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## **THE EFFORTS OF ARCHBISHOP KHOREN MURADBEKYAN AIMED AT THE NORMALIZATION OF CHURCH – STATE RELATIONS IN 1924–1930**

**Keywords:** Archbishop Khoren Muradbekyan, Armenian Apostolic Church, church – state relations, Soviet authorities, confiscations, Supreme Spiritual Council, restriction of rights.

### ***Introduction***

The subject of studying church – state relations is especially actual nowadays, as the discussion of the role of the church in Armenian history, both in the Soviet times and in modern conditions, has a significant place in terms of understanding the development of the Armenian public life and outlining the vision. In this respect, of particular interest in the history of the Armenian Church are the years 1924–1930, when the question of the existence of one of the greatest national values, the Armenian Apostolic Church, was put on the table of discussions.

### ***Creation of Supreme Spiritual Council***

After the establishment of the Soviet regime in Armenia, due to the unfavorable situation for the church as well as the recurring diseases of the Catholicos, it became impossible to convene a church assembly and further manage the Armenian Apostolic Church. In December 1923, in consultation with the high-ranking clergy of the Mother See, it was decided to establish a Supreme Spiritual Council, chaired by the Catholicos<sup>1</sup>.

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\* Հոդվածը ներկայացվել է 01.09.21, գրախոսվել է 01.09.21, ընդունվել է պաշտոնաթիվով 19.11.21:

<sup>1</sup> Բեհբուդյան 1996, 163:

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On January 1, 1924, the activity of the Synod and the Pontifical Divan was terminated by the holy-letter encyclicals No. 1 and 2 of the Catholicos of All Armenians, and the Supreme Spiritual Council<sup>2</sup> was established instead. It was to be presided by the Catholicos, with the membership of six experienced high-ranking clergymen: Archbishops Mesrop, Bagrat, Khoren and Bishops Garegin, Zaven and Gyut. In the absence of the Catholicos, the meetings of the Council should have been chaired by Archbishop Khoren, who on March 4, 1923, was appointed Deputy Catholicos<sup>3</sup> by the encyclical of the Catholicos of All Armenians.

With the establishment of the Supreme Spiritual Council on January 1, 1924, a new period in the history of the Armenian Apostolic Church began, when the Mother See, at the urging of the authorities<sup>4</sup> and under the imperative of the time, transitioned from the one-sided rule of the Catholicos to a collegial rule.

Here it is appropriate to quote the words of Archbishop Mesrop Ter-Movsisyan: "...In these conditions, thanks to the Supreme Spiritual Council, the Armenian Church is governed better than by the unilateral will of the Catholicos or by the Synod established by the tsar. This is the reality"<sup>5</sup>.

After the formation of the Supreme Spiritual Council, the Deputy Eparch of Yerevan Khoren Muradbekyan should have focused more on the protection of the rights of the church and on settling the disturbed church – state relations rather than on mere diocesan issues. That is why, as befits a decent clergyman, on February 2, 1924, Archbishop Khoren submits his resignation<sup>6</sup> from the post of Deputy Eparch of Yerevan to Catholicos George V. On May 27, 1924, the Patriarch accepted Archbishop Khoren's resignation, ordering him to move to the Mother See as the Illuminator of the Mother Cathedral and the presiding member of the Supreme Spiritual Council<sup>7</sup>.

Archbishop Khoren Muradbekyan held the position of Deputy Catholicos of All Armenians and the presiding member of the Supreme Spiritual Council until 1932 when he was elected Catholicos of All Armenians. During that period, the violence perpetrated by the Soviet authorities against the Armenian Apostolic

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<sup>2</sup> **Բեհբուրյան** 1996, 166–167.

<sup>3</sup> **Բեհբուրյան** 1996, 152–153:

<sup>4</sup> **Բեհբուրյան** 1996, 157–162:

<sup>5</sup> **Հովհաննիսյան** 2001, 102:

<sup>6</sup> **Ավագյան** 2008, 87:

<sup>7</sup> **Բեհբուրյան** 2005, 568:

Church and its ministers increased. Church seizures and repression of the clergy were becoming more and more widespread.

Due to the desperate situation, Archbishop Khoren regularly addressed appeals to the Chairman of the People's Council of the Armenian SSR and the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, asking them to end the violence against the clergy and return the confiscated churches to the Mother See and the faithful community.

Despite the exerted best efforts and zeal, very few churches reopened, most remained closed, and the policy of repression against priests continued.

### ***New Restrictions by the Soviet Authorities***

From February 1924, the Soviet authorities created more intolerable conditions to put pressure on the Armenian Apostolic Church and restrict its activities. The logical continuation of those actions was to tax the clergy by demanding income tax from them<sup>8</sup>. Concerned, Archbishop Khoren sent letters to the Chairman of the People's Council of the Armenian SSR, the Income Tax Commission of Etchmiadzin, asking them to cancel the decision to tax the Catholicos of All Armenians and monks of the monastery, as, according to the decree requirements, their income being only 390 roubles, did not exceed 450 roubles declared, consequently, as representatives of the religious community, they had no other source of income, therefore, according to the decree, they should not be taxed and pay income tax<sup>9</sup>.

During the years of 1924–1926 Archbishop Khoren Muradbekyan, in the capacity of the Catholicos' representative and deputy, tirelessly continued to negotiate with high-ranking officials of the Soviet government, trying to solve the issues of primary importance for the Armenian Apostolic Church: normalization of church – state relations, reopening of the seminary<sup>10</sup>, compilation and publication of a new calendar<sup>11</sup>, convening a national-church assembly<sup>12</sup>, clarifying the legal status of the Mother See<sup>13</sup>, etc. However, the course of the negotiations and the answers to the applications showed that the final agreement with the authorities

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<sup>8</sup> **Բեհբուրյան** 1996, 170–171:

<sup>9</sup> **Բեհբուրյան** 1996, 170–171:

<sup>10</sup> **Բեհբուրյան** 1996, 209–210:

<sup>11</sup> **Բեհբուրյան** 1996, 191–203, 210, 214–215:

<sup>12</sup> **Բեհբուրյան** 1996, 211–212:

<sup>13</sup> **Բեհբուրյան** 1996, 214–215:

could not be reached and the negotiations entered a deadlock, nullifying all the efforts made by the Archbishop.

***“The Free Church Brotherhood” Movement***

In the 1920s and 1930s, not only the brutal policies implemented by the state, including the confiscation of church property, restrictions and repression, but also sectarian movements created difficulties for the church.

In 1920–1922 due to the policy of repression against the Russian Orthodox Church in Soviet Russia, the Russian Church split into two movements: the old and renovated clergy<sup>14</sup>. The renovated movement penetrated Armenia in 1922–1923.

In Armenia, the movement was called the “Free Church Brotherhood”<sup>15</sup>. It was headed by the Archimandrite Benik Yeghiazaryan, High Priest Mesrop Melyan and others.

Throughout its activities, being sponsored and funded by the authorities<sup>16</sup>, the “Free Church Brotherhood” movement pursued a single goal: to divide, discredit and humiliate the Supreme Spiritual Council and its members, namely Archbishop Khoren as the illegitimate Catholicos Deputy<sup>17</sup>, accepting Armenian Catholicos as the only legitimate authority.

On June 14, 1926, the Catholicos of All Armenians, George V, cursed the movement with a special encyclical, and the leader of the movement, Archimandrite Benik Yeghiazaryan, was dismissed<sup>18</sup>.

Months after the encyclical of the Catholicos, on November 12, the government of Soviet Armenia handed over St. Gregory the Illuminator Cathedral and St. Daralagyaz Khach Church, as well as Kamoyants St. George Church<sup>19</sup> in Tbilissi to the “Free Church Brotherhood” movement.

Representatives of the Catholicos of All Armenians, Archbishops Khoren and George, concerned about this issue, met with the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Armenian SSR S. Kasyan, People's Commissar of Justice A. Karinyan and the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist

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<sup>14</sup> Константин Буфеев. Патриарх Сергей 2019, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Ալեքսանյան 2007, 298–300:

<sup>16</sup> Ղազարխանյան 2006, 341–342:

<sup>17</sup> «Ազատ եկեղեցի», Կաթողիկոսի տգեղ քաշկրտոցը, 1924, N 1, 20:

<sup>18</sup> Վիրաբյան, Ավագյան 2009, 104:

<sup>19</sup> Ստեփանյանց 1994, 47:

Party A. Hovhannisyan on November 17, 1926. The latter stated that "Free Clergy" have the right to obtain any church, as church buildings were considered state property, and the government could dispose of them at will<sup>20</sup>.

On November 19, the representatives of the Catholicos met with the Deputy Chairman of the People's Council of the Transcaucasian Federation S. Lukashin; however, as in case of the first meeting, this time as well it became clear to the bishops that the "Free Clergy" is openly sponsored by the authorities, and further meetings would not solve the problem either. As a result, S. Gregory the Illuminator Cathedral and Kamoyan St. Gregory Church in Tbilisi were finally handed over to the "Free Clergy"<sup>21</sup>.

The activities of the "Free Church Brotherhood" movement with open encouragement of the Bolsheviks until 1929, showed that this was directed against the authority of the Mother See, under the guise of reforms aimed at weakening the influence of the Catholicos of All Armenians on the people. As "VEM" noted, "He did not really achieve a tangible result, but he certainly played a role in the" positioning "of Etchmiadzin"<sup>22</sup>.

### ***Restriction of Commuting of the Armenian Clergy***

The next step of the government of the Armenian SSR was to restrict further meetings of high-ranking Armenian clergy with government officials.

On February 9, 1927, the Supreme Spiritual Council received a letter from the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs O. Durgeryan, according to which, the representatives of the Armenian Apostolic Church could get in touch with the state bodies only through the local government body – the People's Committee, and there was no need to go to Yerevan for that anymore<sup>23</sup>. Hence, the presence of Archbishop Khoren in Yerevan, who immediately responded to the attacks on the church in case of need, as the immediate representative of the Catholicos, was then inappropriate.

In order to limit the mobility of the Armenian clergy once and for all, to sever ties with the people, on October 29, 1927, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR adopted a decision according to which, the leaders of

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<sup>20</sup> Ստեփանյանց 1994, 48:

<sup>21</sup> Ստեփանյանց 1994, 48–49:

<sup>22</sup> «ՎԷՄ», 1935, N 1, 106:

<sup>23</sup> Ստեփանյանց 1994, 51:

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the dioceses had to obtain permission from the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in order to be able to tour in their dioceses<sup>24</sup>. Thus, the successive anti-church actions of the Soviet authorities in Armenia put the Armenian Apostolic Church into a deadlock, depriving it of the right to associate with its flock of believers.

Despite the anti-church and anti-religious policy of the Soviet authorities, the ministers of the Armenian Apostolic Church, under the direction of Archbishop Khoren Muradbekyan, still did not lose hope to normalize the church – state relations.

Archbishop Khoren displayed law-abiding and loyal attitude<sup>25</sup> towards the Soviet government and was in favor of the reforms of the Armenian Apostolic Church. This was evidenced by the top secret reports of the Extraordinary Commission of the Armenian SSR on the activities of the Armenian clergy during 1923. Archbishop Khoren was presented in the reports as the leader of the new<sup>26</sup>, liberal, efficient Armenian clergy<sup>27</sup>.

An attempt was made by the Bishop to normalize church – state relations on July 8, 1924. He wrote a letter to Lukashin, Chairman of the People's Council of the Armenian SSR, requesting a passport to travel abroad, noting that his visit to the Armenian Diaspora had one purpose: to be useful to the government and according to the encyclical of the Catholicos, "to pay special attention to the cultural construction of our country, inviting the attention and support of the Armenians abroad, so that our people are able to restore their dilapidated economy and develop their cultural institutions."<sup>28</sup> Archbishop Khoren mentioned that his visit was an occasion to dispel the unfounded suspicions spread in the Armenian Diaspora that the Armenian clergy had taken a course against the government<sup>29</sup>.

Unfortunately, in the direction of restoring church – state relations, the efforts made by Archbishop Khoren were not reciprocal, as the authorities continued to consider the Armenian Apostolic Church as the supporter of the

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<sup>24</sup> Ստեփանյանց 1994, 54:

<sup>25</sup> Акopian 2013, N 1, 49: Տե՛ս նաև Ղազախեցյան 2006, 346:

<sup>26</sup> Բեհբուրդյան 1996, 158:

<sup>27</sup> Բեհբուրդյան 1996, 162:

<sup>28</sup> Բեհբուրդյան 1996, 175–176:

<sup>29</sup> Բեհբուրդյան 1996, 175–176:

former classes and the defenders of the Dashnaks. On this occasion, during the meeting of the State Council of Soviet Armenia on May 30, 1928, a decision was made to take advantage of all controversies within the Supreme Spiritual Council and to seize it, to include Soviet-oriented seculars, to dismiss explicitly anti-Soviet archbishops, and thus, to expel the religious masses from Dashnaktsutyun, as well as the colonies<sup>30</sup>.

In future, the authorities did not allow the Deputy Catholicos to travel abroad, and also restricted the entry and exit of the Armenian clergy to Soviet Armenia, depriving the church of any external financial assistance, and even hindering the ordination of Armenian clergy abroad<sup>31</sup>.

### ***Armenian Media in Diaspora and Armenian Apostolic Church***

Adhering to his title of a clergyman, Archbishop Khoren continued to fight by all possible means to find a way beyond the existing barrier between the church and the state. It should be noted that in those years the church and its ministers were humiliated not only by the authorities, but also by the press in the Diaspora and Soviet Armenia, which further alienated the state from the Armenian Apostolic Church, provided that the latter had already become a "thorn in the flesh for the state". Thus, for example, in 1926, Atrpet<sup>32</sup> published an article in the Tbilissi newspaper "Martakoch" with the headline "Intolerable", in which he accused the Catholicos of All Armenians and the members of the Supreme Spiritual Council of looting and illegally selling national antiquities<sup>33</sup>. In particular, it referred to the gold coins of Tigran the Great, the eastern tapestry-curtain and the Catholicos' pearl crown, which were allegedly taken out of the treasury of the Mother See and sold to foreigners.

In response to the defamatory article, the Catholicos Deputy Archbishop Khoren, referring to substantiated arguments, issued a statement, denouncing Atrpet's false allegations as an expression of vile hostile remarks against the Mother See, aimed at discrediting the latter<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> Ղազախեցյան 1999, 234–235:

<sup>31</sup> Ղազախեցյան 1999, 181:

<sup>32</sup> Atrpet (Mubajian Sarkis) an Armenian novelist public figure, member of Writers' Union of Soviet Armenia.

<sup>33</sup> «Մարտակոչ», 1926, N 185, 2:

<sup>34</sup> Բեհբուրդյան 1996, 216–217:

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The publications of the party newspapers in the Diaspora did not cause lesser problems for the Armenian Apostolic Church<sup>35</sup>. By presenting on their pages the policy of repressions in Soviet Armenia and the process of disenfranchisement of the Armenian clergy, the newspapers inadvertently aggravated the church – state relations, creating the false impression that the clergy were spreading the news in the Diaspora, thus trying to sever the ties between the homeland and the Diaspora.

Ahead of the normalization of the relations between the church and the state, Archbishop Khoren, on the instructions of the authorities, defended the government of Soviet Armenia with a lengthy article entitled “Denial and Coverage” in an attempt to refute all the well-founded accusations against the authorities. In the article, Archbishop Khoren wrote that the rumors circulating about the confiscation of the Mother See were false, the doors of the cathedral were always open, the daily services and liturgies were performed uninterruptedly. The state did not interfere in the internal affairs of the church, nor did it sponsor this or that church or movement. Neither the monks nor the Patriarch were persecuted by the authorities. Archbishop Khoren, concluding his speech, noted: “Etchmiadzin, as before, has the means and opportunity to make its voice heard in the highest courts of the Government and to defend its rights recognized by law, and hopefully it will gradually come to an understanding with the Armenian government, thus ensuring the freedom of action for the Armenian People’s Church within the law”<sup>36</sup>.

It seemed that Archbishop Khoren’s article should have softened the attitude of the authorities towards the Armenian Apostolic Church, but instead the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist party decided to expose the connection between the Armenian clergy and Dashnaktsutyun in the press<sup>37</sup>. The article “The Supreme Council against Soviet Armenia” in the September 24 issue of the newspaper “Soviet Armenia” which implemented the decisions of the Central Committee of the the Armenian Communist Party, said the following: “The most interesting thing is that this provocative propaganda in favor of the “church and religion” was carried out by the Dashnaktsutyun in a systematic way, without any objection from the foreign representatives of the so-

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<sup>35</sup> «Յառաջ», 1927, N 318, 2, «Յառաջ», 1927, N 322, 1:

<sup>36</sup> Բեհբուդյան 1996, 218–222:

<sup>37</sup> Ղազախեցյան 1999, 230:



called "Supreme Council" of Etchmiadzin. The White Guards came to some agreement with the Supreme Council and created a common front against the working class of Soviet Armenia."<sup>38</sup>

The clergymen of the Armenian Apostolic Church found themselves in a hopeless situation. On the one hand, the persecution and repression by the authorities, on the other hand, the disturbing articles of the Armenian press in the Diaspora seemed to once again give reason to believe that the church, by overestimating its importance in the fate of the Armenian people, was trying to undermine the reputation of the Soviet authorities in the Diaspora.

Based on the demand of the created situation and through the mediation of Archbishop Khoren, Catholicos of All Armenians George V, on the eve of the October Revolution on November 17, 1927, addressed all Armenians with an encyclical to call for solidarity, unity and assistance to Soviet Armenia<sup>39</sup>.

### ***Union of Atheists***

The authorities of Soviet Armenia were well aware of the impossibility of eradicating the faith of the people through the confiscation of church property, the closure of churches, arrest of the clergy, the creation of "new churches" and the discrediting by the press.

In 1925, the authorities formed the Union of Atheists (renamed into the Union of Fighting Atheists (UFA) in 1929)<sup>40</sup>. The main goal of the union was to engage in atheistic education of the people, which intensified the policy of intolerance towards the church and religion.

The official newspaper "Atheist", published since 1928, was filled with anti-religious, anti-church propaganda and cartoons of the clergy. The culmination of the atheists' actions was the mass closure of churches and turning them into clubs and warehouses. Concerned about this reality, the faithful, in the hope of finding a way for salvation, sent many letters and petitions to the Supreme Spiritual Council, one of which reads as follows: "The strongest struggle is against religion and the clergy; they have intimidated terribly all the pious people, the church goers, the church council members and the ministers by depriving them of the opportunity of their voices. From that point of view I am left with my arms

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<sup>38</sup> «Խորհրդային Հայաստան», 1927, N 24, 3:

<sup>39</sup> ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 409, ց. 1, գ. 104, թ. 4:

<sup>40</sup> Ալեքսանյան 2007, N 8, 303:

shackled, like a shepherd who has lost his flock, and as an orphaned baby I am waiting impatiently for my dear mother to visit me”<sup>41</sup>.

***The Armenian Apostolic Church in the Years of Collectivization***

Another ordeal for the Armenian Apostolic Church was the issue of collectivization discussed at the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress of All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party in 1927 and widely spread in 1929–1930. The course of collectivization was accompanied by the abolition of the kulaks as a class. The lower clergy – the priests, who were mainly engaged in agriculture, were equated with the kulaks, deprived of their property and deported to the outskirts of the Soviet Union<sup>42</sup>.

On April 28, 1929, concerned by the authorities' policy of open violence and constant restrictions against the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Deputies of the Catholicos Archbishops Khoren and George sent a report to the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR S. Margaryan.

The report particularly stated that Etchmiadzin was not only a seat of power, but also the center of the Armenian supreme power, and the government of Soviet Armenia had recognized it as such. Therefore, it must be able to maintain its economic existence. Etchmiadzin lived on the means of the Diaspora Armenian community, which was not only unnatural, but also undesirable: “It is unnatural for an institution to live in a country of about two million believers, to be maintained by half a million believers living in foreign colonies”.

Concluding the report, the bishops expressed hope that the churches that were closed in the past would soon be reopened and returned to the faithful, eradicating the grievances ingrained in their souls towards the government of Soviet Armenia<sup>43</sup>.

Months later, in August and September, Archbishop Khoren Muradbekyan met with People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of Soviet Armenia S. Margaryan, hoping to soften the attitude of the authorities towards the Armenian Apostolic Church<sup>44</sup>, but either the above-mentioned report and the ongoing meetings and

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<sup>41</sup> ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 409, ց. 1, գ. 2471, թ. 12:

<sup>42</sup> Ղազարխեցյան 1999, 377–356:

<sup>43</sup> Բեհբուդյան 1996, 234–240:

<sup>44</sup> Ստեփանյանց 1994, 68–72:

petitions<sup>45</sup> did not yield any results: churches were closed en masse, clergy were arrested and intimidated.

In general, in 1920–1930, about 40 clergy were arrested, 12 of whom were released, 3 were shot, and 1 – Yeznik Vardapet Vardanyan was strangled<sup>46</sup>. As for the condition of churches in Soviet Armenia, as of December 31, 1929, according to the last letter of the Catholicos of All Armenians George V to the authorities, 25 out of 31 churches in Daralagyz were closed, 8 – reopened in a state of ruin, 26 churches were closed in Lori Pambak, 33 – in Ijevan and 15 – in Zangezur<sup>47</sup>.

There was an atmosphere of general despair in those days, and Archbishop Khoren Muradbekyan, not losing his optimism, with the hope of overcoming the ordeals of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, wrote the following: "...The Armenian faithful people are deeply attached to the Mother See and feel only hatred and contempt for traitors. In this way, they are destroyed by affirming their nothingness and, most importantly, we do not take on any obligation to forgive or elect one or the other"<sup>48</sup>.

### **Conclusion**

Despite the enumerable efforts of the Deputy Catholicos of All Armenians to normalize church – state relations, the authorities did not change their attitude towards the church, and the policy of Soviet repression period, unfortunately, was not limited to a decade. It continued, coming to its culmination in the 1930s, during the years of the widespread annihilation of the Armenian clergy. As a result of this, the Soviet authorities seemed to have succeeded in putting the church in the conditions acceptable to communist ideology without destroying it.

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<sup>45</sup> ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 409, ց. 1, գ. 661, թ. 6, գ. 662, թ. 4:

<sup>46</sup> Հաշվարկը կատարվել է ըստ **Ստեփան Կերտող** 2002:

<sup>47</sup> **Ստեփանյան** 1994, 73:

<sup>48</sup> **Բեհբուդյան** 1996, 244–246:

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**Տ. ԽՈՐԵՆ ԱՐՔԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍ ՄՈՒՐԱԴԲԵԿՅԱՆԻ  
ՋԱՆՔԵՐԸ՝ ՈՒՂՂՎԱԾ 1924–1930 ԹԹ. ԵԿԵՂԵՑԻ-  
ՊԵՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ ՓՈԽՀԱՐԱԲԵՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ  
ԿԱՐԳԱՎՈՐՄԱՆԸ**

ՀԱՅՐԱՊԵՏՅԱՆ Ք.

**Ամփոփում**

**Բանալի բառեր՝** Տ. Խորեն արք. Մուրադբեկյան, եկեղեցի-պետություն փոխ-  
հարաբերություններ, խորհրդային իշխանություն, բռնագրավումներ, Գերագույն  
հոգևոր խորհուրդ, Հայ Առաքելական եկեղեցի, իրավունքների սահմանափա-  
կում:

1924 թվականը Հայ առաքելական եկեղեցու պատմության մեջ շրջադար-  
ձային էր: Եկեղեցին Ամենայն Հայոց Գևորգ Ե Կաթողիկոսի միահեծան կա-  
ռավարումից անցում է կատարում կոլեգիալ կառավարման՝ Գերագույն հո-  
գևոր խորհրդին, որտեղ առանձնակի հեղինակություն էր վայելում Տ. Խորեն  
արք. Մուրադբեկյանը:

Ճիշտ գնահատելով խորհրդային վարչակարգը և եկեղեցի-պետություն  
նոր հարաբերությունները, նա գիտակցում էր, որ խորհրդային իշխանություն-  
ների հետ օրեցօր խորացող հակասությունները միմիայն վնասում են եկեղե-  
ցուն, հետևաբար նա կողմ էր փոխադարձ որոշակի զիջումների և եկեղեցու  
բարեփոխումներին՝ առկա իրադրության պահանջներին համապատասխան:

**УСИЛИЯ АРХИЕПИСКОПА ХОРЕНА МУРАДБЕКЯНА ПО  
УРЕГУЛИРОВАНИЮ ЦЕРКОВНО-ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫХ  
ОТНОШЕНИЙ В 1924–1930 ГГ.**

АЙРАПЕТЯН К.

**Резюме**

**Ключевые слова:** архиепископ Хорен Мурадбекян, церковно-государствен-  
ные отношения, советская власть, конфискации, Верховный духовный совет,  
Армянская Апостольская церковь, ограничение прав.

1924 год в истории Армянской Апостольской церкви является поворотным. Церковь переходит от автократической формы правления при Католикосе Всех Армян Георгии Е к коллегиальной форме при Верховном духовном совете, в котором архиепископ Хорен Мурадбекян пользовался особым авторитетом.

Архиепископ Хорен Мурадбекян, правильно оценивая советский режим и новые церковно-государственные отношения, понимал, что углубляющийся конфликт с советской властью может нанести церкви вред, поэтому он был сторонником определенных взаимных уступок и церковных реформ.