Nvart Zarian</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepan Zorian</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Gypsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian Communist Edoardo Donofrio</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Aluminum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother (Martha Chubaryan)</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunny Girl (Anush Chubaryan)</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter Martiros Saryan</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Poet Hovhannes Tumanyan</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>&quot;The Worker&quot;</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Smelter K. Khachikian</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Komitas</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Academician Mikhail Mazmanian</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Komitas</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Painter G. Vartanian</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Mkhitar Gosh, medieval scholar/legislator</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Pianist Yakov Zargarian</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Komitas (&quot;Martyrologist&quot;)</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Bolshevik Aleksandr Myasnikyan</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>The Portrait of a Daughter</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Isabella Oganessian</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Painter A. Kalachian</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Physicist Nikolay Bogolyubov</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Physicist Georgy Flerov</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Nobel laureate, physicist Ilia Frank</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Physicist Mikhail Mscheryakov</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Physicist Yuri Oganessian</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Painter Martiros Saryan</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Painter Martiros Saryan</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Physicist Nikolay Bogolyubov</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Physicist Georgy Flerov</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Nobel laureate, physicist Ilia Frank</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Physicist Mikhail Mscheryakov</td>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Suren Spandaryan</td>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Harvester</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>O. Madatian, Hero of Socialist Labor medal recipient</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Granddaughter (Mariam Chubaryan)</td>
<td>1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Hero of USSR, Major General Andranik Kazarian</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>P. Amirian, Hero of Socialist Labor medal recipient</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Half-figure of writer Alexander Griboidevov</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Granddaughter (Luse Saghatelyan)</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Professor A. Abrahamian</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Archeologist and historian Joseph Orbeli</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Physicist Nikolay Bogolyubov</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Sculptor Leo Lankinen</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Grandson (Gevork Chubaryan)</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Nikol Aghbalian</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Komitas</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Singer Lusine Zakarian</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Father (Grigor Chubaryan)</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Graphical Illustrations**

1. Illustrations for a book "Little Mgher" by Arthur Armin | 1985
Список работ

Памятники

1. Генералу майору Бенйамину Галстяну, Ереван 1948 г., цемент
2. Егише Чаренцу - поэту, Ереван 1956 г., бронза
3. Александру Спендиаряну - композитору, Ереван 1975 г., бронза
4. Ованес Ованнисяну - поэту, Эчмиадzin 1959 г., базальт
5. Мать и дитя "Уходящая", надгробие, Ереван 1959 г., базальт
6. Скорбь – надгробие Изабеллы, Ереван 1961 г., базальт
7. Надгробие Караметян, Ереван 1962 г., базальт
8. Мхитару Гошу - Средневековому законодателю, Ереван 1967 г., базальт
9. Месропу Маштоцу - создателю армянской письменности, Ереван 1967 г., базальт
10. А.Аствацатуряну - инженеру, Ереван 1967 г., базальт
11. Ованесу Туманяну - поэту, Село Дсех 1969 г., бронза
12. Ованесу Туманяну - поэту, для дома музея поэта, Ереван 1969 г., бронза
14. Надгробие Согомонян, Ереван 1969 г., мрамор
15. Александру Спендиаряну - композитору, Ереван 1971 г., мрамор
16. Степану Зорянку - писателью, Ереван 1977 г., гранит
17. Бюст профессора Рштуни, Эчмиадzin 1979 г., базальт
18. В.И. Ленину, Сисиан 1984 г., бронза
19. Надгробный памятник академика Франка, Москва 2000 г., мрамор
20. Надгробный памятник Лусине Закарян, Эчмиадzin 2003 г., бронза

Монументально - Декоративные работы

1. Барельеф на здании треста Араарат, площадь Ленинина, Ереван 1952 г., гранит
2. Рабочий, колхозница, интеллигент, воин - фигуры на здании Исполкома Кировакана 1955 г., бетон
3. "Олени" на улице Саят Нова, Ереван 1959 г., бронза
4. Барельеф В.И. Ленина на фасаде здания ЦК КП Армении, Ереван 1969 г., медь кованная
5. "Солнце, Воздух и Вода" на площади г.Сисиан 1970 г., бетон
6. Декоративные парковые скамейки на территории станции Дружба метрополитена, Ереван 1980 г., гипс
7. Барельеф "Дружба" на площади г.Сисиан 1982 г., базальт
8. Пять маскаронов на здании Оперного театра, Ереван 1982 г., гранит
9. Барельеф Нарекаци на читальный зал Матенадарана 2004 г., гипс
Проекты памятников

1. Рабочая модель памятника "Комитас с вишапакаром" 1972 Гипс
2. Рабочая модель памятника Комитас со свирелью "Дальние звуки" 1973 Гипс
3. Александр Мясникян 1977 Гипс
4. Портрет А.Мясникяна 1977 Гипс
5. "Вставай, проклятьем заклейменный", проект барельефа для здания полит. просвещения ЦК КП Армении 1978 Графика
7. "Мцыри" для г.Кисловодска 1978 Гипс
8. Эскиз памятника колонны Туманян для Авана 1979 Гипс
9. Эскиз композиции Мгер Младший для метро 1979 Гипс
10. Эскиз Мгера Младшего 2 варианта 1980 Гипс
11. Эскиз памятника Мартироса Сарьяна, 2 варианта 1980 Гипс
12. Эскиз капителей Оперы, 12 штук 1980 Гипс
13. Эскиз композиции для здания коньячного завода 1980 Гипс
14. Эскиз памятника Мартироса Сарьяна 1981 Гипс
15. Проект памятника Сурену Спандаряну 1983 Гипс
16. Проект памятника Е.Чаренцу 1984 Гипс
17. Композиция Призрак Коммунизма 1985 Гипс/Графика
18. "Писарь", эскиз статуи для зала арменоведения Матенадарана 1985 Гипс
20. Эскиз памятника к 1700 летию принятия Християнства в Армении для площади республики в г.Ереване 1994 Графика
21. Эскиз памятника жертв геноцида 1915 года 1994 Графика
22. Эскиз памятника к 1700 летию принятия Християнства в Армении 1998 Гипс
23. Эскиз памятника Лусине Закарян 2003 Гипс

Композиции

1. Первая помощь 1941 гипс
2. Живые мишени 1941 гипс
3. Голова мальчика 1941 гипс
4. На страже 1942 гипс
5. Дедов зовет 1944 гипс
6. Шахтер 1947 гипс
7. Непокоренная 1950 бронза
8. Торос Рослин 1953 гипс
9. Фрик 1953 гипс
10. Вставай, проклятьем заклейменный 1954 гипс
11. Настанет день 1956 бронза
12. Ветер 1956 бронза
13. Материнство (Колыбельная) 1957 мрамор
14. Цовинар 1958 бронза
15. Столпы общества 1960 гипс
16. Пятнадцатый год 1965 гипс
17 Торос Рослин 1966 бронза
18 Григор Татеваци 1966 гипс
19 Материнство 1967 бронза
20 Мовсес Хоренаци 1967 бронза
21 Айк 1969 гипс
22 Солнце, воздух и вода 1971 гипс
23 Комитас со свирелью "Дальние звуки" 1973 бронза
24 Анания Ширакаци 1975 бронза
25 Далекие звуки (Комитас) 1976 бронза
26 Да святится имя твое 1985 бронза
27 Академик Г.Н.Флеров - композиционный портрет, Дубна 1991 гипс

Портреты

1 Голова мальчика 1941 гипс
2 Медсестра Назарян 1943 гипс
3 Голова старика 1945 гипс
4 Бабушка 1946 гипс
5 Студентка Д. Даниелян 1946 гипс
6 Балерина А.Абовян 1946 гипс
7 Студент В.Айрапетян 1947 гипс
8 Мхитар Эраци 1947 гипс
9 Голова девушки 1947 теракота
10 Поэт Х.Абовян 1948 гипс
11 В.И.Ленин 1949 гипс
12 Пианистка И.Ованисян 1950 гипс
13 Герой Соц.Труда О.Мадатян 1950 бронза
14 Герой Соц.Труда П.Казарян 1952 бронза
15 Анаид 1952 бронза
16 Торос Рослин 1953 гипс
17 М.Дарпасян 1954 гипс
18 Пролетарий 1954 гипс
19 Медеплавильщик А.Аганян 1956 бронза
20 Медеплавильщик С.Арзуманян 1956 бронза
21 Художница А.Паронян 1958 бронза
22 Голова молодого рабочего 1958 бронза
23 Голова кузнеца Мирзояна 1960 гипс
24 Сын - Григор 1960 гипс
25 Сын - Григор 1962 гипс
26 Рыцарь (Портрет сварщика) 1963 бронза
27 Скульптор Нвард Зарян 1964 гипс
28 Степан Зорьян 1964 гипс
29 Итальянский коммунист Эд. Донофио 1964 алюминий
30 Мать - Марта Чубарян 1965 бронза
31 Девочка зайчик - Анушик 1967 бронза
32 Мартiros Сарьян 1967 бронза
33 Ованес Туманян 1969 бронза
34 Рабочий 1970 бронза
35 Литейщик - Х.Хачикян 1970 бронза
36 Комитас в натуральную величину 1972 бронза
37 Академик Мазманян 1973 бронза
38 Комитас 1973 шамот
39 Художник Г.Вартанян 1974 бронза
40 Мхитар Гош - голова 1974 базальт
41 Пианист Я.Заргарян 1975 бронза
42 Комитас (“Мартиролог”) 1977 бронза
43 А.Мясникян 1977 гипс
44 Портрет дочери 1978 гипс
45 Белла Оганесян 1979 гипс
46 Художник А.Калачян 1979 бронза
47 Академик Н.Н.Боголюбов 1979 гипс
48 Академик Г.Н.Флерев 1979 гипс
49 Академик И.М.Франк 1979 гипс
50 Академик М.Г.Мещеряков 1979 гипс
51 Академик Ю.Ц.Оганесян 1979 бронза
52 Мартирос Сарьян 1980 гипс
53 Мартирос Сарьян 1980 гипс
54 Академик Н.Н.Боголюбов 1982 гипс
55 Академик Г.Н.Флерев 1982 бронза
56 Академик И.М.Франк 1982 бронза
57 Академик М.Г.Мещеряков 1983 бронза
58 Сурен Спандарян 1983 гипс
59 В.А.Моцарт 1984 бронза
60 К.Косарь 1984 бронза
61 Герой Соц.Труда О.Мадатян 1984 базальт
62 Внучка - Мариам 1985 теракота
63 Герой СССР Генерал Майор Казарян 1986 гипс
64 Герой Соц.труда Р.П.Амирян 1986 гипс
65 Полуфигура А.С.Грибоедова 1986 гипс
66 Внучка - Лусэ 1987 гипс
67 Профессор А.Абраамян 1987 мрамор
68 Академик И.О.Орбели 1987 бронза
69 Академик Н.Н. Богоюбов 1987 бронза
70 Скульптор Л.Ланкинен 1987 бронза
71 Внук - Геворг 1990 гипс
72 Никол Агбалян 2004 гипс
73 Лусине Закарян 2005 бронза
74 Отец - Григор Чубарян 2009 бронза

Графические работы, Иллюстрации

1 Иллюстрации к книге Малый Мгер Артура Армина 1985
Երիտասարդության
1923 - 2009

Օրգանիզմին են Ըստակություններով, Հ. Պատմություն Պ. Հայկաբյորյան, Զ. Սիսիանուշ, Է. Բարդարուզյան և այլ ակուսակցություններ:
ON THE STAGING OF THE LEGEND OF “ARA THE BEAUTIFUL AND SHAMIRAM” BY CHOREOGRAPHER ASHOT ASATURYAN

Sargsyan N. G.
PhD in Arts

In May 2011 I published my monograph about Ashot Asaturyan⁠¹, an outstanding choreographer and librettist, one of the pathbreakers of the Soviet ballet, who set dance symphony over against dance drama in a series of original productions in Armenia, Russia and Ukraine.

The current study devoted to one of most outstanding productions of Asaturyan – Ara the Beautiful (or Fair) and Shamiram, which has been written after publishing of aforementioned monograph.

Asaturyan’s vast knowledge of music, literature, history and philosophy gave him a deeper vision of the musical and thematic aspects of choreography. Conceptuality, broad analogy and generalization – these are the pillars of Asaturyan’s style. That’s why my book is not just a story of his life but a look into the way he worked, a peek into his artistic laboratory. It is a study of Asaturyan’s professional liaisons with dancers, composers, conductors and painters, a kind of diagram of his choreographic mentality, research based heavily on his extensive personal archives, library, explications, video recordings² as well as on the recollections of his colleagues³.

The article we are hereby presenting is not a summary of the monograph: Asaturyan’s biography occupies just a small part of it. What we are actually aiming to present is the parameters that constitute Asaturyan’s exceptionality as a choreographer, and these parameters are best seen through the analysis of one of his best ballets - Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram by outstanding Armenian composer Grigor Yeghiaazaryan (1908-1988).

---

² I’m grateful to Elvira Mnacakanyan, an outstanding Armenian ballerina, the Muse, wife and friend of Ashot Asaturyan, and Ara Asaturyan, the son of Ashot Asaturyan and Elvira Mnacakanyan, for having carefully preserved and kindly provided the choreographer’s archives.
³ I’m also grateful to all those who readily shared their memories of Ashot Asaturyan. Below we give excerpts from the recollections of some of his colleagues.
Ashot Asaturyan received the best choreographic education of his time. At the Tbilisi Ballet School he was coached by the great dancer and choreographer Vakhtang Chabukiani (1910-1992). In 1962, after several years of dancing for ballet companies in Tbilisi and Tashkent, Asaturyan entered the newly established Choreography Department of the Leningrad (Saint Petersburg) Conservatory. His tutor was Fyodor Lopukhov (1886-1973), a great Soviet ballet master, whose groundbreaking ideas inspired the best Soviet choreographers – Yuri Grigorovich, Vladimir Varkovitsky (1915-1974), Konstantin Boyarsky (1915-1994) and not only them... The very idea of George Balanchine’s dance symphony comes from the “Dance Symphony” produced by Lopukhov to Beethoven’s Symphony No.4 in the early 1920s and performed, among others, by young dancer Georgy Balanchivadze (later George Balanchine) ⁴.

What does it mean to be a student of Fyodor Lopukhov and one of the first graduates of the Choreography Department of the Leningrad (St. Petersburg) Conservatory? When producing a ballet, unlike many of his colleagues, Asaturyan consulted the score instead of just listening to the music ⁵.

He aptly played from sight and read the score. Well aware of music theory, harmony, musical analysis and polyphony, he was able to see all the nuances of music and to make them “visible” to others by means of choreography.

Asaturyan was also good at painting, appearing as a costume designer for his early ballets – “The Legend of Love” (1968), “Leyli and Majnun” (1973), “Gayane” (1972). Years of study in Leningrad (St. Petersburg), the hub of Soviet culture, were a great opportunity for the young choreographer to see the best ballets and the best dancers of those times, to listen to the best musicians performing both classical and avant-garde music and to know what was going on in the art of ballet worldwide. Worthy of praise is Asaturyan’s love for high-quality literature as well as his special interest in philosophy, religion and psychology ⁶.

---

⁴ In her book about Georgy Aleksidze Era Barutcheva writes: «Lopukhov has invited the best tutors, connoisseurs of the classical heritage. At first, he taught the “Art of Choreographer” himself but, later, he divided his twelve students among three tutors... keeping in his workshop his four favorites – Nikolay Markaryants, Ashot Asaturyan, Yefim Khmelnitsky and Georgy Aleksidze. All of them are bright individualities. And their professor expects miracles from them” (see Э.Барутчева. Георгий Алекси дзе. Хореограф божьей милостью. Санкт-Петербург, 2005, с. 19-20.20).

⁵ In this regard, I should like to quote conductor Yuri Davtyan: “I was really impressed with Asaturyan’s professional training. He knew the music from A to Z, each measure of it. He was present at all of my orchestra rehearsals and kept asking: ‘Yuri Haykovich, in that part the instruments sounded like that, but were they supposed to?’ I asked him finally: ‘Ashot, are you my censor?’ He laughed and said: ‘No, but I know this score very well.’ And he was right. He perfectly played it from sight. He came to my place and we analyzed the orchestration, the sound. And that helped him to get a feel of the music and to rightly convey all of its aspects.”

⁶ It is seen from an archived record of the books he read in the libraries of St. Petersburg.
After graduating the Conservatory, Asaturyan worked for the Saratov Opera and Ballet Theater (principal choreographer, 1968-1973), the Yerevan Opera and Ballet Theater (choreographer, 1973-1990) and the Kharkiv Opera and Ballet Theater (principal choreographer, 1991-1997). In late 1997 the illness that had given him pain since early 1990-s began rapidly progressing and he was forced to retire; soon he returned to Yerevan. Asaturyan died on May 23, 1999, at the age of 62.

A prolific choreographer, Ashot Asaturyan produced as many as 23 ballets in St. Petersburg, Saratov, Sverdlovsk (present-day Yekaterinburg), Yerevan, Tbilisi, Chelyabinsk, Kharkiv, Baku. He also co-directed opera and drama productions, adapted classical heritage gems in Saratov and Kharkiv, created lots of dance miniatures. In his archives one can find almost a dozen of ballet scripts – projects that he never realized.

Asaturyan went into ballet in the late 1940s, which means that for over a decade he grew up in the atmosphere of domineering “dance drama” or “choreographic drama.” According to the eminent Russian ballet critic Vera Krasovskaya: “The 1950s marked a new age for the Soviet ballet. The aesthetics of dance symphony began taking a

---


8 Including “The Idiot” (based on Fyodor Dostoyevsky’s novel), “Phèdre” (Racine’s tragedy), “Metamorphoses” (Maxim Gorky’s “A Girl and Death” poem; the script was written for composer Romen Davtyan), “Flight” (Mikhail Bulgakov’s play, started with composer Konstantin Orbelian, etc.)
practical shape, inspired by the crisis of dance drama. The latter had a big effect on ballet. But that effect was as good as it was bad. Good were the lessons learned from the classic literature; it was there that dance drama took its plots from. Ideal dance drama had to be real and natural, with a definite conflict, logical actions and deeply motivated characters. This implied a special choice of expressive means, the best one being pantomime, an art where description prevails over expression. As dance drama was reaching its zenith, pantomime was getting more flexible. It had learned to explain what was going on onstage, it freely shifted from close-ups to long shots and it had taught its actors to be eloquent in their poses and gestures. Bad was the neglect of drama in music and of dance as a means that can express that drama. Reality onstage admitted no imagery. In dance drama dance was no longer abstract, ambiguous or metaphorical. Its structural forms were ignored, its functions – restricted.\(^9\)

Asaturyan appeared in St. Petersburg exactly at the time when dance drama began facing burgeoning opposition and he was one of the first to join the oppositionists, who advocated larger multi-act forms and imbued them with philosophical concepts, abstract situations and psychologically ambiguous and allegorical characters. They saw ballet as dance symphony and scored their choreography just like composers scored their orchestral works.

The rise of the “iron curtain” in the early 1960s caused a drastic shift in the language of the Soviet dance. Inspired with the wide diversity of forms presented by their western counterparts, many Soviet chorographers began actively applying them in their works. Asaturyan also did despite displeasure and defiance.

The list of ballets produced by Ashot Asaturyan:


Thus, only 6 of Asaturyan’s 23 ballets (3, 4, 5, 8, 16 and 21) were set to music by the composers of the 17th-19th centuries, while the music of 17 ballets was composed in the 20th century. As many as 14, i.e. more than half of all, were set to music originally designed for dancing, with the rest set to non-ballet music (symphonies, sonatas,
ballades for piano and orchestra, string quarter, concerto). 12 ballets are based on librettos written by Ashot Asaturyan. 3 librettos ("Umay," "Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram" and "Eupraxia") were co-produced, 5 librettos - adapted. And only in three cases the authors are different ("The Legend of Love," "Nutcracker" and "Walpurgis Night" from Gounod’s “Faust,” a divertimento requiring no libretto at all). 9 ballets have several acts, the rest are one-act ballets.

Asaturyan’s firm belief was that music was the only clue to character, plot, composition and choreography. From the very first years of his study at the St. Petersburg Conservatory Asaturyan gave preference to composers of the 20th century - Sergei Rachmaninoff, Aram Khachaturyan, Igor Stravinsky, Dmitry Shostakovich. As was mentioned above, only 6 of his 23 ballets were set to music by composers of the 17th-19th centuries. Their list is rather impressive: Benedetto Marcello, arranged by Johann Sebastian Bach, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Charles Gounod, Pyotr Tchaikovsky. Generalizing from this, we can say that Asaturyan never used ballet scores created in the 19th century (except for classical ballets adapted or restored on the stages of Saratov and Kharkiv: “Don Quixote” by Ludwig Minkus, “Sleeping Beauty” and “Swan Lake” by Pyotr Tchaikovsky, “Giselle” by Adolph Adam). The only music from the 19th century that enthused Asaturyan to create something was that of Pyotr Tchaikovsky, namely, Symphony No. 6 (1st Movement), Suite No. 3 for Orchestra (Finale) and “The Nutcracker.”

Asaturyan demonstrated a special predilection for symphonic forms, more specifically, for sonata form as well as variations. The word “symphony” can be found in almost all of his abstracts and explications. In the explication of “Eupraxia,” a three-act ballet by Ukrainian composer Alexander Kanerstein (1933-2007), he says: “This ballet has the form of a symphony.”

In the abstract of his two-act “Nutcracker” he quotes outstanding music scholar Boris Asafyev (1884-1949): “This is a symphony about childhood.” The analysis of Asaturyan’s multi-act ballets suggests that what he actually meant was symphonic form structure – something we can see throughout his works, irrespective of their formal structure. Below is an example of it, displayed through the analysis of Grigor Yeghiazaryan’s “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram.”
Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram

The myths and history of Ancient Armenia contain a plethora of episodes that might serve as plots for ballet. However, we have heard of just four such ballets so far: “The Eternal Idol” by Edgar Hovhannisyan (1930-1998), produced by choreographer Mark Mnatsakanyan (1932-2011) in 1967 (concerning the cult of Goddess Anahit), Grigor Yeghiazaryan’s “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram,” created by Ashot Asaturyan in 1982, “Artavazd and Cleopatra,” choreographed by Rudolf Kharatyan to Symphony No. 3 by Avet Terteryan (1929-1994) for his “Ballet of Armenian Television” company in 1984 and, finally, “Birth of Vahagn” choreographic cantata by composer Yervand Yerkanyan, staged by Rudolf Kharatyan and demonstrated just once at the celebration of the 5th anniversary of the Erebuni-Erevan Monument in Erevan on Oct 11, 1987.

Asaturyan was not the first to use the plot of the myth about Ara the Fair (or the Handsome) and Shamiram. Presented by Ilya Arbatov (1894-1967) in 1924, “Shamiram and Ara the Beautiful” was, as a matter of fact, the first national ballet in Armenia10.

This plot was also used by Zare Muradyan (1913-1979) and Azat Gharibyan (1923-1988) in a choreographic interlude to Tigran Chukhajian’s “Arshak II” in its second edition at the Yerevan Opera and Ballet Theater in 1956.

Now let’s see the history of Asaturyan’s version. “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram” play by writer Nairi Zaryan (1900-1969) was first staged at the Leninakan (present-day Gyumri) Drama Theater in 1946. Later, or, perhaps, at that very time, Yeghazaryan decided to compose a ballet based on the same plot. The libretto was written by outstanding Russian choreographer Leonid Lavrovsky (1905-1967) and actor, stage director and theater worker Vavik Vardanyan (1900-1967) and is still existent. But had that ballet appeared in the 1950s or even in the early 1960s, it would have been one more dance drama. The cover page of the libretto says: “Ara the Beautiful and

10 The ballet was first shown in Yerevan on September 19, 1924. A reviewer says: “The highlight (of Ilya Arbatov’s tour program) was “Shamiram and Ara the Beautiful,” a three-scene ballet created by Arbatov after the well-known Armenian legend about Shamiram and Ara the Beautiful, mentioned by Movses Khorenatsi. This is the first time anybody has ever created an Armenian ballet. So, we can say: the new achievement of the Armenian art – an Armenian ballet. If Arbatov-Yagubyan devotes himself to this field, he will, certainly, move up this branch of the Armenian art (it was truly a word of prophecy – N.S.)” (Հովհաննիսյան Ռ., Բալետ, - «Խորհրդային Հայաստան», 24 սեպտեմբերի, 1924, № 217). Unfortunately, the reviewer did not say what music was used for the ballet.
Semiramis," ballet in three acts and six scenes. Libretto by Leonid Lavrovsky and Vavik Vardanyan, 1957."

The script contains 29 episodes. For detailed analysis of Yeghiazaryan's “Ara the Far and Shamiram” ballet see the 3rd volume of Georgy Tigranov’s “Armenian Musical Theater.” It should be noted that Yeghiazaryan worked on it for almost 20 years. In his book Tigranov says that, at first, the composer collaborated with Leonid Lavrovsky, then with Armenian choreographer Maxim Martirosyan. The last version of the libretto was written by outstanding Armenian dancer and choreographer Vilen Galstyan and Ashot Asaturyan.11 Tigranov’s book was published in 1975, while the premiere of the ballet took place in 1982.

Asaturyan’s version caused serious controversy due to original interpretation of the plot and transformations in the score. An ardent opponent of dance drama in any form, Asaturyan encountered a bright example of it in the initial script. Naturally, he decided to redo it.12 Elvira Mnacakanyan recalls that Asaturyan and Yeghiazaryan did really huge work together. “They were running on the stage and then back to the score.” In fact, they were building quite a different musical composition: they were reshuffling fragments and even adding ones from Yeghiazaryan’s other opuses (for example, the 3rd Movement of “Hrazdan” Symphony)13 Our purpose is not to find out how exactly they did it.

But the point is that the new score is quite logical and goes perfectly well with Asaturyan’s concept of the ballet. In order to perceive that concept, you should know that, in fact, the first person who interpreted the story of “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram” in his own way and thereby gave ground for controversy concerning Ara’s character was Movses Khorenatsi, Armenian historian of the 5th century. Below is an excerpt from his “History of Armenia”:

“Concerning Ara and his death in war at the hands of Semiramis: Ara, a few years before the death of Ninos, acquired the government of his ancestral lands, being considered worthy of such a favor by Ninos, like his father Aram. But the dissolute and lascivious Semiramis for many years had heard of his beauty and desired to visit him; but she was not able to do such things openly. However, after the death of Ninos, or his flight to Crete, as I believe, Semiramis freely paraded her passion and sent messengers to the handsome Ara with gifts and offerings, [requesting] with many entreaties and the promise of gifts that he come to her in Nineveh, either to marry her and reign over the whole empire that Ninos had ruled, or to satisfy her desires and then return to his own land in peace with magnificent gifts.

11 Тигранов Г., Армянский музыкальный театр, т. 3. Ереван, 1975, с. 122-129.
12 It should be noted that Asaturyan never cut or reshuffled the scores created by composers who were no longer alive. On the other hand, he actively collaborated with composers that were, so to speak, “within his eyeshot.”
13 Here, we would like to note that similar reshuffles, cuts and insertions led Yuri Grigorovich to a brilliant version of Sergei Prokofyev’s “The Stone Flower” and the world renowned production of Aram Khachaturyan’s “Spartacus.” Revision of the score is one of the key tendencies in present-day choreography, an instrument used by opponents of dance drama in an attempt to harmonize ballet with symphony. Thus, Asaturyan acted quite in the spirit of “a choreographer of the last three decades of the 20th century.”
Many times the ambassadors came and went, but Ara did not agree. Semiramis became exceedingly angry, and at the end of these negotiations she took the host of her army and hastened to the land of Armenia against Ara. But, as the result was to show, she was anxious not so much to kill him or put him to flight as to subject and dominate him to fulfill her desires. For in the folly of her great passion, at the reports about him she had become madly enflamed as if she had already seen him. She arrived in haste at the plain of Ara, which is called Ayrarat after his name. And when the battle line was formed she ordered her generals that if possible they should attempt to keep Ara alive. But when the conflict was joined, the army of Ara was routed and Ara died in the battle at the hands of Semiramis’ troops. The queen sent despoilers after the victory to the site of the battle to seek out her desired and loved one among the fallen corpses. They found Ara dead amid his warriors, and she ordered them to place him on the roof of her palace.

When the Armenian army had regained its confidence to continue the struggle against Queen Semiramis and to revenge Ara’s death, she said: “I have ordered my gods to lick his wounds, and he will be restored to life.” At the same time she hoped to revive Ara by the magic of her sorcery, being demented by desire for her darling. But when his corpse became stinking she ordered it to be cast into a great ditch and covered up. One of her paramours she had dressed up in secret, and she gave out this report about him: “The gods licked Ara and brought him back to life, fulfilling our wish and pleasure. Therefore from now on they are all the more to be worshipped and honored by us, as they fulfill our pleasures and accomplish our desires.” She also set up a new statue in the name of the gods and greatly honored it with sacrifices, pretending to all that this power of her gods had brought Ara back to life. And she spread these reports about him over this land of Armenia and convinced everyone, so bringing the war to an end.

We would like to point out that some scholars identify Shamiram with the legendary queen of Babylon, Semiramis, while others believe that Shamiram is not Semiramis and was, in fact, a mythical queen of Assyria. I support the latter’s point of view. That’s why in this article I use the name “Shamiram” with reference to the Assyrian rather than Babylonian queen.

The myth about Ara the Fair and Shamiram has been studied in detail by researchers specializing in comparative analysis of myths, gods and ancient heroes. They identify Shamiram with Astarte, Ishtar, Aphrodite, Derketo, i.e., with voluptuous goddesses, first, causing the deaths of their beloved, then, mourning them and, finally, following in their tracks to the other world or bringing them to life. Ara is identified with Adonis, Tamuzz, Osiris, i.e. with dying and reviving gods, gods of earth and fertility. In fact, the story of Ara the Fair and Shamiram is a myth about dying and reviving god.

---

Consequently, Grigor Ghapantsyan, Manuk Abeghyan and other researchers have reason to believe that in his “History of Armenia” Movses Khorenatsi modified the myth.

First of all, Movses Khorenatsi describes Ara and Shamiram as real historical (rather than mythic) king of Armenia and queen of Assyria. According to M. Abeghyan and G. Ghapantsyan, the initial version was based on the pagan folk belief that Ara revives when spring comes or, vice versa, spring comes when Ara revives. Did Ara the Fair reincarnate or did he die? Was Ara a god and Shamiram a sorceress or are they a king and a queen, who once lived on earth? How to interpret this story? Those were the questions Asaturyan had to answer, especially as the initial libretto by Lavrovsky and Vartanyan was based on Zaryan’s play, where Ara was a human being, hesitating between his kingdom and beautiful (and even beloved) Shamiram. In Zaryan’s drama Ara died.

Below you can find excerpts from three versions of the story. The first and the second librettos were found in Asaturyan’s archives while the third one was written by Asaturyan and Galstyan and published in the handbill. The first version says:

(Libretto I)

Scene I

The curtain rises to the sound of a love hymn, revealing altar lamps gleaming on a misty stage, priests standing between the pillars of an ancient temple with the statue of Goddess Anahit hoisting in the center. The priests are involved in a ceremony worshiping the “Birth of Ara.” They march in a ritual procession and narrate the story of Ara the Fair.

This episode characterizes Ara as a god.

The second version.

(Libretto II)

Prologue

Temple of Goddess Anahit. The holy fire highlights the silhouettes of priests standing between the pillars and narrating the Legend of Ara the Beautiful. A women’s chorus heralds the arrival of Arqayamayr (Mother Queen). She stands in front of the statue of Anahit. The priests and the people welcome her with a profound bow.

Arqayamayr grants her people a son - a leader for the Country of Nairi.

Here Ara is already a human being.

Now let’s see an excerpt from the final handbill version.

15 For detailed information about the myth of Ara the Fair and Shamiram see ¶ñ.Ô³÷³ÝóÛ³Ý, §²ñ³ ¶»Õ»óÇÏÇ å³ßï³ÙáõÝùÁ¦, ºñ¨³Ý, 1944 ; ².سïÇÏ»³Ý, §²ñ³ ¶»Õ»óÇϦ, ì»Ý»ïÇÏ, 1930; Ø. ²μ»ÕÛ³Ý, ºñÏ»ñ, Ñ. ², ºñ¨³Ý, 1966, ¿ç 62-67:
Epilogue

The priests tell the people that Ara has died. The Armenian warriors bow their unbowed heads. Shamiram is also there. She comes to say goodbye to Ara and to ask for apology.

But the ray of the Sun reminds the people that spring will come again and every spring they must hope for a miracle. And that miracle is the birth of Ara, the incarnation of reviving beauty, which defies death.

Thus, the prologue of the ballet contains an episode of Ara’s rebirth. This concept is best seen in the version revised by Asaturyan after 1982 and available on video recording.

Below we present that very version.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The order of episodes as recorded on video and compared with the score revealing the similarity of fragments (fragmentation of choreographic themes)</th>
<th>Functions of the episodes and hypostases of the characters</th>
<th>Skeleton pattern of the ballet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td>Orchestral introduction</td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Act 1</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td>Divinity of Ara - God of spring, fertility, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scene I (Exposition – Armenia)</td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; hypostasis of Ara – a warrior-king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>№ 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Procession of Warriors</td>
<td></td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; hypostasis of Ara – a warrior-king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Entrée of Ara the Fair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>№ 2 Apotheosis of Nuard</td>
<td></td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; hypostasis of Nuard – a queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Entrée of Girls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Entrée of Nuard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Pas de Deux of Ara and Nuard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>№ 3 Dance of Spring</td>
<td></td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; hypostasis of Ara – a loving and loved husband</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nuard stands above the girls, who 
dance to her glory
Ara approaches her in the end

№ 4 Arrival of Envoys from 
Assyria. They convey the 
message of Shamiram

№ 5
a) Trio of Ара, Nuard and 
Shamiram (virtual)

1\textsuperscript{st} hypostasis of Shamiram – a 
woman loving Ara. The trio 
exposes the basic conflict, 
which develops in the 
subsequent episodes and 
results in Ara’s death

b) Monologue of Ara. His mind is 
in a tumult

c) Pas de Deux-Prayer of Ara and 
Nuard

Scene II (Exposition - Assyria)
№ 6 Orchestral overture
№ 7
a) Shamiram and sorceress 
women tell fortunes round a fire. 
Virtual Appearance of Ara

2\textsuperscript{nd} hypostasis of Shamiram – she is a sorceress

b) Virtual Love Duet of Ara and 
Shamiram

3\textsuperscript{rd} hypostasis of Ara – 
dreamed of by Shamiram as 
her loved and loving man. 
Development of 1\textsuperscript{st} hypostasis of Shamiram – a woman loving 
Ara

Scene III (Exposition of Ninos)
№ 8 Assyrian palace, King of 
Assyria Ninos sitting on the throne.

a) Dances of Girls and Boys
b) Dance of Ninos with Four 
Coryphées

c) Shamiram in red flying robe 
breaks into the palace

3\textsuperscript{rd} hypostasis of Shamiram – 
queen of Assyria
№ 9 Pas de Deux of Shamiram and Ninos
a) Shamiram scorns Ninos
b) Ninos is despaired (monologue)
c) Shamiram insists on being crowned (for just one day)

№ 10 Burning incense
a) Dance of Girls
b) Shamiram sits down on the throne eagerly waiting for the coronation

№ 11 Plot
Shamiram instigates a group of men from the court to kill Ninos

№ 12 Coronation of Shamiram
a) Coronation
b) General Dance
c) Pas de Deux of Shamiram and Ninos. Shamiram defies and threatens Ninos.
The plotters attack Ninos and take him away from the stage.
Shamiram stands near the throne and waits.
One of the conspirers brings a tray covered with a red veil. Shamiram unveils the tray exposing the cut-off head of Ninos.
Now Shamiram is the monarch of Assyria.

**Act 2**
Scene IV (Armenia – Development)

Development of 3rd hypostasis $S_3 Nin_1$ of Shamiram as queen of Assyria
№ 13 Round Dance
a) Round Dance of Men
b) Entrée of Girls
c) variation of Nuard
d) Round Dance of Girls

№ 14 Pas de Deux of Nuard and Ara
a) Adagio
b) Variation of Ara
c) Code (with female corps de ballet)

№ 15
a) The code is interrupted by Assyrian envoys, who bring precious gifts
b) Solo of Ara. He rejects the gifts and sends the envoys away

№ 16 The Rage of Ara (monologue)
Ara realizes that his action may lead to Assyrian invasion

Scene V
№ 17
a) Shamiram is alone in her palace, waiting for Ara’s response. Monologue. Dreams of Shamiram.

Development of the 1st and the 2nd hypostases of Ara

Development of the 3rd hypostasis of Shamiram – queen of Assyria, then 1st hypostasis of Shamiram – woman in love, and 3rd hypostasis of Ara – virtual lover of Shamiram
b) Virtual Pas de Deux of Shamiram and Ninos  
Worshipped by Ara in the first virtual pas de deux, Shamiram behaves as a worshiper in the second one

d) Return of the envoys with the rejected gifts

e) The Rage of Shamiram

Scene VI  
№ 18 Eclipse of the Sun  
а) The people forebode disaster
б) Ara stops the eclipse  
4th hypostasis of Ara – he can do magic

Scene VII (Conflict)  
№ 19 The Battle of the Armenian and Assyrian armies. The Death of Ara  
This episode was interpreted by Asaturyan quite originally: the Armenian army is danced by men, while the Assyrian one – by women wearing dresses similar to the costume of Shamiram. These very “Amazons” kill Ara with arrows. Allegorically speaking, Shamiram killed Ara.

Act 3  
Scene VIII  
№ 20 Shamiram in her palace near the dead body of Ara  
a) Sorceress women try to bring Ara to life
b) Composition – symbol  
Dead Ara lying in front of Shamiram, living Ara standing behind her  
Here we can see the main hypostasis of Ara – dying and reviving God

c) Shamiram comes down to the music of requiem (chorus and orchestra)  
The curtain falls. The requiem
continues
Scene IX
№ 21 The requiem continues. Armenia mourns Ara’s death. Nuard and Shamiram weep

№ 22 Finale
The lamentation turns into a round dance. The stage brightens. Ara appears as God

Comments to Table 3 “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram”

The form structure of the ballet is based on chiaroscuro (contrast) principle: Armenia – Assyria, except for Scene VII, where they collide.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act I</th>
<th>Act II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iк.</td>
<td>IIк.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>Assyria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scenes I and IV (Armenia) are very much alike. Even though the former is exposition and the latter – development, both are divertimentos containing Ara-Nuard pas de deux, ending in the invasion of the Assyrian world and followed by Ara’s monologue.

Scenes III and V are quite dynamic. The divertimento of Scene III serves as a background for the “Ninos Dethronement and Assassination” mise-en-scène

Scene I (Armenia) and Scene III (Assyria) demonstrate polarity: peace and harmony in the Armenian royal family and antagonism on the Assyrian throne, both set in court surrounding.

Scenes IV and V might be qualified as antipodal were it not for the following dramaturgic device: the monologue of Shamiram from Scene V is imbedded with visions of Ninos and Ara.

But the endings of the scenes are identical.

Scene IV. Finale
Assyrian messengers bring gifts from Shamiram
Ara sends them away
Monologue «The Rage of Ara»

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene V. Finale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assyrian messengers bring the gifts back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamiram sends them away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monologue «The Rage of Shamiram»</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The two scenes are identical not only in their history but also in their choreography. “The Rage of Shamiram” is almost an absolute copy of “The Rage of Ara.”

The choreographic score of the ballet, and the above-mentioned episodes, in particular, are very complex.

A superficial glance at the table might suggest that the ballet contains pantomime episodes. In reality, this is a ballet d’action. It has some divertimentos in the initial scenes but not after Scene V.

The table shows that each of the characters has more than one hypostasis. In the third column they are indexed with the first letters of their names (in the case of Ninos we give the first three letters so as to avoid confusion with Nuard). The number below each letter denominates the character’s hypostasis within a specific episode. A letter without a lower index number implies the character’s divinity. Hence:

Ara the Beautiful

A – God
A₁ – King and warrior
A₂ – Faithful husband
A₃ – Virtual lover of Shamiram
A₄ – Magician, priest
A₅ – Dead
A₆ – Resurrected

Shamiram

S₁ – Woman loving Ara
S₂ – Sorceress
S₃ – Queen

Nuard

N – Goddess
N₁ – Queen, wife of Ara

Ninos

N₉₁ – King
N₉₂ – Ghost of killed king

Thus, Asaturyan presents Ara in several hypostases in an attempt to develop this rather static character. By presenting Ara and Shamiram as persons capable of doing magic, Asaturyan points to one of the peculiar functions of a king or warrior in ancient society. James George Frazer writes: “At a certain stage of early society the king or priest is often thought to be endowed with supernatural powers or to be an incarnation of a deity, and consistently with this belief the course of nature is supposed to be more or less under his control.”¹⁶ In the “Eclipse” episode, as per Frazer, Ara causes the Sun

to come out, while in Scene VIII Shamiram uses her magic to bring Ara to life. However, according to the same author, Ara’s status of a king, a war chief and a magician priest in ancient society implied a whole series of taboos. Therefore, Asaturyan was quite right when picturing Ara as unable – even if willing – to reciprocate Shamiram’s love. Such an act would be contrary to his status.

The numbers in the 3rd column of the table help us to discern compositional and choreographic similarities, to see how episodes are replicated so as to ensure compositional integrity.

We have already demonstrated the similarity of Scenes I and IV and the identity of the “rage” episodes. Scenes II and IX both illustrate the magic of Shamiram and her sorceress women, while episodes II and V are both Ara-Shamiram love duets.

Scenes I, IV and VII are also similar. The collision of the Armenian and Assyrian armies in Scene VII combines the dance of warriors preluding the ballet and the dance of girls in the Assyrian palace.

There are also distinct parallels between the “Eclipse” (Scene VI) and the “Lamentation of Ara” (Scene IX) as well as between the round dances of Scene IV and the Finale.

The arc spanning the ballet from its orchestral introduction to the finale symbolizes the incarnation of Ara the Fair.

The exposition (Act I), development (Act II) and replication (Act III) are distinctly demarcated by means of choreography.

Since the ballet is based on the contrast and collision of two polar worlds – Armenia and Assyria – the natural question is what choreographic systems Asaturyan employs to demonstrate that conflicting polarity.

Having analyzed the choreographic languages of the major Armenian ballet masters - Ilya Arbatov, Azat Gharibyan, Maxim Martirosyan, Vilen Galstyan, Rudolf Kharatyan and Ashot Asaturyan - we have derived four types of regionally affiliated oriental elements:

- Elements of Armenian group song-dance.
- Elements of the system termed as “Caucasian city folk dance”.
- Elements of the dances of the Middle East.
- Elements of the “orientalism,” as seen by the West.

The first type in Asaturyan’s choreography you can see in “The Immortality,” “The Symphony of Light,” “The Heroic Ballade” (elements of the Kochari dance), “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram” (an episode in Scene IV (spring round dance), in a part of the Finale) and, of course, in “Gayane.” The latter is one of Asaturyan’s ballets where you can find also some Caucasian dance elements.

Elements of Middle East (mostly Iranian) and Arab dance were combined with some original movements to shape a style that he later applied not only in his “oriental” ballets (“Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram,” “The Temple of Love”) but also in ballets having very little to do with the Orient (even though their music was by Armenian
composers, their plots were not about Armenia or the Orient): the ballets about the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) – “The Immortality” and “The Heroic Ballade,” the philosophical “Symphony of Light.” The same style can be seen in “Daphnis and Chloe,” “Orpheus,” “The Firebird,” “Eupraxia,” “Symphonic Dances” and even in some episodes of the Kharkiv version of “The Nutcracker” (1992)\(^{17}\). That is exactly what they call “a choreographer’s individual style”\(^{18}\).

These two Oriental systems were most vividly combined and, at the same time, contrasted in “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram.” As Karine Khudabashyan aptly defined: “... Ashot Asaturyan has built his choreographic (plastic) concept on the contrast contained in the score, the contrast between two orients - Armenian and Assyrian. He is very consistent in revealing this contrast. The Armenian Orient is based on a synthesis of classical choreography and Armenian folk dance, while the Assyrian one combines classical pas with Indian and Arab movements, as we have no authentic Assyrian dance materials preserved. Elastic hands, especially, palms and fingers, and soft innocent movements in the Armenian mass and solo episodes contrast with the sharp gestures of the Assyrians, the eroticism of the women, the rigor of the men, the creeping steps of the courtiers.”\(^{19}\)

We have just two remarks to this extract.

“The eroticism of the women” was nothing but the choreographer’s courage to use elements of the “belly dance.”\(^{20}\)

The “elastic hands, palms and fingers” of Armenian girls in “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram” (something we can also see in certain episodes of “Gayane”) was the system of hand movements developed by Ilya Arbatov\(^{21}\). This system is generally

\[17\] This style is dominant in “Oriental Dance” (“Nutcracker”) and the dance episodes of “The Golden Cockerel” and “Samson and Dalilah.”

\[18\] In order to reveal the individual features of a choreographer, one needs a thorough analysis of all levels of his choreography (from separate elements to complex choreographic forms), an insight into the way he correlates dance, music and libretto. This, however, is a matter of a special study.


\[20\] Belly Dance is very widespread nowadays, with lots of schools and companies popularizing it around the world.

\[21\] Ilya Arbatov-Yagubyan is the founder of the Armenian national ballet, the author of the first Armenian ballets, “Happiness” by Aram Khachaturyan as well as “Khandut” by Alexander Spendiarov (1945), “Sevan” by Grigory Yeghiazaryan and “Marmar” by Edgar Hovhannisyan. Arbatov’s ballets are all dance dramas with specific place and time, socially and professionally oriented characters, logically motivated actions and lots of plotlines and mime scenes. In his ballets Arbatov used dance scenes of two types: scenes based on elements of folk dance (i.e. stage folk dances) and scenes combining classical and folk elements. Though coming from different folk genres, the movements and patterns constituting Arbatov’s compositions are similar in their nature and form of expression. The mass scenes were engrafted with elements of male and female solo dance. Much was changed in the dance pattern. By combining the principle of progression, underpinning the Armenian mass dance, with the principle of symmetry, reigning in the classical ballet, Arbatov developed quite new compositional principles. And, finally, the most important thing Arbatov did was to create a system of hands. The language of female hands is truly his best achievement. It was a whole system of poses and flows, descending from Armenian, Caucasian and other dances. Constituting the foundations of the national ballet choreography, Arbatov’s system was handed down carefully from one choreographer to another, and each of them transformed it according to his artistic principles.
applied in the Armenian stage folk dance and the national ballet and each Armenian choreographer has interpreted it in a peculiar way. Asaturyan was not an exception.

Below we list the peculiarities of “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram” that are characteristic of Asaturyan’s style as a stage director and choreographer.

1. Asaturyan reviews all the scores of his multi-act ballets (“The Nutcracker,” “Gayane,” “Daphnis and Chloe,” “The Legend of Love,” “Antonius and Cleopatra,” “Umay,” “Eupraxia”) with a view to create a ballet based on large-scale pas d’actions and continuous symphonic development.

2. Most of Asaturyan’s ballets have a clear reference or allusion to the rite of initiation ending in incarnation (for deities) or reincarnation (for human beings).

For example, the underlying concept of Asaturyan’s version of Tchaikovsky’s “The Nutcracker” is the initiation of the two main characters – Masha (Clara) and the Nutcracker. Masha’s initiation ends in reincarnation: she comes out of her “dream” to find herself in a different age, i.e. she reincarnates from a girl to a maiden. The Nutcracker’s initiation is more like incarnation as he comes from a fantastic world just to go back there again.

In “Eupraxia” the heroine goes through ordeals to become a holly woman.

Similar transitions can be seen in “Orpheus,” “Symphonic Dances,” “The Legend of Love,” “Leyli and Majnun,” “The Immortality,” “The Heroic Ballade,” “Antonio and Cleopatra,” “The Symphony of Light.” Hence, we can say that most of Asaturyan’s ballets are based on the ancient rite of “mystery.” In “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram” this tendency is especially apparent. In fact, this ballet is a mystery play about a dying and resurrecting god.

3. The analysis of “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram” has shown that the main characters of this ballet have no less than two hypostases (with Ara having as many as seven). This tendency can be observed in some other ballets as well. For example, Daphnis and Chloe are seen by Asaturyan as Biblical Adam and Eve, while Eurydice, the Black Angel and the Muses in “Orpheus” as respective symbols of an artist’s pain for his creation, his duality and hesitation and the living flesh of inspired art.

4. Asaturyan’s ballets are full of diverse symbols.

For example, in “Ara the Beautiful and Shamiram” we would like to point out the following dynamic composition-level symbol: the dance of Armenian warriors (Scene I of Act I) and the dance of Assyrian girls (Scene III of Act I) are presented polyphonically in
the Battle scene to symbolize the confrontation of Armenia and Assyria. The death of Ara the Fair from arrows shot by Assyrian warrior women, dressed symbolically as Shamiram, clearly says: “Shamiram has killed Ara.”

The static composition in episode from Scene VIII - dead Ara lying in front of Shamiram and living Ara standing behind her – symbolizes Ara’s incarnation as “dying and reviving god.”

In the ending of “Orpheus” Asaturyan demonstrates several graphic symbols, expressed by means of legs, hands and body and denoting death and transition to the upper world.

Orpheus – the Black Angel lie on their backs on the floor vis-à-vis. they bend their backs forming two arcs (rainbow signifies a bridge between the upper and lower worlds) and then recover place.

«Candle» (upright lifted legs) as parallel words.

Almost a triangle with the vertex directed to the upper world.

The Black Angel and Orpheus are both lifted face to face. Crucifixes – the Apollonian art of the legendary singer is “crucified” on a cross of ideas.

Orpheus and the Black Angel break up forming the “Holy Grail”.

Death. Eurydice comes out to the center holding a lire. She sits down and inclines the lire towards Orpheus – Immortality of Art (the last symbol is not graphic).

In “Eupraxia” Asaturyan builds his characters and the whole story by means of light symbols accepted in the Slavonic mythology.

Light symbolism is even more profound in Edward Mirzoyan’s “Symphony of Light” and Sergei Rachmaninoff’s “Symphonic Dances.”

Here “light drama” indicates the presence of “mysticism” in Asaturyan’s art: it highlights the hero’s path to perceive the supreme truth, the God, through exultation in the spirit as is reflected in the poem of the great Armenian poet Paruyr Sevak inspired by the “SUN or - LET THERE BE LIGHT”.

Translated from Russian by Ara Asaturyan
“ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE IS IN HARMONY WITH NATURE”
- ALPAGO NOVELLO¹

(Dedicated to the 85th anniversary of Italian architect,
Art historian, Professor Adriano Alpago Novello)

Italian architect, art historian, Professor Adriano Alpago Novello was born in 1932 in Italy. Novello headed the Italian research expeditions to Soviet Armenia in 1967 and 1969, and then to Western Armenia – Van and Ani in 1970. Since 1968 he had been heading founded by him the Research and Documentation Center of Armenian medieval architecture, in Milan, then, with Hakob and Armen Manukyan brothers created “Documents of Armenian architecture” ("Documenti di architettura Armena") series (please see below some of them).

¹An updated edition of the article: ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE IS IN HARMONY WITH NATURE, ALPAGO NOVELLO (http://hushardzan.am/en/14082/).
In 1968, with the support of the Armenian community in Milan Alpago Novello organized picture exhibition of medieval Armenian architecture “Armenian Architecture in the 4th -18th centuries”, which was shown in Italy then in Austria, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, the US, Germany, Switzerland, Lebanon and Iran. On his initiative in various languages were published as numerous studies and articles about the Armenian and Georgian architecture, as well as an impressive series of photographs, architectural drawings, bibliographic materials. The Italian architect’s “views in architecture” are very interesting. Alpago Novello’s views on medieval art are not only a historical phenomenon, but also may be interpreted in terms of the development of modern art. Referring to the Noravank monastery of Vayots-Dzor, Novello said that it looks like a detached structure, located in a desolate valley on the southern slopes and is almost merged with the surrounding nature, without losing its majesty and splendor; “ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE IS IN HARMONY WITH NATURE”. There are lots of such cases in Armenian architecture: structure, joining the creation of nature, “natural” architecture makes it more complete and perfect. According to Novello, such examples are also Areni church (the 14th c.) and Tanahat monastery It seems that they have been buried in nature, creating a feeling of infinity. Novello paid special attention to the front fret of the main entrance of Noravank, considering it as an exceptional panoramic solutions’ segment, which is special for architectural school of Vayots Dzor.

Italian architect expressed particular admiration for the ancient monastery of Sanahin and it’s harmony with nature. According to him, this crystalline structure is geometrically perfect, it can be viewed as a specific example of Armenian architecture, especially the main structures of the complex are worthy.
“If it will not be perceived as part of the environment, at once it will lose its charm, becoming a simple sculpture, opposite to architectural accurate calculations and flawless solutions.” According to his opinion, there is no coincidence that the special architectural solutions are similar to the architecture of Italian Renaissance. Ancient architectural solutions of Sanahin monastery are evidence of the “wisdom” of Armenian architecture. Along with the traditional practice here comes a whole new set of architectural forms, which concentrated on the structures of the monastery complex.

Alpago Novello devoted a considerable part of his life to the publication of monographs on Armenian Christian architecture. “I want to express my gratitude to my friends because they had great role in the creation of these volumes, but not all are alive. Armen Manukian, Armen Zaryan, Harutyun Kasanjyan, Paolo Kuneo. With their help the Armenian culture spread all over the world,” said Novello. Despite the huge amount of published works, he thought that he had not yet completed his “mission to investigate Armenian architecture.”

Indeed, Alpago Novello’s contribution to the spread of the Armenian culture particularly of the Armenian architecture’s fame all over the world is great.
PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE
In the 19th century studies in history of the Kingdom of Van had a specific course in some European countries, particularly in France within the sphere of Armenological Studies. The British Assyriologist A. Sayce noted: “It is now more than half a century ago that the existence of inscriptions written in the cuneiform character, and found in different parts of Armenia... At Saint-Martin’s instigation, a young scholar from Hesse, Prof. Fr. Ed. Schulz, was sent by the French Government to Armenia, in 1826, in order to examine them. In 1828, accordingly, Van and its neighbourhood were thoroughly explored by Schulz, who succeeded in discovering and copying no less than forty-two cuneiform inscriptions... They were published in “Journal Asiatique”1 in 1840...”2. In the next decades some other Vannic (Biainian) inscriptions were discovered in Western Armenia3, as well as in Eastern Armenia4.

In their works the European, particularly the French Orientalists and Armenologists began to pay special attention to the problems of the decipherment and language of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van, first of all trying to read some ideograms.

The French-German Assyrologist Jules Oppert, differentiating the language of the inscriptions of Van from Assyro-Babylonian, noted that the latter’s sign system and ideographs were used there. He mentioned the kings of Van as Armenian kings and called Argishti: “the King of Ararat”. Making a linguistic grouping, J. Oppert named Arméniaque the cuneiform inscriptions of Van5. The French Armenologist M. Brosset noted that Armenian Sardur (II) (Arménien Sardur) together with Matiel6 confronted

2 “Three of the inscriptions turned out to belong to the Persian king Xerxes... The remaining thirty-nine were written in special syllabary and in a language unlike any found elsewhere” (Sayce A., The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, Deciphered and Translated, JRAS, 1882, pp. 377-378).
6 The king of Bit-Agusi in northern Syria (Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. 1, Երևան, 1971, էջ 315).
Tiglatpalasar\textsuperscript{7} (III) who “captured many towns and founded the town of Asurbaza\textsuperscript{8} in Armenia”\textsuperscript{9}.

Different opinions were expressed on the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van and their language. The Irish Assyriologist E. Hincks supposing that those inscriptions were “in the vernacular dialect, which totally differed from the Assyrian,” concluded: “… those who read this paper will admit that I have made a beginning, and gone a considerable way, in the decipherment and interpretation of a set of inscriptions, which, however slight may be their value in a historical point of view, are invaluable to the philologer, as being beyond all comparison the oldest specimens of the Asiatic branch of the Indo-Germanic family…”\textsuperscript{10}.

The British orientalist H. Rawlinson wrote: “These inscriptions I name Armenian. They are written in the same alphabet that was used in Assyria, but are composed in a different language… which although has adopted numerous words from the Assyrian, I believe to belong radically to another family…”\textsuperscript{11} Then he noted: “There are six kings of the Armenian line following in a line of direct descent… This family… seems to have held extensive sway in Armenia”\textsuperscript{12}.

The French Assyriologist and archaeologist Fr. Lenormant made a linguistic grouping and noted that the language of numerous cuneiform inscriptions carved on the rocks in the neighbourhood of the city of Van was Arméniaque - the Aryan or Indo-European language, used by the population of Armenia from the 9\textsuperscript{th} to the 7\textsuperscript{th} century BC\textsuperscript{13}. Two years later, Fr. Lenormant expressed another opinion, contradicting himself, that the study of the language of cuneiform inscriptions of Armenia allowed him to see likeness to Georgian along with the existence of the Aryan element in the vocabulary\textsuperscript{14}.

\textsuperscript{7} The confederation formed by Sarduri II (764-735 BC) attacked Assyria, but in the battle of Arpad (in the north of Syria) (743 BC) the allied forces were defeated by Tiglatpalasar (Tiglath-Pileser III, 745-727 BC.) (Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. 1, էջ 315, 317).
\textsuperscript{8} According to a reading suggested by S.M. Bacieva, «Ashurikisha» (see: Асси ро-вавилонские источники по истории Урарту, ВДИ, N 2, 42, стр. 313).
\textsuperscript{10} Hincks E., On the inscriptions at Van, JRASGBI, 1848, vol. IX, pp. 404, 422.
\textsuperscript{11} There, erroneously, is mentioned “Scythian” (Rawlinson H. C., A Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, London, 1850, p. 75). The researcher, mentioning the language family of the “Scythian” tribe, actually meant a branch of the Indo-European language family, as the Scythians were of Iranian origin (Фрай Р., Наследие Ирана, Москва, 1972, стр. 27). In his comparative linguistic work (1875) on the position of the Armenian language in the Indo-European language family, the German linguist H. Hübschmann determined that Armenian is “Indo-German”, being a separate branch of the Indo-European family (see: Ջահուկյան Գ., Հայոց լեզվի պատմություն, Երևան, 1987, էջ 86-90).
\textsuperscript{12} Rawlinson H. C., op. cit., p. 75.
\textsuperscript{13} Lenormant Fr., Manuel de l’histoire ancienne de l’Orient, Paris, jusqu’ aux guerres médiques, 1869, t. II, pp. 155-156.
\textsuperscript{14} Lenormant Fr., Lettres Assyriologiques, Paris, 1871, t. I, pp. 124-127; Sayce A., op. cit., p. 381, cf. Λτο, Χάλη ρωμαϊκής ηλικίας (Πηλωπία), Θήβας, 1915, έχ 18, 66; Աշտարակ, Վերածնունդ և հայրեր, Հայաստան ավազանի, 1933, № 1-2, էջ 58-75:
But the relation with Georgian was rejected in the linguistic studies of the Biainian inscriptions\textsuperscript{15}.

The German orientalist A. D. Mordtmann\textsuperscript{16} and Archimandrite Joseph Sandalgyan\textsuperscript{17} supported the theory of Armenian origin of the language of the cuneiforms of Van (according to Mordtmann “der armenischen Keilinschriften”/ \textit{Armenian cuneiforms}).

A. Sayce and the French Assyriologist St. Guyard\textsuperscript{18} tried to introduce grammar and lexicography of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van. A. Sayce, touching upon the initial steps of such studies, noted: “There is much yet to be done before the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions can be placed on a thoroughly satisfactory footing”\textsuperscript{19}.

Insufficient research of the language of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van resulted in the separation of the history of Ararat-Urartu (the kingdom of Van) from the history of Armenia and Armenians by some researchers. The French orientalist J.A. Gatteyrias and archaeologist J. de Morgan offered a “migration” hypothesis about the Armenians. According to Gatteyrias, “Les Arméniens ... dont les ancêtres descendus du plateau du Pamir”\textsuperscript{20}, and according to J. de Morgan - from the Balkan Peninsula. The latter denied the opinion that the Armenians were the successors of the kings of the Kingdom of Van. According to J. de Morgan, the traditions and linguistic facts had not been take into account\textsuperscript{21}.

The French historian E. Cavaignac named the Kingdom of Van the \textit{Armenian kingdom} [le royaume arménien d’Ourartou (Ararat)] and mentioned Western Armenia (l’Arménie occidentale)\textsuperscript{22}. According to the French historian Fr. Tournebize, the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions testify to “le Nairi, nom assyrien d’une partie de l’ancienne Arménie méridionale...”\textsuperscript{23}.

\textsuperscript{15} Никольский М., op. cit., p. 3.
\textsuperscript{16} Mordtmann A. D., Entzifferung und Erklärung der armenischen Keilinschriften von Van und der Umgegend, ZDMG, Band XXVI, Leipzig, 1872, S. 465-696. Mordtmann’s theory (“the Vannic language was not only Aryan, but Armenian, and that it was only necessary to turn to an Armenian dictionary to discover the meaning of every word in the inscriptions”) was criticized by A. Sayce whose main argument was “that even granting the language to be an early form of Armenian speech, it would still have been impossible to recover the signification of its words by simply consulting a dictionary of modern Armenian, without tracing the past history of the Armenian language and the changes undergone by its phonology... Without a grammar no decipherment is possible” (Sayce A., op. cit., pp. 382-383). It is worthy noting that the researches of academician Gevorg Jahukyan and Sargis Ayvazyan (see below) relating this problem are based on historical linguistics and grammar.
\textsuperscript{17} Sandalgian J., Les Inscriptions Cunéiformes Urartique, Venise, 1900.
\textsuperscript{18} Guyard St., Les inscriptions de Van. - Mélange d’assyrologie, Paris, 1883, pp. 113-144.
\textsuperscript{19} Says A., op. cit., p. 679.
\textsuperscript{21} J. de Morgan, Histoire du peuple arménien depuis les temps les plus reculés de ses annales jusqu’à nos jours, Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg, 1919, pp. 38-39.
\textsuperscript{23} Tournebize Fr., Histoire politique et religieuse de l’Arménie, Paris, 1900, p. 16.
The founder of the Armenological Studies in France, A.-J. Saint-Martin (1791-1832) profoundly researched the ancient Greek and Latin primary sources on the history and geography of Armenia\(^{24}\), at the same time critically noting: “Sans m’arrêter ici à réfuter les absurdités que quelques écrivains Grecs et Latins ont débitées sur l’origine des Arméniennes”\(^{25}\).

Contrary to such criticism, the French Egyptologist G. Maspero made an attempt to revive the reports of some Greek authors\(^{26}\) as if about “L’origine phrygienne des Arméniens”\(^{27}\). Thus, following the baseless “migration” hypothesis he wrote: “Plus au Nord, les Ourartiens et les peuples de l’ancien Nairi, moins favorisés de la destinée, perdaient du terrain à chaque génération sous la poussée constante des Arméniens”\(^{28}\).

N. Dolens and A. Khatch critically noted that it is necessary to be very cautious in respect to ancient historians when they reminisce about their legendary world\(^{29}\).

The French Armenologist, linguist A. Meillet noted that the Phrygians were of the Thracian origin and, according to some Greek authors’ evidence, “les Arméniens seraient des colons Phrygiens”, but little information about Thrace does not allow linguistically to confirm that theory\(^{30}\).

The baseless “migration” hypothesis turned into an obstacle\(^{31}\) to consideration of the history of the Kingdom of Van as an integral part of the Armenian nation’s history. In the second half of the 20th century dominated a viewpoint that the language of the cuneiforms of Van or Biainian-Urartian had a close relationship with the Hurrian language\(^{32}\). Presenting the problem of interrelation between the Armenian and Urartian

---


\(^{28}\) Ibid., p. 777.


\(^{30}\) Meillet A., Esquisse d’une grammaire comparée de l’arménien classique, Vienne, 1936, p. 11.

\(^{31}\) It is seen, e.g., from the following statement: “The existence of Urartu (the pre-Armenian, pre 600 BC civilization) was unknown, a "lost" civilization, until 1823..." (Mack Chahin, The Kingdom of Armenia, A History. Second, revised edition, London and New York, 2001, Ch.2).

\(^{32}\) Меликишвили Г. А., Урартский язык, Москва, 1964, стр. 10-14; Дьяконов И. М., Языки Древней Передней Азии, Москва, 1967, стр. 113-165.
languages from that point of view, it was dogmatically concluded that there was no relationship and they belonged to different linguistic families.

In his conceptually fundamental article “On possible Armenian nature of the introductory formulas in Urartian inscriptions” G. Jahukyan offered the following solution to the problem: “The Armenian nature of those formulas is rather convincingly proved: their vocabulary is mainly Armenian; the grammatical peculiarities can be explained by the grammatical characteristics of the pre-grabar period. These formulas give an opportunity to make lexical reconstructions of the Armenian of the period preceding the grabar (Classical Armenian) in order to ascertain the proper Armenian equivalents of the future borrowings (especially of Iranian origin) on the basis of comparison of the IE preforms and forms in the inscriptions called “Urartian” ... Further examination of those versions, comparison and more precise definition of the reconstructed standard, as well as the skilled analysis of the extra linguistic trend of the cuneiform texts connected with it, along with great contribution, can actually have a revolutionary significance.” Sargis Ayvazyan following the research methods based on historical linguistics and grammar, concluded: “Urartian is probably a dialect of Old Armenian.”

In some works under the research is observed the lack of the Armenian historico-geographical terms particularly relating to Western Armenia; e.g., instead of the term Western Armenia (western part of the Armenian Highland) is wrongly used “Eastern Anatolia” (l’Anatolie orientale) (it actually corresponds to the eastern part of Asia Minor and is located to the west of the Armenian Highland). In terms of the history of the Kingdom of Van and of the succeeding period chronology is presented by some
researchers as subdivided into the Urartian and Post-Urartian periods\textsuperscript{38}, without mentioning the millenia-old Armenian archaeological culture and history.

The British archaeologist Ch. Burney wrongly localizing “la terre de Hayasa” in “le nord-est de l’Anatolie”\textsuperscript{39} (instead of the western part of the Armenian Highland\textsuperscript{40}) and differentiating Armenians from “Urartians”, wrote: “Avant les Arméniens: les Ourartéens guerriers et bâtisseurs”; “L’arrivée des Arméniens”\textsuperscript{41}.

The French Assyriologist D. Charpin correctly described the geographical position of the Kingdom of Van (“situé sur le territoire montagneux de l’Arménie”), but its emergence considered as an historic enigma (“L’Ourartou est d’une certaine manière une énigme historique…” it fit brusquement irruption on the scène internationale du Proche-Orient au IX\textsuperscript{e} siècle avant notre ère … et disparut brutalement, telle une météorite, entre la fin du VII\textsuperscript{e} siècle et le début du VI\textsuperscript{e} siècle”). Charpin described with great admiration the culture of the Kingdom of Van, in particular its architecture, fortress-construction, canal construction and metallurgy\textsuperscript{42}. It is necessary to note that the ethno-cultural history of the Kingdom of Van had been rooted in the previous periods of the civilizational development in the Armenian Highland and must be considered as an integral part of the history of Armenia.

The French Assyriologist P. Garelli and A. Lemaire mentioned Urartu as a kingdom of unkown origin. According to them, it was an ancient kingdom, which developed in the former Hurrian regions and bore rather a religious than linguistic imprint of that civilization\textsuperscript{43}.

In their work “History of Armenia” the French Armenologists Annie and Jean-Pierre Mahé considered the union of “60 kings” of Nairi as a confederation of Hurrian tribes which fought against the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I. According to the authors, “Deux siècles et demi plus tard, la menace assyrienne que s’intensifie sous le règne d’Assournazarpal II (884-859) provoque la formation de l’État d’Ourartou. Ce toponyme assyrien, que la Bible a vocalisé en Ararat, désignait à l’origine, d’une façon assez vague, la région montagneuse située au nord de l’Assyrie. Chef du canton d’Arzachku


\textsuperscript{39} Il est difficile de démêler les faits historiques de la fiction dans les témoignages concernant les origines des Arméniens et leur arrivée dans les territoires de l’Ourartou. Il est dangereux d’insister trop fortement sur les similitudes entre les noms propres et les noms géographiques: c’est ainsi qu’on pourrait mettre en regard le nom de la terre de Hayasa, située très certainement dans le nord-est de l’Anatolie selon les témoignages hittites, et celui de Hayastan /Hayk’, donné à leur pays par les Arméniens … Il n’est guère possible de douter des origines occidentales des Arméniens, bien que le témoignage d’Hérodote, selon lequel ils provenaient de Phrygie et étaient armés comme les Phrygiens, soit à peine plus complet que celui du voyageur grec Eudeoxe de Cyzique (II\textsuperscript{e} siècle av. J. C.) portant sur le similarité entre les langues arménienne et phrygienne” (Burney Ch., op. cit., pp. 79-80).


\textsuperscript{41} Burney Ch., op.cit., pp. 53, 79.

\textsuperscript{42} Charpin D., L’Ourartou et les Ourartéens, Paris, 2001 https://goo.gl/1QqTkG

(Arckē ou Arčēš), près de la future Manazkert, Aramou (860-840), qui prend le titre de roi des rois (erili erilave), réussit à unir sous son autorité toutes les tribus de la périphérie du lac de Van, le pays de Biaïna ou de Biaïnili. Aram, mentionné par Movses Khorenatsi (le 5ème c.), accordant à eux, peut probablement être identifié avec Aramu. Ils écrivent que l’Empire d’Urartu a atteint son apogée en 810-735 avant Jésus-Christ pendant le règne des rois Minua, Argishti et Sardur II. Référant aux paroles du prophète Jerémie (appelle Ararat, Menni (Minni) et Askenaz à se révolter contre Babylone) A. et J.-P. Mahé noté que le royaume de Biaïna existait encore en 593 avant Jésus-Christ, et, selon leur opinion, il “completely collapsed” en 590 avant Jésus-Christ.


En termes de continuité historique du processus civilisatorial dans la haute-arménie, l’histoire de la culture-ethnique du royaume de Van doit être considérée comme une partie intégrale de l’histoire de l’Arménie et la nation arménienne.

Translated from Armenian by V. M. Gharakhanyan

45 Movses Khorenatsi, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Երևան, 1991, էջ 42. Il est supposé que Aram’s image included the images of Aram Haikian (the second half of the 3rd millennium BC) (according to Movses Khorenatsi, Haik-Aramaneak-Aramayis-Amasia-Gegham-Harma-Aram) and Arame (or Aramu) of Ararat (Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Մելքոնյան Ա.Ա., Հայոց պատմություն, Երևան, 2008, էջ 35, հուն. 2). A. Movsisyan linked Aram land-name, mentioned in Naram-Suen’s (the king of Akkad, the 2nd half of the 3rd millennium BC) inscriptions, “to the south of Van and Urmia lakes” with Harma’s son Aram (“Apparently, Aram - country name must be linked with Armenian epic’s Aram, and, according to Movses Khorenatsi, the foreigners called our country and our people by his name”, see: Հովհաննիսյան Պ., Մովսիսյան Ա., Հայ ժողովրդի պատմության քրիստոմատիա, հ. 1, Երևան, 2007, էջ 60).
48 In fact following the wrong “migration” hypothesis they wrote: “… En réalité les Arméniens sont encore bien loin de l’Euphrate, où ils n’arriveront guère avant la fin du Ille millénaire” (av. J. C.) and about later times (the 7th c. BC) noted: “… et peut-être aussi les Arméniens, dont ce serait la première apparition dans la région... Il faudrait comprendre qu’Arméniens et Scythes, déjà unis par des alliances claniques, concoururent à la défaite d’Ourartou” ( A. et J.-P. Mahé, op. cit., pp. 25-27).
We have set a research objective that can be called conditionally, "The Echoes of West-European Historiographical Thought among the Armenians"." We intend to study those large and small works, which have been translated or adapted from Latin into the Armenian language in medieval times. We plan to trace the evolution of these translations in Armenian medieval literature and the influences and changes they have undergone. We also seek to analyze the use in Armenian medieval literature of information derived from original and primary sources written in Latin or from their Armenian translations. The results of this research should increase our understanding of the mutual influences exerted by the two literary cultures. This is as important as is the study of non-Armenian sources and the information they provide for Armenian history and historiography in general. The most important of these translated works should, of necessity, be studied and published separately.

One of these translated works is the subject of this presentation. It is a chronological list of the Emperors and Popes of Rome: the first-ever text of a purely historical nature that was translated into Armenian from Latin. It has received very little attention in the past, and hence we will first make a brief review of the way it has been dealt with in the field of Armenian Studies.

According to Ghevond Alishan, Levon I the Great (Magnificent), the first king of Cilician Armenia, had forced Hetum Sebastos (1151-1218), the former lord of Lambron, to become a cleric in 1201 and the abbot of the monastery of Drazark under a new name, Heghi. In 1210, Levon sent Heghi on a mission to visit the Pope in Rome and the German Emperor so that he (Levon) could receive a royal crown from the latter and proclaim Ruben-Raymond, the son of his niece and the Duke of Antioch, as his nominal co-ruler and heir to the throne. Alishan mentions that Heghi reported this fact "at the end of a chronological list of rulers that he had translated during a land- and sea journey" (Ալիշան 1885. 510). On another page, Alishan quotes Hetum-Heghi's information fully and specifies that the work "translated from Latin at sea, [was a list of the] successive Emperors and Patriarchs of Rome" (Ալիշան 1885. 83).

Soon afterwards, Rev. Garegin Zarphanalian, who belonged to the same Mekhitarist monastic brotherhood as Alishan, stated that this translation is found "among the Armenian manuscripts of the Vatican Library in Rome". He published the colophons of these two chronological lists (Զարփհանալեան 1889. 647-648). Then, Rev. Hovhannes Miskjian published an untidy description of this Vatican manuscript

1 Or "Medieval Armenian Historiography and Western Europe".
Alishan followed by referring to the issue of this translation again. He mentioned Heghi "as one of the historians" for he (Alishan) believed that Heghi "had described what he had seen and done during a one-and-a-half of year ambassadorship in Germany and other parts of Europe". It seems that Alishan only had access to the above-mentioned colophons.

Otherwise, he would not have written that Hetum-Heghi's "translation was that of a chronological list of the five patriarchates (Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Constantinople), compiled by an archimandrite (abbot) with the name of Nelos, also known as Doxopatrios, about a century before, to which (the author) has also added a history of the Emperors". Moreover, Alishan writes that "the writer [who compiled his work] during a sea-journey, most probably could have written and composed history more on land and in his monastery of Drazark" (Ալիշան 1901. 114). Rev. Nerses Akinian, another member of the Mekhitarist congregation, this time from the branch founded in Vienna, has correctly observed, with respect to the work of Nelos Doxopatrios, that the manuscripts indicate that the translator of this work is Nerses Lambronatsi, the younger brother of Hetum-Heghi. Akinian also rightly pointed out that "no writing has been found" where Hetum-Heghi has described what he saw in Germany and Europe (Ակինեան 1956. 130).

A few years later, the catalogue of all Armenian manuscripts in Vatican, which was compiled skillfully by Evgenius Tisserant, also included the detailed description of this (Hetum-Heghi's) manuscript (Tisserant 1927: 208-210). This was followed by the monumental study on Nerses Lambronatsi, where the author, Rev. N. Akinian, has scrupulously brought together all the information available on Hetum-Heghi and narrated the biography of this controversial political and cultural figure (Ակինեան 1956. 116-130). Akinian says that Hetum-Heghi (who, according to Smbat Goundstable, the author of the history of Cilician Armenia, was an "extremely literate" man3) knew "the Armenian, Greek and Latin literary" languages and had "on board with him books" during his diplomatic trip" and was engaged in translating [books]" (Ակինեան 1956. 127). Akinian mentions that Hetum-Heghi has not only translated the above-mentioned work, but that it was on his bidding that Nerses Lambronatsi compiled Patcar xndroy miabanutean, a collection of documents on Armenian-Byzantine relations that enjoyed great authority from the 13th to the 19th centuries.

Another famous name in the field of Armenian Studies, Catholicos Garegin Hovsepian also published the colophons of Heghi's translation, reproducing them from

---

2 To the biographical data provided by Akinian, we can today add perhaps another important fact that Hetum Sebastos is the scribe of the ancient part of the manuscript of the famous Gagik-Hetum Medical Codex's Jerusalem copy (12th century); see codex no. 370 of the St. James Library ("Պողարեան 1967. 279-288"). Bogharian also has a brief bibliography of the latest literature pertaining to this medical book.

3 For the Venetian version of Smbat Goundstabl's Annals, see Սմբատայ Տարեգիրք 1956. 212.
G. Zarphanaleian's edition (Ղազանեան Ու. Պատմական Հայ 1951. 741-744)⁴. Thus, Heghi's translation has been known among scholars in the field of Armenian Studies for over a century. However, little has been done except to use the information provided in the colophons or making incorrect assumptions regarding the actual translation. This should appear as surprising for it is the first-ever fully historical European text translated into the Armenian language and it should have been studied and evaluated as a significant cultural phenomenon. And since no additional copies have been discovered in addition to the Vatican manuscript in the last 100 years or so, we obtained a microfilm of that manuscript⁵ and started to look for the original Latin text used by Heghi.

This was not an easy task. The brief parallel lists and detailed chronologies of emperors and popes are so numerous in European historiography that they are considered as a separate genre of historiographical literature in their own right (which emerged in the 10th century and spread from the 12th to the 14th centuries in particular). Although Heghi’s translation has been considered - because of its having two colophons - being composed of two separate works, the above-mentioned fact compelled us to consider it as a single work composed of two parts, which eased the task of finding the source-text, from which the translation had been made. After going through numerous historical-chronological primary sources in Latin and comparing them with the Armenian translation, we deduced that Hetum-Heghi had translated the last two sections of Hugo de Sancto Victore's Chronology, a work that had enjoyed great fame and prestige in its own time in Europe.

The reasons why a certain translation has been undertaken should be looked for, first of all, in the actual text, and only after that in the milieu where the translation was carried out. In this case, we should first find out what reputation Hugo and his chronology enjoyed in Europe of the 12th-13th centuries. After that, it will become obvious why Hetum-Heghi chose to translate the last two sections (and not the full text) of this work.

Hugo de Sancto Victore, a French philosopher, mystic and a scholastic theologian, was born in 1096 or 1097 either in Flanders or in Saxony. He was an aristocrat by birth and according to one view, descended from the German Blankersburger noble house. He received his early education in the monastery of Hamersleben (near Halberstadt). He then moved to Paris and studied under William of Champeaux. There, he entered

---

⁴ Recently the same colophons have been reproduced again from Zarphanalian’s work (and this despite the existence of Tisserant’s catalogue) in the extensive single-volume collection of the 13th century colophons: see (Մաթեևսեան 1984. 76-77). All the inaccuracies in Zarphanalean’s edition - that had been corrected in Tisserant’s description - have been fully reproduced by Matevosian. The latter has also brought together in this and his other volume on the 5th-12th centuries colophons (Մաթեևսեան 1988) all the primary documents on which Akinian had tried to reconstruct Heghi’s biography.

⁵ Vatican, Cod. Arm. 3: We deeply thank Mr. Hrant Bambakian of Milan and the former abbot of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, the late Rev. Sahak Jemjemian, for preparing and sending the microfilms of this and two other manuscripts from the Vatican collection.
the monastery of St. Victor in Paris, became a teacher (*magister*) in the abbey school, later its director, and may have even become the prior of the abbey.

The abbey school Hugo directed became quite famous thanks to his theological and philosophical teachings, and the new method of instruction that he inaugurated\(^6\). He enjoyed the reputation of an excellent instructor. He is the author of the phrase most liked by the historian John of Salisbury (f 1180), who is famous for his encyclopedic knowledge: "*Omnia disce, postea videbis nihil esse superfluum*" - "Learn everything, You will discover in the end that nothing is superfluous". The basic trait of Hugo's teachings was the combination of religious mysticism and contemplative (or speculative) thought\(^7\).

Despite his short life († 1141) Hugo was highly prolific: 48 different works large and small of his are extant today. Almost all have been written as schoolbooks he used for didactic purposes\(^8\). Through these schoolbooks he had a big impact on European philosophical and historiographical thought in the next periods. He had his own scheme of the periodisation of history, that amended the old theory of three main periods (Old Testament, New Testament and the age of the Holy Spirit or the Kingdom of Heaven): a) natural law (sub lege naturali); b) Biblical, until the age of Christ, i.e. the period of Mosaic law; c) the reign of the Christian Church. He did not speak about the end of the third period, probably not to be seen as opposed to the teaching of the end of earthly life. He also accepted the largely compatible principle of dividing history into six epochs: 1. From Adam to Noah; 2. From Noah to Abraham; 3. From Abraham to David; 4. From David to the Babylonian Captivity; 5. From the Babylonian Captivity to the Birth of Christ; and 6. The period following the Birth of Christ.

His historical work, which in later copies received the simple title "Chronica", was originally called "*De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum, id est, per sortis, locis, temporibus*". He wrote it in 1130 and did not attempt to update it later. There have been, however, a few continuations by other authors (of which, four, dealing with the years 1130-1217, 1130-1255, 1098-1286 and 1152-1197 respectively, have been published). The work has no great value as a primary source in European historiography, for, like many other works of the same author, it was intended to be used as a schoolbook. It is, therefore, important for the new didactic method introduced by Hugo, which made the school of Sancto Victore quite famous. The chronology begins with an introduction\(^9\) addressed to the students, which is followed by the history of Old Testament times (from Adam to Christ), then by the lists of Old Testament

---

\(^6\) He was a close friend of Bernard from Clervos.

\(^7\) This information regarding Hugo's life and teachings can be found in almost all encyclopaediae and bibliographies (see, for example, Энцикл. словарь 1893: 856-857; Константинов 1960: 411; Константинов 1967: 581; Вайнштейн 1964: 82-83, 153-165).

\(^8\) See the detailed description of Hugo's works in Haureau 1886. See the bibliography of his works in Potthast 1896. A recent and more detailed bibliography can be found in Repertorium Fontium Historiae Medii Aevi 1984: 594-603.

\(^9\) It was published - based on the comparison of 20 manuscripts from the 12th and 13th centuries (Green 1943: 484-492).
patriarchs, kings and priests. The next section presents the lists of the kings of Germany, the Franks, Vandals, Goths and Lombardy, as well as the Dukes of Normandy, a list of historical-geographical place-names and, finally, the chronological tables of the emperors and popes of Rome. As is evident from the content, Hugo's Schoolbook is informative in nature and aims to teach its readers (i.e. the students) the main episodes of Biblical and post-Biblical history, the names of the main historical personalities, and the duration of their tenure. The work was basically a textbook to improve the memorising and quick-learning skills of the students. It enjoyed a great reputation and spread quickly because of its extremely brief content. It was used extensively, and many manuscript copies of it have reached us (Repertorium Fontium Historiae Medii Aevi 1984: 599). Its translation into the Armenian language can also be attributed to its fame in Europe.

In certain manuscripts scribes have altered the sequence followed by the author. Others have copied only certain parts of it - the introduction, some of the lists, etc. - depending on their particular needs. It seems that the Armenian translation was made from an original copy that included only the chronological tables pertaining to the emperors and popes, or perhaps Heghi had a more extensive or even a complete version of the source, but because of the practical nature of his undertaking, he simply ignored the other sections during the translation because the genealogy of Biblical patriarchs was already available in other works compiled in Armenian.

Heghi has little to say about the circumstances of this translation: "I translated this at sea, during our voyage at sea"; "I translated this [work] from the Roman [language] to our [language] when I was travelling by sea near the land of Abulia". This does not mean that the translation was motivated solely by the need to fill the time that otherwise he had to spend idly at sea. What Heghi writes in his two colophons ("the reign of Otto (Ավդե) to whom I, the humble Heghi, am travelling as a messenger from our king, Levon"; "Innocentius III, who reigns now, to whom we are going as a messenger of Leon, the king of Armenia") - makes us think otherwise. The official relations of Cilician Armenia with European royal courts went back to the time of the First Crusade at the end of the 11th century. They had been activated further at the time of the coronation of Levon I and the official recognition of Armenian statehood in Cilicia. Until the time of the translation undertaken by Heghi, however, there was not even the briefest guide in the Armenian language on the historical traditions of this new and influential political force, Catholic Europe. We are therefore convinced that Hetum-Heghi's translation was undertaken to fill that gap. Indeed, it was destined to fill the role of such a guidebook for about nine decades, until King Hetum II compiled in 1296 the work he called "Պատմութիւն խրոնիկոնին", which included more detailed information taken from other sources pertaining to the history of popes and emperors (Հղբեյց 1956. 33-

---

10 The Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea, the Church Histories of the former and of Socrates Scholasticos, and the "Book of the Emperors" belonged to the Roman-Byzantine tradition of the early Christian period.
93). Finally both these works became less useful and important, when Nerses Palianents finished in Avignon in 1351 the Armenian translation of the Chronicle of Martin of Oppava, which included an extensive history of the popes and emperors. This is why the translation of Hetum-Heghi and the compilation of King Hetum II have been preserved in only a single manuscript each.

Heghi mentions the date of translation of this work on a few occasions. In the title of the list of the emperors he writes: "[the work] was translated into our [language] in the year 689 of the Armenian calendar [1210 A.D.]". At the end of the same section he reiterates that "I translated this from the Roman [language] in the year 689 of the Armenian [calendar]". He is more specific at the end of the section pertaining to the popes: "I translated this... when we were navigating near the land of Apulia, which is [also] called Lombardy, on the day of the Pentecost, on the 5th of June, in the year 689 of the Armenians". At the end of the section on the emperors he says that he stayed at Otto IV's court for "one year and three months", and then he returned to Cilicia with the crown he received from the Emperor. Then King Levon crowned Ruben-Raymond "on the feast of the Holy Virgin, on the 15th of August in the year 670 [1211 A.D.] of the Armenians". Therefore, we can deduce that Heghi first travelled from Cilicia probably in the spring of 1210 to meet the Pope in Rome, where he also obtained or received the work that he would translate. He then continued his way to Germany and near the shores of Lombardy (Apulia) finished the draft of his translation on 5 June 1210. He probably corrected and edited the translation after his return to Cilicia and the coronation of Ruben-Raymond on 15 August 1211 ("King Junior" of Armenia). It is possible that he had consulted informed people in Rome on the issue of having a brief guide to the history of the popes and emperors. The informed people may have provided Heghi with a copy of Hugo's renowned work or his lists as the most appropriate source to fulfill his needs. Thus, it is possible that the choice of the primary source was not accidental either.

Hugo's work ends with mentioning the duration of the reign of Pope Honorius II: "Honorio secundus sedit annis V mensibus II". This pope died on 14 February 1130, and it is assumed that Hugo compiled his chronology around this period. In Heghi's translation no mention is made of the end of Hugo's original work and the next 13 popes are presented in the same style. The last pope mentioned, Innocent III, was a contemporary of Heghi's. The Armenian translation closely follows the first of the four continuations that are published and are hence known to us. It is the so-called "Continuato Itala", the chronological limits of which are the years 1130 and 1217. In the manuscript copy that Heghi had, this list of the popes understandably ended with Innocent III, who ascended the papal throne on 22 February 1198. Heghi's translation

11 The information related to the Popes and Emperors - which concerns us here - has not been published in this edition. They have not been reproduced from the manuscript no. 1898 of the Mashtots Matenadaran, the only source of this edition.

12 http://gw.geneanet.org/comrade28?lang=en&p=king+leo+i+of&n=armenia
reads: "Innocent III, who reigns now". This phrase is immediately followed by Heghi's last words: "to whom we are now going as a messenger from Levon, the King of Armenia".

In the Latin text, the list of the emperors ends under the year 1216 with the mentioning of the name of Lotharius II (the total duration of his reign, 12 years, is added by another hand). In this section, the Armenian version does not follow any known Latin continuation for the years after the end of the original work composed by Hugo. It seems that Heghi just had the names of the next five emperors, sometimes with the wrong number of years. Therefore, the translator inscribed under their names events related to Armenian history and to his own journey. Under Friedrich Barbarossa's (1152-1190) name, he writes that the emperor came to the East to free Jerusalem and that "he drowned in the river" near the city of Seleucia. It is stated that Henry VI (1190-1197) provided a royal crown for Levon the Rubenid and "restored" the "destroyed" Armenian Kingdom. In the section under the name of Otto IV (1208-1215), the circumstances of his (Heghi's) diplomatic mission are recounted.

Thus, in the Armenian version, the list of the emperors begins with Augustus (27 B.C.) and ends with Otto IV (1208-1215 A.D.), while that of the popes extends from the Apostle Peter until Innocent II (1198-1216). In both cases, Heghi registers the situation prevailing in 1210.

Finally, let us present in broad terms the external differences of the Latin original text and its Armenian translation. We have mentioned already that all of Hugo's lists - including the two that we are interested in - have been prepared in column-shaped tables. Hugo himself underlines in his introduction that the column-shaped arrangement helps students to memorize easily. He calls on the students to remember even the colour and shape of the capital letters, as well as the way the material is arranged on page, so that they can study better (Green 1943: 492). Hence, based on this principle, the two lists that we have, have been published - seemingly in the style of the original manuscript used (six manuscripts in all: four from the 12th century and two from the 14th century) - in six columns that have the following titles: 1. Anno Domini, 2. Indictiones, 3. Pontifices, 4. Anni, 5. Imperatores, 6. Anni (Waiz 1879: 90-102).

On the same page, therefore, the dates (according to the Christian calendar) are mentioned under one column in ascending order. Under the second column the corresponding year of the 15-year regular tax cycle is mentioned. The next columns respectively indicate the name of the pope, the duration of his reign, followed by (on the same line or a line or two below) the name of the emperor of that same period and the duration of the latter's reign. Let us pay attention to the fact that, according to the principle of the primacy of the papacy, popes are mentioned before the emperors.

There is no tabular arrangement in the Armenian version. The information pertaining to the dates in the Christian calendar is altogether missing. The section on the emperors is presented first, as mentioned, in two columns. Their regular numbers in the line of succession (1-96) are mentioned in the left margin. On the first page (246a) of the work in the sole manuscript the numbers 1-11 have been left out by error. For
example, the phrase "380. Gratianus imperavitcum Valentiniano fratre et Teodosio ann. 6" in Latin has been translated into Armenian: «Գրատիանոս եւ եղբայր սորաՎալենտիաւս եւ Թէոդոսիաւս ամս Զ (6)».

The list of the popes follows the same pattern, from number 1 to 182... The differences in the duration of the reign of certain popes and emperors in the Latin text and the Armenian translation can be explained either by (a) the different numbers provided in the Latin manuscripts that were used by Heghi himself or by (b) errors committed by Heghi himself when trying to understand and translate the Roman numerals.

The basic differences in the style of presentation between the Latin original and its Armenian translation can be explained either by the characteristics of the copy used by the translator or by the latter's preferences. That is, if a manuscript that resembles the Armenian translation in its presentation style is not found, we should go on assuming that the changes in style have been introduced by Heghi. Additional details will be clarified when we annotate the Armenian translation in detail and prepare it for publication.

REFERENCES
1. Սիսուան. Համագրութիւն հայկական Կիլիկիոյ եւ Լեւոն Մեծագործ: Հաւաքեալ ի Հ. Ղեւոնդեայ վ. Մ. Ալիշան: Վենետիկ - Ս.Ղազար, 1885:
2. Հայապատում. Պատմիչք եւ պատմութիւնք Հայոց: Յօրինեալ եւ հաւաքեալի Հ. Ղեւոնդեայ վ. Մ. Ալիշան: Հ. Ա, Պատմիչք Հայոց: Վենետիկ, ի վանս Ս.Ղագարու, 1901:
3. Ակինեան Հ. Ն. Վ., Ներսէս Լամբրոնացի արքեպիսկոպոս Տարսոնհ. Կեանքն եւ գրական վաստակները: Վիեննա. Մխիթարեան տպարան, 1956:
4. Զարպհանալեան Գ. Վ., Մատենադարան հայկական թարգմանութեանց նախնեաց (ԴարԴ-ԺԳ): Վենետիկ. Մխիթ. տպ. 1889:
5. Մանր ժամանագրութիւններ: ԺԳ-ԺԸ դդ., հ. Բ, աշխ. Յակոբեան Վ., Երեւան. ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1956:
6. Սմբատայ Սպարապետի Տարեգիրք: /հրատարակեց/ Հ. Սերովբէ Ա. Ագըրեան, ի Վենետիկ. Սուրբ Ղազար, 1956:
7. Միսքճեան Յ. (1892), «Ցուցակ հայերէ ն ձեռագրաց քահանայապետական մատե-նադարանին Վատիկանու ի Հռովմ»: Հանդէս ամսօրեայ, էջ 211-4, 244-7, 273-5, 339-43:
12. Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռացրաց Սրբոց Յակոբեանց: Հատոր երկրորդ, կազմող Պողարեան Ն. եպս., 1967, Երուսաղէմ. Տպ. Ս. Յակոբեանց:
18. Codices Armeni Bibliothecae Vaticanae Borgiani, Vaticani, Barberiniani, Chisiani...

Translated from Armenian by Ara Sanjian
Frédéric Macler is one of the prominent, honored and admired names of French Armenology (1869-1938). He has left an enormous Armenological heritage. He was one of the Armenophil movement’s leaders in France. To obtain Armenological materials and facts he made research trips to Holland, Spain, Italy, Austria, Poland, Denmark, Romania, Bulgaria, Syria, Constantinople, Tiflis and Ejmiatsin. Macler compiled catalogs of manuscripts of the libraries he had visited, including the Armenian manuscripts, preserved at the National Library of Paris. Macler made also copies of Armenian manuscripts in various libraries of the world, attached to them literary monuments and indicated his Armenofied family name as the manuscript receiver: “Fredericus Macleryants Rabuni, recipient”.

According to F. Macler's great disciple and follower, Frédéric Fady, the Armenologist has left unprinted a large amount of scientific materials, which he hadn’t managed to publish. It is known that he was a devoted defender of the Armenian Cause.

The Armenology owes to Macler the French translation of the History by Sebeos, which the Armenologist entitled: “Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebéos”¹. Marcler dedicated his translation to the memory of the famous French Armenologist Auguste Carrier. In the introduction, attached to the translation, Macler notified that Carrier was dreaming to translate the work of Sebeos into French, beginning with the translation of the History’s first parts, but death prevented him from carrying out his plan. Antoine Meillet advised Macler to complete Carrier’s initiative to translate the work of Sebeos and enrich it with annotations. Inspired by Meillet's instruction and professional advice, Macler carried out this translation, expressing his deep gratitude to the latter and also to Arshak Chopanyan, an outstanding Armenian poet, publicist in France, on whose scientific preparedness he had relied on numerous times.

Macler put a brief hint about the History by Sebeos in the introduction of the translation. Armenian bishop Sebeos was the first Armenian historian, who wrote about the Arabs’ invasions into Armenia. He was the contemporary of the Sassanid dynasty’s downfall and accurately described historical events of his time as an eyewitness.

According to Macler, his goal was to translate the work of Sebeos into French, attach to it historical and philological annotations and give necessary explanations, concerning them. The book is entitled “Histoire d'Héraclius” (“History of Heraclius”), but Sebeos tells also about other historical events in a very detailed manner:

¹ Histoire d'Héraclius par l’évêque Sebéos, traduit de l’arménien et annotée par Frédéric Macler, Paris, 1904.
the contemporaries and the successors of those two sovereigns, 
the first Arab invasions into Persia, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire. 
The history includes the end of the 5th century and goes on until Caliph 
Muawiyah's enthronement (661 AD). 
Sebeos is a bishop and, perhaps, the church historian is more apparent in this 
work than the political historian. The period when Sebeos lived and died is the 7th 
century, which was mostly investigated from the religious outlook. Being Christians, the 
Armenians didn't want to have any connections with Zoroastrianism, which as a 
religious ideology of Persia had often persecuted them. The relations with the Byzantine 
Empire were not friendly, too. After the Church Council of Chalcedon (451 AD) the issue 
of monophysitism divided the eastern Christians into two parts. The Armenians' 
independent religious and political aspirations of that period forced to face their 
adversaries, and Hayk's descendants had to oppose the Byzantine and Sassanid 
empires until the Arab conquests. Sebeos tells about those battles, struggles and 
endless wars in a very detailed manner. The historian's characteristic features were 
carefully analyzed and raised by Heinrich Hubschmann. 
In 1930, the work of F. Macler, “Armenia and Crimea” (“Arménie et Crimée, Note 
d'histoire, notice de manuscrits”), with the materials of historical and manuscript 
annotations was published in Paris. As in all his Armenological studies, here also F. 
Macler showed a scholar's conscientiousness and, at the same time, impartiality in 
evaluating the role of Armenian people. “Armenia and Crimea” consists of three 
subsections: 1) what was the Armenians' role in the Crimea? 2) a historical overlook, 3) 
a study of manuscripts. 
At the beginning of his work, F. Macler warned to show a cautious approach to the 
reports of travelers and researchers, because some of them expressed prejudiced 
opinion and, sometimes, they judged very subjectively. In this respect, the Armenologist 
presented the evaluation, given to the Crimean Armenians in the travelogue of German 
traveler N. Kleemann2. 
Macler refuted completely the facts reported by Kleemann about the Crimean 
Armenians. From his viewpoint, Kleemann’s judgments lose their influence when 
reading the French traveler J. Ryoil's reports about the Crimean Armenians. According 
to the latter, the Armenians had a very big role in the development of Crimea. In the last 
quarter of the 18th century Crimea had more than five hundred thousand inhabitants. 
Knowing the Armenians' creative capacity, a mass of the Armenian population was 
removed to the steppes behind the Sea of Azov by the order of Catherine II in 1778. 
According to Macler, just thanks to the Armenians Crimea got enriched and they, 
together with the Genoese and Crimean Tatars, gave a remarkably superb ascent to the 
East trade. The traveler Ryoili was convinced that the Armenians contributed 
reasonably to the development of the Crimean trade, linking skillfully the East with 
Europe. The Crimean Armenians gave strong support to the Genoese in their marine 

and overland trade. When the Genoese directed their caravans to Flanders, Nuremberg and Amsterdam, those caravans were guided by the Armenians; and for that reason the Genoese highlighted the Armenians’ settlement in Crimea³.

F. Macler described the Armenian manuscripts in chronological order and thanks to his work it can be seen how great was the influence of Armenian art in Crimea, the Armenians had created real monuments of calligraphy and miniature painting there. Macler recalled the efforts undertaken by Abba Sevin to enrich the Royal Library of Paris with additional manuscripts brought from the Armenian community of Crimea⁴.

Macler published very interesting illustrations, margin ornaments and excellent pages from the manuscripts of apostles Paul and Peter’s papers. In the pictures of some illuminated manuscripts one can see very clearly the Armenian medieval music *khaz* notes.

The research of F. Macler, “Armenia and Crimea” was a valuable contribution in thankful endeavor of writing the history of the rich and populous Armenian colony in Crimea and it certainly has not only Armenian historical-cultural, but wider value.

One of the items of Macler's Armenological heritage is "Against Tachiks" by Grigor Tatevatsi, the fourteenth-century chronicler, theologian, philosopher and educator⁵.

Armenian apologetic literature besides theological, had also political and patriotic significance. In that respect, in the 5th century the strict criticism is remarkable in the works of Eznik Koghbatsi, Movses Khorenatsi and Yeghishe against the Zoroastrian religion. After the emergence of Islam and the conquest of Armenia by the Arabs, a new direction started in the Armenian historiography, an apologetic struggle against Islam.

As the Muslim countries waged invasive wars in Armenia for a long time, the phenomenon of opposition against Islam was lasting in the Armenian historiography⁶.

The Armenian historian of the 8th century Ghevond, whose work describes the period of Arab invasions and conquest of Armenia, presents the inhuman nature of Islam when considering the issue of the adherents of other faiths⁷. In the “Quran” Muhammad calls the Islam believers for the sacred war in his name and religion several times.

Grigor Tatevatsi was familiar with the Armenian apologetic literature and he added his theological work to the existing rich tradition, which attracted F. Macler’s attention.⁸

---

³ Ibid., p. 350.
⁴ Ibid., p. 361.
⁵ The French Armenologist translated Grigor Tatevatsi’s work “Against the Tajiks”, using mostly the published work of B. Kyuleseryan, “Against the Tajiks” («Ընդդէմ տաճկաց». տե՛ս Բ. Կիւլեսերեան, Իսլամը հայ մատենագրութեան մէջ, Վիեննա, 1930, էջ 50-186).
⁷ Ղևոնդ, Պատմություն, թարգմ., ներածութ. և ծանոթագր.՝ Ա.Ն. Տեր-Ղևոնդյան, Երևան, 1982, էջ 84:
⁸ Macler F., L’Islam dans la literature arménienne, d’après Gr. Tathéwatsi, Paris, 1933, pp. 493-522. In addition, F. Macler cites the response of the Byzantine emperor Levon III to the Arab caliph Omar II, which was fully about the religious issues, defending Christianity as a religion of humanity.
Macler noted that in the Middle Ages the work “Against the Tajiks” had a nation-preserving and practical significance.

All the famous European libraries were open before F. Macler, where he looked for the Armenian materials with great enthusiasm. He devoted an article “Armenia and Iceland”\(^9\) to three Armenian bishops who in the 11th century went to the distant Iceland as Christian missionaries.

Macler cites several documents, which prove that in the 11-12th centuries Byzantines and Armenians came to the northern countries of Europe. He notes that after coming to the Norwegian throne Harald III the Severe continued the alliance with the Byzantine Empire. Moreover, Harald gave an order to anoint his bishops not in the church of Bremen, subjected to Rome; instead, he sent them to be anointed in England and France. And when he was reminded of the responsibilities of obeying the Church of Rome, by the example of Byzantine emperor, he answered: “I do not know any other archbishop in Norway except me - Harald”. And that is why Pope Alexander II (1062) reproached Harald III - the king of Norway, who, at his disposal, besides the bishops anointed in England and France, had also foreign bishops, who hadn't been anointed yet. Macler confirms with this fact the Armenian clergy’s departure and preaching in Iceland.

According to the Armenologist, in the 11th century the Scandinavian peoples had just adopted Christianity. In Norway Christianity was finally established in 1033 and Iceland adopted Christianity from Norway and Denmark, the church of which was subjected to Rome.

At that time, there were various religious movements in Europe, one of which was the Albigaeos movement, which was spread in Bosnia, Lombardy, south of Gaul. That sectarian movement was closely linked with the Bulgarian Bogomils and Armenian Pavlikians, which later, in the 11-13th centuries, grew in Armenia as the Tondrakian movement and was annihilated “by Theodora’s fervent rage”\(^10\).

In F. Macler’s Armenological heritage there are mentions of the “The history of Armenia” by the Father of Armenian Historiography, Movses Khorenatsi (the 5th c.). He was against the opinions of those researches, who considered Movses Khorenatsi as a falsifier and not the historian of the 5th century. But as a shrewd Armenologist, he had a critical approach to such incorrect opinions.

The great Russian philologist Dmitri Likhachev noted in his study “Текстология” (“Textology”) that the records of the Middle Ages, especially the old ones, had undergone serious changes while copying: some parts were removed and replaced by the new ones, and very few monuments have reached us with the author's original content. During the centuries the works of secular and, particularly, historical content

---

\(^9\) Macler F., Arménie et Isirnde. - Revue de l’histoire des religions, 1923, LXXI.VII, pp. 236-241. The article was translated by the prominent Armenian historian M.Zulalyn and published in “Էջմիածին”, 1971, N 6-7, էջ-73-76:

\(^10\) Տաիր Հեղ, Բյուզանդիայի պատմության հիմնախնդիրները, առաջաբան և ծանոթագրություններ` Հ. Բարթիկյանի, Երևան, 2005, էջ 31-32:
had undergone the most changes; a circumstance, which didn’t largely relate to religious books\textsuperscript{11}.

The publication “Extrait de la chronique de Maribas Kaldoyo (Mar Abbas Katina): Essai de critique historico-littéraire”) by Macler was published in the magazine “Journal Asiatique” in 1903, the main purpose of which was the translation of Maribas’s original into French and rendering it to the researchers of Khorenatsi\textsuperscript{12}.

Macler was engaged in the studies of Armenian miniature painting and illustration in 1913 and 1924. Actually, his appropriate studies were published in those years. Especially, the “Armenian secular decorative art” was an interesting and fresh work in the history of decorative art research, having been published in 1924. In the “Introduction” of the work the Armenologist noted that the research of the Armenian medieval decorative art had a serious progress in the last forty years: it had been studied from the spiritual outlook, because the Middle Age, first of all, created an art, native to the Christian religion. F. Macler put an important task before himself, to find out whether the secular decoration art was also created in Armenia, which could compete with the religious one. And here, the answer to this question became his research published in 1924, which identified and evaluated a completely new sphere in the Armenian decorative art - the secular decorative-art.

Macler noted that for achieving the desired result in the preferred sphere it’s necessary to have many resources, though there were many difficulties with that issue. The richest collections of Armenian manuscripts have been kept in Yerevan, Ejmiatsin and the Monastery of St. Hakobyants in Jerusalem. Of course, the secular decorative art flourished in medieval Armenia and reached up to the 17th century. But as a result of foreign invasions and destructions many Armenian treasures had been destroyed; still owing to their richness, a part of spiritual treasures preserved, being the evidence of their centuries-old existence.

From the 11-13 centuries the Hellenistic tradition, beside Christianity, was reawakened up in the Byzantine art. According to Macler, the same phenomenon was observed in the Armenian art. As an example he brings two miniature paintings, the first of which shows the king of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia Levon IV issuing a verdict.\textsuperscript{13} In another miniature painting a person with secular clothes is depicted. He noticed that the secular miniature paintings depict mostly the doctors and are present in the manuscripts, referring to the medicine. In this context, the Armenologist presented also two miniature paintings (received from the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, thanks to Archbishop Yeghishe Durian) depicting the doctors. Macler informed that the manuscript he was interested in was copied in 1294; the original, of course, had been

\textsuperscript{11} Лихачев Д.С., при участии А.А. Алексеева, А.Г. Боброва, Текстология, На материале русской литературы X-XVII веков, Санкт-Петербург, 2001, стр. 395.
\textsuperscript{12} “Journal Asiatique”, 1903, mai-juin, p. 492.
older. He mentioned also another manuscript, which was copied in the same year and kept in the Mkhitarians' Congregation in Venice.

In the “Introduction” of the research dedicated to the Armenian miniature painting and published in 1913\(^4\), Macler noted that during many travels and searches, which were done to detect the values of the Armenian people's history and historic literature, he had met numerous types of miniature painting, which captured his attention. According to Macler, the studies of Armenian miniature painting will enable to clarify the interaction of East and West arts.

Translated from Armenian by V.Gharakhanyan

\(^4\) Macler F., Miniature Arméniennes, Vies du Christ, Peintures ornementales (X\(^{-}\)-au XVII\(^{e}\) siècle, Paris, 1913.
DOCUMENTS: ARMENIAN GENOCIDE
More Armenian Massacres.

LONDON, March 24.

The Turks have massacred 100 Armenians at Tokat, a town of Asia Minor, in the province of Sivas.

The massacre lasted eight hours. The Turks afterwards looted the bazaar.

The Porte, at the request of the Embassies in Constantinople, has dismissed three of the chief officials.

The correspondent of the Standard states that constant telegrams were passing between Tokat and Constantinople, and that the massacre could have been easily prevented.

Sir Philip Currie, the British Ambassador, has protested in the strongest terms against the atrocities at Tokat.

March 25.

The Porte promises to take prompt measures to punish the perpetrators of the atrocities upon Armenians at Tokat.

A special Court is to be constituted to inquire into the massacres.

The Embassies have warned the Porte that neglect to punish the offenders will bring about serious results.

The Standard states that Tokat was chosen as the scene of the outrage in pursuance of a policy to crush the Armenians in populous centres.

The Vali of Adana (Moustafa Faik Pasha, has been dismissed.

Owing to the massacre at Tokat, the Turkish mutessarif and the commander of the police and gendarmes at that place have been dismissed from their positions and have been arrested.
MORE ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

Some Fugitives of 1895 Return to Turkey and Bloodshed Speedily Follows.

The reports have come of the renewal of massacres of Armenians in the villages of Erzeroum, in Asia Minor. The district of Alashgird, in which they are said to have taken place, is near the Russian frontier, and is one of those from which the Armenian inhabitants were able to escape across the border at the time of the great massacres in 1895, and subsequently. Until last spring the Russian government allowed the fugitives the hospitality of its territory among their fellow-countrymen who were delivered from Turkish rule in 1878, but partly on account of the burden of their maintenance and for political reasons, Mr. Zinoveff, the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, was instructed to press on the Turkish government the necessity for provision being made for their return to their abandoned homes. The Turkish government, however, represented that the villages and farms from which the Armenians had fled, had been occupied by Kurds who refused to give them up to their original owners, and whom it could not expel by force, and that the return of the Armenians after so long an absence would infallibly result in bloodshed.

Under the circumstances the Russian government did not insist on the refugees leaving its territory, but many drifted back and rejoined those who had survived the great massacre of four years ago. It is possible that matters might have settled down but for the action of some revolutionary Armenians who crossed into Turkish territory during the past autumn, and in the fighting that took place killed a number of Kurds, themselves losing many of their band. The massacre now reported to have taken place in the Alashgird district is declared by the Turkish authorities to have been in revenge for the killing of Kurds by the Armenians in the raid alluded to.

Whatever the truth of the matter may be, the lot of the unfortunate Armenians in Asia Minor, more particularly in the Kurdish districts, is unhappy. They obtain no protection from the government to which they owe allegiance, and they are unwelcome in the Russian territory where alone they can find sure refuge. The European governments regarding them as a disturbing element in a part of the world where they all desire to see peace maintained, have long ceased to take any account of their grievances and complaints; and the sixty-first article of the treaty of Berlin by which united Europe promised the Armenians an amelioration of their condition has long since become a dead letter. These last massacres, therefore, receive only a passing notice.—N. Y. Sun.
GENERAL MASSACRE FEARED

Terror Among Christians in Turkey

New York, Feb. 2—Fears have been repeatedly expressed during the last three months that the Turks are planning another general massacre of the Christians in the interior of Turkey. The Kurds, particularly in Kurdistan, are much excited, and it needs only a spark to start them. The World has information which indicates that at Mardin, Bitlis, Diarbekir and Harpoot, the principal cities of Central and Eastern Turkey, the Mussulmans are only waiting a favorable opportunity to repeat the work of the fall of 1895 and the spring of 1896, when village after village of unprotected and innocent Armenians was wiped out of existence because the inhabitants would not renounce Christianity and bow down to Islam. At Harpoot the Armenians live in a constant state of terror, and this is true of many of the other cities in Asiatic Turkey. The Turks threaten the Armenians openly in the market place, and tell them that they have but a short time to live. A letter written by the World correspondent at Trebizond, a seaport town on the Black Sea, dated Dec. 31, says:

"There is much talk among the Turks throughout Asiatic Turkey to the effect that Armenians were conspiring against them. The former are planning what they will do when such an exigency arrives. Of course the talk of the Armenians revolting is idle, for they are completely crushed. But this is just the kind of talk the Turks indulged in previous to the massacres of 1895. Two weeks ago there was a good deal of fear and anxiety at Mardin. It was understood that a massacre of the Armenians by the Turks was very carefully planned. Every Armenian was to have been killed and all his property confiscated by the Government. Providentially a telegram came from Constantinople in time to stop it. Large patrols were sent out at night by the military governor, and the soldiers were ordered to sleep with their arms by their sides. The Armenians wondered at the patrols, but only learned of their danger after the crisis seemed past for the time. I learn that at Harpoot too a massacre had been planned. A friendly Turk told an Armenian that the Mussulmans were waiting for an outbreak somewhere as an excuse for another raid on the Christians. The unruly Turks have very little fears of the Government, while it is not at all certain that the Government does not wish another outbreak. The local Government is very slack. Leading men have told me that they were sure there was to be another reign of terror."

464
ANOTHER MASSACRE PLANS OF TURKS.

New York Feb. 2. - Fears have been repeatedly expressed during the last three months that the Turks are planning another general massacre of the Christians in the Interior of Turkey. The Kurds, particularly in Kurdistan, are much excited, and it needs only a spark to start them upon their awful work.

The World has information which indicates that at Mardin, Bitlis Diarbekr and Harpoot, the principal cities of central and eastern Turkey, the Mussulmans are only waiting a favorable opportunity to repeat their horrible work of rape and murder of the fall of 1895 and the spring of 1896.

At that time, it will be remembered, village after village of unprotected and innocent Armenians was wiped out of existence because the inhabitants would not renounce Christianity and bow down to Islam.

At Harpoot the Armenians live in a constant state of terror, and this was true of many of the other cities in Asiatic Turkey. The Turks threaten the Armenians openly in the market place and tell them that they have but a short time to live.

A letter written by the World correspondent at Trebizond, a seaport town on the Black Sea dated December 31 says:

"There is much talk among the Turks throughout Asiatic Turkey to the effect that Armenians were conspiring against them. The former are planning what they will do when such an exigency arrives.

"Of course the talk of the Armenians revolting is all bosh, for they are completely crushed. But this is just the kind of talk the Turks indulged in previous to the massacres of 1895.

"Two weeks ago there was a good deal of fear and anxiety at Mardin. It was understood that a massacre of the Armenians by the Turks was very carefully planned.

"Every Armenian was to have been killed and all his property confiscated by the government. Providentially a telegram came from Constantinople in time to stop it.

"Large patrols were sent out at night by the military governor, and the soldiers were ordered to sleep with their arms by the side. The Armenians wondered at these patrols but only learned of their danger after the crisis seemed past for the time.

"I learn that at Harpoot, too, a massacre had been planned. A friendly Turk told an Armenian that the Mussulmans were waiting for an outbreak somewhere as an excuse for another raid on the Christians. The unruly Turks have very little fear of the government while it is not at all certain that the government does not wish another outbreak. The local government is very slack.

"Leading men have told me that they were sure there was to be another reign of terror. The Turks had decided that no Christian males should be spared this time; but the women were to be reserved for a fate worse than death."
MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS
BY ORDER OF A TURK.

Two Hundred Men, Women and Children in the
Sassun District Slaughtered by Kurds—
Town to Be Burned.

Constantinople, Aug. 9.—Advices received from Bitlis, Asiatic
Turkey, say that 200 men, women and children have been massacred in
the Armenian village of Spaghank, in the district of Sassun, by troops
and Kurds under Ali Pasha, the commandant of Bitlis.
He is also said to have ordered the village to be burned.

1900-08-10
SYSTEM OF EXTERMINATION.

Turks Begin Once More Massacre of Armenians.

LONDON, Aug. 31.—The Daily Mail publishes today an article written by Ali Nouri Bey, former Turkish consul in Rotterdam, declaring that the massacre of Armenians by Kurds, which has just recommenced, is part of a regular system of extermination. He says:

"The number of Armenians killed will depend on the outcry raised in Europe and the pressure brought to bear upon the sultan. The same horrible process will be repeated year by year until all are killed."

1901-09-06
SULTAN ISSUES
BLOODY EDICT

Instructs His Allies to Renew the Armenian Mas-
sacres, Which Shocked the World a Few Years
Ago---Murderous Engagement.

Special to the News-Democrat.

Berlin, April 29. — Die Information today reports that the sultan recently
summoned the Kurd chiefs in Asia Minor to Constantinople and instructed
them to recommence the Armenian massacres which caused such a sensation
in the civilized world a half dozen years ago.

Armenian massacres, Die Information continues, have already occurred in
the districts of Van Vashualan, Mush and Sassun. In a fight near Van the
Armenians fought the Kurds fiercely with the result that 200 were killed and
several hundred wounded, many of the casualties being among the Kurds.

Armenian fugitives according to the paper, crossed the Russian frontier
near Sarikamy pursued by the Turkish cavalry. The frontier guards raised
the alarm and a regiment of cossacks appeared and fired on the Turks. A
brief encounter followed after which the Turks withdrew.
TO DIVERT ATTENTION.

Sultan Said to Have Ordered Massacre of Christians in Armenia.

Berlin, April 30.—Die Information reports that the sultan recently summoned the Kurd chiefs in Asia Minor to Constantinople and instructed them to recommence the Armenian massacres which caused such a sensation throughout the civilized world six years ago. Abdul's idea, the paper asserts, is that bloodshed on a large scale in Armenia would distract attention from Macedonia and relieve the pressure in European Turkey.

Armenian massacres, the paper's correspondent says, have already occurred in the districts of Van, Vaspuaian, Mush and Sassun. In a fight near Van the Armenians fought the Kurds fiercely, with the result that nearly 200 were killed and several hundred wounded. The majority of the casualties was among the Kurds. The Armenian fugitives crossed the Russian frontier pursued by the Turkish cavalry. The Turks continued the pursuit over the border. Russian frontier guards raised an alarm and a regiment of Cossacks appeared and fired on the Turks. A brief encounter followed, then the Turks retreated. The Local Anzeiger's correspondent also reports an encounter and says a Turkish officer and six of his men were killed.
TURKISH ATROCITIES.

Villages Burned and People Killed in Sassoun.

Paris, May 13.—An official despatch to the Foreign Office from Constantinople confirms the reports that Turkish troops have burned villages throughout the Sassoun district of Armenia, killing the inhabitants. The French ambassador, M. Constans, has joined with the Russian and British ambassadors in sending consuls to Erzeroum, in the hope of limiting the destruction and bloodshed. However, the official advices, although brief, indicate that the work of exterminating the Armenians occupying the mountainous district of Sassoun, is practically accomplished. The Turkish methods appear to have been much the same as those adopted during the Armenian massacres.

The official reports do not give the exact details as to number of towns burned and people killed, but they show that the action of the Turks has been sweeping. The French authorities were advised some time ago that Turkey was taking advantage of Russia's pre-occupation in the Far East and intended to adopt a decisive course toward the rebellious Armenians. The information then showed that the Turks would begin the work of suppression about April 15. In order to prevent this the Powers made an energetic protest. This delayed Turkey's action, which, however, has now been executed with the same severity as at first contemplated.
REPORTS OF TURKISH ATROCITIES CONFIRMED.

Paris, May 13.—An official dispatch to the foreign office from Constantinople confirms the reports that the Turkish troops have burned villages throughout the Sassoun district of Armenia, killing the inhabitants. The French ambassador, M. Constans, has joined with the Russian and Japanese ambassador in sending consuls to Erzeroum, in the hope of limiting the destruction and bloodshed. However, the official advices, although brief, indicate that the work of exterminating the Armenians occupying the mountainous district of Sassoun is practically accomplished. The Turkish methods appear to have been much the same as those adopted during the Armenian massacres. The official reports do not give exact details as to the number of towns burned and people killed, but they show that the action of the Turks has been sweeping. The French authorities were advised some time ago that Turkey was taking advantage of Russia’s pre-occupation in the far east and intended to adopt a decisive course toward the rebellious Armenians. The information then showed that the Turks would begin the work of suppression about April 15. In order to prevent this the powers made an energetic protest. This delayed Turkey’s action which, however, has now been executed with the same severity as at first contemplated.

1904-05-13
ARMENIANS ARE MASSACRED BY THE WHOLESALE

(Scripps News Association.)

BERLIN, July 25.—The Frankfurter Zeitung reports Armenian massacres are in full swing again. The villages of Gomer, Elie, Gnarker, Kallaghodi, Karoudi and Terquevank, near Lake Van, have been plundered and all males massacred. Women and children were tortured and outraged.

Similar slaughter has been reported in the neighborhood of Mush, where from 80 to 80 Armenians have been killed every night. The Turks killed almost the entire population of Gergak.

under the auspices of the Detroit Driving club opened today. The meeting promises to excel any of the preceding years viewed from a racing standpoint. The Chamber of Commerce $5,000, which is the event of the opening day, and the Merchants and Manufacturers $10,000, which will be decided tomorrow, have the largest entry lists ever received at the Groose Pointe track. In the Merchants and Manufacturers, which is the star event of the entire meeting, there will be at least a dozen starters and as all of them have demonstrated in trials that they can travel a mile in 2:10 or better the race is expected to be the fastest contested since the initial one in 1889.

1904-07-25
Letter from Leslie A. Davis, American Consul at Harput in Eastern Turkey, to the US Ambassador to Turkey

"30 June. Sir: I have the honor to report to the Embassy about one of the severest measures ever taken by any government and one of the greatest tragedies in all history. . . . Practically every male Armenian of any consequence at all here has been arrested and put in prison. A great many of them were subjected to the most cruel tortures under which some of them died.... Another method was found, however, to destroy the Armenian race. This is no less than the deportation of the entire Armenian population, not only from this province, but, I understand, from all six provinces comprising Armenia.... For people travelling as these Armenians who are going into exile will be obliged to travel it is certain death for by far the greater part of them.... During the last three days crowds of people have visited the Consulate and the American Mission for help of some kind.... All feel they are going to certain death...."

1915, Deported Armenian family—two older couples and two young children—living under a tent in the desert. Location: Ottoman empire, region Syria (Courtesy of Deutches Literaturarchiv, Marbach & United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Photo by Armin T. Wegner)

1915, Armenian deportees—women, children and elderly men. Woman in foreground is carrying a child in her arms, shielding it from the sun with a shawl; man on left is carrying bedding; no other belongings or food noticeable among effects being carried. All are walking in the sun on an unpaved road with no means of shelter from the elements. Location: Ottoman empire, region Syria. (Courtesy of Deutches Literaturarchiv, Marbach & United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Photo by Armin T. Wegner)
1915-1916, Corpse of young Armenian boy starved to death, collapsed at doorstep. Location: Ottoman empire, region Syria. (Courtesy of Deutches Literaturarchiv, Marbach & United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Photo by Armin T. Wegner)

1915, Victims of the Armenian Genocide.
"Abandoned and murdered small children of the (Armenian) deportees," according to the photographer, 1915-1916. Three are dead including stripped boy in gutter. Location: Ottoman empire, region Syria. (Courtesy of Deutches Literaturarchiv, Marbach & United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Photo by Armin T. Wegner, attributed.)

1915, Orphaned Armenian children in the open, all in worn-out clothing, with many covering their heads from the desert sun. Twenty-eight boys in the foreground. Some adults are visible in the background. Location: Ottoman empire, region Syria. (Courtesy of Deutches Literaturarchiv, Marbach & United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Photo by Armin T. Wegner)
GERMAN HISTORIAN REVEALS 1100 PAGES OF DOCUMENTS IN VATICAN ARCHIVES ON ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

October 23, 2016

YEREVAN (Armenpress) -

German historian and author of a number of works on the Armenian Genocide Michael Hesemann revealed documents of 1100 pages linked with the Armenian Genocide in Vatican’s open and secret archives.

The German historian told the reporters that he plans to write a book based on the findings, while the copies of the documents he handed to the director of Armenia’s National Academy of Sciences. Hesemann informed the book will be not only in German, but also English and other languages. The scientist is ready to share his experience with other scientists and researchers studying Armenian Genocide.

Referring to the content of the document, Michael Hesemann noted that they are mainly the correspondences of Popes with their representatives in the East, as well as with the representatives of the Capuchin and Franciscan orders. The documents are mainly in Italian and French.

“The studies mainly reveal that extermination of the Christian element, and particularly Armenians, took place in the Ottoman Empire. It was a well planned state policy. The Young Turks believed that only homogeneous states are powerful, and for reaching that goal ethnic cleansings were necessary”, the scientist said.

According to him, the documents show that the Catholic Church had tried to influence the German position on the Armenian Genocide. “Vatican tried to influence Germany through Austria-Hungary aiming to stop the genocide. But Germany wished to keep Turkey under its influence, even at the expense of the fate of Armenians”, Michael Hesemann said. He thinks that the feeling of guilt coming from this act made the German parliament adopt a relevant decision and recognize the Armenian Genocide.

The German historian also mentioned that the documents examined by him contain precise evidences about the number of Armenian victims amounting to 1.5 million. “The letter of a Capuchin representative also documents this fact, who mentions that 1.5 million out of 2.3 million Armenians have been killed by November, 1918”, the scientist said.

THE ARMENIAN VICTORIES

The volume (the authors Suren Martikyan, Artak Movsisyan) includes the description and analysis of the strategic and tactical victories of the Armenian military forces in the wars, campaigns and battles from the oldest times till the 3rd century AD.

THE ARMENIAN VICTORIES

The volume (the author Suren Martikyan) includes the description and analysis of the victories of the Armenian military forces in the struggle against Persian and Arabian Empires in the 4th - 9th centuries.
OUR VICTORIES (The Third Volume)

The volume (the author Suren Martikyan) includes the description and analysis of the victories of the Armenian military forces against foreign invaders during the Armenian Bagratuni Kingdom, Armenian principalities and the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia in the 11th - 13th centuries.

OUR VICTORIES (The Forth Volume)

The volume (the authors Suren Martikyan, Vahan Mkrtchyan, Ruben Sahakjan, Tigran Devrikyan, Artsrun Hovhannisyan; military editor Vahan Karapetyan) includes the period of the th-20th centuries. It begins with the descriptions of the victories of the Armenian military forces during the liberation struggles of Artsakh and Syunik in 1720s and ends with the glorious and convincing victories of the Artsakh Liberation War (the end of the 20th c.). Special attention is paid to the guerilla movement, as well as to the participation of Armenians in the wars against the Persian and Ottoman Empires and in the two World Wars in the 20th century.

The last chapter of the book presents episodes of the Artsakh Liberation War. Both the volunteer squads (commanders - Leonid Azgaldyan, Tatul Krpeyan, Ashot Ghulyan and many others) and the regular armed forces of the Third Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Artsakh (the Republic of Mountainous Karabakh) under the command of Generals Dalibaltayan, Ter-Grigoryan, Ivanyan, Ter-Tedevosyan and many others showed brilliant results in that war.
During the last seventy years nearly no war was initiated on the ground. In order to estimate the role of Means of air attack (MAA) and the aviation in general we are to learn lessons also from our not remote past. The Armenian population also made use of Flying vehicles (FV) during the Artsakh struggle for existence, which served for the Armenian people as a strategic transport in the absence of land border.

Until the opening of the Berdzor (Lachine pass-corridor) all the transportation of the Armenian side was done with the help of aviation. Without hesitation we are to note that the aviation didn’t allow the enemy to empty Artsakh from native Armenians. It’s well known to the history some events when the transporting aviation played an essential role in this or that struggle.

Taking into consideration all above mentioned factors, we are to be the first to pass to the methodology of technological wars, as our human resources are strictly limited. In this age of new wars we should first of all take care of the development of the MAA. It’s necessary for us such MAA which could carry an attack to the day in day out arming Azerbaijan, even only to some painful zones. Such MAAs are reliable and satisfy the new requirements of the epoch.

http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/412.pdf
ARMENIA IN V. BRYUSOV’S LITERARY-SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

By: Zakaryan A. H.
Doctor of Sciences (Philology)

“Gitutyun” Publishing House, Yerevan, 2016

The Russian outstanding poet, translator, literary critic and historian Valery Bryusov (1873-1924), at the request of the Moscow Armenian Committee’s Commission initiated to form and edit the works of the collection “The Poetry of Armenia” in the middle of 1915. The collection became an original monument in memory of the Armenian Genocide victims.

http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/423.pdf
THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY IN IRAQ IN THE 20TH CENTURY, YEREVAN, 2016

By: Ohanyan S. T.
PhD in History

Although the roots of the Armenian reorganized community in Iraq may be traced back to the beginning of the 17th century which was as a result of the forced relocation by Shah Abbas of the Armenians to Iran, some of whom later on moved to Mesopotamia, however, the number of the Armenians here increased by the arrival of approximately 20-25000 survivors of the Armenian Genocide who had fled from the Western Armenian provinces.

The one hundred-year story of the deported Armenians, mostly from the historical Vaspurakan district and other parts of Western Armenia and Cilicia. Because of the present political, economical and insecure situation in Iraq, Armenians as well as other Christians are compelled to emigrate again, but now from a country, which at the beginning of the 20th century hosted and sheltered them, giving the opportunity of a new and productive life, which they fully accomplished to the benefit of the Armenian people as well as to the Iraqi hospitable state and people.

http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/datas/pdfs/430.pdf
LOU URENECK. THE GREAT FIRE, ONE AMERICAN MISSION TO RESCUE VICTIMS OF THE 20TH CENTURY’S FIRST GENOCIDE

New York, 2015, (508 pages, plus 16 pages photo annex)

Book review by V. V. Hambardzumyan

Lou Ureneck’s “The Great Fire” was published in 2015 by Harper-Collins Publishers, New York, USA. Released during the Armenian Genocide Centennial, the book proved to be a successful attempt in unpacking the hidden story of the 20th Century’s First Genocide for the public in the United States, Canada and beyond.

ARSHAK POLADIAN’S NEW BOOK DOCUMENTS THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE UNDER OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Book review by Hamda Mustafa

Damascus, 2015

"Eyewitnesses to the Armenian Genocide Under the Ottoman Empire", a book by the Armenian Ambassador to Syria Arshak Poladian, was signed on Tuesday within a ceremony held by the Damascus-based Commission for Commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide in cooperation with the Culture Ministry at al-Assad Library. Many politicians, men of religion, intellectuals, journalists and interested people attended the book signing ceremony.

The book, published by "al-Sharq House for Publication and Printing", includes important selections from memoirs of three eyewitnesses to the genocide; Syrian lawyer Faez al-Ghusein, Na'eem Bek al-Turki and clergyman father Ishaq Armala al-Siriani. It presents documents and photos uncovering the atrocities committed by the Turkish leaders against the Armenian people under the Ottoman Empire early in the 20th century and which claimed the lives of a million and a half innocent Armenians.