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## THE BOOK PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES OF THE BASEL EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN SHUSHI IN THE 20S-30S OF THE 19TH CENTURY

*Ս. Պետոյան*

**ԲԱՋԵԼԻ ԱՎԵՏԱՐԱՆԱԿԱՆ ՔԱՐՈՉՉԱԿԱՆ  
ԸՆԿԵՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԳՐԱԴՐԱՏԱՐԱԿՉԱԿԱՆ  
ԳՈՐԾՈՒՆԵՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ՇՈՒՇԻՈՒՄ  
19-ԴՆ ԴԱՐԻ 20-30-ԱԿԱՆ ԹԹ.**

1827-1835 թթ. Շուշիում գործել է Բազելյան բողոքական քարոզիչների հիմնադրած տպարանը: Շուշիում տպագրած իրենց գրքերը նրանք բաժանում էին երկու խմբի՝ դասագրքային հրատարակությունների և գիտական ուսումնասիրությունների (տրակտատներ), որոնք հանդիսանում էին առաջին տպագրությունները Ղարաբաղի ողջ տարածքում:

Հոդվածում մանրամասն վերլուծության ենք ենթարկել սույն տպարանի աշխատանքները, հրատարակությունները, դրանց կիրառական նշանակությունը, ինչպես նաև գրաքննության և տպագրության թույլտվության հետ կապված հարցերը:

**Բանալի բառեր՝** Շուշի, Բազելի Ավետարանական քարոզչական ընկերություն, հրատարակություն, տպարան, գիրք, գրաքննություն:

*С.Петоян*

**КНИГОИЗДАТЕЛЬСКАЯ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ БАЗЕЛЬСКОГО  
ЕВАНГЕЛИЧЕСКОГО МИССИОНЕРСКОГО ОБЩЕСТВА В  
ШУШИ В 20-30-Е ГОДЫ 19-ГО ВЕКА**

В 1827-1835 годах в Шуши действовала типография, основанная базельскими протестантскими миссионерами. Они классифицировали свои книги, изданные в Шуши, на две группы: учебные издания и научные трактаты, которые были первыми изданиями на всей территории Карабаха.

*В статье подробно проанализировали работы, публикации типографии, их исполняемое значение, а также вопросы, связанные с цензурой и разрешениями на печать.*

**Ключевые слова:** *Шуши, Базельское Евангельское миссионерское общество, издательство, типография, книга, цензура.*

*In 1827-1835, a printing house functioned in Shushi, founded by Basel protestant missionaries. The books published in Shushi were classified into two groups: educational publications and scientific tractates, which were the first editions throughout the territory of Karabakh.*

*In the article we have analysed in details the works, publications of this printing house, their applicable signification, as well as issues related to censorship and printing permissions.*

**Key words:** *Shushi, Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, Publishing, Printing house, Book, Censorship.*

In the first tricennium of the 19th century, the South Caucasus came under the rule of the Russian Empire. Due to this event, the missionaries of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society of Switzerland, appeared in the region, who in 1828 established a printing house in Shushi town – a large Armenian educational and cultural center. Before that, in the fall of 1827, the missionaries received a printing press and the necessary printing raw materials<sup>1</sup>.

The activities of missionaries in Shushi can be conditionally divided into propagandistic, educational and publishing directions. Given this fact, it is clear that books related to these areas should have been published in the missionaries' printing house in Shushi.

The missionaries divided the books they published in Shushi into two groups: textbook publications and scientific studies (treatises)<sup>2</sup>. In the second case, the missionaries received regular financial support from the British Bible Society<sup>3</sup>, and the textbook editions were largely realized by means of the Evangelical Missionary Society. For the needy Armenian children, the missionaries established a regular college<sup>4</sup> in Shushi in 1827, where pupils learned to read and write in Armenian, the grammar of the mother tongue, the New Testament and, in part, the Old Testament, did translations from Old Armenian (Grabar) to the modern one. Arithmetic and geography were taught, compiling Armenian textbooks for pupils, and some pupils were also taught Russian.

The missionaries held private classes of Greek, Latin, English and Hebrew for those who wished. The existence of the college necessitated the publication of textbooks, dictionaries and other books of an educational nature, which were necessary for organizing locally the educational process.

It was not easy to find such publications in the region. The main purpose of the missionaries was to publish and distribute books of a religious nature translated from European languages. They classified these books among scientific studies.

<sup>1</sup> *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften*, Vol. 13, Basel, 1828, S. 421 (hereafter *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*).

<sup>2</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 16, 1831, S. 501.

<sup>3</sup> See **Thomas S. R. O'Flynn**, *The Western Christian Presence in the Russias and Qājār Persia c. 1760–c. 1870*, Boston, 2017, p. 503.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts collected by the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission, Volume VII*, Tiflis, 1878, p. 309 (hereafter *ACAC*) (in Russ.).

In Shushi, the missionaries knew what the purpose of their mission and the scope of their missionaries were, always being accountable to a superior body. In 1823-1837, some of the Protestant missionaries of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society were active in Shushi, among them Felician-Martin von Zarembo, August Heinrich Dittrich, Christoph Friedrich Haas, Carl Gottlieb Pfander, Rudolph Friedrich Hohenacker, Johann Christian Friedrich Judt, Friedrich Sprömberg, Christian Gottlieb Hömle, Johannes Theodor Wolters, Friedrich Eduard Schneider, Friedrich August Kreis. Among them, Dittrich and Haas<sup>1</sup> operated in the Armenian environment, making some contributions to the Armenian printing and pedagogical spheres. Thus, Dittrich provided the content of the newly built printing house in Shushi, in particular, doing scientific and translation work. Haas, meanwhile, ran the Armenian regular college in Shushi<sup>2</sup>.

Dittrich provided detailed information about his activities in the reports. He joyfully noted that, in addition to the necessary textbooks and small teaching manuals, he had completed the initial version of the Gospel by Matthew in the “Ararat dialect”, which he had begun several years earlier. If in the past Dittrich translated some passages from the Gospel in Old Armenian into Modern Eastern Armenian, in the case of the Gospel by Matthew already being prepared for publication and later the New Testament, he translated from the original – from ancient Greek<sup>3</sup>. It was planned to publish them with the means of the British Bible Society, with the help of which the New Testament was published in Paris in 1825 in the Modern Western Armenian language (in the dialect of Constantinople)<sup>4</sup>.

The missionaries had already learned Armenian, Persian and Turkish before settling in Shushi, and in Shushi they realized that in order to continue their future activities in the region, it was necessary to master the dialects of the local languages. In this context, the idea of publishers publishing books in Modern Armenian is understandable.

The first book of the Shushi printing house was the booklet “Sermon on the Mount” (15 pages), published in 1828, which was a pilot edition with 50 copies<sup>5</sup>. In the same year, the publishers managed to publish three books (booklets). In 1828-1830, eight books and pamphlets were published in Shushi, seven<sup>6</sup> of which, with the exception of “Sermon on the Mount”, were intended as textbooks for learning and educational activities in place.

<sup>1</sup> Back in 1825, Dittrich and Haas traveled to Moscow for a year to learn Armenian at the Lazarian College and to study Armenian history and culture. The missionaries mastered the Armenian language at the Lazarian College under the tutelage of Supreme Archimandrite Mikayel Sallantyan (see Thomas S. R. O’Flynn, op. cit., pp. 486-487, **Ghukasyants H.**, *Protestantism among the Armenians of the Caucasus (historical materials)*, Tiflis, 1886, pp. 3, 8 (in Arm.)).

<sup>2</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 14, 1829, S. 372-373.

<sup>3</sup> See **Adanian K.**, *Monument to the Armenian Evangelists and Evangelical Church (with critical notes)*, Fresno, California, 1952, p. 184 (in Arm.).

<sup>4</sup> See **Rev. Kasuni Ye. S.**, *Lusashavigh (History of the Armenian Evangelical Movement 1846-1946)*, Beirut, 1947, p. 577 (in Arm.).

<sup>5</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 13, 1828, S. 482, Vol. 14, 1829, S. 439, **Groves Anthony Norris**, *Journal of a Residence at Bagdad, During the Years 1830 and 1831*, London, 1832, pp. 2, 211, **Eli Smith**, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H. G. O. Dwight in Armenia: including a journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas*, vol. I, Boston, 1833, p. 318.

<sup>6</sup> “The First Rule of the Psalm”, 1828 (300 copies), “History of the Holy Scriptures”, 1828 (500 copies), “Brief Elementary Grammar of the Written Language”, 1828 (700 copies), “The Collection of Divine Testimonies on the Christian Faith of All Teachings”, 1829 (2000 copies), “Readings of the Holy Scriptures of the Old

During that period, the missionaries managed not only to establish close relations with the secular and spiritual authorities of the region, but also with the educated and illustrious Armenians of the time, such as Archimandrite Poghos Gharadaghtsi – a teacher at the Shushi Missionaries' College, and Archimandrite Hovsep Artsakhetsi. It is obvious that the missionaries strived in every way to see not only Armenian teachers, but also highly experienced scientists in their college. Thereby, in the missionaries' printing house of Shushi, the printing of books by the elaboration of these scholars could not do be realized without being authorised by the Armenian clergy.

For printing the books published in Shushi, missionaries had to obtain the authorization of high-ranking Armenian clergymen in advance, which presupposed spiritual censorship in accordance with tsarist laws<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, the title pages of the books published in Shushi in 1828-1830 mention the names of the Catholicos of All Armenians Yeprem I of Dzoragettsi (1809-1830) and the Primate of the Armenian Diocese of Georgia, Archbishop Nerses Ashtaraketsi and on the title pages of books published in 1832-1833 – the names of Catholicos Hovhannes VIII Karbetsi (1831-1842) and Metropolitan of Gandzasar, Archbishop Baghdasar Hasan-Jalalyan, who authorised the publication.

Speaking of the Shushi Printing House and the 1828 final report of printing, the missionaries attached great importance to them. Interestingly, at that time the first printer of the Shushi Printing House, John Abercrombie<sup>2</sup>, who had also learned Armenian during his stay in Shushi, could not meet their day-by-day growing printing needs<sup>3</sup>. According to the final reports of 1829, Dittrich was almost entirely engaged in the translation of foreign books into Armenian, including the Bible, which were to be printed in their own printing house<sup>4</sup>. Along with the increase in print volume, the need for a new printer gradually matured in Shushi, so the missionaries of Shushi turned to their central society in Basel with a request for a new printer. Considering that a large number of translated books had already been accumulated for publication, the Basel Society decided to send one of the publishers – Johann Christian Friedrich Judt<sup>5</sup>, to Shushi immediately<sup>6</sup>. Judt undertook the management of the Shushi printing house only in April 1830<sup>7</sup>, replacing Abercrombie.

Comparing the number of books published in Shushi printing house during 1828-1829, we can state that if in 1828 the minimum number of booklets was 50 and the maximum was 700,

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*Testament", 1829 (700 copies), "A Brief of Armenian Grammar" 1829 (400 copies) authored by Archimandrite Poghos Nersisyan (Gharadaghtsi), "A Concise Wordbook from Old Armenian to Modern Armenian" 1830 (2000 copies) authored by Archimandrite Hovsep Artsakhetsi (all publications in Armenian language).*

<sup>1</sup> Thomas S. R. O'Flynn, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 13, 1828, S. 421, 424, **Hacik Rafi Gazer**, *Studien zum kirchlichen Schulwesen der Armenier im Kaukasus. Teil 1: 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 2012, S. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 14, 1829, S. 376.

<sup>4</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 16, 1831, S. 492. During this time, Protestant missionaries translated religious and educational works not only into Armenian, but also into Persian, Tatar-Turkish and Arabic, with the aim of expanding their activities among a non-Armenian environment (see *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 15, 1830, S. 397-398).

<sup>5</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 15, 1830, S. 389-390, **Hacik Rafi Gazer**, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 15, 1830, S. 389-390.

<sup>7</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 16, 1831, S. 492.

then in 1829 it was 400 and 2000, respectively. In fact, the books published in 1829 were comparatively more voluminous and numerous, and therefore more complex and time-consuming.

Before that, in the Armenian environment, textbooks were published in Old Armenian in order to teach the college's pupils Modern Armenian. Especially the Old Armenian-Modern Armenian Dictionary elaborated by Hovsep Artsakhetsi, whose publication was initiated by the missionaries in 1830, helped to organize the teaching in Modern Armenian.

The main purpose of the missionaries' mission, however, was to translate the Bible into Armenian and distribute it among the people. Therefore, the books published by the missionaries in 1828-1830 had an educational and pedagogical orientation. This was conditioned with the existence of a regular school in Shushi, where Armenian youth received free and quality education. Some of them became educators, and some joined the ranks of missionaries.

In mid-1829, Dittrich sent a preliminary version of the translation of the Gospel by Matthew into Modern Eastern Armenian to Echmiadzin with a request for permission to print it. However, it was not published in Shushi since the leadership of Etchmiadzin, giving in to the anti-Protestant sentiments provoked by some clergymen, eventually did not give its consent. Tensions got more escalated especially after a letter from Metropolitan Baghdasar to the Mother See informing him of two expelled Armenian deacons who, leaving their monastery, joined Protestant missionaries and spread Protestantism among the people<sup>1</sup>. During this time, Archimandrite Poghos resigned as a teacher, urging the people to refrain from sending pupils to the missionary school<sup>2</sup>. Archimandrite Hovsep Artsakhetsi also adopted a very negative opinion about the activities of the missionaries<sup>3</sup>. These realities increased Etchmiadzin's dissatisfaction with the missionaries. Etchmiadzin raised a wave of protests against the activities of the missionaries with official letters addressed to the tsarist authorities<sup>4</sup>.

In 1830, by the order of Catholicos Hovhannes Karbetsi, Archimandrite Zakaria Behbudyan went to Shushi, whom the Catholicos had ordered to lead a struggle against the activities of missionaries<sup>5</sup>. He sowed negative sentiments against the missionaries among the local Armenian population, damaging their printing business and reducing the number of college students<sup>6</sup>. It is natural that the Armenian clergy could not be a direct obstacle to the work of the printing house and the college, as the authorization of their activities were granted by the tsarist authorities. As for the printing house in Shushi, the Armenian Church here had indirect means of influence conditioned with the authorization of publishing Armenian books. In this way the work of the printing house was hindered.

The missionaries were surprised by these actions, as they always sought to have good relations with the secular and spiritual authorities, including the representatives of the Armenian Church. Therefore, if they had predicted this unexpected blow, they would hardly have asked their superior body in advance to provide more funds<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Matenadaran of Yerevan, Archive, Catholicos Divan, f. 66, doc. 184a.*

<sup>2</sup> *Matenadaran of Yerevan, Archive, Catholicos Divan, f. 66, doc. 184b.*

<sup>3</sup> *Matenadaran of Yerevan, Archive, Catholicos Divan, f. 67, doc. 373.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ghukasyants H., op. cit., pp. 18-19.*

<sup>5</sup> *Matenadaran of Yerevan, Archive, Catholicos Divan, f. 84, doc. 291.*

<sup>6</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin, Vol. 16, 1831, S. 498-499, ACAC, v. VII, 1878, p. 293.*

<sup>7</sup> *Thomas S. R. O'Flynn, op. cit., p. 512.*

In general, the Armenian clergy accused the missionaries of carrying out pro-Protestant religious propaganda among the students of the Shushi college. In response, the missionaries countered that not only did they not direct Armenians to their Protestant faith, but even urged them never to touch upon the doctrinal contradictions between the two churches. In addition, the missionaries used the fact that the books applied in the school were authorised by the Armenian clergy as an argument to insure themselves<sup>1</sup>.

The year 1830 was most difficult for the missionaries not only because the anti-propaganda against them was gradually intensifying, but also because an epidemic spread in and around Shushi in the same year, which had a negative impact on the missionaries' activities<sup>2</sup>. Judt, who had arrived in Shushi, was not spared from the raging epidemic, too. Prior to the failure of the printing activities, as well as during the subsequent reopening of the printing house, the main obstacle to normal operation was the difficulty of delivering printing paper from Moscow<sup>3</sup>.

Under these circumstances, fearing the uncertain prospects of the future activities of the printing house, Judt hires two young Armenians as assistants. This was done in order to complete the work left unfinished in previous years<sup>4</sup>.

The suspension of the activities of the printing house in Shushi did not hinder the missionaries' work to publish Armenian books outside of Shushi. Evidence of this is the books published by the missionaries in the printing house of the Lazarian Seminary in Moscow in 1830-1834<sup>5</sup>. For example, the teacher of the Lazarian Seminary, Supreme Archimandrite Mikael Sallantyan, as a censor, did not reject the petitions of the missionaries for permission to publish the books, and the printing house of the seminary supported them in order to make a profit<sup>6</sup>.

From 1832 onwards, the protests of the Armenian clergy ceased when, as the missionaries mentioned in their reports, they shifted their preaching activities beyond the reach of the Armenians<sup>7</sup>. The point is that since 1832, the missionaries of Shushi had been active among non-Christian foreigners in the region, especially Tatar-Turks and Persians, as well as in communities bordering Persia. Therefore, it becomes clear how the new Protestant missionaries appeared in Shushi.

Returning to the publishers' printing activities, it should be noted that as early as January 15, 1832, they received a letter from the American Missionary Society of Boston asking them to print Dittrich's translations free of charge at their printing house operating in Malta and then send them to Shushi for distribution among Armenians. Since the publications of the American missionaries in Malta were beyond the control of the Armenian clergy, they could not in any way hinder the missionaries. Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties, the missionaries of Shushi

<sup>1</sup> ACAC, v. VII, 1878, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 17, 1832, S. 425, 404.

<sup>3</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 16, 1831, S. 501.

<sup>4</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 17, 1832, S. 447.

<sup>5</sup> See "Three Conversations with a Priest and a Secular Man" (1830), "The Power of the Gospel, or the Story of an Arab Servant Blessed by the Faith of Christ" (1830), "A Brief Examination of the Christian Faith and the Muslim Religion" (1831), "The Holy Gospel by Matthew" (1831), "The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1834) (all publications in Armenian).

<sup>6</sup> Davtyan H., *Materials from the history of the Eastern Armenian literary worldview*, "Herald" of Social Sciences, 1970, No. 2, p. 85 (in Arm.).

<sup>7</sup> ACAC, v. VIII, 1881, p. 325.



gave importance to organize the printing work locally, rather than in distant Malta, so that it would not be weakened by falling into inactivity<sup>1</sup>.

In 1832, Metropolitan Baghdasar authorised missionaries to publish new books in Shushi<sup>2</sup>. A new page opens in 1832-1833 for the history of the de facto non-functioning printing house of Shushi. Three of the first editions published here in 1832 were of textbooks type<sup>3</sup> and had already been published, while the fourth, the booklet “The Most Necessary Questions for All” (1,200 copies), which was considered a scholarly study, was of religious significance. It was a secular work in Modern Eastern Armenian, previously translated by Dittrich.

In the same year, conditioned with the delays in the delivery of paper, the printing work was interrupted until a new quantity of paper was received from Moscow. Upon receipt, Judt resumed publishing Dittrich’s Eastern Armenian translations, which have accumulated considerably<sup>4</sup>. Five of the 18 books published in Shushi between 1832 and 1833 were textbooks, and 13 were mainly religious-preaching books translated from Eastern European languages into Eastern Armenian. They were non-voluminous publications, most of them with 1,500-2,000 copies.

In 1833, the missionaries received a new blow from the Armenian Church. The point is that the missionaries of Shushi were able to organize themselves in Shamakhi, where there also operated an Armenian college. The local clergy complained to Catholicos Hovhannes Karbetsi about the suspicious activities of the missionaries. By the latter’s order, Bishop Zakaria Behbutyan was sent to Shamakhi to get acquainted with the results of the “visits” of the missionaries in place. The bishop, checking the students’ religious knowledge in place, did not find it satisfactory from the point of view of the Armenian Church<sup>5</sup>.

In 1833, the missionaries took a step back from the editions in Old Armenian in order to show that they did not reject the Grabar, thus trying to ease the growing pressure on them. The first of the books – the “Speech of Cyril of Jerusalem”, is acceptable and applicable in the Armenian Apostolic Church, and the second – Archimandrite Mikael Chamchians’s work had been recognized as the best grammar textbook in Old Armenian for almost a century, being used in both Western Armenian and Eastern Armenian schools<sup>6</sup>. However, if the average print-run of each of the books published by the missionaries in 1832-1833 was 1,500-2,000, then hence the missionaries printed St. Cyril’s speech in 750 copies. Thereby, they tried to flatter the high-ranking clergymen of Etchmiadzin and Gandzasar, perhaps striving to show that they “do not reject” the official confession of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

The missionaries stated in their reports that they had been granted the authorization of publishing Armenian books in 1832, but that they had fears about the future of their own printing house conditioned with the unfriendly attitude of some Armenian clergy towards their activities. They even foresaw that the operation of the printing house would be forcedly ceased.

<sup>1</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 18, 1833, S. 387.

<sup>2</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 18, 1833, S. 470.

<sup>3</sup> “Alphabetical notebook” (1200 copies), “The first rule of the psalm” (1500 copies), “History of the Holy Scriptures” (1500 copies) (all publications in Armenian).

<sup>4</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 18, 1833, S. 473-474.

<sup>5</sup> *Ghukasyants H.*, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

<sup>6</sup> See *Utujyan A.*, Mikael Chamchyan (brief outline of life and activities), “Herald” of Social Sciences, 1988, N 9, p. 75 (in Arm.).

Therefore, they considered it necessary to immediately purchase Persian fonts from London in order to publish Persian and Tatar-Turkish books in Shushi<sup>1</sup>.

Here we consider it necessary to mention that from the very beginning of the activities of the Shushi printing house the missionaries intended to publish books in Tatar-Turkish besides Armenian. However, only in 1832, when they felt that the future of their activities was endangered among the Armenians, did they take steps in that direction. Books in those languages could be printed without hindrance, as missionaries had previously received authorization from the censorship community in Kazan<sup>2</sup>.

In 1834, the missionaries did not publish any books in the Shushi printing house due to several factors. First, Judt had to adapt the Persian font he received in the same year to a printing press and experiment with that. In addition, he had to continue mastering his skills in Persian and Tatar-Turkish, which he had started learning previous year<sup>3</sup>. At the same time, the missionaries complained about the difficulties of publishing Armenian books conditioned with their authorization, which they hoped would settle with the central company in Basel. The point is that they received the authorization of publishing the books they had previously published in accordance with the established procedure, so in case of their reprint they no longer considered it necessary to receive the authorization again. The missionaries intended to republish not only the educational and preaching books printed in previous years, but also the New Testament published in Moscow in 1834 by them, whose second edition was to be published in Shushi in 3,000 copies with the means of the British Bible Society<sup>4</sup>.

As for the activities of the Shushi printing house in 1835, Judt published a small work by local missionary Zarembo, written in 1828, calling for the conversion of Muslims to Christianity (“An appeal to the Muslims”)<sup>5</sup>. This work was the first non-Armenian edition in Shushi, that is, in Tatar-Turkish and Persian, with 500 print-run. In January-July 1835, the printing house was busy publishing a book in Persian by another Shushi missionary – Pfander, in 1,000 copies (“Scales of Truth”)<sup>6</sup>.

After that, Judt returned to printing Armenian books, republishing the booklets “Alphabetical Copy-Book”, “First Rule of a Psalm” and “History of the Holy Scriptures” in the same year, each with a circulation of 1,200 copies<sup>7</sup>.

After the above-mentioned three Armenian booklets, no book was published in the Shushi printing house at all, which is explained by the growing dissatisfaction of the Armenian clergy against the missionaries and a number of circumstances hindering their activities.

The Armenian clergy would not have been able to restrict the activities of the Protestants if the Russian authorities had not intervened<sup>8</sup>. Thus, the Governor General of the Caucasus G. Rosen had quite a tough position on the missionaries’ activities. We learn from Rosen’s letter dated 10 January 1835 to the Minister of Internal Affairs of Russia D. Bludov that he agreed with the demands of the Armenian clergy, as he considered the activities of the missionaries

<sup>1</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 18, 1833, S. 473-474.

<sup>2</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 18, 1833, S. 468.

<sup>3</sup> ACAC, v. VIII, 1881, p. 331, *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 19, 1834, S. 441, 444-445.

<sup>4</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 20, 1835, S. 371-372.

<sup>5</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 14, 1829, S. 438.

<sup>6</sup> *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Vol. 21, 1836, S. 460.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Leo, History of the Armenian Diocesan Theological School of Karabakh 1838-1913*, Tiflis, 1914, p. 95 (in Arm.).



among the Armenians inadmissible<sup>1</sup>. On July 2 of the same year, the Ministry of Internal Affairs officially banned the Protestant preaching activities in Shushi, allowing them to engage only in agriculture and handicrafts<sup>2</sup>.

After this decision, the missionaries with writings to official bodies tried to justify their activities, but to no avail. Moreover, when they asked the relevant authorities to at least allow them to continue publishing activities in Shushi, they were also refused<sup>3</sup>.

In this situation, the missionaries of Shushi received an offer from the American missionaries of Constantinople to move the printing house and printer Judt to the Black Sea coastal city of Trabzon. However, the Basel Protestants, after studying this proposal in detail, rejected it, instructing Zarembo and Judt to properly carry out the complete cessation of their mission in Shushi<sup>4</sup>.

After the final cessation of the missionaries' activities in Shushi, in September 1837 their printing house was bought by Metropolitan Baghdasar<sup>5</sup>. The rest of the Protestants' real estate in Shushi was bought by the Russian government for the needs of local officials<sup>6</sup>.

As a result of the publishing activities of the missionaries in Shushi, in 1828-1835 29 books were published in Armenian, one in Persian and one in Tatar-Turkish. A study of Armenian books and their lists reveals that 14 of the published books are scientific studies translated from European languages, and 15 are textbook publications. The total circulation of the above-mentioned 29 publications, which were widely spread geographically, exceeds 35,000 units, which is quite a telling number for the Armenian typography of the given period.

Due to the necessity to publish Armenian books in that period, the missionaries rightly pointed out that the existing Armenian printed literature was not available to many, especially to the poor. Meanwhile, some of the Protestant books were distributed free of charge and others were sold at affordable prices<sup>7</sup>. In general, speaking about the peculiarities of the printing house of the missionaries of Shushi, we can say that when publishing books, they were guided by the importance of the book's content and not by the luxury of the printing art, as the missionaries' printing work, unlike many Armenian printing houses, did not generally pursue to get profit. Definitely, during its short activity, the Protestant printing house in Shushi played a unique role in the history of Armenian printing.

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SOCIETY IN SHUSHI".

Հոդվածը տպագրության է երաշխավորել իմֆագրական  
խորհրդի անդամ, պ.գ.դ. Վ.Մ.Ավանեսյանը:

<sup>1</sup> ACAC, v. VIII, 1881, pp. 313-320.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Leo, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Evangelisches Missions-Magazin, Vol. 22, 1837, S. 389-393.

<sup>5</sup> Leo, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

<sup>6</sup> ACAC, v. VIII, 1881, p. 332, Evangelisches Missions-Magazin, Vol. 23, 1838, S. 382.

<sup>7</sup> Evangelisches Missions-Magazin, Vol. 16, 1831, S. 502-503.