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Յա-էլ-աժ



2022



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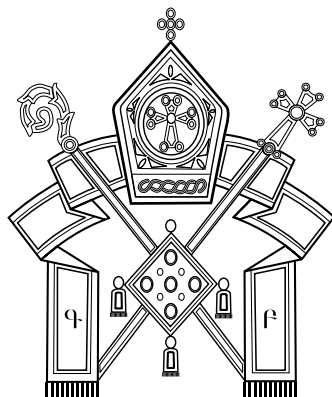
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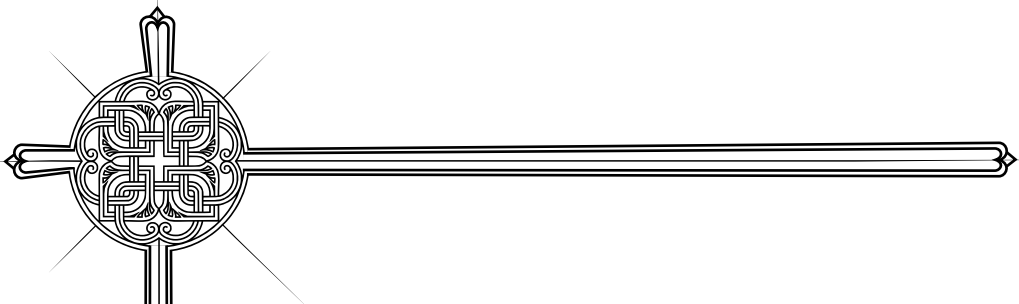


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«ԷԶՄԻԱԾԻՆ»

կրօնագիտական եւ հայագիտական ամսագիր

Յանդուած

Խմբագրականազմ

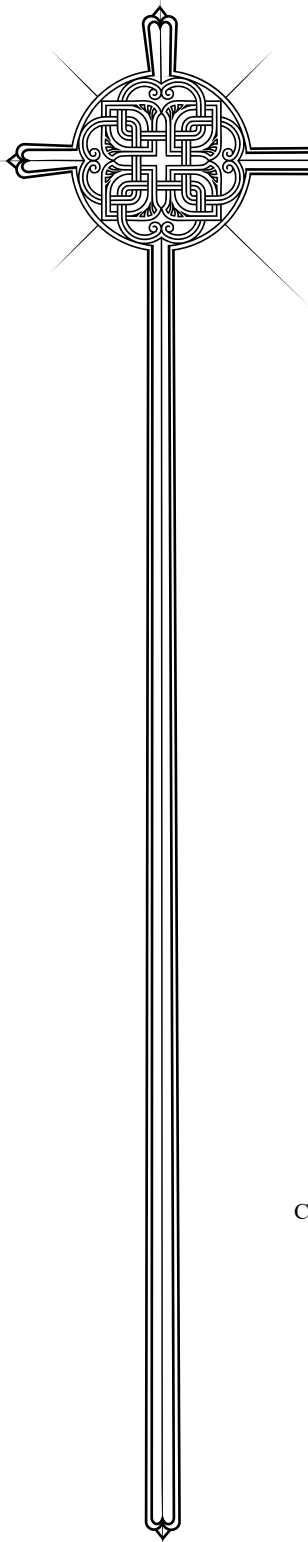
Գլխաւոր խմբագիր՝ **Գէորգ Մադոյեան**

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Ազատ Բոգոբեան,
Խաչիկ Րաֆֆի Գազեր**





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Supplementary volume

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Религиоведческий и арменоведческий журнал
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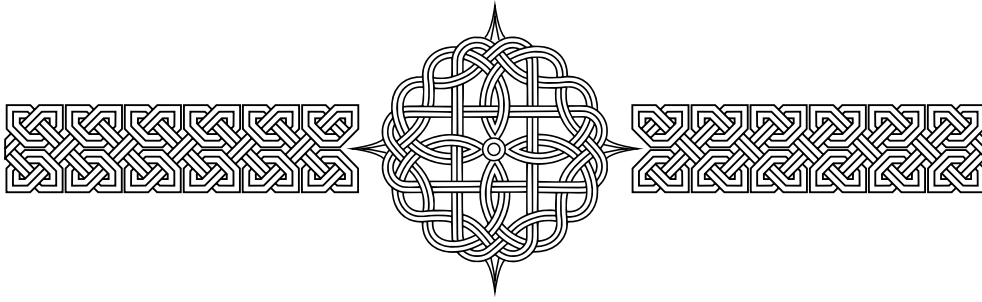
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EDITORIAL

The author of the history of the War of Vardan and his allies¹ Armenian historian Eghishe in the 5th century while writing his Exegesis of Genesis spoke of the first generations after the flood, of the tower of Babel, and about the ancient language that was confused. He was explaining that different fragments of that language were saved in the languages of various nations. And that is why the speech of one of the nations seems to be like a song, the other appears as if the speaker is shouting, the third appears as a cry, etc... One language seems rough, and the next seems soft and sweet... One nation speaks by the throat the other mostly by tongue the third uses also nose...

After these comparisons and descriptions, our writer tells that it is possible to think that the ancient language was a very nice, very rich, and gorgeous one because it was including such varied and complementary components which now are found in the languages of different nations.

After the confusion of languages had passed thousands of years and the representatives of the nations are learning the languages of each other. But in general, no one can speak the others' language without an accent. And only Armenians who are leaving in all parts of the world can learn and speak any language as if it's their native. Today this can be proved while remembering the names of Hrachea Acharean², Hakob Martayan (Dilachar)³, William Saroyan, Charles Aznavour, El-Registan⁴,

1 The general battle of this Armenian-Persian war took place on May 26 in 451 A. D. But all the historical events of this period (that happened before and after it) were called "Vardanats paterazm" after the leader of the national patriotic movement Saint Vardan Mamikonean.

2 This linguist was not only specialized in modern but also in ancient languages. He wrote his "Comprehensive Grammar of Armenian language" in comparison with 562 languages.

3 Dilâçar is the founder of the modern Turkish language, but except for Armenian and Turkish, he was also skillful in English, French, Greek, Spanish, Latin, German, Russian, Bulgarian, etc.

4 Gabriel Ureklean is one of the authors of the Hymn of Russia.

Hovhannes Ghazarean,⁵ and many other Armenians who were creating in foreign languages.

The Journal Etchmiadzin (the successor of “Ararat” the first scientific magazine of the Armenian Apostolic Church) is the official periodical of Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin. And for an official issue, the Editorial staff is doing its best to keep using the official language of the Armenian Church—both branches of modern literary Armenian and if possible also ancient Armenian or Grabar. From this point of view, it seemed inadmissible to print not Armenian articles in the standard row of the journal so it was decided to publish supplementary volumes that can include publications in any foreign language that meet the requirements of the Theological and Armenological Journal. From Saint Eghishe we learn that in any part of the world, an Armenian can study and speak the language of the locals as if it is his native. And now it’s time for the opposite: we hope that in the supplementary volumes would be published any article in any foreign language sounding in honor and glory of truth, Armenians, Armenia, and the Armenian Church.



⁵ Hovhannes Ghazarean was the first to translate the Bible into Chinese.



ԲԱԲԿԵՆ ՆԱՆԵԱՆ

ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾԱՐԱՆԱԿԱՆ ՈՐՈՇ ՏԱՐԻԵՐ ՏԵԱՌՆԸՆԴԱՌԱՋԻ ՎԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՍԱՆՐԱՆԿԱՐՆԵՐՈՒՄ

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

Հայոց մշակութային ժառանգությունը ճանաչուած է, ի թիւս այլ հանգամանքների, նաև միջնադարեան մանրանկարչութեան շնորհիւ: Նախկինում հայ մանրանկարչութիւնը հիմնականում դիտարկուել և ուսումնասիրուել է բացառապէս գեղարուեստական տեսանկիւնից՝ առանց աստուածաբանական և հոգևոր երանգի խորին ուսումնասիրութեան: Մինչդեռ, մանրանկարները կրօնական հայեացքների խտացումներ են, որ և գրեթէ անծիր գիտելիք են հաղորդում ճարտարապետական ետնախորքի, գլխաւոր հերոսների գտնուելու վայրի, օգտագործուող գոյների, փոփոխական և հաստատուն բաղադրիչների, բացատրական մակագրութիւնների, դիմային արտայայտութիւնների, մարմնի և զգեստաւորման, յարդարանքի և այլ տարրերի միջոցով:

BABKEN NANYAN

ALCUNI ELEMENTI TEOLOGICI NELLE MINIATURE ARMENE DELLA PRESENTAZIONE¹

INTRODUZIONE

La miniatura come ogni immagine sia quella del mosaico, murale, pittura oppure icona, nel senso bizantino, aveva come unico scopo, quello di trasmettere un'idea ossia un messaggio in modo vivido ed espressivo. L'approccio comune in

¹* Ստացուել է՝ 23.02.2023, գրախօսուել է՝ 23.03.2023: էլ. հասցէ՝ vasconani@yahoo.it: Խմբագիր՝ Nunzio Catania, PhD, Իտալիայի Հանրապետութիւն:

vigore tutt'oggi era valido anche secoli fa, ed era quello di tramandare un'estesa narrazione in una forma istantanea. Nel medioevo essere in possesso di un manoscritto e soprattutto di uno miniato era una fortuna fuori del comune. Peraltro non bisogna dimenticare che l'alfabetizzazione era un privilegio di pochi e soprattutto dei ricchi, perciò la maggior parte dei manoscritti appartenevano alla casta aristocratica².

Le miniature in particolare, contrariamente alla parola scritta, erano in grado di auto comunicarsi a tutti, dal sovrano al contadino, dal patriarca all'umile fedele. Sebbene uno si potesse eventualmente scordare il contenuto e le sfumature di una storia, era molto probabile che un testimone oculare ricordasse tuttora la sua rappresentazione iconografica, rievocando così il nucleo più essenziale della festa o di un evento evangelico. Alla fine la miniatura essendo una «immagine narrante» allo stesso modo era un propagatore silenzioso della fede.

Per quanto le miniature fossero generalmente accettate come rappresentazioni artistiche, è al di là di ogni ragionevole dubbio che esse fossero anche concisi compendi religiosi del loro tempo. Uno dei maggior esperti dell'arte bizantina André Grabar nota a questo riguardo: «[...] gli artisti cristiani stentavano a limitarsi al ruolo di illustratori disinteressati della vita di Cristo; e sono stati notati i loro frequenti interventi, diretti ai significati religiosi degli eventi che rappresentavano. Entrò così la teologia, ritoccando, per così dire, la biografia»³.

A volte la quantità di elementi teologici, liturgici e archeologici che si trovano in una illustrazione è straordinaria. Varietà di diversi aspetti come ad esempio lo sfondo architettonico, la posizione dei protagonisti, i colori, gli oggetti variabili e costanti, le iscrizioni esplicative così come le espressioni facciali, il linguaggio del corpo, paramenti indossati ed incorporati simboli rituali si unirebbero assieme per modellare una proiezione spirituale statica ed un messaggio religioso ben preciso.

2 I colofoni rivelano i beneficiari dei manoscritti tra i quali contiamo membri della famiglia reale, i principi, i nobili, i catholicos e gli ecclesiastici di alto rango, solo per citarne alcuni: catholicos Costantin I (Vangelo, CPAG (= Collezione di Patriarcato Armeno di Gerusalemme) MS 251), arcivescovo Simeon (Vangelo, CM (= Collezione di Matenadaran) MS 5507), principe Vasak (Vangelo, CPAG MS 2568/13), signora Keran (Vangelo, CPAG MS 1956), regina Mariun (Vangelo, CPAG MS 1973), regina Mlke (Vangelo, CMSL (= Collezione dei Mechitarista di San Lazzaro) MS 1144), re Leone IV (Libro di legislazione, CMSL MS 107), principe Hetum (Vangelo, CM MS 5458). In altri casi, i residenti di una città o di un villaggio raccoglievano denaro per commissionare un vangelo, che avrebbe in seguito portato il nome dello stesso luogo.

3 A. GRABAR, *Christian Iconography. A study of its origins*, Princeton University Press 1980, 109.

Comprensibilmente, non sorprende il fatto, che la gran parte degli illustratori nella realtà armena sono stati monaci o preti sposati o comunque artisti che provenivano dalle famiglie sacerdotali⁴. In quel tempo questa era l'unica opzione disponibile per qualsiasi miniaturista o chierico con predisposizione artistica di avere accesso alla teologia sistematica, che avrebbe permesso a loro di trasferire successivamente questa conoscenza tramite un'illustrazione. Comunque, questa suddetta «conoscenza teologica» era un criterio per sé paragonabile nella misura in cui dato miniaturista si intendeva di quella materia, con tutte le sue peculiarità teologiche e affinità spirituali. L'ampio esame delle miniature armene conservate della festa di Presentazione di Gesù al Tempio, tra l'altro, dimostra eloquentemente che, a differenza della tradizione ortodossa⁵, in Armenia non esisteva un kanon definito e comunemente accettato, che stabiliva le regole su come rappresentare questa scena del Vangelo di Luca.

C'è da tener presente che storicamente l'Armenia è stata sempre al crocevia di due permanenti avversari l'Impero Bizantino e quello Sassanide, e questa ristretta posizione geopolitica divenne «senza dubbio la causa principale della tragedia della storia armena»⁶. Come risultato di questa tensione, l'Armenia venne divisa due volte tra queste due superpoteri prima nel 387 e in seguito nel 591. Oltre all'enorme esistenziale trauma⁷ che una nazione che faceva risalire le proprie radici al Regno di Urartu (VII sec. a.C.) poteva subire, la partizione ha sollevato un aspetto, che è cruciale nella comprensione e nell'analisi delle miniature armene. L'estensione dell'influenza culturale e della pressione di assimilazione religiosa da entrambe le parti, quella greca guidata dalla cristologia calcedoniana e la parte persiana condotta prima con lo zoroastrismo, sostituito in seguito dal radicale nestorianesimo, fu così cospicua e onnipresente da lasciare inevitabilmente il suo segno distintivo nella sto-

4 Cfr. A. GEVORKIAN, *Miniaturisti Armeni. Bibliografia IX-XIX secc.*, (in Armeno), Cairo 1998.

5 D. DE FOURNA, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne Grecque et Latine*, avec une introduction et des notes par M. Didron, Paris 1845, 160.

6 K. SARKISSIAN, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church*, New York 1975, 62.

7 «I'ti compiangio, Armenia, i'ti compiangio, contrada maggiore di tutte del settentrione; che ti son tolti il re ed il prelato, il consigliere e 'l maestro! La pace turbata, il disordine mise radice; l'ortodossia fu scrollata, l'eterodossia rafforzata per ignoranza. I'ti compiangio, chiesa d'Armenia, che è scurito il bell'ordine del tuo santuario, orba dell'egregio pastore e del compiangano di lui. Più non veggio la spirituale tua greggia pascere nel prato verde, e lungo l'acque di pace; né accolta all'olive e difesa da lupi; ma dispersa per deserti e per precipizi», Mosè Corenese, *Storia*, Venezia 1841, 396–397. B.L. Zekian, *L'Armenia e gli armeni*, Venezia 2000, 21–23.

ria dello sviluppo iconografico. Mentre il più delle volte i miniaturisti aderiscono fedelmente al credo dogmatico della Chiesa Apostolica Armena, spesso è anche possibile notare apparenti imitazioni bizantine o siriane, che a volte possono contenere anche elementi o concetti al di fuori del quadro della data solennità o dall'ambiente etnoculturale armeno in quanto tale.

L'influenza artistica⁸, tuttavia, ebbe anche i suoi flussi inversi, dove nel processo di adattamento delle tecniche, alcuni modelli armeni come, ad esempio, ornamenti geometrici con distinto carattere orientale migrarono nella tradizione miniaturistica bizantina e divennero una parte essenziale della sua storia⁹. D'altra parte, l'Armenia all'epoca ciliciana con il centro di Hromkla divenne presto non solo riconosciuta per i suoi eccezionali risultati nell'arte dell'illuminazione, di cui sono taciturne testimonianze le magnifiche miniature sopravvissute con splendore e ingegnosità artistica senza pari, ma contribuì anche ampiamente allo sviluppo di iconografia siriana, data la sua vicinanza a Edessa¹⁰.

In passato le miniature armene sono state a lungo confrontate con le miniature bizantine e siriane semplicemente sulla base dei loro parametri storici, culturali, stilistici e altri criteri artistici, tuttavia la scala ultima di somiglianza o distinzione appare solo dopo un'attenta analisi dei suoi aspetti religiosi (teologici, liturgici, contenuto mistagogico) presente in quelle miniature. È solo dopo aver armonizzato queste due dimensioni cardinali che possiamo davvero cogliere la grandezza dell'intento originario del miniaturista e osservare la vera natura dell'immagine e del racconto, unica reason d'être della loro esistenza.

8 «Tuttavia non si può parlare di influenza nel senso di una servile dipendenza e questo per diverse ragioni. Primo, perché tali rapporti basavano principalmente sulle linee generali o sui principi fondamentali, comuni a tutti i centri, attinti ad una fonte universale di ispirazione e di tendenza d'arte. Secondo, è nell'indole propria degli armeni di assimilare ed elaborare in maniera del tutto originale e geniale qualunque ispirazione o influsso dall'esterno», N. CATANIA, *Funzione e significato dell'icona nella tradizione liturgica Armena*, (tesi di dottorato), Roma 2011, 61.

9 S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, Harvard University Press 1945, 136.

10 Professoressa Hunt dimostra in modo convincente la natura di questa connessione influente sull'esempio della Bibbia siriana di Buchanan conservata all'Università di Cambridge, L.-A. HUNT, «The Syriac Buchanan Bible in Cambridge: Book Illumination in Syria, Cilicia and Jerusalem of the later Twelfth Century», *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 57 (1991), 331–369.

HYPAPANTE

La storia della Presentazione di Gesù al tempio, oltre ai diversi scritti apocrifi, ci è pervenuta tramite il Vangelo di Luca (2,22–40). Questa è l'unica narrazione canonicamente accettata dalla Chiesa. L'evangelista, molto probabilmente non di origine ebraica, presenta questo evento in modo piuttosto compresso, eterogeneo e carente. Al centro della narrazione ci sono due requisiti fondamentali della legge di Mosè. «Niddah»¹¹ Purificazione (Le 12,2–8) e «Pidyon haben»¹² Redenzione del primogenito (Eso 22,30; Nu 18,15–16), a cui Luca sovrappone una struttura eortologica completamente nuova, quale a sua volta diviene la base per una nuova festa cristiana con nuovo nome (Hypapante), nuovi protagonisti (Gesù e Simone il Giusto) e nuovo significato spirituale (andare incontro al Signore). Eppure ci sono voluti più di 3 secoli perché la nuova festa finalmente si staccasse dal ciclo natalizio e si presentasse come una solennità indipendente. La troviamo per la prima volta nella Città Santa, istituita e localmente celebrata¹³ dal patriarca Cirillo di Gerusalemme nella seconda metà del IV secolo con il nome locum tenens di «quadragesimae de Epiphania»¹⁴, poi sostituito con «ὕπαπαντή», probabilmente da parte di Esichio di Gerusalemme¹⁵.

Il rito della chiesa di Gerusalemme, grazie alla sua topografia e alla cosiddetta liturgia stazionale, era il più avanzato e raffinato tra tutti quelli esistenti a quel tempo. Il costante flusso di pellegrini dagli angoli più remoti dell'impero ha contribuito in gran parte alla diffusione della liturgia gerosolimitana non solo ad altri membri della Pentarchia, ma anche alle chiese d'Oriente, soprattutto a quelle Armena e Georgiana. Grazie alla più antica testimonianza sopravvissuta del Typikon Gerosolimitano, il Lezionario Armeno (413–436), sappiamo con certezza che la Chiesa Armena già nel V secolo fu la prima ad ereditare ufficialmente la solennità della Presentazione di Gesù nel suo calendario liturgico, approvato dal Catholicos Sahak¹⁶.

11 J. NEUSNER - A.J. AVERY-PECK, *The Routledge Dictionary of Judaism*, Routledge 2003, 104.

12 Ibid., 14–15.

13 H. PÉTRÉ, *Éthérie: Journal de Voyage*, Sources Chrétiennes 21 (1948), 206.

14 CH. RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121. II. Édition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 36 (1971), 228.

15 Cfr. HESYCHIUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS, *Εἰς τὴν Ὑπαπαντὴν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *Patrologia Graeca* 93 (1865), 1467–1478; M. AUBINEAU, *Les Homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, I, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 59 (1978); B. Nanyan, «L'origine del nome “Տեառնընդարար»», (in Armeno), *Etchmiadzin* 9 (2022), 25–38.

16 F.C. CONYBEARE, «The Armenian Canons of St. Sahak, Catholicos of Armenia (390–439

Il nome della nuova festa nella Chiesa Armena ha preso un rapido sviluppo. Inizialmente introdotto nei documenti liturgici con il suo nome originario «quadregesimae de Epiphania», esso ben presto è stato integralmente rimpiazzato dal nome «Տեսնընդառաջ», che a sua volta, direttamente correlata con «ὁπαπαντή» era in realtà un ingenuo adattamento del nome greco che significa letteralmente «[andare] verso il Signore» (= Ὑπαπαντή τοῦ Κυρίου; Occursus Domini). Tuttavia, la Chiesa Armena in seguito ha introdotto un nome completamente diverso per la festa. L'ampio esame bibliografico di vari manuali liturgici, trattati teologici, sinassari e omelie datati dal XII al XVIII secc., dimostra che i nomi della festa sono stati infatti usati sia separatamente, sia in modo intercambiabile e perfino congiuntamente¹⁷. «La venuta di Cristo di quaranta giorni al Tempio» divenne definitivamente il nome ufficiale della festa, consolidando così il suo posto nel calendario ecclesiastico armeno¹⁸. D'altra parte «Տեսնընդառաջ», come possiamo constatare, è rimasto nell'uso popolare e fino ad oggi è di gran lunga il nome più riconosciuto della festa.

PRIMA RAPPRESENTAZIONE ICONOGRAFICA

La prima rappresentazione artistica conosciuta di Presentazione (Hypapante) si trova a Roma (immagine 1), nella Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore sul lato destro dell'arco di trionfo in forma di magnifico mosaico completato nella prima metà del V secolo¹⁹. Tale ritardo nello sviluppo iconografico della festa di certo ha la sua giustificazione, essendo strettamente legato all'apparizione relativamente tarda della Presentazione come solennità indipendente²⁰. Per di più la ragione cronologica è il motivo per cui questa rappresentazione è del tutto assente dall'arte paleocristiana e dipinti catacombali²¹. Il mosaico di Santa Maria Maggiore è un eccellente esempio di trasformazione e adattamento emblematico dell'arte imperiale²² romana verso

A.D.)), *American Journal of Theology* 2 (1898), 828–848.

17 B. NANYAN, «A proposito dell'origine di nome “La venuta di Cristo di quaranta giorni al Tempio”», (in Armeno), *Etchmiadzin* 2 (2022), 20–38.

18 SIMEON YEREVANTZI, *Calendario*, Etchmiadzin 1835, 45.

19 E.N. KANTOROWICZ, «Puer Exoriens: On the Hypapante in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore», nel *Perennitas (Festschrift Thomas Michels)*, Münster 1963, 118–135.

20 G. SCHILLER, *Iconography of Christian Art*, I, New York 1971, 90–94.

21 H.M. VON ERFFA, «Darbringung im Tempel», *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, III, Stuttgart 1954, 1057–1076.

22 A. GRABAR, *L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin*, Paris 1936, 216–225.

l'iconografia cristiana, sulla base dell'equazione di principio espressa da Morey²³. Tuttavia, pare che il mosaico di Santa Maria non abbia creato una tendenza oppure una specie di influenza artistica sullo sviluppo successivo della rappresentazione iconografica della Presentazione.

Un altro esempio della rappresentazione iconografica della narrazione di Luca (V-VI secc.) si trovava a Notre Dame de la Daurade a Tolosa, la quale certamente avrebbe potuto fornire più luce su questa questione se fosse sopravvissuta²⁴.

Il solo fatto che le prime rappresentazioni artistiche della Presentazione non provenissero dall'Oriente: da Gerusalemme dove ebbe origine la festa o da Bisanzio, indica che l'Occidente è stato molto più agile ad accogliere questa solennità dal punto di vista artistico.

La prima rappresentazione del Hypapante conosciuta in Oriente riguarda la chiesa di S. Sergio a Gaza, costruita e restaurata nella prima metà del VI sec. dal vescovo Marciano al quale Coricio di Gaza (V-VI sec.) dedica la sua orazione. Questa chiesa, a giudicare dalla descrizione, era fenomenale per quanto concerneva l'abbondanza di affreschi e la loro copertura tematica. Ecco cosa apprendiamo a proposito dell'affresco della Presentazione.

[Laudatio Marcianus 1:56] «Quanto a quel sant'uomo [Simeone], piegato dall'infermità della sua età, lo avrei compatito molto se non fosse vissuto abbastanza a lungo per vedere l'avvento del bambino. Presente anche la madre che tiene in braccio il bambino. Lui, da vecchio qual è, fa fatica a camminare, ma lo fa con volto gioioso»²⁵.

È interessante notare che i caratteri tipologici sia di Maria che di Simeone non sono in contraddizione con la rappresentazione di Santa Maria, tuttavia s'intravede l'apparente somiglianza con il mosaico trovato nella nicchia meridionale dell'abside nella chiesa di San Salvatore Akataleptos (Moschea Kalenderhane) nota con il nome di Theotokos

23 Il professor Morey giustamente sostiene, che quando gli artisti per la prima volta tentavano di creare le opere d'arte cristiana precedentemente non esistenti, quindi senza alcun riferimento visuale o prototipo da seguire, la più valida alternativa e la fonte d'ispirazione per loro era sempre l'arte secolare ellenica, che li circondava ovunque, perciò «non c'è da meravigliarsi se le prime opere progettate per scopi cristiani non hanno nulla di cristiano nella loro forma o decorazione», C.R. MOREY, *Christian Art*, Longmans, Green & Co 1935, 5.

24 H. WOODRUFF, «The Iconography and Date of the Mosaics of La Daurade», *The Art Bulletin* 13 (1931), 80–104.

25 R. FOERSTER, ed., *Choricii Gazaei Opera*, Stuttgartiae 1972, 17. Per la traduzione inglese vedi C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453*, University of Toronto Press 1986, 65.

Kyriotissa (immagine 2), datato intorno alla fine del VI secolo e l'inizio del VII secolo e attualmente conservato nel Museo Archeologico di Istanbul²⁶.

1. IL SIGNIFICATO TEOLOGICO DEL VELO

Un elemento costante, presente nella maggior parte delle miniature armene, è costituito dal velo o mantello, che copre le mani di Simeone tese per ricevere il Bambino Gesù dalla Beata Vergine Maria oppure con il quale egli già tiene Cristo nelle sue braccia²⁷.

È da notare, che il vangelo di Luca non si pronuncia e non dice niente a proposito del velo. Difatti, la fonte del velo sulle mani di Simeone appartiene alla tradizione apocrifa, più precisamente al *Corpus* dei Vangeli della natività e dell'infanzia di Cristo.

a. Vangelo dello Pseudo-Matteo.

[15, 2] Dopo lo prese nel suo mantello e baciando i suoi piedi, disse: «Ora, o Signore, lascia andare in pace il tuo servo poiché i miei occhi videro la tua salvezza che hai preparato al cospetto di tutti i popoli, luce per illuminare le genti, e gloria del tuo popolo, Israele»²⁸.

b. Codice Arundel 404

26 Questo importante mosaico non è stato esaminato da maggiori studiosi d'arte cristiana come Pokrovski (Н. ПОКРОВСКИЙ, Евангелие в памятниках иконографии, преимущественно византийских и русских, СПб 1892, 99–112), Kondakoff (N. KONDAKOFF, Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures, Paris 1886), De Fleury (C.R. DE FLEURY, L'Évangile, Études iconographiques et archéologiques, I, Tours 1874, 53–55), Reau (L. RÉAU, L'Iconographie de l'art chrétien, I, Paris 1955, 261–266) e Millet (G. MILLET, Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles, d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont-Athos, Paris 1916) per la semplice causa che è stata ritrovata durante gli scavi archeologici effettuata da Striker e Kuban soltanto nel 1966–1976, cfr. C.L. STRIKER-Y.D. KUBAN, Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The buildings, their history, architecture, and decoration, Mainz 1997.

27 Va menzionato che non tutte le miniature armene della Presentazione hanno quest'elemento presente nel loro squadra illustrativo. Tra le miniature da noi esaminate durante questo lavoro alcuni non c'è l'hanno affatto. Per menzionare alcune: CM MS 4820, fol. 1b, (XIII sec.); CM MS 7456, fol. 5b, (AD 1319); CM MS 2929, fol. 6b, (AD 1330); CM MS 5786, fol. 16b, (AD 1336); CM MS 4813, fol. 2b, (AD 1338); CM MS 8722, fol. 5b, (AD 1391); CM MS 6305, fol. 136a, (XIV sec.); CM MS 4841, fol. 3b, (AD 1417); CI (= Collezione di Isfahan) MS 396/105, fol. 3b, (AD 1607); CMSL MS 320/295, fol. 3b, (II metà del XVIII sec.), etc.

28 L. MORALDI, ed., Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento, I, Torino 1975, 218.

[101] Dopo lo prese sul suo mantello e, in adorazione, baciava i suoi piedi, dicendo: - Adesso congeda in pace il tuo servo, Signore, secondo la tua parola in pace. Poiché i miei occhi hanno visto la tua salvezza, che hai preparato davanti al cospetto di tutti i popoli: luce per illuminare le genti, e gloria del tuo popolo Israele»²⁹.

Il motivo del mantello sulle mani di Simeone viene subito ripreso e costantemente riproposto nell'iconografia cristiana. Già la prima raffigurazione della Presentazione, il mosaico dell'arco trionfale di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma del V secolo³⁰, presenta Simeone pronto ad accogliere Gesù nel suo mantello³¹. Lo stesso mantello lo troviamo anche nel mosaico della Theotokos Kyriotissa (immagine 2).

Il mantello di Simeone nei secoli successivi si trasforma presto in un velo di uso liturgico con la medesima funzione: quella di coprire le sue mani. In questo contesto il significato teologico del velo proviene senz'altro dall'Antico Testamento, simboleggiando la separazione e la distinzione. Si nota un intrinseco legame tra i seguenti passaggi biblici Gen 1,6–8, Eso 40,20–21, Mar 15,38 e Eb 10,20. Margaret Barker soffermandosi sul tema del velo nota a questo riguardo: «C'è un modello nel simbolismo del velo, una logica che è rimasta consistente attraverso molti secoli e attraverso tutte le fedi abramitiche. Il velo divide il mondo materiale da altri stati al di là di esso, eppure sempre all'interno della creazione più grande»³². Esso simboleggia allo stesso tempo la purezza e la santità, dato che il Vecchio Simeone non si sentiva degno di toccare il corpo del Signore con le proprie mani. Questa concezione è fortemente radicata soprattutto nel mondo orientale e in particolar modo nella Chiesa Armena, dove molti vasi ecclesiastici e i reliquiari dei santi, e primariamente il Vangelo, secondo la consuetudine, non vengono mai toccati se non con un velo prezioso³³.

È interessante considerare un'interpretazione rara ed originale (immagine 3) della rappresentazione di Maria con un velo sulle mani, che offre Gesù al Vegliardo, su un capitello della navata della chiesa di Saint-Pierre a Chauvigny (XII sec.), nella regione di Poitou-Charentes in Francia³⁴.

29 Ibid., 150.

30 RÉAU, 264.

31 ПОКРОВСКИЙ, 102–103.

32 M. BARKER, *The great high priest. The temple roots of Christian liturgy*, T&T Clark 2003, 202.

33 L'idea di stare alla presenza del sacro si esprime soprattutto nella liturgia: per questo i ministri non calpestano mai lo spazio intorno all'altare con le scarpe normali, ma con speciali pantofole.

34 M. THOUMIEU, *Dizionario d'iconografia romanica*, Milano 1997, 327.

Nei secoli successivi si intravede un permanente allargamento del concetto di velo-mantello nella rappresentazione iconografica della festa. I miniaturisti apparentemente favorendo questo tema lo diffondono includendo anche la persona di Giuseppe, quale viene illustrato tenendo le tortore con in mantello. Il significato simbolico di questo gesto è senz'altro l'ossequio nei confronti dell'onnipotente Dio. Questi uccelli sono destinati a Dio, quindi lui li approccia come agli enti sacri che non devono essere toccati con le mani³⁵.

2. GLI ANGELI

Il velo non è l'unico riferimento che trae le radici dai vangeli apocrifi. Vi è un ulteriore elemento, che deriva dal mondo apocrifo. Si tratta in particolar modo degli angeli.

Dalla lettura del vangelo di Luca diventa chiaro che queste celesti creature non sono coinvolti in nessun modo nell'avvenimento della Presentazione. L'unico riferimento che troviamo, della presenza degli angeli, si trova nel Vangelo Arabo dell'infanzia:

«[6,1] Presentazione al tempio. Quando la signora vergine Maria sua madre, tutta contenta, lo reggeva tra le braccia, il vecchio Simeone lo vide risplendente come un fascio di luce. Gli angeli facevano cerchio inneggiandogli attorno come vassalli attorno al re»³⁶.

Nelle miniature Armene della Presentazione gli angeli di conseguenza non si trovano molto spesso. Una delle rare illustrazioni da noi esaminate contiene

35 Cfr. CI MS 36 (156), fol. 3v, (AD 1236); CPAG MS 1956, fol. 183a, (AD 1265); CM MS 197, fol. 174b, (AD 1287); CMSL MS 1917, fol. 159r, (AD 1307); MET (= MET Museum, New York) MS 2020.142.1–4, frammento, (AD 1311); CI MS 404 (172), fol. 2r, (AD 1362); CMSL MS 280/10, fol. 547r, (AD 1418–1422); CPAG MS 3815, fol. 11, (AD 1455); BNF (= Bibliothèque Nationale de France) MS Arménien 18, fol. 11v, (AD 1456); MLM (=Morgan Library & Museum, New York) MS M.749, fol. 3r, (AD1461); CPAG MS 14 (2569), fol. 11b, (AD 1577–1579); MLM MS M.624, fol. 2v, (AD1588); UCL (=University of Chicago Library) MS 996, fol. 5v, (XVI-XVII secc.); BJR (= Biblioteca di John Rylands, Manchester) MS Arm 12, fol. 2v, (XVII sec.), etc.

In alcune miniature possiamo addirittura vedere Giuseppe che tiene le tortore in una specie di elegante cestino oppure gabbia: CPAG MS 2563, fol. 191a, (AD 1272); CPAG MS 2568, fol. 165b, (AD 1270–1284); CMSL MS 1196/130, fol. 1b, (AD 1499); CPAG MS 2567, fol. 189a, (AD 1458–1464); CI MS 471 (96), fol. 7v, (AD 1587); CUA (= Catholic University of America, Washington) ICOR MS Arm. 02, fol. 5v, (AD 1628); CPAG MS 16 (2571), fol. 3b, (AD 1637), etc.

36 MORALDI, 287. Cfr. P.R. GARRUCCI, Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa, V, Prato 1877, 19–20.

tale rappresentazione. Si tratta del manoscritto CM 6303 del XIII secolo (immagine 4). In questa raffinata miniatura, della quale non si conosce l'autore, incontriamo gli angeli. Il miniaturista ci tiene molto a sottolineare che l'evento si svolge nel tempio di Salomone, aggiungendo infatti l'apposita iscrizione «Սողոմոնի տաճարն». Al posto dell'abituale tabernacolo oppure dell'altare troviamo il velo aperto e il vecchio Simeone inginocchiato con le mani stese, pronto ad accogliere il bambino Gesù. Gli angeli invece si trovano sul tetto del tempio che tacitamente osservano l'evento. Anche qui il miniaturista precisa i due protagonisti. Si tratta degli arcangeli Gabriele e Michael, ancora una volta con le proprie iscrizioni «Գաբրիլ» e «Միքայիլ». Le loro mani sono tese, in modo sincronico verso una grande croce fiorita, che a sua volta viene sovrapposta sul tempio, così per dire che con l'entrata di Gesù il tempio di Salomone si è trasformato in una chiesa.

Si può facilmente vedere come il troparion della festa rispecchi gli stessi motivi:

«Benediciamo con il canto vittorioso la tua venuta Cristo oggi nella nuova santa chiesa di Gerusalemme, benedetto colui che viene nel nome del Signore»³⁷.

«Oggi il trono cherubino si è mostrato, Simeone ha preso nelle sue braccia il figlio di Dio incorporato, colui che è incessantemente lodato dagli eserciti celesti nei alti»³⁸.

3. MARIA

Nell'analizzare le miniature della Presentazione balza immediatamente agli occhi un elemento di carattere liturgico, presente nell'Eucaristia. Nella seconda parte³⁹ della Divina Liturgia, prima del canto del Trisagion, il diacono con un velo sulle mani si avvicina al celebrante. Questi, prendendo il Vangelo dall'altare e tenendolo nelle mani, intona: «Poiché tua è la potenza e la virtù e la gloria nei secoli. Amen»⁴⁰, dopo di che bacia il Vangelo e lo consegna nelle mani del diacono, che proclama:

37 INNARIO, Libano 1980, 47.

38 Ibid., 51.

39 La Divina Liturgia Armena è costituita da quattro parti. Esse sono:

- a. La Preparazione
- b. La Sinassi o l'ora di mezzogiorno
- c. L'Eucaristia
- d. La Conclusione

40 Divina Liturgia Della Chiesa Armena, Venezia 1994, 26–27.

«Proschoumen»⁴¹. Si fa la processione del Vangelo, mentre il coro canta il Trisagion del giorno.

Si resta sorpresi di fronte alla somiglianza di questo gesto liturgico e la raffigurazione di Maria che consegna Gesù a Simone, pronto a riceverlo nelle sue mani velate. Quest'analogia, probabilmente è parallela all'elaborazione iconografica della scena lucana, nella quale i miniaturisti identificano la persona di Cristo con il Vangelo stesso, in conformità alle Sue parole: «Io sono la via, la verità e la vita» (Giov 14,6).

Qui, però, sorge una domanda: in quale misura la suddetta analogia può essere considerata riuscita e soddisfacente, se si pensa che nella miniatura colui che davvero assume il ruolo sacerdotale, seppure talvolta non esplicitamente, è sempre il vecchio Simeone? In questa misura, non sarebbe più legittimo che fosse Simeone-sacerdote a dare il Bambino Gesù-Vangelo a Maria-diaconessa? La risposta a questa domanda si trova nelle miniature stesse. La scelta di quest'analogia alla base della tipologia del canone di raffigurazione della Presentazione, dove Maria consegna Gesù a Simeone e non viceversa, non è casuale. Non certo, perché manchino le immagini dove Simeone consegna Gesù a Maria⁴², che in fondo vengono a confermare la nostra intuizione, ma perché abbiamo un'altra miniatura assolutamente originale nel suo genere, dove Maria stessa esegue l'incarico sacerdotale. Nel manoscritto CM MS 4813 (AD 1338) troviamo la miniatura (immagine 5) molto particolare. Essa nella sua composizione al lato sinistro presenta Simeone che tiene il bambino Gesù nelle braccia, o meglio lo abbraccia in modo disinvolto e familiare, senza quella raffinatezza e ossequio alla quale ci siamo abituati a vedere dalle miniature ciliciane. Al lato destro si vede Maria che con un turibolo nella mano incensa l'altare, avendo allo stesso tempo le mani oranti, un gesto che evidenzia il momento della preghiera. Accanto a lei più a destra viene raffigurato Giuseppe che tiene le tortore nelle mani in modo piuttosto inconsueto: egli le eleva verso l'altare, compiendo così un gesto di offerta. Il concetto della chiesa è reso attraverso una costruzione con la colonna e la cupola, ma soprattutto attraverso una lampada ad essa appesa.

41 Ibid., 26–27.

42 Cfr. CM MS 979, fol. 58b, (AD 1286); CM MS 197, fol. 174b, (AD 1287); CM MS 9422, fol. 13b, (XIII sec.); CM MS 2929, fol. 6b, (AD 1330); CM MS 5786 fol. 16a, (AD 1336); CM MS 8772, fol. 5b, (AD 1391); CM MS 4841, fol. 3b, (AD 1417); CI MS 471/96 fol. 7b, (AD 1587); WAG MS 547 fol. 29a, (AD 1678); FGA (= Freer Gallery of Art, Washington) MS 37.19, fol. 41, (AD 1651–1652); CMV (= Collezione dei Mechitaristi di Vienna) MS 986, fol. 37b (prima del 1675); WAG (= Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore) MS 546, fol. 8b, (XVII sec.); CMSL MS 320/295, fol. 3b, (II meta del XVIII sec.).

Per un miniaturista l'idea di presentare Maria mentre sta incensando l'altare è un tentativo assai nuovo e audace allo stesso tempo. È vero, che Maria secondo la legge ebraica doveva compiere certi impegni rituali in questo caso la puerpera e il sacrificio di due tortore per la purificazione post-natalizia. Tuttavia questa scena non ha nulla a che vedere con la celebrazione religiosa descritta nel libro Levitico. Non solo perché secondo la legge non c'era bisogno che Maria si recasse di persona al tempio per adempiere questa «mitzva», oppure portare il bambino con sé, la presenza del quale, difatti non era nemmeno previsto, ma anche perché lo svolgimento di questa celebrazione riteneva una partecipazione assolutamente passiva per la donna, senza nessun coinvolgimento rituale.

Tutto ciò ci induce a pensare che in questa composizione il miniaturista prova di presentare un rito ben diverso, in questo caso cristiano. Con l'impostazione del rito, il problema di fondo, comunque, non si risolve, nella misura in cui la liturgia della chiesa Armena non identifica nessun rito quale suggerirebbe l'incensamento dell'altare con il turibolo da parte di una donna. Quindi come si deve interpretare questa scena e quale era l'obiettivo del pittore?

A nostro avviso è molto probabile, che in questa composizione Maria è presentata in capacità di diaconessa. La testimonianza storica di quest'istituzione all'interno della Chiesa Armena risale all'alto medioevo. L'Euchologion più antico che contiene il riferimento all'ordine delle diaconesse «սարկուսազնի» appartiene al IX-X secc. Più approfondita informazione riguardo il ruolo delle diaconesse nella vita ecclesiastica ci tramandano i maestri di diritto canonico Mkhitar Gosh (1130–1213), Smbat Connestabile (1208–1276) e l'arcivescovo di Syunik Stepanos Orbelian (1250–1303). Secondo le attestazioni storiche pervenute apprendiamo che l'incarico principale svolto dalle diaconesse⁴³ era strettamente collegato alle donne: la proclamazione della parola di Dio, lettura del Vangelo e preparazione delle donne adulte al battesimo.

Come giustamente nota G. Kazaryan la descrizione della funzione delle diaconesse attestata da metropolita Stepanos⁴⁴ li qualifica al livello di sottodiaconi, quali avevano il diritto di leggere le litanie, incensare l'altare, aiutare al sacerdote a vestirsi per la sacra liturgia, lavare le copertine dell'altare, assistere alle celebrazioni sull'altare⁴⁵.

43 Non confondere con le monache.

44 STEPANOS ORBELIAN, La storia della provincia Sisakan, (in Armeno), Parigi 1859, 153.

45 Г. С. КАЗАРЯН, «Институт диаконисс в традиции Армянской Апостольской Церкви»,

4. TORTORE

Un alto aspetto molto notevole nelle miniature della Presentazione è legato alle tortore. Il comandamento ebraico, parte integrale della legge di Mosè, scrupolosamente descritto nel libro Levitico (12,6–8) richiede:

«Quando i giorni della sua purificazione per un figlio o per una figlia saranno compiuti, porterà al sacerdote all'ingresso della tenda del convegno un agnello di un anno come olocausto e un colombo o una tortora in sacrificio di espiazione. Il sacerdote li offrirà davanti al Signore e farà il rito espiatorio per lei; essa sarà purificata dal flusso del suo sangue. Questa è la legge relativa alla donna, che partorisce un maschio o una femmina. Se non ha mezzi da offrire un agnello, prenderà due tortore o due colombi: uno per l'olocausto e l'altro per il sacrificio espiatorio. Il sacerdote farà il rito espiatorio per lei ed essa sarà monda».

L'usanza di offrire il dono del sacrificio in forma di tortore oppure colombe, come mostra Milgrom, nella sua opera fondamentale dedicata all'interpretazione del Levitico, anticipa il contesto religioso ebraico e risale addirittura al rito ugaritico⁴⁶. Per di più nella credenza ittita allo stesso modo la donna partoriente era obbligata ad offrire due uccelli per la purificazione sacramentale.

Il rito religioso ebraico «Niddah», inequivocabilmente istruiva che appunto la donna doveva offrire due tortore oppure colombe al tempio, mentre l'esame delle miniature della Presentazione indicano a sua volta un sostanziale spostamento di questo requisito. L'analisi iconografica dimostra che nella scena della Presentazione quasi sempre è Giuseppe che tiene le tortore nelle mani al posto di Maria. Di certo si può trovare una spiegazione plausibile per tale sistemazione posizionale. Quasi sempre i miniaturisti tralasciando la tradizione ebraica e le sue esigenze rituali, cercano di mettere in risalto la portata cristiana della festa, concentrandosi su Cristo. Per loro l'oggetto primario è di descrivere l'incontro di Gesù con il Vegliardo Simeone e, poi quello secondario e, cioè l'offerta delle tortore riservata a Giuseppe.

Tuttavia ci sono due miniature che completamente variano dalla tendenza generale e meritano perciò un approfondimento supplementare. La prima miniatura (immagine 6) fa parte del Codex Hitda (*Evangeliiar mit Capitulare der Äbtissin Hitda*, Nr. Hs 1640), Evangelionario del XI secolo (ca. 1020), custodito attualmente alla

Biblioteca Universitaria e Statale di Darmstadt, Germania. Nella composizione di questa miniatura, eseguita nella tradizione artistica della Rinascita Ottoniana, per la prima volta osserviamo Giuseppe⁴⁷ al centro della vicenda, che consegna il bambino Gesù nelle mani di Simeone, come segno di consacrazione del primogenito al Signore. Accanto a lui, nella parte sinistra sta la Madre di Dio con le tortore nelle mani, pronta a consegnarli a Simeone sacerdote in seguito a Gesù.

La seconda miniatura (immagine 7) altrettanto peculiare è contenuta nel Codex Aureus Escorialensis attualmente custodita nella Biblioteca reale El Escorial, cod. Vitrinas 17 (AD 1043–1046). Nella scena principale osserviamo dalla parte destra Simeone con il bambino Gesù nelle braccia, al centro è posizionato l'altare, mentre dalla parte sinistra contempliamo la santa Vergine con due tortore stese verso Simeone nel gesto di reminiscenza dello scambio degli animali al posto umano, come era il caso nel racconto biblico del sacrificio di Isacco (Gen 22,1–18).

L'unica miniatura armena, che in qualche senso si avvicina e prova a rendere il concetto dell'offerta delle tortore da parte di Maria, è la miniatura (immagine 8) dei Quattro Vangeli MS 2010.108, fol. 6r, (AD 1434–1435), attribuita a Khachatur di Khizan custodita nel Museo Metropolitano d'Arte di New York. La composizione della Presentazione in questa miniatura è realizzata secondo le buone tradizioni islamiche di «haremlık e selamlık», dove gli uomini e le donne si presentano in modo segregato. La scena si svolge in un edificio decorato con gli ornamenti orientali. Sarebbe stato difficile distinguere se questa struttura fosse un tempio se non ci fosse stato un altare avvolto con la copertina di color rosso al centro dell'immagine. Simeone con Gesù nelle mani è posizionato nella parte destra. Il Suo corpo è leggermente inclinato, mentre gli occhi sono fissati sulla Madonna offrendole il bambino in maniera piena di riverenza e venerazione. Maria d'altronde con le mani aperte è pronta ad accogliere il Salvatore. Mentre la sua mano sinistra è presentata in modo statico, la mano destra al contrario sembra ancora in movimento, dopo aver lasciato il cestino con due tortore sull'angolo dell'altare.

47 Giuseppe come possiamo vedere a differenza di Gesù, Maria e Simeone non c'è l'ha il nimbo sulla testa. In questo modo l'artista vuole mettere in evidenza il fatto che anche se Giuseppe compie l'obbligo prescritto al *pater familias*, in fin dei conti egli non è pari a Cristo, che è Dio. Infatti il nimbo di Gesù si distingue dai nimbi di Simeone e Maria, che si presentano come santi. Quest'atteggiamento presente anche nell'iconografia armena. Così ad esempio nella miniatura di Presentazione del BJR MS Arm 20, fol. 34a (AD 1587), al fondo della composizione il miniaturista aggiunge l'iscrizione esplicativa: «Quarantesimo nel Tempio, il vegliardo Simeone con Cristo nelle braccia, altri: Anna, Maria, due cuccioli di tortore», nel frattempo intenzionalmente omettendo la persona di Giuseppe.

Continuando ancora sul tema delle tortore va menzionata anche l'osservazione fatta da Dorothy Shorr nel suo articolo dedicato all'iconografia della Presentazione. Secondo lei il mosaico della basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore (immagine 9) che presenta quattro uccelli al posto di due può infatti fare un ulteriore riferimento al Vangelo apocrifo di Matteo⁴⁸. Il simbolo delle tortore con il tempo prende tutt'altra dimensione nella tradizione iconografica armena venendo sostituito con la pernice. Nella spiritualità armena il simbolo della pernice occupa un posto particolare. Si credeva che quest'uccello per sfamare i propri cuccioli affamati si feriva con il becco e li nutriva con il proprio sangue⁴⁹. In questa capacità la pernice viene paragonata addirittura a Gesù Cristo che ha versato il proprio sangue per la salvezza dell'umanità. Alcuni miniaturisti armeni hanno ripreso questo simbolo (immagine 12) utilizzandolo sulla cupola della chiesa⁵⁰. Il miniaturista Hovhanes (immagine 11), invece, va oltre e nella composizione della Presentazione, sempre sulla cupola della chiesa aggiunge 12 pernici inserendo la seguente iscrizione esplicativa: «Pernice è l'esempio di 12 apostoli».

5. Il significato teologico del bastone

Un altro elemento estremamente raro che si può incontrare nelle miniature armena riguarda infatti la persona di Giuseppe, più precisamente il bastone nelle sue mani.

In quanto tale, il bastone era un oggetto di uso diffuso in tutta la regione e veniva utilizzato come sostegno, tenendo presente la geografia collinare di Palestina, per i viaggi pedonali. Il bastone, tuttavia, aveva anche un significato spirituale, dato a Mosè come segno di benevolenza da parte del Signore. Il libro dell'Esodo ci fornisce interessanti particolari a tale riguardo, da cui apprendiamo come il bastone

48 «The only exception to this statement is seen in the presence of the four birds on the Temple steps, instead of the two referred to by St. Luke. Since, however, there is a discrepancy in the several texts of Pseudo-Matthew, which read both: *par tururum et duos columbarum*, and *par turturum aut duos pullos columbarum* (Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium, Evangelia Apocrypha, ed. C. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1853, p. 77)», D.C. SHORR, «The iconographic development of the Presentation in the Temple», The Art Bulletin 28 (1946), 20.

49 Nella spiritualità occidentale al posto della pernice troviamo un altro uccello – il pellicano.

50 Cfr., CM MS 316, fol. 4b (XIV sec.). Nell'architettura ecclesiastica armena il tamburo cilindrico sulla quale si posava la cupola a punta, reminiscenza mistagogica della montagna biblica di Ararat, spesso si decorava con le sculture di vari uccelli, tra i quali pernici, colombe, pavoni, aquile etc., T. AVETISYAN-N. HOVHANNISYAN, «La scultura dell'uccello nella decorazione dei tamburi delle chiese armena medievali», Armenia e la civiltà cristiana orientale – III, Yerevan 2017, 8–16.

del profeta Mosè prima si trasforma in serpente ed in seguito riprende la forma originaria (Eso 4 2–4) e viene usato diverse volte durante i disastri mandati da Dio al Faraone e agli Egiziani.

Dunque, cosa contraddistingue l'uso del bastone in questo caso e quale portata potrebbe avere? Sin dall'inizio va notato il fatto che la rappresentazione di Giuseppe con un bastone si manifesta come fenomeno singolare non solo per il patrimonio miniaturistico armeno, ma anche per le scuole d'arte bizantine, assire, latine, georgiane, copte e altre, in questa sede esaminate.

L'unica miniatura (immagine 10), che infatti rappresenta quest'oggetto si conserva nel codex miniato CM MS 10780 noto anche con il nome «Vangelo del Vehapar» e considerato uno dei più antichi manoscritti armeni, datato del X-XI secc.

Ricostruendo le circostanze del 40'ismo giorno della nascita di Cristo, possiamo constatare che la Madre di Dio, prendendo Gesù, suo marito e una coppia di tortore, si recò al Tempio per adempiere la Legge stabilita da Mosè. Il viaggio, pressappoco 8 chilometri a piedi da Betlemme al Tempio di Salomone, a quel tempo durava all'incirca due ore, quindi in questo senso il bastone in mano a Giuseppe nella miniatura sembra al quanto logica e comprensibile.

Nondimeno, il bastone in questa rappresentazione evangelica ha un'altra connotazione più profonda alquanto religiosa, dato che anche questo argomento si riferisce originariamente ai vangeli apocrifi appartenenti, più precisamente al ciclo della natività e dell'infanzia. Infatti, dal Protovangelo di Giacomo, noto anche con il nome di «Vangelo della natività di Maria», composto probabilmente nel II secolo in Siria, apprendiamo che nel momento in cui Giuseppe viene scelto come sposo di Maria, una colomba esce dal bastone e si poggia sulla sua testa.

«[9, 1] Gettata l'ascia, Giuseppe uscì per raggiungerli. Riunitisi, andarono dal sommo sacerdote, portando i bastoni. Presi i bastoni di tutti, entrò nel tempio a pregare. Finita la preghiera prese i bastoni, uscì e li restituì loro; ma in essi non v'era alcun segno. Giuseppe prese l'ultimo bastone: ed ecco che una colomba uscì dal suo bastone e volò sul capo di Giuseppe. Il sacerdote disse allora a Giuseppe: - Tu sei stato eletto a ricevere in custodia la vergine del Signore»⁵¹.

51 MORALDI, 76.

6. IL SIGNIFICATO TEOLOGICO DEL TITOLO «LA VENUTA DI CRISTO DI QUARANTA GIORNI AL TEMPIO»

Come avevamo accennato prima, il nome della festa della Presentazione nella Chiesa Apostolica Armena si cambia nell'arco di tempo relativamente breve e si sofferma sul nome assai singolare «La venuta di Cristo di quaranta giorni al Tempio». Da dove è originato quindi questo nome e quale è il suo contenuto teologico e riflessione iconografica?

Anzitutto va sottolineato il fatto che per la Chiesa Armena, sostenitrice perenne di superiorità e prevalenza della tradizione, celebre anche per il suo approccio alquanto conservativo nei riguardi sia delle novità dogmatiche che miglioramenti liturgici, era fuori del comune quest'atteggiamento a prima vista premuroso.

Esaminando il nome della festa immediatamente ci rendiamo conto di alcune apparenti difficoltà di carattere semantico. Cosa significherebbe questo titolo, la semplice lettura del quale ci suggerisce in modo più che chiaro che a venire al tempio non è altro che Cristo stesso. L'atto di venuta nondimeno attribuito particolarmente al Signore, non precisando in quale modo un bambino di 40 giorni poteva compiere questa azione in maniera consapevole e volontaria. La questione diventa ancora più complicata quando confrontiamo il nuovo nome della festa con la testimonianza di Luca, il quale palesemente dichiara: «portarono il bambino a Gerusalemme» (Lu 2,22) riferendosi infatti ai genitori di Gesù.

La storia della Presentazione è fondamentalmente diversa da tutte le altre narrazioni evangeliche che costituiscono le basi eortologiche delle apposite festività come quella del Battesimo, del Miracolo delle nozze di Cana, della Domenica delle Palme etc., dove il protagonista Gesù è un adulto capace di prendere le proprie decisioni ed è pienamente consapevole della propria missione. D'altronde la storia della Presentazione come tale è vicina agli eventi come quella della Natività, della Circuncisione e della Fuga in Egitto, in cui Gesù è ancora infante, quindi soggetto alla volontà dei suoi genitori, e non in grado di influenzare direttamente sulle vicende cronologiche di cui Lui stesso fa parte.

Non è da sorprendersi che il nome armeno della festa di Presentazione non ha alcun paragone nelle altre chiese cristiane.

Un ulteriore approfondimento nel significato del titolo della nuova solennità ci rivela la vera ragione del cambiamento, quale era probabilmente di natura teologica. Sappiamo bene dalla storia della chiesa che la provenienza e origine di alcune feste

erano strettamente legate alle premesse teologiche e circostanze storiche. L'argomento principale incorporato nel nuovo nome della festa indica difatti il vero e proprio problema dogmatico, che nel nostro caso è il nestorianesimo.

La dottrina propagata dal patriarca di Costantinopoli Nestorio nella prima metà del V secolo era fondamentalmente una continuazione esistenziale dell'arianesimo. Sebbene il nestorianesimo sia meglio conosciuto per la sua posizione avversa nei confronti del termine «Madre di Dio» (Θεοτόκος), il nucleo di quest'insegnamento era sempre cristologico e non mariologico⁵². Nestorio accettò 2 nature (diofisismo) nella persona di Gesù: umana e divina, che erano completamente separate l'una dall'altra. Lui non accettava l'unione consustanziale tra di loro. Gesù, secondo Nestorio, era sia Dio che uomo. «Queste due realtà»⁵³ agivano indipendentemente l'una dall'altra. Così nell'episodio della risurrezione dai morti agiva Dio, mentre le debolezze umane si manifestavano nell'uomo Gesù⁵⁴. Queste due nature, secondo lui, non devono essere mescolate, altrimenti si corre il rischio di avere un Cristo che non è né Dio perfetto, né uomo perfetto. Così insegnava Nestorio, quindi confessando che Maria aveva partorito l'uomo Gesù e non Dio, perché l'uomo non poteva partorire Dio, quindi Maria non può essere chiamata «madre di Dio», ma soltanto «madre di Cristo». Dal punto di vista dell'esame della nostra materia è fondamentale la celebre locuzione attribuita a Nestorio: «Io non posso chiamare Dio un bambino di due o tre mesi»⁵⁵.

Sebbene Nestorio e il suo credo⁵⁶ furono condannati nel Concilio di Efeso (431), il suo insegnamento non cessò di esistere, anzi, continuò a svilupparsi ed espandersi geograficamente, arrivando fino all'Estremo Oriente, in India⁵⁷, in Mongolia⁵⁸ e in Cina⁵⁹. La dottrina nestoriana ha trovato la più calorosa accoglienza soprattutto in

52 È del tutto contrario parere il R. Price quale sostiene che per il nestorianesimo la questione di Maria non era un effetto, ma la causa, cfr. R.M. PRICE, «Marian Piety and the Nestorian Controversy», *Studies in Church History* 39 (2004), 31–38.

53 J.A. MCGUCKIN, *The Westminster Handbook to Patristic Theology*, London 2004, 237.

54 F.H. CHASE, *Saint John of Damascus, The Fathers of the Church* 37 (1958), 138.

55 MCGUCKIN, 37.

56 Per ulteriore informazione vedi F. LOOFS, *Nestorius and His Place in the History of Christian Doctrine*, Cambridge 1914; S. Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy. The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic*, Oxford 2004.

57 G.A. GRIERSON, «Modern Hinduism and its Debt to the Nestorians», *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 39 (1907), 311–328.

58 O. LATTIMORE, «A Ruined Nestorian City in Inner Mongolia», *The Geographical Journal* 84 (1934), 481–497.

59 S. BUGGE, «The history of the Nestorian Church in China», *The Muslim World* 24 (1934),

Persia, avendo come centro la regione storica di Khorasan⁶⁰, da dove si organizzavano permanenti missioni di proselitismo verso la Persarmenia, con il pretesto «del commercio»⁶¹, come nota il Catholicos Nerses (548–557). Dalle fonti attendibili veniamo a sapere che i Nestoriani non solo visitavano ripetutamente, ma si stabilirono addirittura in Armenia, incaricando anche un proprio vescovo. «Hanno portato anche i loro maestri, i capi dell'inganno, che venendo hanno intrapreso la divulgazione della contaminazione della nostra santa e vera fede [...]»⁶². Durante il regno del Catholicos Hovhannes II Gabeghyan (557–574) questo problema era ancora in vigore. Lo impariamo dalla sua lettera al vescovo di Syunik, da dove chiaramente risulta che il vescovo locale non solo accoglieva i nestoriani nelle chiese locali, ma perfino spartiva a loro la santa comunione⁶³. Nella chiesa Armena, il problema dei nestoriani rimane attuale anche durante il regno di Movses II Yeghivardetsi (574–604), come si può vedere dalla sua lettera indirizzata al Catholicos di Georgia Kirion I (595–610)⁶⁴.

Le evidenze storiche sopra elencate forniscono sufficienti argomenti per ritenere che il nuovo nome della festa della Presentazione è stato introdotto a causa della divulgazione del nestorianesimo in Armenia. È ovvio, che un cambio del nome della festa non poteva essere un'impresa facile. Ci sarebbe stato bisogno di una solida giustificazione in forma di testimonianze degli autorevoli Padri della Chiesa per convalidare un tale cambiamento. È molto probabile che questa funzione viene assegnata a Efrem il Siro (306–373), di cui il discorso intitolato «Sulla venuta del Signore di quaranta giorni al Tempio e al vecchio Simeone» era già tradotto in lingua Armena⁶⁵.

Riassumendo il breve l'esame del titolo «La venuta di Cristo di quaranta giorni al Tempio» arriviamo alla conclusione che la riflessione principale della Chiesa

370–390.

60 Qui si tratta della regione storica del Grande Khorasan (Khorāsān), che comprendeva territori attualmente occupati in parte dall'Iran, dall'Afghanistan, dal Tagikistan, dal Turkmenistan e dall'Uzbekistan.

61 Libro Delle Lettere [Գիրք Թղթոց], «L'enciclica di rimprovero del signore Nerses, Catholicos degli Armeni ai vescovi», (in Armeno), Gerusalemme 1994, 196.

62 Ibid., «Il patto d'alleanza del mondo armeno fatto dal Catholicos degli Armeni Nerses, il vescovo Mershapuh di Mamikon, il vescovo Petros di Syunik e altri vescovi, i principi, i nobili e l'intero popolo», 200.

63 Ibid., «La lettera scritta dal signore Hovhannes, Catholicos degli Armeni e altri vescovi al vescovo di Syunik e al principe», 208.

64 Ibid., «La lettera del signore Movses, Catholicos degli Armeni al Catholicos di Georgia Kirion», 222.

65 Bibliografia di Sant'Efrem, Sermoni e preghiere, IV, (in Armeno), Venezia 1836, 38:

Armena nei confronti di questo tema era appunto di professare in modo eloquente ed indubitabile la perfetta divinità del bambino Gesù, di cui il Catholicos Nerses Shnorhali (1166–1173) scrive: «È venuto al tempio nel quarantesimo giorno secondo la legge, per offrire al Padre lassù la nostra natura umana»⁶⁶. Uno dei più grandi teologi della Chiesa Armena Grigor Tatevatzi (XIV-XV secc.) aggiunge: «E lui stesso il bambino è l'offerta «ընծա» (donum). E lui stesso, come nostro capo, è l'offerente «ընծայող». E lui stesso è il ricevitene «ընդունիչ» della propria offerta»⁶⁷:

All'interno del magnifico patrimonio iconografico armeno ci è pervenuta una rarissima miniatura del manoscritto CM MS 4820 del XIII secolo, che riflette sostanzialmente la posizione teologica della Chiesa armena riassunta nel nome della festività (immagine 11). Come possiamo vedere in quest'immagine ci sono tre protagonisti: Simeone, Gesù e Maria. A differenza di alte rappresentazioni di Gesù nelle miniature della Presentazione, il bambino di quaranta giorni qui è raffigurato come fanciullo⁶⁸. Vi è uno spazio tra Maria e Simeone, mentre Gesù è posizionato esattamente in mezzo a loro due. Lui non è appoggiato in nessun modo su sua Madre, anzi Lui stesso fa il percorso verso il Vegliardo, apparentemente camminando da solo. Una tale rappresentazione di questa narrazione lucana non può avere qualsiasi altra interpretazione se non all'interno del titolo ufficiale della festa «La venuta di Cristo di quaranta giorni al Tempio».

Questa soluzione iconografica è l'unica tra tutte le miniature della Presentazione da noi esaminate⁶⁹, senza nessun parallelo nell'arte Christiana. Un esame esteso delle miniature, mosaici, murali, sigilli, icone e vari oggetti ecclesiastici interamente dedicati oppure contenenti il riferimento alla solennità della Presentazione ci rivelano soltanto due precedenti tematicamente affini a questa rappresentazione iconografica. Il primo è (immagine 13) il pannello in avorio (Episodi della vita di Gesù) conservato al Victoria and Albert Museum (ca. 850) a Londra, dove si osserva il bambino Gesù, non del tutto da solo, ma sempre in piedi e leggermente sostenuto da sua madre, una scena che sta in diretta contraddizione con il kanon iconografico

66 NERSES SHNORHALI, *Lettere Cattoliche*, (in Armeno), Gerusalemme 1871, 90.

67 GRIGOR TATEVATZI, *Volume Tzmeran*, (in Armeno), ristampa Gerusalemme, St. James Press 1998, 84.

68 Lo stesso approccio si nota anche in alcune illustrazioni occidentali, dove Christo viene presentato non da bambino di quaranta giorni, ma di 10 ani, C.R. DODWELL, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800–1200*, Yale University Press 1993, 278.

69 Г. АКОПЯН, «Миниатюра Арцаха-Утика (XIII-XIV вв.)», *Notiziario di Scienze Sociali [Լրաբեր Հասարակական Գիտությունների]* 3 (1990), 10.



Immagine 1: C. Cecchelli, I mosaici della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore, Torino 1956, plt. 53-58



Immagine 2: ©VascoNani



Immagine 3: @kristobalite, www.flickr.com



Immagine 4: © Matenadaran



Immagine 5: ©Matenadaran

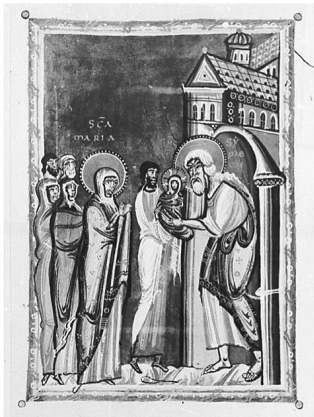


Immagine 6: © Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek



Immagine 7: **D.C. Shorr**, «The iconographic development of the Presentation in the Temple», *The Art Bulletin* 28 (1946)



Immagine 8: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Immagine 9: **C. Cecchelli**, I mosaici della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore, Torino 1956, plt. 53-58 politan Museum of Art



Immagine 10: © Matenadaran

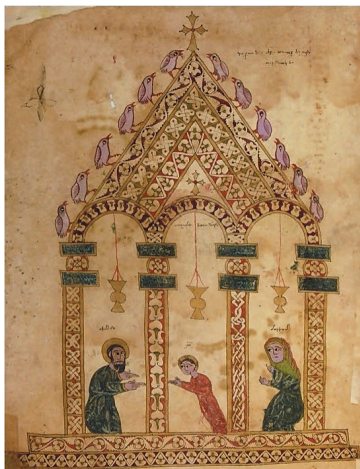


Immagine 11:
© Matenadaran



Immagine 12:
© Matenadaran



Immagine 13: ©Victoria and Albert Museum



Immagine 14: H.M. Von Erffa, «Darbringung im Tempel», Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, III, Stuttgart 1954, 1057-1076.

di quest'immagine, che seconda la tradizione artistica centenaria raccomanda di raffigurare Gesù tra le braccia di Simeone, il ricevitore di Dio (Θεοδόχος). Il secondo invece (immagine 14) si trova nell'abbazia benedettina di Cismar, a Schleswig-Holstein in Germania. Il suo famoso altare contiene un'immagine (ca. 1310–1320) della Presentazione dove possiamo contemplare il bambino Gesù in piedi sopra un tavolo d'altare abbassato, molto simile allo sgabello di un salotto aristocratico, però sempre sostenuto da una parte da Maria e dall'altra da Simeone.

KEYWORDS

Miniatura, Madre di Dio, Chiesa Armena, Collezione di Matenadaran, bambino Gesù, rappresentazioni di Gesù.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Культурное наследие Армении широко известно в том числе благодаря искусству иллюстрирования средневековых рукописей. В прошлом армянская миниатюра рассматривалась и впоследствии исследовалась исключительно с художественной точки зрения, без глубинного изучения ее богословского, литургического и эртологического подтекста. Тем не менее, миниатюры представляют из себя своеобразные религиозные компендиумы, содержащие в себе огромную информацию в виде архитектурного фона, расположения главных героев, использованных красок, переменных и постоянных элементов, поясняющих надписей, а также выражения лиц, телодвижений и присутствующих ритуальных символов.

Обширное, но не всеобъемлющее изучение армянских миниатюр «Сретения», хранящихся в разных учреждениях мира, выявляет много интересных и зачастую скрытых богословских аспектов этого праздника, которые миниатюристы преднамеренно интегрировали в иконографическую композицию. В данной статье мы рассматриваем несколько элементов присутствующих в миниатюрах, таких как покровы, ангелы, Богородица, горлицы, посох, а также художественное воплощение аутентичного названия праздника, принятого в Армянском церковном календаре: «Пришествие сорокадневного Христа

во Храм». Только после слаживания двух кардинальных подходов, иконографического и религиозного, можно по-настоящему оценить масштаб первоначального замысла миниатюристов и воззреть истинный смысл изображения и повествования.

SUMMARY

Cultural heritage of Armenia is well famous for the art of medieval book illumination. In the past, Armenian miniatures have been considered and subsequently examined merely from the artistic point of view without any in-depth study of its theological, liturgical and eortological content. Nonetheless, miniatures in their own way, are concise religious compendiums delivering incredible amount of data through variety of different aspects such as architectural background, position of the protagonists, colours, variable and constant objects, explicatory inscriptions as well facial expressions, body language and incorporated ritual symbols.

Extensive yet not comprehensive examination of Armenian miniatures of Presentation of Jesus to the Temple preserved in different institutions around the globe reveals many interesting and often hidden theological aspects of this solemnity that miniaturists intended to incorporate in the iconographical composition. In this article, we examine several elements and concepts present in the miniatures such as veil, angels, Mother of God, turtle doves, walking staff, as well as the artistic representation of the peculiar title of the feast adopted in the Armenian ecclesiastical calendar under the name “The forthcoming of forty-days old Christ to the Temple”. It is only after harmonizing iconographical and religious dimensions that we can really grasp the magnitude of original intent of miniaturists and observe the true nature of the image and the narrative.

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ՅՈՎՀԱՆ Ա. ՄԱՆՂԱԿՈՒՆՈՒ ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿՈՍՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԱՌԱՋԻՆ ՇՐՋԱՆԸ

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

Յօդուածը Հայ Եկեղեցու Ե. դարի պատմութեան մի հատուածին վերաբերող ուսումնասիրութիւն է: Գիտական սոյն հետազօտութեամբ ներկայացնում ենք Յովհան Ա. Մանղակունու կաթողիկոսութեան առաջին շրջանը: Հայոց Եկեղեցու պատմութեան մէջ նշանակալի դերակատարում ունի Յովհան Ա. Մանղակունի հայրապետը (478–490 թթ.):

Կաթողիկոսութեան առաջին շրջանում՝ 481–484 թթ., Յովհան Ա. Մանղակունին մշտապէս մասնակցել է հայ ազգային-ազատագրական պայքարին, հայրենիքի պաշտպանութեանը՝ ըստ էութեան չկարողանալով հոգևոր-եկեղեցական ականերէ գործունէութիւն ծաւալել: Սակայն կարող ենք վստահաբար ասել, որ նրա հայրապետութեան երկրորդ շրջանն առաւել քան բեղուն է եղել՝ եկեղեցական, ծիսապաշտամունքային բարեկարգութիւններով, եւ Հայոց Եկեղեցու հետագայ ընթացքի համար ունեցել է վճռորոշ նշանակութիւն: Ներկայ տեսակէտը հիմնաւորուում է մեր յաջորդ յօդուածներում, իսկ այստեղ առանձնակի անդրադարձել ենք Յովհան Ա. Մանղակունու կաթողիկոսութեան տարիներին ու տևողութեանը վերաբերող խնդրին, ներկայացրել հայ պատմիչների վկայութիւններն այս առնչութեամբ: Այս վիճելի հարցին վերաբերող տեսակէտները քննարկուել են առանձին եւ որոշակիօրէն հիմնաւորուել: Յօդուածի գլխաւոր նպատակը հեղինակային-ինքնուրոյն վերլուծութիւն ներկայացնելն է, ուստի որոշ վիճելի խնդիրների, չուսաբանուած հարցերի, մեզ հասած պատմական տեղեկութիւններին աղերսող անճշտութիւնների վերաբերեալ առաջադրել ենք մեր տեսակէտն ու դիրքորոշումը:

ARPINE CHANTIKYAN

THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE PONTIFICATE OF HOVHAN I MANDAKUNI¹

Catholicos Hovhan I Mandakuni (478–490) has a significant role in the Armenian Church history.

According to historical sources, Hovhan Mandakuni was born in the village of Tsakhnot² around 420³. It is assumed that he was one of junior translators and a disciple of Sahak the Parthian (387–439) and Mesrop Mashtots (361/362–440). The inscription of the “Canonical Term” inserted in the second volume of the “Armenian Book of Canons” also testifies to this: “Armenian Catholicos and translator Hovhan Mandakuni was the disciple of Patriarch Saint Sahak the Great...”⁴. Perhaps we should not confuse Hovhan Mandakuni with Hovhan Yekeghetsatsi, who was among the senior disciples of Sahak the Parthian and Mesrop Mashtots⁵.

It is noteworthy that in the works of none of the Armenian historians have we found information that Hovhan Mandakuni went to Greece and studied in Greek schools. According to Archimandrite Barsegh Sarkissian, among junior translators Hovhan Mandakuni is perhaps the only one free from “hellenistic defects”⁶.

1* Ստացուել է՝ 4.12.2022, գրախօսուել է՝ 18.02.2023: էլ. հասցէ՝ arpine.chantikyan@gmail.com: *Խմբագիր՝ Գեորգ Սարգսյան*:

2 Tsakhnot village is located in Arsharunik (Arshamunik) region of Turuberan province of Greater Armenia. See “Dictionary of Toponyms of Armenia and Adjacent Regions” (in Armenian), compiled by T. Hakobyan, S. Melik-Bakhshyan, H. Barseghyan, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1988, column 1, p. 829.

3 See STEPANOS TARONETSI ASOGHIK, *Universal History* (in Armenian), critical text by G. Manukyan, “Armenian Classical Authors”, 10th century, vol. 15, book 2, Antelias-Lebanon, 2010, ch. 2, p. 688.

4 “Armenian Book of Canons” (in Armenian) by Vazgen Hakobyan, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1971, p. 239. Cf. “Book of Canons and Judgement” (in Armenian), Constantinople, 1831, p. 123. See also ARCHIMANDRITE HUSIK MOVSISYAN, *History of the Armenian Apostolic Holy Church*, “Ararat”, 1884, No 11, p. 476; ARCHIMANDRITE MELCHIZEDEK MOURATIANTS, *History of the Armenian Apostolic Holy Church* (in Armenian), Jerusalem, 1872, p. 100.

5 See BALASANIAN S., *History of Armenia: from the Beginning to the Present Day* (in Armenian), Tiflis, 1890, pp. 250–251.

6 See ARCHIMANDRITE BARSEGH SARKISSIAN, *Literary Criticism of Hovhan Mandakuni and His Works* (in Armenian), Venice, 1895, p. 7.

Hovhan I was most likely born into a ministerial family, as evidenced by the name *Mandakuni*. So, brothers Sahak and Parsman Mandakuni are also mentioned among brave warriors of Vardan, among senior ministers⁷. Therefore, it is quite supposable that Hovhan I Mandakuni was a descendant of this prominent ministerial family.

Like in the case of other junior translators, the extant evidences about Hovhan Mandakuni carry very little and vague information. Unfortunately, Ghazar Parpetsi, the historian who witnessed the events, does not mention any biographical details either. So, many facts about Hovhan⁸ Mandakuni are still unknown.

According to accurate evidences, after staying in the Persian court for some time, Gyut I Arahezatsi (461–478) returned to his homeland and secluded himself in Votms, continuing his activities only in the spiritual circle⁹. During this period, the Persian ruler Adhur Gushnasp and chiliarch Vehvehnam persecuted Christians. The Persian king Peroz, oppressing and weakening the Armenians, thwarted any attempt at a liberation movement. After the death of Catholicos Gyut I Arahezatsi, Armenia found itself in an abandoned and chaotic state.

Under such political conditions, it was almost impossible to hold Catholicossal elections. According to Archbishop Malachia Ormanian: “*Thanks to his foreseeing and watchful soul, Gyut was able to keep a worthy assistant by his side, who had taken charge of the works during his lifetime, and who would succeed him on the throne....*”¹⁰. In other words, after the death of Catholicos Gyut I in 478, his nephew Hovhan Mandakuni became the Armenian Catholicos. Ghazar Parpetsi, the historian who witnessed the events of this historical period, does not provide details about the election of the Catholicos.

7 According to historical evidences, in 452 AD, after the battle of Avarayr, Armenian senior ministers and noblemen, including the brothers Parsman and Sahak Mandakuni, were summoned to Ctesiphon to appear before the Persian court. They were arrested in Persia by the order of king Yazdegerd II and remained in captivity for almost 12 years. For more details, see Eghishe, *History of Vardan and the Armenian War* (in Armenian), “Armenian Classical Authors”, 5th century, vol. 1, Antelias-Lebanon, 2003, part 7, pp. 752–753; GHAZAR PARPETSİ, *History of Armenia*, Yerevan, 1982, 47, p. 204; “Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names”, compiled by H. Acharyan, vol. 5, Yerevan, 1962, column 1, p. 196.

8 Hovhan, assistant to Catholicos Hovsep I Haghotsmetsi (440–452) should not be identified with Hovhan Mandakuni, because the latter was a youngster in 439 and could not be a suitable candidate for the assistant to the Catholicos.

9 See GHAZAR PARPETSİ, *History of Armenia* (in Armenian), 64, pp. 278 — 280. Gyut I Arahezatsi was taken to the Persian court by the order of King Peroz and was kept there.

10 See ARCHBISHOP MALACHIA ORMANIAN, *National History* (in Armenian), vol. 1, Holy Etchmiadzin, 2001, p. 523.

The newly elected Armenian Catholicos was very concerned about the defense of the hapless nation and the torn up homeland. In 478–484, during the first years of his Pontificate, he did not undertake any new work, as the internal and external situation of the country did not make it possible.

The bloody battles of Akori (481), Arest (March 482), Nersehat (April 482), Charmana (August 482), Bagavan (September 482), Gerana field (483) and Dvin (484) took place in the reign of Catholicos Hovhan I Mandakuni. According to the testimony of a contemporary historian, the Catholicos was always by the side of the Armenian army, with his prayers and blessing, exhortations and encouragement¹¹. The first period of his Pontificate passed in the turmoil of an unyielding national struggle¹².

Thus, the Catholicos, along with the Armenian army, participated in the battle of Dvin and was seriously injured: “....and the holy Armenian Catholicos fell from his horse and was left half-dead....”¹³.

By a peace treaty made in Nvarsak in 484, the Persian court gave up its intention of forcibly converting the Armenians, allowed them to openly profess Christianity and promised not to give thrones and honours to the converted ministers. The Armenian Catholicos did not participate in the Armenian-Persian negotiations in Nvarsak, but presumably, the conditions and demands put forward in these negotiations had previously been discussed, worked out and substantiated by the joint efforts of the Armenian general and the Catholicos¹⁴. The Armenian people enjoyed the fruits of their bloody struggle, i.e. peace during the reign of Vahan Mamikonian.

Ghazar Parpetsi does not mention when Vahan Mamikonian became the governor of Armenia. Samuel Anetsi dates the dispatch of the decree on the appointment

11 See GHAZAR PARPETSİ, *History of Armenia*, Yerevan, 1982, 70, p. 306, 71, p. 312, 316. Thus, in the battle of Akori in 481, the Armenians had a brilliant victory, and in the church of Dvin, the Armenian Catholicos sang Psalm 29 and recited a thanksgiving prayer with great solemnity (ibid., 70, p. 306).

12 For example, the battle of Charmana took place in August of 482, where the Armenians, who were treacherously deceived by the Georgians, suffered great losses, and most of the captured were martyred. One of the martyrs was Yazd Syuni, who did not give in to threats and torture, did not convert and was martyred as a Christian by being beheaded near St. Hovhannes Church in Bagrevand on September 12, 482. See GHAZAR PARPETSİ, *History of Armenia*, 74, p. 328. Historian Asoghik also mentioned Yazd, a nobleman from Syunik in his history (see STEPANOS TARONETSİ ASOGHIK, *Universal History* (in Armenian), “Armenian Classical Authors”, 10th century, vol. 15, book 2, ch. 2, p. 688), but did not add anything else that would make the information we have more complete.

13 GHAZAR PARPETSİ, *History of Armenia*, 78, p. 350.

14 See ARCHBISHOP MALACHIA ORMANIAN, *National History*, vol. 1, pp. 538–539.

of Vahan as a governor to 507¹⁵, which is clearly incorrect and unacceptable. In his work, the indicated date of the Council of Chalcedon should be corrected by changing 472/3¹⁶ to 451; hence, twenty-two years should be subtracted from the mentioned year 507, and we will get 485. In other words, after the death of Persian king Peroz in 484, peace was established in the Armenian world. At the beginning of 485, Vahan Mamikonian was appointed commander-in-chief of the Armenian army, and at the end of the same year - also the governor. In this period, Catholicos Hovhan I Mandakuni carried out peaceful spiritual and administrative activities, paying special attention to church reforms.

Speaking of Catholicos Hovhan I Mandakuni, we should also refer to the years and length of his Pontificate. In this matter, historians and chroniclers are divided into two groups according to the information and views they report. According to one group, Hovhan Mandakuni reigned as Catholicos for six years, and according to the other group - for twelve years. These numbers are completely different. It is clear that we cannot attribute this difference to the similarity of letters Չ and ԺԲ, which had numeric values. So, in our opinion, it should be recognized that the above approaches have their justification. Thus, Hovhannes V Draskhanakertsi (898–929) writes in his “History”: “*The Great Hovhan Mandakuni officiated as Catholicos for six years and then went to Christ....*”¹⁷ Whereas Samuel Anetsi, in his work entitled “Collection of Historians’ Works”, counts the period of Mandakuni’s Catholicosate for twelve years, starting from 484: “*....His Holiness Hovhan Mandakuni (was catholicos) for 12 years*”¹⁸.

Archimandrite Barsegh Sarkissian, a member of Mechitarist Congregation, believes that Hovhan Mandakuni was born around 400, was ordained a priest in 448–450; after being released from prison in 484, he returned to his homeland from Ctesiphon and was ordained a bishop by his uncle Gyut I Arahezatsi; in 484–485, he was elected Catholicos of Armenia and died in 498 or 499 at the age of 93–98¹⁹.

15 See SAMUEL ANETSI AND HIS SUCCESSORS, Chronology from Adam to 1776 (in Armenian) by Karen Matevosyan, Yerevan, 2014, p. 139.

16 See SAMUEL ANETSI AND HIS SUCCESSORS, Chronology from Adam to 1776, p. 137.

17 “History of Armenia by Catholicos Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi” (in Armenian), critical text by G. Ter-Vardanyan, “Armenian Classical Authors”, 10th century, vol. 11, book 1, Antelias-Lebanon, 2010, p. 394.

18 See SAMUEL ANETSI AND HIS SUCCESSORS, Chronology from Adam to 1776, p. 138.

19 See ARCHIMANDRITE BARSEGH SARKISSIAN, Literary Criticism of Hovhan Mandakuni and His Works, pp. 10–21.

However, this point of view is not justified at all; moreover, it is unacceptable for us, because it contradicts the information provided by historians, in particular, by Ghazar Parpetsi. According to the historian who witnessed the events, Hovhan Mandakuni was elected Catholicos of Armenia immediately after the death of Gyut I Arahezatsi, i.e. prior to the outbreak of the rebellion by Vahan and his companions from 481 to 484.

Another remarkable testimony is mentioned by Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi in his “History”: “....and while Peroz was organizing the devastation of the Armenian land, thanks to the prayers of Hovhan, a holy man of God, suddenly he himself and his army in general were killed by the Kushans”²⁰. In other words, before the death of the Persian king Peroz in 484, Hovhan Mandakuni was already the officially elected Armenian Catholicos.

According to Vardan Areveltsi, Hovhan I Mandakuni officiated as Catholicos for six years: “....and His Holiness Hovhan was on the throne for six years, and his successor Babken – for five years....”²¹. However, it is obvious that there is a great inaccuracy in Vardan Areveltsi’s work, because the historian writes: “....and it seems that at the Council of Chalcedon, Gyut was already dead, and Hovhan Mandakuni was not yet enthroned....”²². Whereas, we know from historical sources that by the time of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, Gyut Arahezati had not yet ascended the throne of the Catholicos. In addition, according to the lists of the Catholicos, Gyut I Arahezatsi died in 478.

Kirakos Gandzaketsi states: “Gyut succeeded St. Hovsep as Catholicos for 15 years. It was he, who asked David the Philosopher for the “Bardzratsoutsek”. Then Hovhan Mandakuni succeeded him for 12 years. He introduced many reforms in the Church....”²³. Accordingly, Hovhan Mandakuni officiated as Catholicos for 12 years.

We think that by comparing, contrasting and analyzing the above-mentioned references, we can come to a certain conclusion. Thus, according to bibliographic data, Hovhan Mandakuni was elected Catholicos immediately after the death of his uncle Gyut I Arahezatsi in 478, and officiated as the Catholicos of the Armenian Church until 490; therefore, he was Catholicos for twelve years. It is another issue

20 HOVHANNES DRASKHANAKERTSI, History of Armenia, critical text by G. Ter-Vardanyan, “Armenian Classical Authors”, 10th century, vol. 11, book 1, Antelias-Lebanon, 2010, pp. 393—394.

21 “Historical Compilation of Vardan Areveltsi” (in Armenian), Venice, 1862, 30, p. 57.

22 “Historical Compilation of Vardan Areveltsi”, Venice, 1862, 28, pp. 54—55.

23 KIRAKOS GANDZKETSI, History of Armenia (in Armenian) by K. Melik-Ohanjanyan, Yerevan, 1961, p. 35.

that from 481 to 484, Hovhan Mandakuni was always involved in the Armenian national liberation struggle, defending the homeland, and was actually not able to engage in spiritual and ecclesiastical activities. But we can say with certainty that the second period of his Pontificate was extremely efficient, full of ecclesiastical, ritual reforms and was of crucial importance for the future course of the Armenian Church. We will substantiate this view in the following articles.

The above evidences have a certain explanation: some historians and authors counted the period of Hovhan Mandakuni's Pontificate from 484, i.e. from the establishment of peace in Armenia, getting six years, and others - from 478, i.e. from his election as the Armenian Catholicos, mentioning twelve years of succession to the throne.

Thus, in the 5th century, the Armenian Church also went through difficult and conflicting political events, the national liberation struggle, managing to fulfill her mission of preserving the national identity. In the furnace of long-term struggle, the doctrines and dogmatic principles of the Armenian Church were also shaped and crystallized, conditioning and setting the Armenian Christian system of values inherent in our spiritual life and culture, our psyche and perception.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Данная статья — это исследование части истории Армянской церкви V века с целью проведения независимого анализа. Здесь представлен первый период понтификата Ована I Мандакуни. Католикос Ован I Мандакуни (478–490) сыграл значительную роль в истории Армянской Церкви. В первый период правления: с 481 по 484 год Ован I-й Мандакуни всегда был вовлечен в армянскую национально-освободительную борьбу, защищая родину, и фактически не имел возможности заниматься духовной и церковной деятельностью. Но можно с уверенностью сказать, что второй период его понтификата был чрезвычайно продуктивным, полным церковных, обрядовых реформ и имел решающее значение для будущего курса Армянской Церкви. Мы обосновываем эту точку зрения в следующих статьях. В данной статье особое внимание уделено вопросу о годах и продолжительности правления Ована I Мандакуни, и в связи с этим представлены свидетельства армянских историков. Основной целью статьи является проведение независимого от анализа.

SUMMARY

This article is a study of a part of the history of the Armenian Church of the 5th century. This scientific research presents the first period of the pontificate of Catholicos Hovhan I Mandakuni (478–490), who had a significant role in the Armenian Church history.

In the first period of his pontificate from 481 to 484, Hovhan I Mandakuni was always involved in the Armenian national liberation struggle, defending the homeland, and was actually not able to engage in spiritual and ecclesiastical activities. But we can say with certainty that the second period of his pontificate was extremely efficient, full of ecclesiastical, ritual reforms and was of crucial importance to the future course of the Armenian Church. We will substantiate this view in the following articles.

In this article, a special reference is made to the issue related to the years and duration of the pontificate of Hovhan I Mandakuni, and the testimonies of Armenian historians are presented in this regard. The points of view related to this issue are discussed separately and somewhat substantiated.

The main goal of the article is to make an independent analysis; therefore, we have presented our point of view and position regarding some controversial and unexplained issues and inaccuracies related to the historical information that has reached us.

ՅԱԿՈԲ ՔՈՐԹՄՈՍԵԱՆ

ՍՈՒՐԲ ՆԵՐՍԷՍ ՇՆՈՐՀԱԼԻ
(ԿԵՆՍԱԳՐԱԿԱՆ ԱԿՆԱՐԿ ԵՒ ՀԱՏՈՒԱԾ «ԹՈՒՂԹ ԸՆԴՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ»)

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

Հաղորդման մէջ համառօտ ներկայացուել են սբ. Ներսէս Շնորհալու (Ներսէս Դ. Կլայեցի հայրապետ, Երզնցոյ) կենսագրական գիծերը, ինչպէս նաեւ Հայրապետի Թուղթ Ընդհանրականից՝ իշխանաւորներին ուղղուած գրութիւնը թարգմանուել է արաբերէնի:

القديس نيرسيس شنور هالي

ولد القديس نيرسيس شنور هالي تقريباً عام ١١٠٠م في قلعة تسوفك، و توفي في ١٣ آب ١١٧٣ م في قيصريّة.

في عام ١١٦٦ أصبح مطراناً خلفاً لأخيه الأكبر غريغور الثالث باهلافوني.¹ ترعرع على يد المطرانين غريغور الثاني (فكاياسير) و بارسيف الاول (انيتسي).

بدأ مسيرته التعليمية في مدرسة الدير الأحمر في منطقة شوغري و تتلمذ على يد البطريرك استيفانوس مانوك.

في عمر السادس عشر ترسم كاهناً باسم نيرسيس. بين ١١٢١ - ١١٣٥ انشغل بأعمال الكنيسة.

في فترة خدمته كان له علاقات وطيدة مع كل الأديرة في ارمينيا والكنيسة الشرفيين، بمراسلتهم في أمور كنسية و استشاريّة و أدبيّة و علميّة و قوميّة.

في ١١٤١ شارك مع أخيه المطران بهلافوني في لقاء انطاكيا والذي من خلاله بدأت العلاقات بين الكنيسة الأرمنية و كنيسة اللاتين.

¹* Ստացուել է՝ 4.02.2022, գրախօսուել է՝ 18.03.2023: էլ. հասցե՝ hagop1424@gmail.com:

Խմբագիր՝ Սօնեա Քորթմոսեան:

Տե՛ս Ա. ՄԱԴՈՅԵԱՆ, Միջնադարի մեծ բանաստեղծը, «Բանբեր Երևանի համալսարանի»,

1973, հ. 2, 94-105, հմմտ. «Կիրականօրեայ դպրոցի դասեր. դէմքեր եւ դէպքեր Հայ

եկեղեցւոյ Պատմութենէն», պատրաստեց՝ Նուպար Սրկ. Պէրպէրեան, 1982 Անթիլիաս, էջ 106:

غرف بشخصيته البارزة و علاقاته الجيدة مع الكنائس الأخرى.²

اليونانيون، الآشوريون و الرومانيون شهبوه لآباء القرون القديمة (القرنين الثالث و الخامس).

في تلك الفترة المراجع اليونانية و الآشورية لقبوه باسم (غريغور عالم اللاهوت الجديد). بالإضافة الى لقب شنور هالي لُقّب بألقاب عديدة، منها المنور الثاني للأرمن، الكاهن الثلاثي (يراميتس فارتابيد)، (يراناشنوره سورب)، (اغوتك هاي يكيغيتسفو يف هاي هوکيين)، (ديبيزار الويس فارتابيد) و (هاما هريشتاك).

كان مبدعاً و له الكثير من المؤلفات، منها³

1. الأنثربولوجيا (ادينابانوتيون)

2. رسالة الى عامة الشعب (توغت انتهانراكان)⁴

3. تفسير أنجيل متى. (ماتيوս افيداراني ميكنوتيون)

له الكثير من الرسائل، منها

4. لمانويل ملك روما

5. لبطريك روما ميخائيل

وله ايضاً مترجمات

6. لتافيت انهاغت (بارتسراتسوتسيك)

² ՍՈՂՄՈՆ ՍՐԿ. ՍՈՂՄՈՆՆԵԱՆ (Կոմիտաս), Շնորհալին, «Էջմիածին» 1950, Ե.-Զ., էջ 23-26.

նշեալը Կոմիտասի 1893 թ. աւարտական շարադրութեան հրապարակումն է:

³ Յ. ԳԵՂԱՐԻ, Ներսէս Շնորհալիի Գրական Վաստակը, «Հասկ» ամսաթերթ, Նոյեմբեր-Դեկտեմբեր, 1973, էջ 464-469:

⁴ «Թուղթ Հնդհանրականը» ինչպես երևում է նրա ընդարձակ վերնագրից, շրջաբերական նամակ է՝ ուղղուած համայն հայութեանը և նպատակ է ունեցել սուրբգրային, հայրաբանական իմացութիւններն ու Եկեղեցու կանոնական դրոյթներն առաւել մատչելի մեկնաբանութեամբ ծառայեցնել ժամանակակից հասարակութեան շահերին. թէ՛ հոգևոր, թէ՛ աշխարհիկ:

«Թուղթ Հնդհանրականում» խրատները խմբաւորուած են ըստ հասարակական դասերի, ընդ որում՝ հոգևորականներին ուղղուածները հասցէագրուած են վանականներին, եպիսկոպոսներին ու քահանաներին, իսկ աշխարհականներին վերաբերող խրատները՝ իշխաններին, զինուորներին, քաղաքի առևտրականներին, արհեստաւորներին, երկրագործներին և, վերջապէս, կանանց: Շնորհալու երկի բովանդակութիւնը բացայայտող այս հակիրճ վերնագրերն իսկ որոշակի արժէք ունեն գաղափար տալու համար Հայաստանում եղած հիմնական դասերի, աշխարհիկ ու հոգևոր նուիրապետութիւններում նրան գրաւած դերի ու նշանակութեան մասին»։ տե՛ս ՆԵՐՍԷՍ ՇՆՈՐՀԱԼԻ, Թուղթ Հնդհանրական, աշխատասիրութեամբ՝ է. Բաղդասարեանի, 1995 Նրեան, էջ 18-19:

7. Գրիգոր Նյոսատսի տفسیر ل(امینان تشار)

و ترجمات اخرى مثل

8. (فیباسوتیون) الذي يتألف من ١٦٠٠ سطر

9. مأساة مدينة أديسيا (فوخب يتيسيا) الذي يتألف من ٢٠٩٦ سطر

10. (بان هافادو)

من أشهر مؤلفاته اعتراف بابيمان (هافادوف خوسدوفانيم) الذي يتألف من ٢٤ بيت.⁵

هو مؤلف للعديد من التراتيل و الترانيم نذكر منها (ارافود لوسو)، (نوراستيغتسيال)، (هاريفيليتس)، (ناياتس سيروف)، (اकिन هاسيميك) و (ناهبيداتس أبراهامو).

و له قصيدة مشهورة يسوع الابن.

الكنيسة الأرثوذكسية الأرمنية تحيي ذكرى شنور هالي السبت الخامس بعد عيد الصليب في ذكرى الكهنة المترجمين.

نقدّم لكم مقتظفا من الرسالة العامة للقديس نيرسيس شنور هالي الموجهة لالرؤساء.⁶

دعونا نوجّه تعليم الوصايا الإلهية إليكم، أنتم الذين لديكم أسلوب حياة دنيوي. أولاً لرؤسائك، الذين في هذه الأوقات العصيبة في أماكن مختلفة تحكمون على جيوش ومقاطعات، كثيرة أو قليلة. أتوسل إليكم، لا تعصوا قوانين الله. ولكن كما تريدون أن يطيع عبيدكم وأمركم وينفذونها بلا عيب، وأولئك الذين لا يطيعونكم، سوف يعاقبون من قبلكم. أنتم أيضاً اخدموا الرب بخوف وطاعة. لأنكم بطبيعتكم خدام الله، حتى لا تُعاقبوا مثل أولئك الذين تمردوا على الرب، ولكن كخدام مقربين اقبلوا الكرامة من الملك السماوي.

⁵ «Հաւատով խոստովանիմ» աղերսը համաշխարհային հոգևոր գրականության գոհարներէն մէկն է, որ բազմաթիւ լեզուներու թարգմանուած է (աւելի քան 36): Սուրբ Ներսէս Շնորհալի Հայրապետն այս աղօթքը կոչած է՝ «Քրիստոսին հաւատացող իւրաքանչիւր անձի աղօթք»: Աղօթքը բաղկացած է քսանչորս տուններէ: Այս աղօթքը իր մէջ կը բովանդակէ դաւանաբանական, աստուածաբանական, խնդրողական, զղջողական ու խոստովանական տարրեր, որոնք իւրաքանչիւր քրիստոնեայ հաւատացեալի առօրեային անբաժան մասնիկը պէտք է ըլլան:

⁶ Թարգմանութեան համար օգտագործած ենք՝ Ս. ՆԵՐՍԷՍ ՇՆՈՐՀԱԼԻ, Թուղթ Ընդհանրական, գրաբարէ աշխարհաբարի վերածեցին՝ Տ. Մհարոպ Քհնյ. Արամեանը, Տ. Խաչատրեանը եւ Ս. Ստամբուլցեանը, «Գանձասար» հաղնէս, 1991, էջ 103-113:

الآن، أولاً وقبل كل شيء، نعهد إليكم بهذه الوصية. لا تتعاملوا بظلم مع رعاياكم بفرض ضرائب باهظة ومرهقة، التي لا يمكنهم تحملها، بل احكموا على كل واحد حسب الناموس وقدرته. وانتم أيها السادة، افعلوا هذه الأمور، تاركين التهديد، عالمين أنّ سيدكم أنتم أيضاً في السموات، وليس عنده محابة. (أفسس ٦. ٩ كما يقول الرسول)

لا تحرموا أحداً ولا تؤذوا الفقراء والمشردين، حتى لا ينتظروا عليكم أمام الله. ويسمع الله شكواهم. كما يقول سليمان الحكيم. "لا تعطي الفقراء سبباً للشتم عليك". (انظر الأمثال ١٠. ٧) حتى خالقه عند الاستماع إليه لا يجازيكم بالشر.

لا تعينوا ولاية أشرار وظالمين على بلدكم. حتى لا يحاكمكم الله معهم، بسبب المظالم التي ارتكبوها. اختر أشخاصاً أمينين وعادلين للقيام بالأعمال. حتى لا تترك الحقوق التي حددتها المحكمة للمستحقين، والتنازل عن الكثير مقابل رشوة صغيرة، أو هم أنفسهم يسرقون ولا تدعهم يتقاضون أكثر مما أمر لهم. لأنهما ظلم بنظر الله. اعطوا إذن ما لقيصر لقيصر و ما لله لله. (٢٢. ٢١ مت)

لا تحكموا على أحد ظلماً، بل احكموا باستقامة حتى يدينكم الله بلطف وليس بقسوة. لا ينبغي أن تكون الرشوة أو الانحياز لأحد الأطراف و الكراهية و الانتقام أو الشرف المتوقع من أي شخص أن يكون مبرراً لتتصرفوا المسيئ و تظلموا البرئ في المحاكمة وتشوهوا حقوقه العادلة، حتى لا تكون أرواحكم بسبب هؤلاء مستحقة للعنة شرائع الله.

لا تتجاهلوا حقوق الأرملة والفقراء، عندما يشكون لكم من الذين يجرمونهم، بل انظروا إلى حكم البيت واعطوا الأرملة حقها، كما أمر الله عن طريق النبي [انظر اشعيا 1. 17]. استمع إلى استغاثتهم، وأنقذهم من مضطهديهم، وأرجعوا ما سرق منهم من قبل الظالمين، عندها يسمع الله دعواتكم ويولي طلبات قلوبكم.

لا تجبروا الناس الذين تحت سلطتكم على خدمتكم مثل الحيوانات العاطلة التي بطبيعتها تخدم الناس، ولا تكلفهم بمهام ثقيلة لا تطاق كما فعل فرعون لبني إسرائيل، ولا تتركوهم بلا طعام، بل تصرفوا بمغفرة وعذوبة. قللوا من ساعات العمل وارضوهم بوجبات وفيرة أثناء عملهم ولا تتقالموا كاهلهم حتى يتمكنوا من إعالة أسرهم وأطفالهم بأرباحهم ودفع الضرائب الملكية.

لا تحجب أجره عمالك بالعنف حتى لا تصير مثل الذين يتهمهم الرسل والأنبياء. "هو ذا أجره الفعلة الذين حصدوا حقولكم، المبخوسة منكم تصرخ، وصياح الحصادين قد دخل الى أذني رب الجنود" [يعقوب 5. 4]. ويكفي أنكم تزدادون ثراء بجهودهم، لأن طبيعتهم لا تختلف عن طبيعتكم، لانكم مصنوعون من نفس الطين والملاط، فالبدائية والنهاية هي نفسها للسادة والخدم، الأغنياء والفقراء. يأتي الجميع إلى العالم بولادة متساوية ويغادرونها بالموت. الغنى والفقر والتواضع والسعادة والمبیت هي أمور تحدث بين الولادة والموت، وهي تشبه الحلم، وهذا معروف بالتجربة للجميع، سواء لالحكيم والجاهل. لا شيء من هؤلاء مؤكد. لذلك، لا تفقدوا لذة الحياة الأبدية من أجل هذه الحياة الفانية. لأنه على الرغم من أن المسيح قال أن مرور جمل من ثقب إبره أيسر من أن يدخل غني إلى ملكوت الله [انظر متى 19: 24]. ولكن إذا استخدمتم ثروتكم وفقاً لمشیئة الله فلن يكون الأمر صعباً عليكم. كان إبراهيم غنياً أيضاً، لكنه لم يبنل الملكوت فحسب، بل دُعي موطناً لكل الأبرار، وأيوب وجميع الأثرياء الصالحين، كما يشهد الرب، "متى رنيتم إبراهيم وإسحق ويعقوب وجميع الأنبياء في ملكوت الله" [لوقا ١٣. ٢٨]. اقتدوا بهم واتبعوا طريق العدالة، لأنهم لم يضايقوا، ولم يسرقوا ممتلكات أحد، ولم يظلموا أحداً أو يخدعوا. ولكنهم بأجورهم الصالحة أطعموا الجياع، وكسوا العراة، واستقبلوا الضيوف، واهتموا باحتياجات المحتاجين، وعزوا

المظلومين، وعزروا الضعفاء، ولم يقتصر الأمر على أنهم لم يضطهدوا الفقراء والمشردين، بل أنقذوهم من مضطهديهم. وكما أن وفرتهم الجسدية لم تكن حاجزاً أو عقبة أمام وراثة ملكوت السموات، كذلك فإن ثروتكم لا يكون سبباً للشر عليكم. إذا تصرفتم مثلهم بعدل، فستكون مناسبة للخير، بحسب [صموئيل] الحكيم الذي يقول: "خلاص حياة الإنسان ثروته". (أمثال 13: 8)

وهو الذي، بدلاً من أن يساعد المحتاجين، سلبهم ما يملكون، وبدلاً من أن يكون مضيافاً وملجأ للمسافرين والمتعبين، أصبح شريكاً مع اللصوص على الطريق لمن هم يسيرون ببراءة في طريقهم المستقيم، ويملاً منزله بالظلم و يعتقد أنه سيثري بهذه المكاسب... لست أتحدث عن الجرائم التي لا تُغفر والتي لا يسرقون بها ممتلكات الأبرياء فحسب، بل يسفكون أيضاً دماثهم، حتى لا يشهدوا على من يسرق الممتلكات، ولا يتذكرون أن هناك قاض آخر يعرف كل شيء، ولا يستطيعون أن يحفظوا منه خبثتهم. عن مثل هؤلاء الأغنياء يقول المسيح بحق أنه سيكون من الصعب عليهم دخول ملكوت السموات، فمستكنهم ليس الملكوت، بل حفرة الجحيم، دودة الجحيم التي لا تنام و تارتاروس الأبدي.

وهذا صحيح أن أولئك الذين لا يطعمون الجياع من ممتلكاتهم الخاصة، ولا يلبسون العراة ولا يستضيفون الغرباء، سيسمعون يوم القيامة من المسيح "اذهبوا عني يا ملاعين الى النار الأبدية المعدة لإبليس وملأكته" [متى 25:41]. ولكن الذين هم تسببوا بجوع الفقراء، وعريّ البائسين، وخسارة ممتلكات الاغراب، بدلاً من روية الأسرى وتعزيتهم بالقول والفعل، فإنهم يساهمون، بوضع وتقيد الأبرياء في السجون، فأين وإلى أي مدى سيعاقبون مثل الشيطان وأتباعه لانهم تبعوا أوامره.

لذلك، أتوسل إليكم جميعاً أن تتركوا هذه الأمور غير الجيدة. ولا يبرر أحد منكم أسباب الذنوب بقوله: "إذا لم نحرّمهم ونسلبهم، فلا يمكننا أن نحافظ على حكمنا مستقراً". نقول ما يلي حول هذا الامر، إذا كان من المستحيل على أصحاب السلطة إرضاء الله، فكيف كان الكثير من الملوك والأمراء المذكورين في الكتاب المقدس يستحقون الثناء أمام الله والناس؟ مرة أخرى، إذا كان من المستحيل كما تقولون، أنه لا يمكنكم الحكم بدون حرمان، فإن الرجل الحكيم يجب أن يهرب من الحكم المؤقت، حتى لا يعاني مع الشيطان من عذاب الأبرياء. لكن ليس من المستحيل أن يحكم بدون ظلم، لكنه سهل ويسهل لمن يحب ويريد، ونشهد أمام الله ونضمن للجميع أنه إذا قام أحدهم بإبقاء بيته نظيفاً من الحرمان وجمع فقط ما كسبه للتو حتى لو كان قليلاً، فسيكون أكثر ربحية وسبباً للثروة أكثر مما يتم اكتسابه بشكل غير شرعي.

كما يقول صاموئيل الحكيم: "في بيت الاشرار لعنة، وحقول الصديقين مباركين" [أمثال 3:33]. فالقليل الناتج عن الظلم يحترق كالنار ويفسد الكثير الناتج بالحق، لأن ما يجمع ظلماً من المحرومين ملعون ومرير، ومع لعنة الفقراء تدخل لعنة الله أيضاً بيت الظالم. وبيت الصالحين الطاهر من الحرمان و الذي يطعم الجياع، مع بركة الفقراء تدخل بركة الله هناك سرا وخفاء، بتكاثر القلائل، مثل طحين وزيت أرملة ساربتال [انظر الملوك الثالث 17: 17-8]. رحم المرأة السامنية [انظر 4 ملوك 4: 17-8] [أو الخبز والسّمك] الذي أطعم به الرب [الجموع] في البرية [انظر متى 14: 13-21 و 15: 32-38].

الحمقى ومحبو الجسد، إذ يرون أن الساقطين والأشرار يمتلكون الكثير من الممتلكات، ولكن أولئك الذين يحصلون على القليل، فلا يستهزئون بكلامنا. مثل هذا الشخص يجب أن يستمع إلى كلام النبي داود. "القليل من الصديق خير من ثروة الخاطئ" [مز ٢٨.١٦]. نفس الشيء يقوله ابنه صاموئيل "بالنسبة للأبرار، فإن العالم مليء بالأشياء، أما بالنسبة للأشرار فليس هناك شيء واحد" [الأمثال 4: 17]. ومرة أخرى، من الأفضل لنا أن نتغذى بالخضار والهدوء على أن نتغذى على الأبقار الكبيرة والظلم" [أمثال 15:17]. هذا صحيح، لأن الذين يتغذون من ممتلكاتهم العادلة والصالحة لا يتحملون أي عقاب من الله،

وَأُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ يَمْلَأُونَ طَاولَاتِهِمْ بِالْحَرَمَانِ أَوْ بِالسَّرِقَةِ أَوْ بِالنَّهْبِ، سَوْفَ يَعِيدُونَهَا لِلَّذِينَ سَلَبُوهَا مِنْهُمْ اضْعَافًا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ.

لا تَفْطَرُ صَوْمَ الْإِيمَانِ بِالسَّمَكِ وَالْخَمْرِ، لِنَلَا تَقْضِيَ مَعَ الْمَعْتَوَةِ.

مرة أخرى، دعنا نقول هذا أيضًا، الكذب والخداع، وفقًا للمسيح، هو من الشر والشيطان، على الرغم من أنها تؤذي الجميع، ولكن أكثر من ذلك تؤذي العظماء والأمراء، لأن الصغير يبذل قصارى جهده بالكاذب أن يؤكد ويؤمن، لأنه عاجز، والكبير الذي يستطيع أن يفعل ما يريده بالقوة، يكون أسوأ عندما يتجاهل الحق. مرة أخرى، شخص ينتمي إلى الطبقة العامة، عندما يكذب أو يفعل شيئًا آخر سيئًا، لا يتم تأنيبه علنًا، وفي حال أخطأ فيها الكبير، حتى الخطأ الصغير يصبح سبب شتم القريب والبعيد و يصنع العداء. كما أن معاصي الكبار تفسح لمن يحبون الشر أن يتخذوا منهم عبرة للشر. لذلك أتوسل إليكم، لا تخذعوا ولا تكذبوا، لا على رعاياكم ولا على الغرباء، ولكن عندما تعدون بخير لشخص ما بالكلام، فإنجزه بالفعل، لأنه يرضي الله والناس، ومن جميع الافواه ستمتدحون.

ولا تخفض المعاش المقرر لجنودك و لكل خدمك، لأنه حرمان وظلم كبير. فكما أنهم ملزمون بسفك دمائهم من أجلكم مقابل الهبات التي حصلوا عليها منكم، فعليكم أن تسددوا لهم المعاش الموعود به على أكمل وجه. لا تطالبوهم بالقوة، حتى لا يهربوا سرًا و خوفًا من سجنكم وعقابكم ظلمًا، ويكسروا يمينهم. وستكون إثم لكليكم. وإذا وافقت على نصيحتنا وتعليماتنا، فقوموا بإنشاء الترتيب التالي لجميع خدامكم. ما دام المرء يرغب في خدمتكم، فليخدم بأمانة وبدون مكر، عندما يرغب ترك خدمتكم، دعه يطلب منك ذلك بدون خوف، ولا تمنعه بصرامة وعنف، ولكن إذا كنت لا تريده أن يغادر، حاولوا أن تحافظوا عليه بحب، وإذا كنت مدينًا بأي شيء، فقم بسداده. عندما يرون مثل هذه العدالة منكم، فيما أنهم لن يذهبوا أبدًا، أو إذا ذهبوا، سيعودون إليكم مرة أخرى قريبًا. وبهذه الطريقة ستحرر نفسك و ضميرك من الحلفان، وبالتالي ستحصل على أجر عظيم من الله.

مرة أخرى، لا تحلفوا باسم الله على الإنجيل المقدس وعلى الصليب، إذا لم تكن هناك ضرورة قصوى، لأن المسيح يقول في الإنجيل عن الحلفان. "لا تحلف بالبنّة، لا بالسماة لأنها كرسيّ الله، و لا بالأرض لأنها موطئ قدميه، ولا تحلف برأسك" [انظر متى 5.34]. لكنكم اظهروا أنفسكم بصدق امام الجميع، حتى يتمكن الناس من تصديق حتى كلمتكم البسيطة كأنها حلفان.

وإذا كان هناك سبب شديد للحلفان فلا يرتكب أحد جريمة إنكار اليمين، وعدم الحلف التي لا تغتفر، لأن إنكار اليمين أسوأ من إنكار [الإيمان] تحت التهديد بالقتل أمام الكافرين. لأنه من العنف و الخوف من التعذيب والموت، والآخر طوعي بسبب مكاسب قليلة. و يختلفان عن بعضها البعض بنفس الطريقة التي تختلف بها الخطيئة الطوعية عن الخطيئة غير الطوعية.

يجب أن تحافظ على القسم دون كذب، ليس فقط على رفقاءك المسيحيين، ولكن أيضًا على الأمم الأخرى، حتى لا تجعلهم يجدفون على اسم الله والإيمان المسيحي. إذا سلم الله أمتهم ومدينتهم للملك الوثني نبوخذ نصر بسبب انتهاك اليهود لقسمهم، فكم بالحري سيعاقب أولئك الذين يكذبون وينكرون القسم الذي أعطي للأمم. لا تدع أحدًا يجعلهم يكذبون بشأن القسم المعطى لنا، يجب أن نفعل نفس الشيء معهم. قسمهم وقسمنا ليسا متساويين، لأن قسمنا يتعلق بالحق، بينما قسمهم لا. لذلك، نحن كخدام نعرف إرادة ربهم، لكننا لا نفي بها، سنتعرض لعقوبة أشد، ولكنهم كجهلاء سيتعرضون لعقوبة أخف.

مرة أخرى، نرجوكم ألا تتخذوا قرارًا بدافع الغضب ويقانون جائر، سواء لمعاقبة شخص ما أو إصدار حكم بالإعدام، لأن القانون الجديد لا يسمح بذلك، أما القانون القديم، رغم أنه يسمح للجميع أن يحكم عليهم بالعقوبة أو الإعدام، ولكن ليس بدون أساس وفقًا لمزايا الجرائم. لذلك، أنتم الذين تتمتعون بالسلطة، على الرغم من أنكم تجدون أنه من المستحيل أن تتماشى مع القانون الجديد، اعملوا بأوامر القانون القديم التي أعطيت لهذه الأغراض. وإذا حكمتم بغير القانون، إن قتلتم وعاقبتهم الناس ظلماً، فاعلموا يقيناً أنه في يوم القيامة سيطلب الله منكم دماء الذين قتلوا وأعضاء الذين عوقبوا.

نحن نعهد لكم بهذا الأمر. لا تكونوا منتقيمين وأنانيين، لأن النبي إشعياء يوبخ رؤساء إسرائيل [راجع إشعياء 1:23]، ولكن حسب وصية المسيح، فاعفوا واصبروا على كل الذين أخطأوا إليكم، حتى تتألموا منهم أيضاً لطفًا وصلاً، حسب الكلمة، "لا تدينوا لكي لا تدانوا، لانكم بالدينونة التي بها تدينون تدانون، وبالكيل الذي به تكيلون يكال لكم". [متى 7: 1]

ترجمة

فارانت (اکوب) کوردموسیان

تدقيق و تصحيح

صونيا کوردموسیان

РЕЗЮМЕ

В статье в кратце представлена биография св. Нерсеса Шнорали (Клаэци, Сладкопевец), а так же отрывок из его «Соборного послания» в переводе на арабский язык.

SUMMARY

The article briefly presents the biography of St. Nerses the Graceful (Nerses of Kla, the Sweet Singer) as well as an excerpt from his "General Epistle" translated into Arabic.

ԴԻԱՆԱ ԾԱՂԻԿԵԱՆ

Աստվածաբանական գիտ. թեկնածու, ԵՊՀ

ԴՐՈՒԱԳՆԵՐ ԺԴ. ԴԱՐԻ ԿԱԹՈՒԼԻԿ ՔԱՐՈՉՉՈՒԹԵԱՆ Ի ՀԱՅՍ (ԱՌԱՆՁՆԱԿԻ ԱՆԴՐԱԴԱՐՁ ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԵՍ ՔՈՆԵՑՈՒՆ)

Յօդուածն ուսումնասիրում է ԺԴ. դարում Հայ եւ Հռոմէական եկեղեցական յարաբերութիւնների պատմական եւ աստուածաբանական զարգացումը Հայաստանում՝ կաթողիկ քարոզչական (միսիոներական) գործունէութեան համապատկերում: Նկարագրում է պատմական ետնախորքը, երբ կաթողիկ քարոզիչները նախաձեռնեցին իրենց հաւատքի տարածումը Հայաստանում: Ի լրումն, յօդուածում լուսաբանում է, թէ ինչպէս են կաթողիկները կատարել իրենց առաքելութիւնը եւ ինչպէս է դրան արձագանքել Հայ Եկեղեցին: Ուսումնասիրութիւնն անդրադառնում է նաեւ հայ ունիթորների նշանաւոր դէմքերից մէկի՝ Յովհաննէս Քոնեցու գործունէութեանը, եւ քննարկում է՝ արդեօք Քոնեցուն վերագրուող Հայ եկեղեցու 19 մոլորութիւնների վերաբերեալ նամակը պատկանում է նրա գրչին, թէ ոչ:

DIANA TSAGHIKYAN

PhD

FROM THE HISTORY OF CATHOLIC PREACHING IN ARMENIA IN THE 14TH CENTURY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HOVHANNES KRNETSÍ¹

INTRODUCTION

The historical path of the Armenian Church during the Middle Ages was reached with landmark events and inter-church relations. In the eleventh century, Armenians established a separate kingdom, outside Greater Armenia, in Cilicia²,

1* Ստացուել է՝ 7.06.2023, գրախօսուել է՝ 8.06.2023: Էլ. հասցէ՝ dtsaghikyan@zoho.com: Խմբագիր՝ Գեորգ Եպիսկոպոս Սարոյեան:

2 Cilicia geographically was located in south-eastern region of Asia Minor, from the northwest it was surrounded by the Cilician Taurus Mountain Range, from the northeast Anti-Taurus Mountain

which lasted until the fourteenth century.³ Specialists in speaking about this period of the Armenian history have noticed that it “represents a unique chapter in the history of the Armenian people”.⁴ Ani Atamian in her thoughtful article on the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia observes that it is the first time since that of the Roman Empire when “the concerns of Western Europe – represented by the crusader states – and the Roman Catholic Church had a major impact on events affecting the Armenian people”.⁵ Some scholars argue that during the Cilician period, the Armenian Church fell under Latin influence and was, in many ways, significantly Latinized.⁶ This is a question, which still needs a comprehensive analysis. The historical resources enable us to see that from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, the Armenian Church began to develop relations with the Roman West. As a result of the work of Franciscans and Dominicans, in particular, certain persons among the Armenian clergy in Greater Armenia were converted to Catholicism. These developments, in turn, have created a proper ground between two traditions to discuss the question of possible unity.

This article aims to examine the historical and theological developments between the Armenian and Roman church relations during the fourteenth century due to Catholic preaching in Armenia. We will first outline the historical context in which Catholic missionaries initiated the spread of the Catholic faith in Armenia. Then we will discuss in what ways they fulfil their mission, particularly how they attempted to attract Armenian clergy into the Catholic faith and how the Armenian Church reacted to it. In light of this, our research will focus on the activity of one of

chain, in southeast by the Mediterranean Sea.

3 See *Armenia and the Crusades: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated from the original Armenian with a commentary and introduction by Ara Dostourian (Lanham, NY: University Press of America, 1993; T. S. R. Boase (ed.), *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1978; RICHARD HOVANNISIAN. *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997); SIRAPIE DER NERSESSIAN, ‘The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia,’ in Kenneth M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962–89), vol. 2, 630–59.

4 See GEORGE A. BOURNOUTIAN, *A History of the Armenian People*. Vol I: Pre-History to 1500 A.D. Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 1993, 117.

5 See “*The Armenian People From Ancient to Modern Times*”. Vol. I. The Dynastic Periods: From Antiquity to the Fourteenth Century. Edited by Richard G. Hovannisian. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997, 273, for more information see 273–291.

6 See JACOB GHAZARYAN, *The Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia during the Crusades: The Integration of Cilician Armenians with the Latins 1080–1393* (RICHMOND, SURREY: Curzon, 2000); Robert W. Thomson, ‘The Crusades through Armenian Eyes’, in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by Angeliki Laiou and Roy P. Mottahedeh (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 71–82.

the prominent figures of the Armenian unitors Hovhannes Krnetsi. This discussion, in turn, will enable us to answer whether the letter about the errors of the Armenian Church attributed to Krnetsi belongs to his pen or not.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

The question of the sources of our research is complicated. We find certain evidence in the Armenian sources regarding the activity of Catholic preachers in Armenia. Two 14th-century authors, Stepanos Orbelian⁷ and Tovma Metsopetsi,⁸ provide details about the Armenian sympathizers of Catholicism and Catholic preachers. However, they do not speak about the work and person of Hovhannes Krnetsi or his letter regarding the *19 Errors* of the Armenian Church while dedicating pages to Catholic preachers in Armenia. The sources where we find evidence regarding the person and activity of Hovhannes Krnetsi were primarily created by Catholic preachers, both Armenian and foreign. These are 14th-century author Mxitar Aparanetsi and 17th-century catholic scholar and Jesuit missionary Clemens Galanus (Clemente Galano da Sorrento) ⁹ The study of the question shows that researchers, especially in their analysis of the person and work of

7 ՕՐԲԵԼԵԱՆ ՍՏԵՓԱՆՈՍ, Սիւնիքի Պատմութիւն, թարգմանութիւնը եւ ծանոթագրութիւնները Ա. Աբրահամյանի, Երեւան, Սովետական գրող, 1986: (ORBELIAN, STEPANOS. *Syuniki Patmutyün*, targmanutyune ev tsanotagrutyune A. Abramnyani. Yerevan: Sovetakan Grogh, 1986).

8 ՄԵՏՈՔԵՏԻ ԹՈՎՄԱ, Պատմութիւն Լանկ-Թամուրայ եւ Յաջորդաց Իւրոց, Փարիզ, 1860: (Tovma Metsobetsi, *Patmutyün Lank-Tamuray yev Hajordats Iwrots*, Paris, 1860).

9 See “*The Heritage of Armenian Literature*”, vol. 3, *From the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times*, ed. Agop J. Hacikyan, with Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk and Nourhan Ouzounian (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2005), 20; ՄԱՂԱՔԻԱ ԱՐՔ. ՕՐՄԱՆԵԱՆ, Ազգապատում, Հատոր Ա., Մայր Աթոռ Ս. Էջմիածին, 2001, էջ 2865: (MALACHIA ARCH ORMANIAN, *Azgapatum*, hator 2, Mayr Ator Surb Ejmiatsin 2001, 2865–2873. In 1636, Galanus had been sent to the Caucasus by Propaganda Fide to learn the Armenian language and carry out his missionary duties. His move to Armenia was successful as in 1637 he arrived to Armenia, learned and practiced the Armenian language. Later, in 1640, he was sent to Constantinople on a mission to convert Armenians to Catholicism. See *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, 2865–2873. According to Ormanian (Ormanian’s source is Chamchyan, vol. III, 622) in 1642, Galanus was in Constantinople, and was actively involved in converting the Armenian community into Catholicism. See *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, 2868. While in Constantinople he established a school to educate the Armenian residents on the teachings of the Catholic Church. It appears that his activity gave rise of protest in among the Armenians in 1645, which forced him to return to Rome, where he stayed until 1663. See *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, 2943–2944. In Rome, 1645, he published his first book on Armenian Grammar and began working on a three-volume set called *The Conciliatio*, which was published in 1650, 1658, and 1662. See https://www.academia.edu/40905594/Conciliatio_aut_distinctio_preliminary_observations_on_history_and_theological_method_in_Clemens_Galanus_Conciliatio_ecclesi%C3%A6_armen%C3%A6_cum_romana_Rome_1650_61_

Krnetsi, mainly rely on the reports of Mkhitar Aparanetsi and Galanus. Thus, it appears that Catholics have created the main sources of our research. It is expected that these authors may represent the events from their point of view. On the other hand, the researchers have not paid enough attention to the fact that the work of Mxitar Aparanetsi was created in 1410, about 70 years later after the death of Hovhannes Krentsi (1348), while the History of Clemens Galanus was published in 1650, about 300 years later after the death of Hovhannes Krnetsi. The fact that our primary sources are Catholic and that big gaps distance them from the time of Krnetsi obliges us to adopt a more critical approach to their materials. In addition, it should be mentioned that the work of Mxitar Aparanetsi has yet to be published. It remains in manuscripts that are housed in the monastic library of the Mekhitarist Fathers in Venice. (The Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice). I had no chance to look at the manuscripts of the work of Mxitar Aparanetsi. However, his work was largely used by other Mekhitarist fathers who spoke of Krnetsi. My acquaintance with the work of Mxitar Aparanetsi thus comes mainly from the History of Mikayel Chamchian (Michael Chamich).¹⁰ Chamchian, by the way, is not well disposed to the work of Mxitar Aparanetsi for he finds it sometimes one-sided.¹¹ We also find some evidence about the person and work of Hovhannes Krnetsi in the commentaries of the translated books from Latin into Armenian by Krnetsi's fellow companions and students.

LATIN MISSIONARIES AND THE REACTION OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

Two religious orders founded early in the thirteenth century, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, played a key role in spreading Catholicism beyond the borders of the Ancient Roman Empire and converting indigenous people into the Catholic faith. The former, as one of the known specialists of the Armenian history, Alishan notes, were called *Minork* or *Mnur* (the *Minores*), while the Dominicans were named *Qarozichk* (Predicadores).¹²

¹⁰ ՉԱՄՉԻԱՆ ՄԻԿԱԵԼ, հատոր Գ, էջ 326–332; 444–449.

¹¹ See CHAMCHIAN, vol 3, 449.

¹² ԱԼԻՇԱՆ ՂԵՐՈՆԳ, Միսակյան, Տեղագրություն Միսակյան Աշխարհի, Վենետիկ, Ս. Ղազար, 1893, էջ 382: (ALISHAN, *Sisakan*, 382). His chapter on 'The Unitarian Brethren in the Provinces of Yernjak and Jahkots' provides a detailed account of the Unitarians, Franciscans and Dominicans.

The Franciscans appeared in the arena first. The Artaz (Maku) region,¹³ where the St Apostle Thaddeus Monastery and the School of Tzortzor were located, gained special importance against such a backdrop. These sites were under the spiritual and secular rule of Zechariah Tzortzoretsi Vardapet, an ardent advocate of a close alliance with the Roman Catholic Church. Zechariah gathered around him a group of Catholic and Armenian monks and undertook the translation of the works of prominent representatives of Roman Catholic scholastics. Working under Zechariah's supporters were Hovhannes Tzortzoretsi, Fra Pontius of the Franciscans, and Israel, an Armenian monk who edited Pontius' Armenian writings.¹⁴ By their endeavours in the 1320s and 1330s, a number of significant works of Latin Scholastic theologians were translated from Latin into Armenian, including a part of the so-called *Liber Sacramentorum* of Thomas Aquinas, Nicolaus of Lyra's commentaries on the Gospel of John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, Bonaventure's *Life of St Francis*, and a *rituale* – the *Book of Liturgy*.

Matters changed in 1318 when Pope John XXII by a pontifical letter made a new division between the mission activities of the Franciscans and the Dominicans. According to this new dispensation, the Dominican friars were given special privileges in spreading the Gospel in Eastern countries. The Franciscans naturally fought bitterly against the decision, denouncing John XXII, the supporter of the Dominicans, and Thomas Aquinas, who had been canonised by him. However, the Dominicans were eventually to prevail.

As a part of this settlement, John XXII established, in 1318, an Archiepiscopal seat in the Persian town of Sultania.¹⁵ Franco of Perugia, a Dominican friar, was appointed Archbishop of Sultania with six episcopal sees under him, including three in Atrpatakan – in Tabriz, Maragha, and Dehkharkan.¹⁶ The other significant figure

13 Artaz is a district in the Vaspurakan province of Mets Hayk, the hereditary domain of the Amatuni ministerial dynasty. It corresponds to the area of Maku Province (Iran). From the second half of the 8th c., Artaz became the property of the Artsruni dynasty. From 885, it entered the kingdom of the Bagratuni dynasty, and from 908-into the kingdom of Vaspurakan. In the 13th century, Maku's rule was established. From the beginning of the 14th century, Artaz was conquered by Persia (Safavid dynasty), and it was included in the Khanate of Maku.

14 ԽԱՉԻԿՅԱՆ ԼԵՎՈՆ, Աշխատություններ, Հատոր Բ. Երևան: Գանձասար, 1999, էջ 341–342: (KHACHIKYAN LEVON, Ashkhatutyunner, Hator II, Yerevan, Gandzasar, 1999, 341–42).

15 See Սիսակյան, էջ 383: (*Sisakan*, 383); PETROWICZ, 'Unitarian Brethren and the Armenian Church,' 366; ISAAC SRAPYAN, 'Armenia and the Unitarians,' *Handes Amsorya* 1909. 11, 321–22. Sultania or Soltaniyeh, located 240 kilometers to the northwest of Tehran), was built in the 14th century as the capital of the Mongol Ilkhanid rulers of Iran.

16 ԽԱՉԻԿՅԱՆ, Աշխատություններ, Հատոր 2, էջ 344; (Khachikyan Ashkhatutyunner, Hator 2, 344); M.A. van den Oudenrijn, *Linguae Haicanae Scriptores*, 19–20.

of Dominicans is Bishop Bartholomew of Maragha, who was to play a major role in the cultural history of medieval Armenia.

Bartholomew was from Bologna and an adherent of Thomas Aquinas. (He is also known as Bartholomew of Poggio and is styled in medieval documents Blessed Bartholomew the Little, or Small). He was appointed Bishop of Maragha by John XXII and left for his new see accompanied by two fellow friars, Peter of Aragon and John of Swinford, or John the Englishman. Together they opened a small monastery and launched their mission.¹⁷ Alishan notes that Bartholomew was fluent in Persian, writing works of his own in Persian and translating those of others. He was known as an attractive preacher and gathered around him many young Armenians.¹⁸ Bartholomew of Maragha in his sermons explains the grave economic and political situation of Eastern Christians in the light of their separation from the Holy of Rome exposing what benefits would come from the unity of the Churches. Thus, he writes:

Faithful Christians who were separated from each other and the main seat of Rome were scattered and fell into submission to foreigners. They are like scattered dry bones. When the time of their captivity had lasted too long many of them despaired. Oh! You miserable Christians, do not despair, for you desire to flee from this captivity and death; as bones strive to join together with muscles and tendons, so Christians are willing to join together and with the Holy Church of Rome, through holy love, to perform one and the same rite in celebrations and the liturgy. And when they do unite in such love, then the Spirit of God will rest upon them. May we beg Christ to make us worthy and unify us.¹⁹

Hovsepyan has shown that in 1321–23, Bartholomew established connections with Zacharias Tzortzoretsi and Hovhannes Yerznkatsi, who had his seat at Tzortzor Monastery at that time. That is when Yerznkatsi translated from Latin some parts of Thomas Aquinas's *Seven Sacraments*, assisted by the 'meek and excellent scholar Bartholomew.'²⁰

17 Միսական, էջ 383, (*Sisakan*, 383); Petrowicz, 'Unitarian Brethren and the Armenian Church,' 366; Galanus, *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana*, Pars prima, 508; Chamchian, vol. 3, 336.

18 See Papken Catholicos Gulesserian, *The Armenian Church*, translated by Terenig Vartabed Poladian, 2nd edn (New York: AMS, 1970), 41.

19 Matenadaran 2184, fol. 99b; Khachikyan *Ashkhatutyunner* vol. 2, 347–48.

20 ՅՈՎՍԵՓԵԱՆ ԳԱՐԵԳԻՆ, Խաղբականք կամ Պոռոշեանք հայոց պատմութեան մէջ, Անթի-լիաս-Լիբանան, 1969, էջ 284; (HOVSEPIAN GAREGIN. *Khaghbakank kam Prosheanq hayoc patmutyan mej*. Antelias, Lebanon, 1969, 284).

But, it should be noted that the activity of the preaching friars and their allies extended far beyond translation, for they began to re-baptize converts and re-ordain priests of the Armenian Apostolic Church. And they were successful, for a number of members of the Armenian clergy embraced their ideas. Catholic preachers were venturing everything necessary to achieve what they wanted, and the zeal of Catholic missionaries toward unity went too far. Bartholomew of Maragha noted, quite rightly, that their rivals, Armenian monks, fought against them with the means obtained from the Catholics.²¹ In the Armenian translation of his book of sermons, he anathematizes and curses all who would dare to give his opponents this work containing his teachings and views. ‘Many times,’ he says, ‘our opponents arm themselves with our statements and fight against us and our truth using our own sword; thus cursed be he who will give this book to the adversary – the narrow-minded Unitarian.’²² Unitors were reputed to hunt for converts by various means, ‘even in the baths, in squares, on the roads’, in order to force them to adopt Catholicism.²³

All this resulted in a marked change of attitude toward the Catholics. The leaders of the Armenian Church, given this agenda, had an urgent problem: how to preserve the independence of their Church. Therefore, it became a necessity to resist by all means the Catholic missionaries and their Armenian followers. One may call this period a time when there was a need to stand defiantly and be vindicated. Armenians, who had allowed the existence of Unitors in their territory, refused to tolerate the Catholics’ intentions any longer. The nation’s secular and religious leaders launched an uncompromising campaign against the Unitors particularly centered in the Yernjak area. In 1330, Yesayi Nchetsi, who was one of indomitable pioneers of the anti-Unionist struggle wrote a letter to the Primate of the diocese of Armenian Atrpatakan entitled *To Lord Matheus*. It is a key document in the way that it reflects the circumstances of the time and reveals the tactical considerations of the anti-Unionist movement leaders.²⁴ He warns his readers not to believe those who ‘promote false knowledge’ to estrange the people from their traditions.²⁵ Further He goes on to assert that the confession of the

21 HOVSEPYAN, *Khaghbakyan kam Proshiank*, 288.

22 Matenadaran 2185, fol. 57b; KHACHERYAN, *Yesayi Nchetsi ev Gladzor Hamalsarane*, 352; Hovsepyan, *Khaghbakyan kam Proshiank*, 288.

23 METZOPETSI, *History of Tamerlane and His Successors* (Paris, 1860), 18.

24 See «Ճնարաղ», *Tjrakagh* (1860), vol 2, 157–164; *Tjrakagh* (1860), vol 2, 205–211. ԽԱՋԵՐԵԱՆ ԼԵՒՈՆ, Եսայի Նչեցին եւ Գլաձորի Համալսարանը (1280–1340), Լոս Անճելըս, 1988, էջ 345; (Khacheryan, Levon. *Yesayi Nchetsi ev Gladzor Hamalsarane*, Los Angeles, 1988, 345).

25 «Ճնարաղ», *Tjrakagh* (1860–61), 158.

Armenian Church is not something introduced by unknown men, but was transmitted by the Apostles and holy Fathers from ancient times and is common to all Christian churches. For instance, he observes that all Christian churches from the beginning were accustomed to celebrate the Nativity on 6 January, and to administer the sacrament in the liturgy with unmixed cup, whereas the mixing of water was a practice admitted only later, during the reign of Pope Alexander, and the celebration of Christ's birthday was only changed to 25 December over the period of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius. Regarding the dispute over one or two natures of Christ, he states that the two natures of Christ has never been denied by our ancestors: the only difference is that instead of admitting the prevalence of one (human) nature over the other (divine) nature, they admit both natures equally and without confusion, just as light is mixed with air and fire with iron.²⁶ Nchetsi concludes his discussion by noticing that the accusation against the Christological position of the Armenian Church is also baseless and should never cause division or question the authenticity of the Armenian theological tradition. Significantly, after this clarification, Nchetsi sets out two different approaches in the treatment, the first point refers to renegades who have been affected by Unionists, and the second one concerns to those who have joined to the Armenian community from the 'Catholics, Greeks, and Syrians.' In dealings with the former he requires a strict and even harsh attitude, whereas in dealings with the latter he requires kindly treatment and brotherly feeling, but if they ever abuse the hospitality shown to them and begin to behave subversively, then they should also be treated uncompromisingly and without toleration, as 'wolves in sheep's clothing.'²⁷ Aware of their long history, Armenians decided not to subsist within the fold of Catholicism, but to preserve their own traditions and to continue on their way alongside Catholics and the other Christian Churches. Ormanian observes that the Armenian Church 'has never tolerated that union should take the guise of domination, nor be proselytism.'²⁸ As a result of the fight against Catholic missionaries Armenian Church fathers and theologians were intended to create some apologetical writings, of which is worth mentioning the following books: *An Instruction in Dogmatics* by Vanakan Vardapet, *A Response to the Letter*

26 *Ibid.*, 162–63, 210. On the basis of testimonies from Gregory the Theologian and Cyril of Alexandria, he goes on to support the formula of 'one nature of the divine Logos incarnate.'

27 «Ճոսարդ», էջ 162; (*Tjrakagh* (1860–61), 162), See ՅՈՎՍԷՓԵԱՆ ԳԱՐԵԳԻՆ, Խաղբականք կամ Պոռչեանք հայոց պատմութեան մէջ, էջ 286; (HOVSEPIAN GAREGIN. *Khaghbakank kam Prosheang hayoc patmutyan mej.* 286); ԽԱՉԵՐԵԱՆ, Եսայի Նչեցին եւ Գլաձորի Համալսարանը, էջ 347; (KHACHERYAN, *Yesayi Nchetsi ev Gladzor Hamalsarane*, 347).

28 ORMANIAN, *Church of Armenia*, 58.

from the Pope of Rome to King Hethum of Armenia – a polemical epistle by Vardan Areveltsi – and an ecclesiastical epistle by Mekhitar Skevratsi entitled *A Response on the Equal Glory of the Twelve Apostles*.²⁹

THE ACTIVITY OF HOVHANNES KRNETSI AS A LEADER OF ARMENIAN UNITORS.

Researchers derive their data on Hovhannes Krnetsi from the work of Catholic writers Clement Galanus and Mxitar Aparanetsi. However, as we already mentioned the both sources were created in a catholic environment, which might allow one to argue that the events are presented from a certain perspective. In our research, we will also use the statements from of one of Krnetsi's pupils Hakob Krnetsi's notes attached to the books that were translated from Latin into Armenian. These notes are necessary because of two reasons; the first is that Hakob Krnetsi was the pupil and contemporary of Hovhannes Krnetsi, and the second that these data contain some essential details regarding the person and work of Hovhannes Krnetsi. Using Hakob Krnetsi's commentaries will enable us to construct a more reliable depiction of history.

According to Galanus, in 1328, Yesayi Nchetsi commissioned one of his pupils Hovhannes Krnetsi (who had already been awarded a magistral staff and appointed the Father Superior of the Yernjak province monasteries), to travel to Maragha to find out what teachings Bartholomew held and even to invite that 'Catholic scholar' to Gladzor – though, as we shall see further in this research, this may well not be the case. The question is that we do not have other evidence to check the reliability of Galanus' reference regarding the fact that Hovhannes Krnetsi was commissioned to catholic preachers by his teacher Yesayi Nchetsi. What sounds trustworthy is the report that Hovhannes Krnetsi was already a Vardapet when he joints to catholic preachers. Chamchian agrees³⁰ with Galanus evidence without bringing other supporting evidence, while Ormanyan thinks that Krnetsi most likely went to Catholic preachers by his initiative.³¹ Ormanyan's suggestion may sound more reasonable, considering that Hakob Krnetsi, in his notes, does not mention that Yesayi Nchetsi has commissioned

29 See ՕՂԼՈՒԳԵԱՆ ԱՔԷԼ, Մատենագրական հետազոտություններ Մովսես վարդապետ Երզնկացու Գրական Առեղծուածի Շուրջ, Մայր Աթոռ Ս. Էջմիածին, 2001, էջ 28: (OGHLUGEAN ABEL, Matenagrakan hetazotutyunner Movses vardapet Yerznkatsu Grakan Areghtsuatsi Shurj, Mayr Ator S. Etchmiadzin, 2001, 28)

30 See CHAMCHIAN, vol 3, 326.

31 See *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, 2155.

Hovhannes Krnetsi to catholic preachers. Khachikyan also does not believe either that Yesayi Nchetsi trusted Hovhannes Krnetsi to go to Maragha or that Nchetsi wanted to invite Bartholomew to Gladzor. He maintains that the Great Teacher Nchetsi, in several writings, definitely detached himself from the Catholic missionaries sent from the West and instructed his disciples, as well as the Diocesans of the Armenian Church, to reject and persecute all those who adopted a position of hostility toward the Armenian Church.³² Khachikyan referring to Krnetsi's letter found in the History of Galanus argues that Krnetsi had chosen this course of action well before he appeared in Maragha.

The follower of Krnetsi, Hakob Krnetsi hints that Krnetsi himself was already, to some extent, familiar with catholic teachings, which impelled him to learn more about catholic theology. We do not know the suggestion of Hakob Krnetsi regarding the fact that Hovhannes Krnetsi was already familiar with the Catholic teaching was known by Galanus or not. However, it seems that there was the perception that Krnetsi had already had connections with Catholic missionaries before his conversion.

Galanus' story further tells us that Krnetsi, in any event, duly travelled to Maragha, listened to Bartholomew's preaching, and found it convincing. After some time, Krnetsi was converted to Catholicism. We do not have other sources to check whether in what extent is reliable Galanus' reports regarding the cooperation of Hovhannes Krnetsi and Bartholomeus of Bologna. Galanos maintains that after staying in Maragha for a year and a half and learning Latin and scholastic theology, Krnetsi taught Armenian to Bartholomew and his colleagues.

Galanus further referring to the letter of Hovhannes Krnetsi maintains that in 1330 the latter summoned a council in his native village of Krna to unite the Armenian Church with the Catholic. According to the author the Armenian members of the Council unanimously decided to submit to the Roman pontiff together with their subject communities, adopt the Catholic confession and break apart from the Armenian Church.³³ They also made a statement that this union was necessary for salvation.³⁴

32 ԽԱՉԻԿԻԱՆ ԼԵՎՈՆ, Արտազի Հայկական Իշխանությունը եւ Օրործորի Դպրոցը: «Բանբեր Սատենադարանի», № 11: Երեւան, 1973, էջ 203; (KHACHIKYAN, LEVON. "Artazi Haykakan Ishkhanutyune ev Tzortzori Dproce." *Banber Matenadarani* 11 (1973): Yerevan).

33 KHACHIKYAN, Ashkhatutyunner, vol. 2, 345–46; Alishan, *Sisakan*, 384; Petrowicz, 'Unitarian Brethren and the Armenian Church,' 368; Գ. ՈՍԿԻԱՆ, Համառոտ ակնարկ մը քարոզող միաբանող եղբայր պատմության Հայաստանի մէջ, «Բազմավէպ», (1922), 19, 49 (G. VOSKYAN, 'A Brief Overview of the History of Unitarian and Missionary Brethren in Armenia,' *Bazmavep* (Venice) (1922), 19, 49; M.A. van den Oudenrijn, 'Union de Qrnay,' 94.

34 See VOSKIAN, 'Brief Overview,' 19.

Galanus' evidence that Hovhannes Krnetsi summoned a Council in his native village of Krna to unite the Armenian Church with the Catholic is not approved by other sources. Armenian theologians and historians, namely Yesayi Nchetsi, Hovhannes Metsopetsi and Stepanos Orbelyan, who lived in that period of history and who, in their accounts, referred to unitors, would not miss mentioning about such a council.

Galanus further suggests that Hovhannes Krnetsi after the council left for Rome, presented himself to the Pope and received instructions from him. Chamchian for the date of meeting Krnetsi with Pope mentions the year 1334. However, Tajat Eartmean, has observed that the Dominican scholar M.A. van den Oudenrijn rejects the suggestion that the head of Catholic Church Pope John XXII blessed Krnetsi considering the fact that there is no survived official document that indicates this suggestion.³⁵ Voskian in turn also shows that there is no such an encyclical issued by Pope John XXII. Moreover, he observes very rightly that in 1356 there was a statement by Pope Innocent VI, that they started their work without having an order.³⁶ We believe that the visit of Krnetsi to Rome further needs stronger argument to support. This suggestion is mainly conditioned by the fact that his fellow and student Hakob Krnetsi does not mention about it in his notes.

In any event, on finally moving to Krna with Bartholomew and the other Latin missionaries, Hovhannes plunged into Unitarian activities. Gorg, the Lord Baron of Krna, who was Hovhannes Krnetsi's uncle, and his wife Eltik joined them, providing them with generous financial support as reports Hakob Krnetsi.³⁷ Considering the fact that the latter was the one of the students and fellows of Hovhannes Krnetsi we find no reason to question his evidence. Thus, it seems historically reliable. From the above mentioned notes we learn further that in a couple of months, they had built a new church, formed a new religious congregation and founded a new institution of higher education.³⁸ They called themselves 'Unitor Brethren with the Church of Rome,' *Fratres Unitores* in Latin.³⁹

35 See «Բագմավեպ», Եարտրմեան Տանատ, Վենետիկ- Ս. Ղազար., 1–4, 1989; էջ 174; BAZMAVEP, Tajat Eartmean, Venise: Saint-Lazare, 1–4, 1989, 174.

36 See ՈՍԿԵԱՆ Գ., Համառօտ Ակնարկ Մը Քարոզող և Միաբանող Եղբայր Պատմութեան Հայաստանի Մէջ, «Բագմավեպ» Վենետիկ- Ս. Ղազար, 1922, էջ 20.

37 See ԺԴ դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ; Նյութեր հայ ժողովրդի պատմության Գ. 2 . Կազմ.՝ Լ.Ս. Խաչիկյան; Պատմ. ին-տ ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ. - Երևան: ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ հրատ., 1950, էջ 216–217; 338. Khachikyan, Hishatakaranner, 216–217; 338;

38 See VOSKIAN, 22–25.

39 ALISHAN, Sisakan, 384; Petrowicz, 'Unitarian Brethren and the Armenian Church,' 368.

Under Krnetsi's leadership, the Unitors implemented their extensive programme by opening new schools and Catholic churches and continuing to pursue the production and publication of theological books in Armenian, for they saw clearly that it was only through the use of Armenian that their message would be heard and they would be able to inculcate Catholicism within Armenian society.

Clemens Galanus observed in 1650, 'Blessed Bartholomew together with the holy fathers Hovhannes Krnetsi and Hakob Krnetsi committed themselves to the translation of the Holy Writ (from Latin into Armenian), and Peter of Aragon joined them. And they worked together and translated many books during three years.⁴⁰ His evidence further is confirmed by the commentaries attached to the books that were translated from Latin into Armenian by the Armenian unitors. According to these notes Armenian and Latin brethren worked together, for example Hakob Krnetsi and Bartolomeo together translated the books from Latin into Armenian. Translations of important theological and philosophical works completed in these years by the Dominicans and their Armenian colleagues. Khachikyan in his important article provides us with the list of these translations:

1) Albert the Great (Albertus Magnus), *A Brief Collection of Theological Truth* (translated by Peter of Aragon and Hakob Krnetsi in 1344);

2) Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* – various sections translated by Hovhannes Krnetsi, John the Englishman, Peter of Aragon and Hakob the Translator; these questions circulated in Armenia under different titles, including *A Brief Collection on the Spirit and New Power, On Spiritual Virtue, On the Lordship of Christ, On the Seven Sacraments of the Church*;

3) Bartholomew's *On the Two Natures and the Person of Christ* and *A Book on Hell* (translated by Hovhannes Krnetsi);

4) Bartholomew's *Book of Sermons* (translated by Hakob Krnetsi); and

5) Peter of Aragon, *A Book on Virtues* and *A Book on Vices* (translated by Hakob Krnetsi).⁴¹

40 CLEMENS GALANUS, *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana*, Prima pars, 512; KHACHIKYAN, Ashkhatutyunner, vol. 2, 348–50; HOVSEPYAN, *Khaghbakyan or Proshiank*, 288–89.

41 See KHACHIKYAN, Ashkhatutyunner, vol. 2, 348–50; HOVSEPYAN, *Khaghbakyan kam Proshiank*, 288–89; Alishan, *Sisakan*, 384–85; Petrowicz, 'Unitarian Brethren and the Armenian Church,' 465–66; Voskian, 49–51.

Translation work continued, including further works of Thomas Aquinas – the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, *De Persona et Duabus Naturis Christi*, and *De Sacramentis* – a project begun by Hovhannes Yerznkatsi in 1327, in Dzordzor. The *Compendium Theologicae* of Albert the Great was translated in 1344, and the *Commentary on the Mass* of Innocent IX in 1354. The *Canons* of St Augustine and works of G. Porretanus, Jacob de Voragine and Ribelin were also made available, together giving a fairly comprehensive introduction to Latin theology.

After the death of Bartholomew of Bologna in 1333, his mantle fell to Hovhannes Krnetsi.⁴²

The *Fratres Unitores* gradually began to shift Armenian church rites and rituals toward Catholic practice, introducing, among other things, a Dominican Missal and breviary.⁴³ That the Armenian Catholics were based in Krna did not prevent their translations from Latin to Armenian soon appearing in the scholastic and educational centres of the Armenian Church neither prevent theologians of the Armenian Church from obtaining and copying most of them. For instance, in 1363, Hovhannes Vorotnetsi gave Grigor Tatevatsi himself the task of copying a manuscript – now Matenadaran MS 2383 – which was to include the *Dialectics* of Bartholomew, *De sex principiis* by Gilbertus Porretanus and a commentary on the latter by Peter of Aragon. Hakob Ghrimetsi of the Kapos Monastery copied MS 3437 in 1389, which is entirely composed of works deriving from Unitarian circles (Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Aragon and the like). Examples can be multiplied. Several manuscripts were preserved in different collections of Armenian manuscripts worldwide. The other important aspect of these translations was that the Armenian Church now had the chance to learn about the Catholic tradition, to dispute or hold a dialogue with them, in other words to engage in conversation with the Christian West.

Arevshatyan notes that ‘missionaries were able to turn to Catholicism a few Armenian villages such as Jauk, Aprakunis, Gandzak, Kotskashen, Karashush, Kyrna, Shahaponk, Salita, Hoshkashen, and Aparaner in the region of Nakhijevan’ and argues, on that basis, that Catholic preaching over a period of sixty or seventy years did not experience great success.⁴⁴

42 See GALANUS, 520;

43 See The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume V: Eastern Christianity. Edited by Michael Angold, Cambridge University Press, 2006, 426.

44 S. AREVSHATYAN, *On the Philosophical Schools of Medieval Armenia* (1980), 17.

THE EPISTLE ATTRIBUTED TO HOVHANNES KRNETSI

In the name of Krnetsi, an epistle was preserved, which includes the *19 Errors Against Armenians* that, according to the author, are typical of Armenian faith tradition. The researchers are familiar with this *Letter* mainly from the History of Galanus, who claims that the epistle is not complete. However, the study of Krnetsi's heritage reveals that there is also another version of this 19 Errors,⁴⁵ which does not leave an impression on the reader that the letter should have a continuation as Galanus claims. The manuscript version of the letter has not been published yet, it was preserved in three manuscripts: MS 717, MS 1361, and MS 8467, which are kept in the Matenadaran repository, in Yerevan. The scribe of the manuscript MS 8467 Yesayi Sebastaci mentions that he wrote it between 1626–1629 in Lviv, Poland. From this reference one may assume that the letter of Krnetsi should have been copied from an earlier version, which supposedly should have been created in the 14th century, when Krentsi lived and worked. However, the study of 14th and 15th-century Armenian sources does not allow us to support the view that Krnetsi is the author of the letter. In addition, there is no other information that enables us to maintain that Krnetsi indeed has written such a letter. However, the fact that the letter attributed to Krnetsi was copied in Lviv in the 17th century may allow one to make some suggestion regarding the creation of the letter.

In the early 17th century, it was a challenging time for the Armenian community in Poland,⁴⁶ especially in Lviv, when on behalf of catholic preachers' efforts were made to convert Armenians to Catholicism. Supposedly the task of conversion needed some agitation, which could give rise also to pseudo letters and writings against the Armenian faith tradition.⁴⁷

45 In the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, six manuscripts contain the works of Hovhannes Krnetsi: Only three manuscripts have the work "Against Armenians" attributed to Hovhannes Krnetsi: there are MS: 717 (18th c.), MS 1361 (17th c.), and MS 8467 (17th c.).

46 See 17th century Armenian historian Arakel Davrizhetsi (Arakel of Tabriz) *History*. Translated by V. Araqelyan, edited by S. Arevshatyan, Yerevan, 1988, 285–287; *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, 2765–2773; 2805–2813.

47 It is interesting to know that in the same period when the letter attributed to Krnetsi was written Pope Urban VIII and Pietro Avitabile began their mission to the Caucasus in 1626. See *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, 2865. The head of the Catholic Church (1623–1644) Pope Urban VIII was a patron of Catholic foreign missions and, even in 1627, founded the Collegium Urbanum to train priests to disseminate the Catholic faith worldwide. In 1622, Pope Gregory XV founded the "Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith," which should be the supreme organ for promoting the reunification of Christians. The Congregation became very powerful in decision-making and missionary activities in the old and the new world. Additionally, Pope Urban VIII created the Urban College of Propaganda

As regards Galanus' version of the letter then the comparison enables one to suggest that he might have at his disposal the above-mentioned manuscript, or another version of it. This suggestion also may be supported by the fact that the manuscript was created in between 1626–1629, while the History of Galanus was published in 1650. One may assume that Galanus might have some connections with the Armenian community of Poland, namely with those who were involved in the conversion of Armenians in Lviv. This suggestion further may be supported by the fact that in 1663 Galanus was sent to Poland from Rome to strengthen the process of conversion of the Armenian community: in 1664 Galanus has arrived to Lviv with his two other friends Louis Pitou and Bonaventura Costuzzi.⁴⁸

As regards the content of the letter then the comparison reveals that in the manuscript version, we find only the *19 Errors* and the names of Krnetsi's followers or students, while Galanus' version gives us some details about the activity of Krnetsi then only after that presents the *19 Errors* attributed to the Armenian Church. The errors are the same both in the manuscript version and in the History of Galanus. The only observable difference is the language style. Herewith we include the translation of the errors made from the Armenian text of Galanus:⁴⁹

1. They believe that there is only one nature in Christ according to sect of Dioscorus. 2. Like the Greeks, they believe that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from Son. 3 They believe that the souls of saints do not enter the Earthly Kingdom, and sinful people do not go to hell before the Day of Judgement, but wait for a judgement in the air. 4. They believe that there is no need for purgatory, and there

Fide in 1627 with two main goals: to train secular clergy for missions, as mentioned above and to establish the Polyglot Printing House to publish texts in various languages. Since the 17th century, they began to study Armenia in Europe, and many, especially the missionaries in the East, perfectly mastered the Armenian language and left many noble works. In 1627 or 1626 (depending on the source), ex-patriarch Melchizedek secretly ordained Nicholas Torosowicz as a bishop in the Armenian church of St. Christ in the Krakow suburb in Lviv. This went against the accepted ranks of the Armenian Apostolic Church, as Torosowicz was a self-elected bishop and only 22 years old. He became the Bishop of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Lviv and withdrew from the supervision of the Patriarch in Etchmiadzin, subjecting himself to the Pope and initiating a union with the Catholic Church. In 1630, he publicly confessed his faith in the Carmelite Church in Lviv and entered into ecclesiastical union with the Catholic Church. He repeated this before Pope 1635, becoming the first Armenian Catholic Archbishop of Lviv and establishing the Armenian Catholic Church. He was responsible for the communities of all the Armenian Catholic dioceses in Lithuania, Moldavia, and Wallachia (Romania) until his death in 1681. See *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, 2803–2818; 2839–2841.

48 See *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, 2944.

49 See CLEMENS GALANUS, *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana*, Prima pars, 513–527.

is no such a place as hell. 5. They believe that the Church of Rome does not have superiority over other churches of the world. 6. They condemn Pope St Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. 7. They do not celebrate holy feasts, especially the Lord's nativity, according to canons of the Church of Rome. 8. They do not keep the fast according to the Church's canons. 9. They do not have all seven sacraments of the Church, omitting chrismation and unction. Also, they do not know the essence of other sacraments. 10. During the divine liturgy they do not add water to the cup. 11. They affirm that in administering communion, there is no need to give the bread separately from the cup, and therefore, they dip Christ's body into the precious blood. 12. They celebrate the liturgy in wooden or clay vessels. 13. Every priest does the sacrament of Confession, and they give absolution to all sins. 14. They have two patriarchs, and each of them signs as the Patriarch of All Armenians. 15. They ordain a priest or bishop by virtue of family heredity. 16. They sell and buy the sacraments of the Church. 17. For money they allow a husband to divorce his wife without a valid reason, contrary to the Gospel and the canons of the Church. 18. They do not prepare special oil for confirmation and extreme unction. 19. They give communion to infants, who have not reached the age of intelligence.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

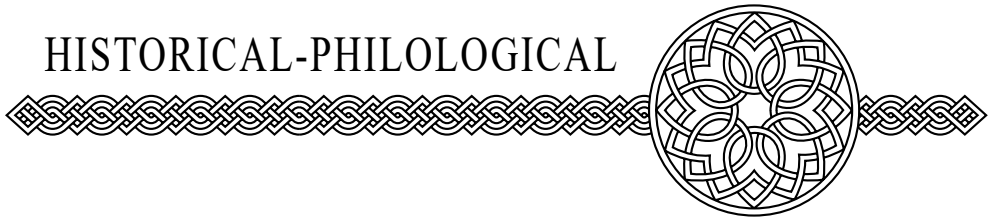
This article elucidated the relationship between the Armenian and Roman churches in the 14th century. From a historical point of view, this Latin–Armenian relationship was among the important and impressive periods in the history of the Armenian Church. The first chapter analyses and evaluates our historical sources. It observes that the Armenian sources do not convey us any information about the work of Hovhannes Krnetsi. We learn about Krnetsi mainly from the sources which were created by catholic authors, which impels us to adopt a critical approach to the material. Further we discussed how the Church of Rome used mission propaganda in Armenia and how the Armenian Church responded to it. It was through the mission of the Dominicans that the Armenian Church was introduced to Latin theology, and a Latin theological, philosophical, and historical heritage became available to

⁵⁰ For Grabar and Latin texts, see CLEMENS GALANUS, *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana*, Prima pars, 515–516. The above mentioned English text is translated from Grabar Text by me. For Armenian translation of the text, see *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, 2162–2164.

Armenians. The introduction of Western theology, philosophy, and science by the Dominicans into Greater Armenia attracted many Armenian thinkers and writers. The article observed that through these complex relationships, Armenian Church leaders were led to advance their knowledge of Latin sources and find momentum for the development of Armenian theological thought. However, Armenian Church leaders faced the challenge of maintaining their Church's independence by resisting Catholic missionaries and their Armenian followers. It was crucial to defend Armenian traditions during this time. Additionally, in this article we referred also to the question of authorship of the letter attributed to Krnetsi by suggesting that it might have been created due to the conversion of the Armenian community in Lviv in the beginning of 17th century. Thus, this allows one to suggest that the prime source for the *19 Errors* is the manuscript MS 8467 created in Lviv in 1626–1629, and Galanus *Conciliationism* where the letter of Krnetsi is found, was created only after 21 years, in 1650.

РЕЗЮМЕ

В статье рассматривается историческое и богословское развитие отношений армянской и римской церквей в 14-м веке на фоне католического миссионерства в Армении. В ней описывается исторический контекст, в котором католические миссионеры инициировали попытку распространения своей веры в Армении. Кроме того, в статье освещается каким образом католики выполняли свою миссию и как на это отреагировала Армянская церковь. В исследовании также рассматривается деятельность одного из видных деятелей армянских униатов – Ованеса Крнеци, в частности, автор анализирует письмо о 19 заблуждениях Армянской церкви, приписываемое Крнеци, и выдвигает сомнение в принадлежности указанного письма его перу.



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ԳԵՒՈՐԳ ՄԱԴՈՅԱՆ
Բանասիրական գիտ. թեկնածու

ՍԻՐԱՆՈՅՇ ՄԱԴՈՅԱՆ

ՀԱՅՈՑ ԲԻԲԼԻԱԿԱՆ ԹՈՐԳՈՍ ՆԱՀԱՊԵՏԻ ԱՆՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ՀՈՒՐՁ

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

Յօդուածի որոշ դրոյթներ դիտարկուել են ամսագրի 2020 թ. ապրիլեան (Դ.) համարում: Այստեղ յաւելուած են նորանոր փաստարկներ, կռուաններ և ապացոյցներ, որոնք բերուած չեն եղել նախկինում: Նահապետի անունների ստուգաբանութեան, մեկնաբանութեան փորձն՝ առկայ նիւթի զուգադրման միջոցով ընթերցողին հնարաւորութիւն է ընձեռում ինքնուրոյն եզրայանգելու, որ Թորգոմին տրուած անունը (անունները) նախ պէտք է ծագէին և շրջանառուէին իր անմիջական շրջապատում (նախնի-հետնորդ-ժառանգների միջավայրում) և նոր միայն տարածուէին ու ցրուէին աշխարհի ծագերը:

GEVORG MADOYAN
Ph. D.

SIRANUYSH MADOYAN

ON THE NAMES OF TOGARMAH, BIBLICAL PATRIARCH OF THE ARMENIANS¹

ABSTRACT

One of the greatest difficulties in the process of translation is the transfer of the proper names because in some occasions must be transferred not only the form and

¹* Ստացուել է՝ 11.11.2022, գրախօսուել է՝ 4.12.2022: էլ. հասցէ՝ sirmad.sm@gmail.com, gevorgmadoyan@yahoo.com: Խմբագիր՝ Գեորգ Սարեան:

phonation of a word but also the idea that is expressed by it. As an easy example, we can take the name Jacob, a Hebrew word that is explained in the Bible as “one who follows on another’s heels; supplanter”², and each time while mentioning, it brings to our mind the story of the birth of this personality.

This article mainly discussed the problem of the translation of the proper nouns based on the variations of the name of the Biblical patriarch Togarmah.

The proper noun Togarmah (Bet-Togarmah) is mentioned in Old Testament (Gen 10:3, Chr. 1:6, Ezek. 38:6...). It is recognized and explained by most Bible scholars as Armenia (Armenians). In other sources, this ancestor was also named Taklad, Armen, and Tigran (Tigranes-Tigres). As could be seen the later form of the name signifies the third river of Paradise for the Indo-Europeans while the Semitic nations are using for it syllables that came from the Akkadian origin *Idikla*, which gave birth to such proper names (variants) as Taklad, Deklath, Tiglath, etc. Mentioning that the Semitic *Idikla* and Indo-European *Tigris*, in general, have the same origin and the same (or related) meaning (sharp, spear, quick, tiger...), and both were used to name the same ancestor, the authors conclude that not only the land where some scholars were locating Paradise but also one of the rivers of the Garden were called in honor of patriarch Togarmah.

§1 Some ideas of this article were discussed in the 4th number of the 2020 edition of the Journal of Religious and Armenological Studies “Ethchmiadzin”.³ But although “Ethchmiadzin” is one of the oldest and one of the most respected scientific periodicals published in Armenian even though this fact the journal has a small auditory, one can say so: it’s addressed to the Armenian reading researchers only who are unfortunately becoming fewer day by day. So First of all for the sake of enlarging the readership and also having the aim to bring to a new stage the study of this question, we tried to view it from another point attempting to add some new arguments and facts that were not used in the above-mentioned Armenian publication.

§2 The name Togarma, its origins, and its variations were studied in Armenology only a few times and mostly superficially. While in the field of the Bible and Hebrew researches it was examined almost from all aspects.

§3 The most authoritative opinion (we shall see it below §§ 17–19) in Armenology about the provenance of this name belongs to linguist academician Hrachea

2 See <https://www.biblestudytools.com/dictionary/jacob/>; cp. Genesis 25:26 Hosea 12:2–4.

3 See pp. 66–76.

Acharean. Another linguist academician Gevorg Jahukean examined this name more than 40 years later after Acharean in 1980-ies. In his article “The linguistic origins of the personal names of the 1st book of Moses Khorenatsi’s “History of Armenia”⁴ Jahukean was writing: “The personal names mentioned in the first book of the “History of Armenians” of Movses Khorenatsi are mostly real, and they are taken either from written sources or folk traditions. Even if there are ones that were made up by Khorenatsi, then Armenian folk and family names served as examples for him. In this case, the qualifications “ruse”, and “fake”⁵ given by the researchers are not correct [in connection with these names].”⁶

§4 In 1990 the name and the circumstances in connection with the personality of Torgom were regarded by another Arenologist G. Djanoyean⁷. This author used ancient (cuneiform) and Medieval (manuscript) sources (also publications of original texts) and managed to put together many important facts in connection with Togarmah. For example, an interesting passage in his article comes from the research of A. Khachatryan “The history of Armenia of the cuneiform period”.⁸ The latter was writing: “It should be noted here that the Assyrian Tilgarimmu originates from Togarma which could be met in the ethnological list of Genesis (Ch. 7) and probably its original form must be the Hittite or local form *Tegaraima*. This Tilgarimmu as a toponym appears already in 712 B.C. and it allegedly belonged to the province of Assyria (Divrik): [or] Akn, Arabkir region [of Armenia]. This toponym Tilgarimmu which names a country in the Old Testament, in other parts of the Book was meant as a name of a person (ancestor) Torgoma who was pointed as “son of Gomer”.⁹

4 Գ. ԶԱՀՈՒԿԵԱՆ, Մովսես Խորենացու «Հայոց պատմության» առաջին գրքի անձնանունների լեզուական աղբյուրները.– ՊԲՀ (Historical-philological journal), 1981, N 3, pp. 48–63. (The linguistic origins of the personal names of the 1st book of Moses Khorenatsies “History of Armenia”)

5 In connection with such formulations as “ruse”, and “fake” see Thomson’s translation, *ibid.*, p. 57 with phrases about Moses Khorenatsi as “willfully distort”, “invents” etc.

6 JAHUKEAN, *ibid.*, p. 61.

7 Գ. ԶԱՆՈՅԵԱՆ, Միջնադարեան աղբյուրները Թորգոմի, Թորգոմանց, Թորգոմանց Տան մասին (Medieval sources about Torgom, Torgom[id]s, the House of Torgoms), «Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների», 1990, N 11, pp. 34–40.

of Torgoms

8 Ա. ԽԱԶԱՏՐԵԱՆ, Հայաստանի սեպագրական շրջանի քննական պատմություն (հիմնում արձանագրական տուեալների վրայ. շուրջ 3000–600 նախքան մեր թ.) [Investigative history of Armenia of the cuneiform period], Yerevan, 1933.

9 Djanoyean, *ibid.*, p. 46.

§5 Djanoyean also points to a passage¹⁰ from the book of Eusebius of Caesarea where Pamphilus brings the genealogical tree of the generations of Noah: “The sons of Gamer: Aschanaz and from him Sarmatians, Riphath and from him Sauromatians, Thorgom, and from him the Armenians.”¹¹

§6 After numerous passages from various authors, Djanoyean is summarizing: “The above sources considered Torgom to be the ancestor of Armenians, Georgians, Albanians, other Caucasian peoples, as well as Phrygians. However, some historians did not accept this information as reliable historical evidence and considered Torgom and his descendants-Hayk, Kartlos, Aghvan, and others as mythical personalities. Meanwhile, Hittite and Assur inscriptions indicate that the Hittite and Assur kings fought with Togarma not in mythical but in real battles. In other cases, referring to Togarma again, these sources fully confirm the historical reality of the house of Togarma.”¹² The next researcher that was studying the circumstances in connection with Togarma was R. Tsakanyan.¹³ However, as mentioned above the general opinions in connection with the etymology of the word belong to Acharean and Jahukean.

§ 7 In his *History of the Armenians* Moses of Khorene (Moses Khorenats‘i) is explaining the toponyms of Armenia basing their provenance on deeds of the first ancestors or connecting their provenance with the names of the first ancestors and inhabitants of the Armenian Highlands. For example, he tells that “He [Amasya] gave these [two houses] in inheritance to his two sons, the valiant P‘arokh and the swift Ts‘olak. They dwelt in them and called the *places after their own names*: *P‘arakhot* from *P‘arokh*, and *Ts‘olakert* from *Ts‘olak*. But *Amasya* called the mountain *Masis* after *his own name*”.¹⁴ The definitions of the toponyms of Armenia are very important and interesting from the point of Armenology. And among the explanations of Moses of Khorene are especially important those definitions of the names by which are called not only the separate parts of the Armenian Highlands but also the nation i.e. Armenians. He writes: “It is told of Aram that he performed

10 See DJANOYEAN, *ibid.*, p. 36.

11 EUSEBII PAMPHILI, *Chronicon Bipartitum Graeco-Armeno-Latinum*, vol. II Venetiis, 1818, p. 12.

12 DJANOYEAN, *ibid.*, p. 37.

13 Ռ. ՑԱԿԱՆՅԱՆ [R. TSAKANYAN], «ՏՈՒՆ ԹՈՐԳՈՄԱՅ»-Ն ՍԿՐԵՆԱԳՐԻՐՆԵՐՈՒՄ [The “House of Torgom” in Written Sources]: «Արևելագիտությունը Հայաստանում» [Oriental Studies in Armenia], vol. 3, pp. 161–180.

14 See MOSES KHORENATS‘I, *History of the Armenians*, Translation and Commentary on the Literary Sources by Robert W. Thomson, London, 1978, pp. 90–91.

in battle¹⁵ many heroic deeds and that he extended the borders of Armenia on every side. By his name, all races call our land: like the Greeks, Armenia, and the Persians and Syrians, Armenik”.¹⁶ By this passage, we can see that the land was called after ancestor Aram who was the tenth after Japheth by the genealogy. In another chapter, Moses of Khorene explains that before being called after the name of ancestor Aram the land was called after the son of Torgom Hayk the fore-forefather of Aram: “Now our country is called Hayk՝ after the name of our ancestor Hayk”.¹⁷ And by the genealogy, Hayk was the fourth after Japheth. But when Moses Khorenatsi speaks of him it could be noticed that at his time the nation (countrymen of Hayk) was already called after Hayk՝s father Torgom who was the third after Japheth: “He [Hayk] came and dwelt in an elevated plain and called the name of the plateau *Hark՝*—that is, here dwelt the fathers of the family of the house of T՝orgom”.¹⁸ This is cognate to the tradition of Scripture where Togarmah (Tō·gār·māh) or house of Togarmah (bêt Tō·w·gār·māh) are mentioned several times (Gen 10:3, 1Ch 1:6, Eze 27:14, Eze 38:6) and the greatest part of the Bible scholars agree that by this is named Armenia¹⁹ (It՝s at least interesting that the syllable *arm* appears in both names: Togarmah-Armenia and as we can see later the names *could be* (are) cognate §§ 9, 22). While speaking about the first ancestors Moses Khorenats՝i also cites Mar Abas Catina whom he introduces as “a certain Syrian... a diligent man versed in Chaldaean

15 In the original (Grabar) text this word is in plural «մարտից նահատակություն»; see «Մովսիսի Խորենացու Պատմություն Հայոց» [History of Armenians by Moses Khorenatsi], Տիֆլիս [Tbilisi], 1913, p. 42. It՝s in plural also in Malkhasean՝s translation («յարթական պատերազմներում») that is recognized as the best one: see Մ Ո Վ Ս Ե Ս Խ Ո Ր Ե Ն Ա Յ Ի, Պատմություն Հայոց, թարգմանությունը, Ներածությունը և ծանոթագրությունները Ստ. Մախասեանցի [Moses Khorenatsi, Patmutiun Hajoys: Translation introduction and notes by St. Malkhaseants,], Երևան, 1968, p. 93

16 KHORENATS՝I, p. 92.

17 KHORENATS՝I, *ibid.*, p. 88.

18 KHORENATS՝I, p. 86.

19 See e.g. “An Old Testament Commentary for English Readers”, Edited by C. Ellicott, vol. V, London, 1884, p. 281: “TOGARMAH.—A name for the Armenians, a race of Japhetic descent (Gen. 10:3)”, cf. vol. I of the same, p. 48: “Certainly Armenia”; see also “*The Pulpit Commentary*”, Ezekiel, vol. II, New York and Toronto, p. 87, where is explained that “Jerome identifies it [Togarmah] with Phrygia, others with Cappadocia, but there is a wider consensus for Armenia”. We think that special attention must be paid to the following passage: “TOGARMAH. Mentioned again in Ezek. xxvii. 14; xxxviii. 6; the Phrygians (Josephus), the Cappadocians (Bochart), the Armenians (Michaelis, Gesenius, Rosenmüller), and the Taurians, inhabiting the Crimea (Kalisch). The tradition preserved by Moses Chorenensis, that the ancestor of the Armenians was the son of Torgom, the son of Gomer, is commonly regarded as deciding the question”: see “*The Pulpit Commentary*”, Genesis, London, 1881, p. 157. For more details see “English commentaries of the Bible on “Superior to all the nations of the north”.-Etchmiadzin, N12, 2019, pp. 78–89.

and Greek”.²⁰ He tells that Mar Abas examined all the books in the royal archives of Nineveh. “Mar Abas Catina extracted only the reliable history of our own race and brought it to King Valarshak in Nisibis in both Greek and Syriac”.²¹ From this source, Moses of Khorene takes the history of the first ancestors of Armenians and gives us these names: “From this same book we shall begin: Yapetost’e, Merod, Sir-at’, Taklad—who are Yapheth, Gamer, T’iras, T’orgom”.²² And we can see that a new variant of the name for Togarmah (*Taklad*) comes from this passage.

§ 8 One more version of the name could be added to this row thanks to the Latin translation of Josephus Flavius who also mentions this patriarch: “Gomer aut habente tres filios... *Tygran* vero *Tygraneos*...”.²³ This passage assures that in some traditions Togarmah was also called Tygran.

§ 9 Another interesting allusion to this ancestor of Armenians could be found in the Far East. According to the Afghan relations Armenia was called after the son of Japhet. This is reported by British philanthropist and traveler Jonas Hanway: “These people, who are comprized under the general denomination of Afghans, are divided into three principal tribes, who like most oriental nations, derive their genealogy from Noah. According to their relations, “Japhet had three sons, Armen, Afghan, and Cardvel; the former two continued in Armenia, which takes its name from the eldest; as Cardvel, which forms a part of Georgia, is so called from the youngest, who settled in that province. The families of Armen and Afgan having greatly multiplied in process of time, the descendants of the latter quitted their country, and went to inhabit the foot of Suliman Couh (Caucasus), a chain of mountains, which separates the province of Kandahar from the Moghol’s empire”.²⁴ As could be seen by this tradition Armenia was called so after the name of Japhet’s elder son Armen. By this Armen and Togarm could therefore be noticed as equivalent (if not identical): both were descendants of Japhet and both were patriarchs after whom was called the country (the same country).

20 Moses Khorenats’i, *ibid.*, p. 82.

21 *Ibid.*, 84.

22 *Ibid.*

23 See FLAVIUS JOSÈPHE, *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum libri XX, De bello iudaico libri VII, Contra Apionem libri II, De imperio rationis, sive de Machabaeis liber unus a duo*, published Petit, 1535, p. 10; cf. “Freculphus Episcopus Lexoviensis, *Chronicorum libri duo*”, Apud Hier. Commelinum, 1597, p. 28: “*Tygram* vero *Tygraneos*”; cf. “*The works of Flavius Josephus*”, Translated by W. Whiston, London, 1737, p. 31.

24 J. HANWAY, *An Historical Account of the British Trade Over the Caspian Sea; with the Revolutions of Persia*, vol. III, London, 1753, pp. 22–23.

§10 The name Armen appears also in the “Geography” (*Mu’jam ul-Buldān*) of Yāqūt Shihāb al-Dīn ibn-’Abdullāh al-Rūmī al-Hamawī (1179–1229). He speaks like this: “Armenia is the name of a vast country, that is stretching towards the north. They tell that [this land] is called Armenia after the name of Armenia the son of Lanthā, son of Avmar, son of Yaphet son of Nuh. He [Armenia] was the first to come to that land and dwelt there”.²⁵

§11 And if we collate all the above-brought names in one place with the information from Gen 10:1–3, we’ll get this table:

<i>Bible</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Mar Abas Catina</i> (Mār Awā Qaṭṭīnā)	<i>Moses of Khorene</i>	<i>Yāqūt</i>	<i>Afghan</i>
Yapheth	Yafeth	Yapetost’e	Yapheth	Yaphet	Yaphet
Gomer	Gomer	Merod	Gamer	Avmar	Armen
Fogarmah/ Torgama ²⁶	Tygran	Sirat’e	T’iras	Lant’a	
		T’aklad	T’orgom	Armenia	

§12 And now first of all, we can see the difference between Biblical/Jewish tradition (existing also in the Latin translation of Josephus) and the genealogy of the other sources which point to Torgom/Taklad /Armenia as the fourth generation (instead of the 3rd) after Japhet. The difference appears because, by the Jewish tradition, Tiras (Gen 10:2, 1Ch 1:5) is the youngest son of Japheth while the other sources are pointing him as the son of Gomer. This circumstance was known to Moses of Khorene that Armenian, Syrian, and Jewish traditions (Arabic tradition appears some centuries later) disagree.²⁷

§13 The Name Torgom in Armenian literature is always used instead of Togarmah so we can be sure that these two names are equal. Thomson cites “Carriere, *Genealogies*, p. 45” and notes “that Merod and Sirat are anagrams of Gomer and Tiras”²⁸ so we can think that these names are equal too.

§14 And even if we recognize the names from the Arabic source as unsimilar to the Armenian and Syrian ones the three genealogical rows agree with each other by the number of mentioned ancestors. It’s also important that the Afghan version of Japheth’s sons is fully separated by the count of the ancestors. But thanks to this

²⁵ See 1997/1397 سنة نشر الكتاب, 1997/1397: Beirut, p. 160.

²⁶ For this form see J. McClintock, J. Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, vol. I, New York, 1867, p. 406:

²⁷ See Moses Khorenats’i, *ibid.*, p. 75, and also the notes of the translator on the page.

²⁸ Moses Khorenats’i, *ibid.*, p. 84.

version the “Eastern” (Afghan) and “Western” (Arabic) traditions agree in another important point that in ancient times there was an ancestor who was called Armen/Armin and the country was named after him.

§15 We can also see that the name Taklad from the Syrian source and Armen from the Arabic version by their places in the table are corresponding to the forms Togarmah, Torgom, and Tigran. In parity of the last three, we are sure that they were used in Jewish, Armenian, and Latin sources for naming the same person. It’s also notable that while being used as a toponym Armen[ia] and Togarmah were pointing out the same country.

§16 And here comes forth the question about the origins and the meninges of the names solving which will help us to be sure whether all they were used in connection with the same ancestor or not.

§17 In Armenology, it’s considered that the names Torgom (Togarmah) and Tigran are borrowings. According to this opinion, the first comes from Hebrew the latter from Iranian roots. The leading opinions on this question, as it was mentioned, belong to Hrachea Acharean. For Togarma he writes that it comes from the Hebrew.²⁹ For the next name he writes: “Tigran is an Iranian name as if from ancient Persian”.³⁰ As we can see the phrase “as if” cardinaly changes the mood. One more interesting mention from this author is found in his etymological Dictionary where he discusses the origins of the Armenian words. In the supplementary part that is named “Armeniaca” (where are collected his etymological articles), Acharean writes:

“26 (27). TIGRAN

§18 This is the name of our greatest king. It was also borne by a group of other kings and princes known in our history. The use of this name starts from the oldest period and goes up to the 13th century [and to our days.— G. & S. Madoyans]. There are 29 Tigrans in my Personal Names dictionary. The last Tigran [in my Dictionary] is Tigran Honents (1215AD). There are also Persians with this name, for example, Tigran Achaemenian, leader of Medians (Herod. 7, 62), Tigran the Persian, son-in-law of Admiral Struthas (390 AD), Tigran the Persian (Other) general who was sent against Smbat, the son of Gail Vahan (Vahan the Wolf). And there is no other

29 See Հ. Բ. ԱՃԱՌԵԱՆ [Hr. Acharyan], Հայոց անձնանունների բառարան [Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names [Հայոց անձնանունների բառարան]] in five volumes, Yerevan, 1942–1962: vol. II, pp. 343–345.

30 Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names, Ibid., vol. V, p. 146.

Persian personage with this name.”³¹ Before continuing the quotation from Acharean we want to pay special attention to the words “there is no other Persian”. This statement of the linguist could be easily proved by the search engine of the Encyclopædia Iranica which shows that Acharean is right: the name Tigran was used frequently in the Armenian environment while in Iran it was used only in rare cases,³² and by this maybe we can say that Tigran was more authentic for Armenians than for Iranians.

§19 Then Acharean continues: “Although the name Tigran belongs to the ancient Iranian language, no one has tried to explain it: not [Paul Anton de] Lagarde, not [Ferdinand] Justi, not [Christian] Bartholomae, nor [Johann Heinrich] Hübschmann. So the etymology of the name Tigran is unknown.

§20 I assume that the original form of this name was Old Prussian tигра-rana, which is composed of the words “tigra” “arrow” and “rana” “fighting” and means “archer, [somebody who] is fighting with an arrow”. With this, cf. the name of the Laz prince “Tigran” (170 AD), which has a similar composition and means “chief” or owner of arrows”. Old Persian *tig-rarana that by haplology became *Tigrana*.”³³

§21 The name “Armen”³⁴ Acharyan recognizes as “a creation” of Moses of Khorene.³⁵ But this affirmation could be easily refuted just by the existence of the Arabic and Afghan traditions because it’s impossible to think that the “creation” of Moses of Khorene could appear far away in Arabic deserts or Afghan mountains. It must be also mentioned that in Armenian tradition the name Armen/Armenak/Aramaneak was given to the son of Hayk while the Arabic tradition gives it to the father of Hayk and the Afghan to Hayk’s grandfather. If we have a look at the names³⁶ of the ancestors that in ancient times followed the patriarch Hayk: (Armen/Armenak, Aramayis, Amasya, Gelam, Harmay, Aram, Ara)³⁷ we can see that the syllables are mostly made up of the sounds *a*, *m* and *r*: am-arm-ram-aram which shows that the name Armen by its form is not strange for Armenian names of that period.

31 Հ. Ր. ԱՃԱՌԵԱՆ [Hr. Acharyan], Հայերէն արմատական բառարան [etymological Dictionary], vol. IV, Yerevan, 1979, p. 638.

32 <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/search/limit:1000/keywords:tigran>.

33 HR. ACHAREAN, Etymological Dictionary, *ibid*.

34 In Armenian literature are used these variants of the word: Aramaneak, and Armenak. Acharean is sure that Armen is shortened from Armenak, see Acharean, *Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names*, *ibid*.

35 ACHAREAN, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 288.

36 These names were preserved by Moses Khorenatsi.

37 MOSES KHORENATS’I, *ibid.*, p. 75.

§22 Scholars are explaining the name Togarmah by Hebrew origin as *strength*, *violent* and *to come*³⁸ also *strong*, *breaking of the bones*, or *over-inhabited*.³⁹ But some linguists are giving definitions to this word basing their conclusions on other languages. For example, George Rawlinson agrees with Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm. In this case, he writes: “Grimm’s view (See his “Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache,” vol. ii., p. 825) that Togarmah is composed of two elements, *toka*, which in Sanskrit is “tribe,” or “race,” and *Armah* (Armenia), may well be accepted; and the Armenian tradition which derived the Haikian race from Thorgau, as it can scarcely be a coincidence, must be regarded as having considerable value”.⁴⁰ From this point of view, we can consider that Togarmah of the Jewish tradition and Armenia from the Arabic variant could be mentioning the same name/person/nation Armin/Armenia or Armah.

§23 We can also see that the name Taklad looks unlike (or it seems to look so) the other names given to ancestor Torgom. For answering this question, we have to discuss the name of the third river of the Garden of Eden. In the *King James Version*, we read: “And the name of the third river *is Hiddekel*” (Gen 2:14; cf. Dan 10:4). This form comes from the Hebrew text where is written הִידְדֵּקֶל *hid·de·qel*.⁴¹ With the help of the Samaritan Codex, the scholars discovered that *hid* originates from Accadian and means *river* so that *hid·de·qel* must be understood as the river Deqel that is “Daglath in Arabic, and Deklath in Syriac, and in the Targum of Onkelos”.⁴² And in non-Semitic languages, it’s mentioned as Tigris or Tigris. The last appears as *Tigra* in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions of Behistun of King Darius the 1st and that is why many Bible scholars are explaining the name by Sanskrit, Persian, Zendic, or Parthian origins.⁴³ But the linguistic aspect of the question is a little different.

§24 Roland Kent in his book⁴⁴ brings three examples of *Tigra*-s from the Behistunian inscriptions: “1) Tigra- sb. ‘Tigra’, a fortress in Armenia; 2) tigra- adj.

38 GH. ALISHAN [Ղ. Ալիշան], *Armenia before becoming Armenia* [Հայաստանի յայնչ քան զի հնդկն Հայաստան], San Lazaro, 1904, p. 118.

39 H. LOCKYER, *All the Men of the Bible*, Michigan, 1958, p. 331; cp. J. Wood, *A Dictionary of the Holy Bible*, vol. 2, New York, 1813, p. 528:

40 G. RAWLINSON, *The Origin of Nations*, London, 1877, p. 183.

41 See <https://biblehub.com/interlinear/genesis/2-14.htm>.

42 See “Bible Commentary for English Readers”, by Various Writers, Edited by C. Ellicott, vol. I., *Genesis to Numbers*, London, Paris, New York, Melbourne, p. 21.

43 See e.g. C. KEIL, F. DELITZSCH, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament*, vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1866, p. 81:

44 R. KENT, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, New Haven, Connecticut, 1950.

‘pointed’ 3) Tigrá- sb. ‘Tigris’”.⁴⁵ The author discusses the *Tigra*-s on several pages and the name of the river notes as borrowed “Elam, *ti-ig-ra*, Akk. *di-iq-lat*, Gk. *Τίγρις*”. The *tigra* as ‘pointed’ he accepts as coming from Indo-European origins but the name of the Armenian fortress he hadn’t explained.⁴⁶ So from his point of view in the cuneiforms, there are three *tigra*-s that have the same writing and the same pronunciation.

§25 If we pay attention to Kent’s system of the grouping of words we can see that one of the *tigra*-s that could be found in cuneiforms (the name of the river) originates from Semitic languages. The next one (the adjective i.e. *tigra* meaning ‘sharp’) comes from Indo-European and one of them (the name of the Armenian fort) is of Armenian origin (as could be concluded from his system of the assorting of the Lexicon). On this matter, R. G. Kent writes: “The place names may be geographically, and to a certain extent linguistically, grouped as follows: I. Indo-Iranian provinces... II. Elam... III. Semitic provinces... IV. Armenia... V. Provinces of Asia Minor and Southeastern Europe... VI. Provinces of Africa...”. The place name *Tigra* that points to the river is in the row of “III. Semitic provinces”, while *Tigra* the fort is in the 4th row: “IV. Armenia”.⁴⁷ So by this, we can conclude that in cuneiforms *Tigra* was used as a place name twice. One time pointing to a fort in Armenia and in another case Semitic province (river). In connection with this Henry Rawlinson thinks that “the names of the two great rivers of Mesopotamia to be of genuine Arian etymology”.⁴⁸ In his first publication, Rawlinson also mentioned that the Arian *Tigris* is originating from the form *Tigrâ* and he compared it only with Sanskrit and old Persian roots.⁴⁹ But in the next publication he writes that the ancient root “indeed, has given birth to a great number of cognate derivatives; compare Sanskrit *tigma*, “sharp,” where the same hardening has taken place of the palatal to a guttural; Arm[enian] *teg*, “a javelin,” Pers[ian] *tigh*, “a blade,” *tiz*, “sharp,” “quick,” etc”.⁵⁰ Here an important factor is the existence of the example in Armenian. It is showing

45 Ibid., p. 186.

46 For his discussions in connection with *Tigra*-s see pp. 31, 37, 38, 56, and 186.

47 Same source, pp. 55–56.

48 See “The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun”, Decyphered and Translated; With a Memoir. by Major H. Rawlinson: in “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society”, vol. XI., Part I., 1849, p. 161:

49 “The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun”, Decyphered and Translated; With a Memoir. by Major H. C. Rawlinson, Λονδον, 1846, էջ 62, 93, 100:

50 See “Journal...”, p. 160.

that the word *Tigra* could be explained by Armenian roots also. From Rawlinson's note to the Armenian word *teg* (*Sṭq*) we can see that for this indication his source was the Latin translation of Moses of Khorene⁵¹ where the translator Whiston brings also the words of Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BC). We can see that in his book “*On the Latin Language*” great scholar and linguist Varro mentions that both: and the name of the river (*Tigris*) and the name of the ferocious beast (*tiger*) have roots that are coming from Armenian.⁵²

§26 One of the Mkhitarist fathers Ghukas Inchichyan discussed all the definitions for the name of the river Tigris and for those researchers who were trying to explain the word by Sanskrit or Persian origins, he writes that the reason for their delusion could be the circumstance that such scholars were unaware of the Armenian language. He was particularly mentioning that while trying to explain any toponym the researchers must, first of all, try to explain the word by the language of that nation who was inhabiting the territory: in our case the banks of the river Tigris.⁵³ Of course, in the matter of explaining the name *Tigris* by Persian roots a great role had played the circumstance that the river was mentioned in Persian cuneiforms that is to say the word was preserved in Persian sources so that the language of these sources was considered as original for it. From this point of view, everything is quite right. But here special attention must be paid to another fact that can change all the logical circuit of the question: in Behistunian cuneiforms, the word *Tigra* meets in two cases as a proper name, and at least while pointing the fort it's surely of a non-Persian or non-Sanskrit origin. In the book of Iranian Loanwords, we can read: “Tigra- (T-i-g-r-): most likely an Uartian or Armenian name, which the Persians connected with Av. *tigra*-, “sharp” through folk etymology (Schmitt 1980b: 12)”.⁵⁴

51 “*Mosis Chorenensis Historiae Armenicae*”, Armeniacè ediderunt, Latine verterunt, Notisque illustrarunt Gulielmus & Georgius, Gul. Whistoni Filii. Londini, 1736, pp. IV-V:

52 Cf. “Marcus Terenti Varronis De lingua Latina Libri”, Berlin, 1885. Liber Quintus, § 100, p. 41. “Tigris qui est ut leo varius, qui vivus capi adhuc non potuit; vocabulum e lingua Armenia; nam ibi et sagitta et quod vehementissimum flumen dicitur Tigris”. There are also researchers who think that the phrase “Armenian tiger” (“Daphnis et Armenias curru subungere tigris instituit”) Virgil took from Varro and “In their turn, Propertius (1, 9, 19), Lygdamus (6, 15), and Ovid (Am. 2, 14, 35 *Met.* 8, 121; 15, 86), all talk of “Armenian tigers” in the footsteps of Virgil”: see M. von Albrecht, *Latin Literature and Roman Scholarship*: in “The Origins of European Scholarship”, Stuttgart, 2005, p. 63.

53 Ղ. ԻՆՉԻՉԵԱՆ [GH. INCHICHEAN], Հնախօսություն աշխարհագրական Հայաստանայն աշխարհի [The Geographical Antiquities of Armenia], vol. 1, Venice, 1835, p. 136:

54 J. TAVERNIER, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period* (ca. 550–330 B. C.), *Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Leuven - Paris - Dudley, MA, 2007, p. 95.

And that is why it's possible to think that the two *Tigra* toponyms that meet in Behistunian cuneiforms are of Armenian roots.

§27 Now let's try to continue the discourse from a different point.

A long time before the Persian cuneiforms the river Tigris was mentioned in much more ancient Accadian cuneiforms. Archibald Sayce that was deciphering these cuneiforms was writing: "Tigris, called by the Accadians *id Idikla*, 'the river of Idikla,'" ⁵⁵ "from which the Semites formed the name *Idiklat*, by means of the feminine suffix -t. In later times the name was shortened into *Diklat*, and finally assimilated by the Persians to the word *Tigra*". ⁵⁶ By other researchers the Accadian *id-Igna* or *id-Ignu* and Assyrian *i-di-Ik-lat* must be understood as "'to shine,' 'to be light,' and consequently 'to make shine,' or 'to cause to be light,' that is, 'to pour forth light.' The river Tigris is therefore 'the river shining or bright'". ⁵⁷ *Idikla* was written on the stone at least five hundred years before the Persian *Tigra* got its cuneiform inscription. Of course, it's an important fact and can play a general role while explaining the root of the word but we've already mentioned that a much more important role must play this fact: who were the first inhabitants of the banks of the river? So that these first inhabitants were the first to give names to the places, to the mountains, to the rivers, etc. Henry Rawlinson that had scrutinized not only the cuneiform inscriptions of the Persian king Darius the 1st but also the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser the 1st the king of Assyria ⁵⁸ was writing: "An Arian must, I think, have preceded a Semitic colonization of *Shinár*; and the antiquity of the primitive colonists may be judged of from the fact of the vernacular *Tigra* having been corrupted by their successors to *Dekel*". ⁵⁹ In "The Bible educator" we read: "The modern Arabic name for the river [Tigris] is *Dijleh*. This appears to be the same as the name *Diglito*, by which Pliny says a part of it was called, and which, according to him, was the Median word for an arrow. Thus if we change *d* into *t*, and *l* into *r*, a change very common in language, we shall see that the stem-syllables of Hiddek-el, Digl-ito, Dijl-eh, and Tigra-is represent nearly the same word,

⁵⁵ A. SAYCE, Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments, hpuun. «The Religious Tract Society» 1884, էջ 26:

⁵⁶ See A. SAYCE, A Primer of Assyriology, 1894, էջ 7:

⁵⁷ See G. BERTIN, *The Pre-Akkadian Semites*: in "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland", London, 1886, p. 433:

⁵⁸ For this see "Inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., King of Assyria, B.C. 1150", as Translated by Sir H. Rawlinson, F. Talbot, Esq., Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert, London, 1857:

⁵⁹ See "The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun", p. 161:

whose elements, we may observe further, are seen also in the name of the Assyrian king Tiglath Pileser”.⁶⁰ The name *Tiglath Pileser* researchers are reading, that is to say, explaining in two ways: “Tukulti-apil-Ēšarra ‘My trust is the son of Ēšarra [the temple of god Ashur]’”.⁶¹ In the other case Bible scholars are sure that in 2Ki 15:19 “And Pul the king of Assyria came against the land” is mentioned one of the *Tiglath Pileser*s. The phrase “Pul of Assyria” in Hebrew original is “pūl ’Aš·šūr”—*Pileser–Pul-Assur*. And the first component of the name is read *Tiglath* or *Diglath–Tiglath Pul-Assur* and is translated as “*Tiger Lord of Assyria*”.⁶² By this, we can be sure that one more variant of the name was *Tiglath*.

§28 We’ve got acquainted with the definitions of the name Tigran given by Acharean. He mentioned all the etymological studies in the field of the Indo-Iranian proper names and summarized: “The etymology of the name Tigran is unknown”. Besides this we also had seen that Acharean himself explained “Tigran” as an “archer, [somebody who] is fighting with an arrow”. The linguist was explaining the word by Old-Persian origins where “tigrā” was an “arrow”. We also saw that one of the variants of the name *Dijleh* (as well as the words derived from the forms descended from it that were in use in Semitic languages) was meant as coming from the Median word for “arrow”. And If so, then it means that the name in both cases is defined by Indo-European origin. In his article⁶³, S. Petrosean was doing a conclusion based on studies of Acharean: “The epithet “Lancer”⁶⁴ given to Tigran Eruandean gives us the key for solving the etymology of this name: *somebody that fights with a lance*”.⁶⁵

60 “The Bible educator”, ed. by E.H. Plumptre, vol. I., London, Paris, New York, 1877, pp. 102–103.

61 See K. L. TALLQVIST, *Assyrian personal names*, Helsingfors, 1914, p. 233; D. Miller, M. Shipp, *An Akkadian Handbook: Paradigms, Helps, Glossary, Logograms, and Sign List*, Indiana, 1996, p. 68; R. Losch, *All the People in the Bible*, Cambridge, 2008, p. 564; W. MacDonald, *Believer’s Bible Commentary*, USA, 1995, p. LXIX; J. BRINKMAN, *Political history of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, Rome, 1968, p. 240:

62 W. HALES, *A New Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History and Prophecy*, vol. II, London, 1830, p. 418, P. SMITH, *A History of the World, from the Earliest Records to the Present Time*, vol. I., New York, 1874, p. 215. cf. J. KITTO, *Palestine: The Bible History of the Holy Land*, London, 1841, p. 597; M. H. & I. H. MYERS, *Twelve hundred questions and answers on the Bible*, London, 1845, p. 75, etc.

63 “The Manifestation of the Principle of the Three-Class Social Division in Armenia During the Rule of the Yervandian Dynasty”, «Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես» (Historical-philological journal), №2, 2000, pp. 160–176.

64 “So I praise my noble champion, the lancer well proportioned in all his limbs”... see Khorenatsi, *Ibid.*, p. 115.

65 See “The Manifestation of the Principle of the...”, p. 168; footnote 45.

§29 So, if we collate all the discussed ideas it will be possible to see the following:

a) The third river of the Garden of Eden in “Semitic” tradition was called Idik-la (*Diklat*, Daglath, Deklath, etc.). The “Indo-European” tradition names it Tigra/Tigris.

b) The two names in both traditions have the same root but the scholars disagree on this: which of them was the first or the original one? There are given different explanations for the names of the river but it could be noticed that in both variants appears such a mining that (maybe later) gave birth to the word *tiger* (or maybe from the beginning, this mining already exists). On the other hand, two of the names that were given to the ancestor Togarmah (Taklad and Tigran) are cognate to the names of the river and it’s possible to think that not only the land where the river was/is flowing but also the river itself was called after this ancestor.

c) Besides the names Togarmah, Tygran, Taklad, and Torgom which have the same root, for this ancestor was also in use the name Armen with its variants (Armin/Armah) (Armenia). And it’s easy to see that Armen/Armah are cognates, though, to the other names of the ancestor, they seem strange. But at the same time, it’s impossible not to accept that the root Arm (Armen/Armin/Armah) exists in the name of the ancestor Togarmah from ancient times. And it’s at least interesting that in Mesopotamian ancient or dead languages tiger was called *nimro* or *nimra*.⁶⁶ If we read this word(s) from right to left (a method that was prevalent in Mesopotamia) it will sound like Ormin (au/av=o i.e. Avrmin/Aurmin) and Armin. Maybe this is pointing out that in the row of the names of Togarmah, Tygran, Taklad, Torgom, and Armin the archaic meaning of the root was somehow recalling association with the wild animal.

§ 30 By the names and their variations given and discussed above, it could be seen that just the translation of one name can become a reason for a whole separate study.

66 See M. DE LAFAYETTE, Comparative Encyclopedic Dictionary of Mesopotamian Vocabulary Dead and Ancient Languages, vol. 12, New York, 2014, p. 57, 63; also M. DE LAFAYETTE, Dictionary of Contemporary, Ancient and Babylonian Assyrian, vol. 4, USA, 2013; M. DE LAFAYETTE, Etymology, Philology and Comparative Dictionary of Synonyms in 22 Dead and Ancient Languages, vol. 2, New York, 2017; cf. N. AWDE, N. LAMASSU, N. AL-JELOO, Aramaic (Assyrian/Syriac) Dictionary & Phrasebook: Swadaya-English, Turoyo-English, English-Swadaya-Turoyo, New York, 2007, pp. 49, 60, 114, 226–227.

Many scientists were/are trying to explain the names of the biblical patriarch by different roots (Indo-European, Semitic...). But despite it, the facts that are proving the Armenian provenance of the word are of a great deal and more weighty.

KEYWORDS:

Togarmah, Torgom, Armen, Nemra, Armenia, Tigran, Taklad, Tigris, Moses of Khorene

РЕЗЮМЕ

Некоторые аспекты статьи были рассмотрены в апрельском выпуске журнала за 2020 год. Здесь добавлены новые рассуждения, доводы, и доказательства, ранее не приводившиеся. Опыт этимологического изучения и толкования имен патриарха путем сопоставления имеющегося материала дает читателю возможность самостоятельно сделать вывод о том, что имя (имена), данные Торгому, должны были сначала возникнуть и войти в обиход в среде (прямых сородичей—предков и потомков) где непосредственно жил и обитал он сам, и лишь затем распространиться по всему миру.

ԼՈՒՍԻՆԵ ՎԱՐԴԱՆՅԱՆ

Բանասիրական գիտ. թեկնածու, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ԳԻ

ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾԱՆՉԵԱՆ ՔԱՂՈՒԱՍՆԵՐ ԱՏԵՓԱՆՈՍ ՏԱՐՈՆԵՏԻ ԱՍՈՂԻԿԻ ՏԻԵԶԵՐԱԿԱՆ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՄԷՋ

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

Յայտնի է, որ միջնադարեան պատմագիրներն իրենց երկերը կառուցում էին ըստ Սուրբ Գրքի աշխարհայեցողության, դէպքերը մեկնաբանում մարգարէական կանխասացութիւններով եւ որպէս փաստարկ յաճախ ուղղակի կամ անուղղակի վկայակոչում էին Աստուածաշնչեան տեղիները: Այս առումով բացառութիւն չէ նաեւ Ստեփանոս Տարօնեցի Ասողիկի Պատմութիւնը (Ժ.-ԺԱ. դդ.), որի ընդհանրական լինելն արդէն իսկ Սուրբ Գրքի ձեւաբովանդակային նմանութիւնից է բխում: Յօդուածում դիտարկոււմ են երկում առկայ ուղղակի մէջբերումները եւ դրանց նշանակութիւնն Ասողիկի բնագրի համար:

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BIBLE REFERENCES IN THE “UNIVERSAL HISTORY” BY STEPANOS TARONETSI ASOGHIK¹

Medieval historians are known to have constructed their writings according to the biblical worldview, interpreting events with prophetic predictions, often directly or indirectly citing biblical passages as arguments. The “History” of Stepanos Taronetsi Asoghik (10th-11th centuries) is no exception in this respect, the universality of which already originates from similarities between the form and content of the Holy Bible. The article discusses direct quotations presented in the work and their significance for Asoghik’s text. It is interesting to compare these quotations with the

1* Ստացուել է՝ 4.04.2023, գրախօսուել է՝ 5.05.2023:

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relevant verses of the Bible, which reveals the close connection between the two texts, more precisely, the derivation of the historical work of the 10th-11th centuries from the Scriptures.

The three parts of the “Universal History” start with the description of the Creation of the world, therefore the biblical quotations are directly involved in the construction of the narrative. They are fewer in the first two parts. The third one, “Stepanos Taronetsi’s History of Monologue Times”, which describes the historian’s own time, is more abundant in such verses. The purpose of the article is to analyze that material. It should be added that for this analysis an important precondition is the existence of the critical text² of the “Universal History”, which was first of all compiled on the basis of the oldest, best and relatively complete manuscript N 2865 (13th century).

Bible citations and references are made according to the Holy Bible, King James Version.

The Bible, “Chronicles” by Eusebius of Caesarea, “History of Armenia” by Movses Khorenatsi and other historians preceded to Asoghik himself (Sebeos, Ghevond, Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi, etc.) have served as sources for the “History” of Stepanos Taronetsi³. Stepanos Taronetsi refers to all of them name by name and with precise definitions, having in advance the perception of the sacredness of the word as the privilege of the Incarnate Word⁴.

The “History” consists of three parts, which the author called “reviews” and, among many other issues, tried to present the three Armenian dynasties: Haykazid, Arsacid and Bagratid. The work ends with the following passage: “Glorifying last words of this complete colophon”. The narration of the story that starts with Adam’s exit from paradise and extends to 1004, when Gagik I of the Bagratid dynasty reigned, tries to create a complete picture of the world, in accordance with the medieval historiographical tradition, a general story that becomes a “book of world history with a wonderful composition”⁵, according to the description of Aristakes Lastivertsi who succeeded Stepanos Taronetsi.

2 STEPANOS TARONETSI ASOGHIK, Universal History, Armenian Classical Authors (henceforth - ACA), vol. 15., 10th century, book II, Antelias-Lebanon, 2010. Criical text, footnotes and preface by G. Manukyan.

3 See STEPANOS TARONETSI ASOGHIK, Universal History, Yerevan, YSU edition, 2000, “Introduction” by V. Vardanyan, pp. 3—4.

4 STEPANOS TARONETSI ASOGHIK, Universal History, ACA, vol. 15, 10th century, book II, Antelias-Lebanon, 2010., p. 640.

5 See “History of Archimandrite Aristakes Lastivertsi”, ACA, vol. 16, 11th century, Yerevan,

The integrity of the world in the minds of medieval Christian historians was shaped according to Scriptural references. The first affirmant of the truthfulness of their words was the Bible, making the intertextuality constant with a special significance of the Holy Bible. Such intertextuality can be found in the works of Tovma Artsruni and Anonymous historian, Patriarch Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi, Archimandrite Aristakes Lastivertsi, who were closer to Asoghik in terms of time. Of course, each historian has his own peculiarities and preferences in its application.

In the first part of the “Universal History”, direct citations have two functions: in biblical translations, they are either ordinary, thought completing quotes that are woven into the plot⁶, or substantiations that have a value of a dictum. It turns out that Asoghik more frequently turns to the Bible for help in more independent parts of his narration, in which he describes contemporary events or makes his own analysis and not retells what have been written by others. Obviously, in his own analysis or in the records of contemporary events, Scriptural substantiations and references to the Bible are more necessary. We find such a reference with substantiating function at the beginning of the first part, “It is said that the covenant, that was confirmed before of God, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul” (Gal. 3.17)⁷. In addition, with this reference to the Epistle of Apostle Paul to the Galatians, the historian emphasizes and makes the connection between the Old and New Testaments obvious to his readers, thus providing another important function of medieval works, i.e. the instructive function.

The parts of the work, in which he simply presented the story of his predecessors, he narrated without excessive emotions, in this respect greatly imitating Movses Khorenatsi, though he did not keep the latter’s strong and consistent narration and sometimes presented the same event twice, according to different historians. Instead, Asoghik is persistent in presenting Bible quotations accurately, as evidenced by the

2012., p. 530.

6 Ibid. p. 643. Cf. 1 Sam. 13.1, 2 Sam. 2.10, 3.

7 Ibid., p. 641. We should also mention that this reference is slightly different in the Venetian edition of the Bible of 1860, “And this I say, that the covenant, that was confirmed before of God *in Christ* (italic by L.V.), the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect” (Gal. 3.17; see the Bible, St. Lazarus island, Venice, 1860, p. 1148). In 1994, in the modern Armenian translation of the Bible published by the order of Vasken I, Catholicos of All Armenians, it is stated in the footnote that the best Greek texts do not contain the expression “in Christ”. See the Bible, Old and New Testaments, republished by the order of His Holiness Karekin II, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Bible Society of Armenia, 2010, p. 244.

vast majority of examples. Let us mention only one among many. The fourth chapter of the first part entitled “On the Kings of Assyria, Media and Persia”, contains an interesting geographical passage, which speaks about the human race descended from Noah’s three sons, including Europe that descended from Japhet. The direct references refer to Babylon. Let us quote some of them, in which nothing is changed in the historian’s text compared to the Holy Bible, although the passage is abbreviated, there is some choice⁸, “And Cush begat Nimrod”⁹. “He began to be a mighty one in the earth. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh”¹⁰.

There are also mediated references in Asoghik’s work. By quoting some passages accurately, for example from the works of Movses Khorenatsi, he keeps the references of that text, too. Thus, in speaking of Abgar (Abgar V Ukkama, 1st century BC – 50 AD), he preserved identically one indirect reference to the Gospel of Luke, “Abgar, son of Arsham, came to the throne in the twentieth year of Arshavir, king of Persia. In the second year of his reign all the regions of Armenia became entirely tributary to the Romans. For a command went out from Augustus, as it said in Luke,s gospel”¹¹ (italic by L.V.), and one direct reference to the Gospel of John (John 12:20) made by Movses Khorenatsi. It refers to the story telling about King Abgar’s postmen’s meeting with Christ in Jerusalem. “To this bears witness the saying of the gospel: “There were some of the Gentiles who had come to him”” It was written by Movses Khorenatsi and repeated by Stepanos Taronetsi¹².

In the third part of Asoghik’s “History”, which, as already mentioned above, is the most valuable part of his work as an independent narration, we see the opposite

8 The Bible passage, “And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the LORD: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the LORD. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city” (Gen. 10.8–12).

9 STEPANOS TARONETSI ASOGHIK, *Universal History*, ACA, p. 652. Cf. Gen. 10. 8.

10 Ibid., cf. Gen.10.10–11.

11 See MOSES KHORENATS’I, *History of the Armenians*, Translation and Commentary of the Literary Sources by Robert W. Thomson, London, Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 163. See also STEPANOS TARONETSI ASOGHIK, *Universal History*, ACA, vol. 15, 10th century, p. 665. Cf. Luke 2.1.

12 MOSES KHORENATS’I, *History of the Armenians*, p. 169, as well as STEPANOS TARONETSI ASOGHIK, *Universal History*, ACA, vol. 15, 10th century, pp. 666–667. We should mention that in the English translation of the Bible, we find the following version. “There were certain Greeks among them”. As we can see, here the word “Gentiles” is replaced by “Greeks”. In his translation, Thomson remained faithful to Khorenatsi’s text, and consequently to Armenian translation of the Bible.

phenomenon. The historian indirectly uses a reference, which is later used also by Aristakes Lastivertsi. For portraying the welfare in Armenia during the reigns of King Smbat and his father, Asoghik writes, “During his reign and that of his father, there was welfare and peace in the Armenian land, in accordance with the prophecy, they used to sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree”¹³. This quote from Micah’s prophecy was preserved almost identically by the historian, only the tense form was changed, making the occurrences of the future seem as a *fait accompli*. Cf. “But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree” (Micah 4.4). For Asoghik, the lines are characteristic of peace and harmonious life. He goes on with his own descriptions of how farms were transformed into burrows, burrows - into crowded and affluent cities, where even shepherds and herdsmen were dressed in silk robes¹⁴. Lastivertsi again uses the same quote as an indicator of a peaceful and harmonious life to describe David III Kuropalates and to mourn his unjust death¹⁵.

In the medieval conceptions of Christian thinkers, the world lived in a cycle of sin and retribution, though sin being viewed more as a reality of one’s inner world, and accordingly trials of the outer world were considered as God’s answer to the sins of the inner world. In this respect, Archimandrite Asoghik is no exception, either. He explains both the peace and the attacks of the enemy by the inevitable sequence of the committed sins and imminent punishment by God. The peace and prosperity established during the reign of Smbat changed into the raids of the Ishmaelites (i.e. Arabs), because people used to forget God’s commandments living in prosperity. It was again substantiated by the Bible, this time by the prophecies of Ezekiel and Jeremiah about Jerusalem, “But when you became waxen fat, great, rich and revolted against beloved God, forgetting the Creator of peace and giver of all goodness, clergymen and people, elders and youngers gossiped in fulness of bread and in abundance of wine, according to the prophet”¹⁶ (cf. Ezekiel 16:49, Jeremiah 5:27–28). The Bible completes what was not said by the historian, listing all the sins that may cause God not to hearken the voice of those who turn to Him. They are the following: judge not with justice the cause of the fatherless and the right of the needy.

13 Ibid., p. 742.

14 Ibid.

15 See “History of Archimandrite Aristakes Lastivertsi”, ACA, vol. 16, 11th century, Yerevan, 2012., p. 527.

16 STEPANOS TARONETSI ASOGHIK, *Universal History*, ACA, p. 743.

The fact that for Asoghik the references mostly had a function of confirming the aforesaid, was best manifested in his polemic letter-response included in the third part, which was written by the order of Catholicos Khachik I and addressed to the Chalcedonian metropolitan of Sebastia. This voluminous response is the fullest of references in his entire “History”. The references are mostly to the New Testament and Apostle Paul’s epistles. It is rightly considered to be “one of the masterpieces of the dogmatic literature with religious-philosophical insight and arguments”¹⁷.

Interpreting everything, even the natural disasters according to the Bible, makes the historian in this case, too, quote from the Scripture. He writes about the earthquake occurred in Hashtyank, Khordzan, Tsopk, Palu and Paghmatun provinces of the 4th Hayk, “And all the buildings were totally ruined trembling from the base, according to the writing, “Which shaketh the earth out of her place, and the pillars thereof tremble”¹⁸, or “He looketh on the earth, and it trembleth”¹⁹. However, the references present only primary similarities. The first reference is made to a passage in the book of Job, in which God’s might is evident, which perhaps gives reasons to the historian himself for the calamity and innocent victims caused by the earthquake. The reference to Psalm 104, on the one hand, describes the creation of God with a cheerful mood, on the other hand, highlights the aim of the historian to show the inevitability of the divine will.

EPILOGUE

In his “History”, in one of the chapters (9) of the third part, Asoghik writes about the reign of Catholicos Khachik, about the construction of the church of Argina village and of the Catholicos’ residence. During his pontificate, for about nineteen years, the Armenian land enjoyed peace, and the historian happily describes the Holy Kathoghike Church as a sacred, heavenly place on earth. This is a wonderful description of an architectural structure, in which one can find almost all the elements of medieval aesthetics at the same time – the harmony of color, light, time and space, and the divine word. “In the same village, he also built the Holy Kathoghike Church with a stone structure, a sky-like domed altar with solidly fixed statues, together with three other identical churches with a magnificent and marvelous composition; dec-

17 Ibid., G. MANUKYAN, Stepanos Taronetsi and his “Universal History”, p. 622.

18 Ibid., p. 813. Cf. Job 9. 6.

19 Ibid., cf. Psalm 104.32.

orated it with splendid, purple flowered, gold wire fabrics, with gold, silver and all kinds of jewelry, with the brightness of luminous vessels shining like a torch, as well as frequently attended to the Testaments declared by God, writings of saint apostles and oracles preached by the prophets together with all the songs of monks”²⁰.

The passage reveals the attitude of the historian, and in his person, also of the medieval faithful to the Bible. In the continuation, Asoghik praises the skillful teachers of the Holy Bible during the reign of this Catholicos: Archimandrite Hovhannes, who interpreted the Holy Bible skillfully, though with a poor speech; Father Hovsep with abundant knowledge, who was the abbot of the Monastery of Hendzouts in Karin province; a scholar named Kirakos, who taught more by his behavior than by his words. And he especially praises a man whom he calls “elocutionist Sarkis”, and mentions that he knew the Holy Bible by heart since his childhood²¹.

This reference, on the one hand, reveals the patriotic and church-loving historian’s perception of the significance of the Bible and, on the other hand, carries out the instructive function of his work from the distance of centuries, and motivates even the people living today to memorize the Bible as much as possible.

KEY WORDS:

“Universal History”, Stepanos Taronetsi Asoghik, Holy Bible, reference, historiographer, quotations, biblical passages, Aristakes Lastivertsi

РЕЗЮМЕ

Известно, что средневековые авторы в частности историки выстраивали свои труды в соответствии мировоззрения Священной Книги, толковали события пророческими предсказаниями и часто прямо или косвенно ссылались на библейские отрывки в качестве аргумента. В этом отношении не является исключением и «История Степаноса Таронети Асогика». В статье исследуются прямые цитаты из священного Писания и их значение для труда Степаноса Асогика.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 759.

²¹ Ibid.

ԱՍՏՏՈՒՐ ՍԱՐԵԱՆ

Բանասիրական գիտ. թեկնածու

ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԷՍ ՏՐԱՊԵՉՈՆՅՈՒ ԹՈՒՂԹԸ ՍՐԲԱԼՈՅՍ ՍԻՒՈՈՆԻ ՀՐԱՇԲԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

Ընթերցողին ենք ներկայացնում Յովհաննէս Տրապիզոնցի վարդապետի մի «Թուղթը»՝ ուղղուած Յակոբ Շամախեցի կաթողիկոսին: Այն գրուել է Բենգալիայի Սէյդաբադ քաղաքում 1763-ին: Հեղինակն այստեղ պատմում է արկածներով լի մի նաւագնացութեան մասին ներկայացնելով իր ուղևորութեան Սուրաթ-բենգալիայ ճանապարհային հատուածի ուշագրաւ մանրամասները: Նամակը ուշ միջնադարեան հայկական ուղեգրապատումի մի հետաքրքիր նմուշ է, որը համասեռ գրուածքների մէջ առանձնանում է նախ եւ առաջ իր պատկերման նիւթով: Յովհաննէսը Մայր Աթոռ Ս. Էջմիածնի միաբան է իբրեւ նուիրակ ծառայութեան նշանակուած Հնդկաստանի հայաշատ բնակավայրերում: Ներկայ գտնուելով ենթադրաբար 1762 թուականի Միւռնօրհնութեան արարողութեանը, նա Յակոբ Շամախեցի կաթողիկոսից ստանում է Սրբալոյս Միւռնի մի մասը Հնդկաց երկիր տանելու համար: Թէպէտ նամակը գրուել է որպէս հաշուետւութիւն կամ զեկոյց հասցէագրուած կաթողիկոսին, արդիւնքում ստացուել է մի գրական ստեղծագործութիւն, որը, կարելի է ասել, ձեռք է բերել նաեւ որոշակի գեղարուեստական արժանիքներ: Սոյն բնագրի արեւելահայերէն փոխադրումը կատարել ենք Երեւանի Մաշտոցի անուան մատենադարանի հ. 618 թուակիր ձեռագրից, որի գրիչը Եփրեմ աբեղան է: Հետաքրքրութիւն առաջացնող որոշ կտորներ, որ ներկայ ընդօրինակողը բաց է թողել, թարգմանել ենք վերցնելով «Բազմավէպի» երկու տարբեր հրատարակութիւններից՝ արուած վենետիկեան ձեռագրերից: Այդ հատուածները դրել ենք ուղիղ գրութեամբ:

ASATUR SARYAN

Ph. D.

THE “LETTER” OF HOVHANNES OF TREBIZOND REGARDING THE MIRACLE OF THE HOLY CHRISM¹

Here we present to the reader the English translation of a “Letter” by Priest Hovhannes of Trebizond, made by the no. 618 manuscript of Mesrop Mashtots Matendaran. In the letter written in Seydabad, Bengal in 1763, the Indian legate presents to Catholicos Hakob of Shamakhi the story of his adventurous voyage.

The few extracts that the copier of the manuscript has left out, we translated from the two “Bazmavep” editions that were published from manuscripts of the Library of Venice. We have put those passages in quotation marks in italics writing.

A letter of Vardapet Hovhannes of Trebizond, legate of the Indian sides, written to Catholicos Hakob of Shamakhi, and from whose handwriting I, Ephraim monk, have copied out. I offer worship to the holy heels of God’s Chosen and Lord Hakob, Reverend of all Armenians, with insatiable wishes and fiery love.

This is our story about the events which happened to us both in the sea and on the land. And now with much humility and with gracious words, I will start to tell briefly and one by one all the incidents that happened to us. Now, what many-faced sorrows and distresses and what mortal dangers and terrible plagues and unsuccessful trials there were, that came and accumulated on us from every side, and piled upon our heads because of our numerous crimes, and how at last we were delivered by the new wonder and the most careful of the benevolent God with charity. ...So in the Armenian year 1211(1762) on the 20th of January we left the city of Basra and with all preparations, we entered the ship of the Kurd named *saleh chalapi*² and with God’s success we reached the nearest city of India, Bandar Surat, which was on the above date and on the 12th of March and there we performed the Great Holyday of the Resurrection of

1* Ստացուել է՝ 9.01.2023, գրախօսուել է՝ 1.04.2023: էլ. հասցէ՝ asa-saryan@yandex.ru:
Խմբագիր՝ Գեորգ Սարեան:

2 The author writes some names in non-capital letters, thus emphasizing his attitude toward the persons and people mentioned. In the text, we give such examples without any changes marking these names in italics writing.

Easter and after 15 days from Holy Easter and until we reached the 24th of April, we performed and completed all the procedures of our consecration there. And then we set out from Surat on the same 24th of April and entered the ship of a certain fire-worshiper, whose vile name was called *mjri* and we wanted to go to Bengal, on the other side of the sea of the Indian world, a great port city called Calcutta, where there are many Armenians. And we traveled for 60 days through the infinite sea, "when we approached the city of Calcutta, however, the mouth of the river could not be seen, because the [river] was mixed with the sea due to heavy rains and foggy clouds"³ [and] because of the violent waves and whirlwinds, also from the heavy rains and the strong blowing of the winds and the collision of the clouds and flashes of lightning the ignorant and foolish boatmen, who were Muslims, were utterly lost and while rowing they went astray and could not find the direct way to the city of Calcutta, but also deviated the ship that they passed about 300 miles and "as if they wanted to go to the deep sea to save the ship from sinking because the sea water was not deeper there. And therefore the sailors wanted to move the ship to the open sea, so that the ship would not sink"⁴, but never knew where they were going or where they were.

And the ship, due to the blowing of strong winds and the fierce waves, hit the ground with its inner side and the wheel fell and sank and the ship sat on the sands and all the structures of the ship were broken and loosened and some of the boards fell out of their places and soon the ship was filled with water and the ship was level with the sea. But the uninhabited and deserted land was seen from far because the ship was far from the land as the distance from the Holy See to Yerevan. There were more than 300 people on board the ship, 13 of them were of the Armenian nation, both women and men, the others were Muslims and idolaters, especially Indians and Franks from the nation of Portugal. And while the ship was in such danger, all that was in the ship, whether food or other supplies and cargo, all the cargo was sunk by the heavy waves in the depths of the sea. Then we all began to cry, shout and scream and cry aloud to the kind God to take his anger from us. At the same time 2 women from our nation were drowned in the sea, "and some of the foreigners due to the strong waves, were drowned in the sea"⁵. Also at the same time our chest sank into the sea together with all our books and the Holy Chrism and many other things were in the chest, also the orders and all our supplies of the road sank into the depths of

3 "Bazmavep", 1883, October, November, December page 341–342.

4 Ibid, page 342.

5 "Bazmavep", 1857, February, page 43.

the sea. Oh my soul, seeing all this and especially Holy Chrism falling into the sea with our eyes, then our hope was completely extinguished and we said that we were sorry for our persons.

And the waves of the sea became stronger and stronger, but at the same terrible time, 10 sailors and an Armenian priest's son quickly got into a small boat and ran away to the shore and saved themselves from being drowned but forgot us soon and never wanted to save us from drowning or help us.

Also, the other people on board the ship, the Kurds and idol-worshippers both gathered in one place and untying all the logs and rods tied to the sails, tied with a thick and firm rope, and then the boatmen and sailors which were 10 persons, Muslims sat on the tied logs and the sea waves took them to the land and we the Christians also were eager to go with them and although we asked and begged them to take us with them, but those rascals didn't allow us to go with them, as they were many and we were few, what could we do. Besides that every day 6 or 5 or 4 persons together sitting on boards went to the land but we being miserable were left foodless and hungry for 17 days, 5 of whom were Armenians and the rest 6 were Muslims and the rest 4 were Franks from the nation of Portugal. And after 17 days on Sunday of Vardavars Barekendan at the 9th hour, because of the blowing of strong winds and from the crashing of the clouds and the flashing of lightning and the falling of heavy rains, the waves of the sea became very severe. At that time the ship started to destroy and sank and at the same time it immediately split into many parts and we were waiting with a heavy heart and crying with tears and standing on the dapus, the roof of the big ship cabin and then we remembered the Mother of Mercy the most blessed Holy Mother of God, crying out with a tearful sigh. We also hoped in our Lord Jesus Christ with warm faith and we relied on his most generous mercy. And at the same time the great roof of the dapus, on which we were standing, carefully and by the grace of our Lord Jesus, completely separated from its place and at midnight carried us to the land. And when, thanks to God, we were released from the sea and came to land, then, falling down on our faces, we worshiped and glorified the Most Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, with much satisfaction.

We were 15, who were saved from the sea, but I remember 5 of them, who were Armenians, writing their names: first me unworthy, our lord Hovsep, 2 teenage virgin girls who were the daughters of late khoja Grigor Minasyan agha, a servant boy from Ghars and the others were Franks and Turks. But two days after our release,

on the Tuesday morning of the Vardavar lent, we suddenly found Holy Chrism with its complete bowl and externally tied with a net and sealed with mirth as it was before, we found it untouched. And that day at the same time that we lived the joy, cannot be told in writing, because there were about 100 books in the same chest, not counting all the other goods, nothing came out of the sea at all, but we only found the Holy Chrism which we took with much joy and pleasure and went but we did not know where we were going. And then we wondered here and there in the uninhabited jungles and shore for 40 days and were looking for people to ask the way to a residence but there was not any possibility and we couldn't find the way to the building, as the sea was in one side and on the other side, opposite the sea there was a forest with very thick trees and the marsh. The forest was also inhabited by beasts and there was not any way out. And on the other 2 sides, there were profound rivers. We walked on the seashore for 2 days, there was a small river which we passed and then met a profound river which entered the sea and there we stayed for 2 days and not being able to pass the river. And one night, in the evening, when 1 hour had passed after night, 2 furious lions attacked us and they took 4 persons with them, snatched and tore them, and we the remaining ones escaped crying and screaming passed the small river, which we had passed at the beginning. And holding each other's hands we ran away so that we didn't lose each other, because it was a very dark night. And when escaping from that place full of beasts, we had a rest. And after 15 days, of escaping from the danger of the beasts, thinking we were safe and one night, when we were awake, the same furious cruel lion attacked us again unexpectedly and snatched another person from us. And we again escaped frightened from there at midnight and we walked for 1 hour and then trembling on the seashore we sat until morning. And in the morning, in the same place, where we had found the Holy Chrism, we stopped and stayed for 15 days. Thanks to God the impure beast didn't come there, although we were trembling from fear. And there, close to the sea, there were 10 trees which were separate, which were one hour far from the jungles and because of our fear of the beasts, in the evenings we climbed the trees and stayed there during the whole night until the sunrise and then we descended from the trees. This place was far from the place inhabited by the beasts at one day's distance. And because when that furious beast approached us at night from the place inhabited by them in a furtive way, and by climbing the trees we became safe. And there God surprised us with 3 charities, first, we found the Holy Chrism there, second after changing different places and running from the beasts, we found

the last refuge, whereby climbing the trees, we stayed safe from breasts, and the third, after many mortal dangers, we found freedom thanks to our Jesus Christ by his compassion.

And during these 40 days, when we stayed in the jungles, our food was sometimes fruits from the thorns and grass and sometimes crabs and land and sea insects and also sometimes we found newly dead roes and putting them under the sun to dry, we ate them. And in this way we lived our lives with bitterness for 40 days because for 2 months we hadn't eaten bread and our heads were unshaved also, all our clothes were spoiled because of the heavy rains because in this country even in summer, there were heavy rains every day, day and night and we had that experience in such weather as our appearance was changed and we were far from human look and had become wild animals having reached our death.

And so, one day while we were sitting bitter and pitiable, I told our master Hovsep: " You see brother, where we have reached because of our sins while we were in the Holy See eating that blessed "jlpur"⁶ grumbling and gossiped that "jlpur" was smoky or the meat we ate was not fat, so this was the punishment that we were really worthy which we bore by God's just order and saying so cried bitter tears.

Thus, now when the 40 days ended, while we were in the jungles, it was the Armenian year of 1211(1762) on August 16, the Friday of the most blessed Maria's assumption weekly lent, the English major came from the town Paharganj with 200 soldiers and other people, who had come to the shore by the river with 20 ships also with all kind of preparations, guns and cannons with the purpose of collecting the articles or the cotton baggage dropped from our sunken ship.

At that time suddenly he came and found us and seeing us, he took pity on us and took us to his boat and placed us on his side. Then he fed us with bread and other food, also gave us clothes, kept us with him for 6 days, and then with care sent us to his apartment in the town called Paharganj where he had come from, which was a 2-day journey from the seashore to Paharganj. And there too, in the apartment of that blessed Englishman, we were kept with care for 8 days and there was no one from our nation.

But in the beginning, when that blessed Englishman found us at the seashore, on the same day through the couriers he sent letters to all the cities and informed our Armenian nation that we had been found. Immediately the younger brother of

6 A meal with onion and eggs.

Petros Agha, Barsegh Agha, who lived in Dhaka at that time which was a 4 days distance from Paharganj, sent 3 boats with his Armenian servant and other people, who came and brought us food and clothes and took us to Dhaka to our Christian nation. We were sick for 1 month and they brought a doctor, gave us medicines and cured us because we were weak with bitter pains.

And when it became known about our release everywhere our compatriots and other nations were immensely surprised, as they were sure that 2 months had passed from our ship's wreck, doubtlessly they considered us to be dead, and as many of us died from hunger and by the beasts. Because on the first day when the ship sank, those 10 sailors who went in the boat and the priest's son were saved but he never cared about our release, but had declared the news of our being drowned orally and in written form.

*“Also he had told the sad news to the brother of the two virgin daughters of the late khoja Minasyants Grigor Agha, who were saved with us by the merits of Christ and also to the other relatives”*⁷, for which they did not think we were alive because 2 months had passed. But when they heard about our release and especially about the foundation of the Holy Chrism by God's wonder our compatriots from India lived great joy and happiness. And also a true pride and wonder in our Holy Belief in the Armenian Sacred Church. And really, our Master showed his great mercy to our nation, because in these bitter and declining times, the sweetest merciful God showed a new saving wonder to our Armenian nation about the finding of the Holy Chrism.

But let me also express what is in my heart about the indescribable joy and happiness of my soul, because this Divine Holy Chrism, which you delivered to this Indian land by handing it to me, the unworthy, was the fruit of the Holy Light Chrism blessing of the previous and inaugural bestowal of your great and holy lordship, which at the hour of blessing and performing the order of the Holy Chrism, I, the unworthy, also appearing at the same hour and witnessed in a great crowd in the desired Holy See. For which thousand thanks and glory to the benevolent God, thanks to whom we were saved from the sea and the beast's fangs in such a wonderful miracle of the Holy Chrism.

Because of the Holy Chrism, which was found on the seashore, the Turks and the Franks who were with us saw it too and testified it. But we don't need their testimony.

7 “Bazmavep”, 1857, February, page 45.

And when we were saved from the sea, we were 15, and 5 of us were Armenians, as I mentioned their names above, we 5 Armenians lived safe and sound both from the sea and the beasts, but from the 10 persons, the beast took 3 Turks away, and also took 2 Franks from us and one frank died in the jungles and finally, out of 15 people, 9 people were released, both us and the remaining 4 foreigners, from which 3 were Turks and one was Frank.

And finally, having truthfully written all these events and the history before the Almighty God, I informed my lord Bishop about all our events and I omitted many things for the sake of length, so I will not cause boredom to my Holy Master or other readers and listeners, because some of the pious princes of the place asked us to write down all our incidents and give them as a new story and news, and we did not do it, but now the obligation made us notify all the history to my Glorious Master.

It was written by me in the city called Saidabad in Bengal province of India in the year 1212 (1763) and on January the 15th, on the Wednesday of Saint Sargis lent.

KEY WORDS:

Holy Chrism, letter, epistle, Vardapet, Hovhannes of Trebizond, Holy Trinity church, Saidabad, Bengal, India, Armenian Church.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Представляем вниманию читателя «Письмо» преподобного Ованеса Трапезундского, адресованное Католикусу Акопу Шамахеци. Оно было написано в Сейдабаде, Бенгалия, в 1763 году. Здесь автор рассказывает о богатом происшествии путешествии, приводя увлекательные подробности об участке дороги Сурат–Бенгалия. Письмо представляет собой интересный образец позднесредневековых армянских путевых заметок, выделяющихся среди подобных сочинений прежде всего описательным материалом. Ованес был членом Конгрегации Первопрестольного Св. Эчмиадзина, нунцией в Индии. Присутствуя на церемонии мироосвящения, которая состоялась в 1762 году, Акоп получил от католикоса часть св. Мира для дальнейшей перевозки в Индию. Хотя Послание было написано как отчет или доклад на имя Католикоса, в результате

получилось литературное произведение, которое, можно сказать, приобрело и определенные художественные достоинства. Мы сделали перевод оригинала на восточноармянский язык опираясь на рукопись Матенадарана им. Маштоца № 618 из рукописи, написанной Ефремом Абегой. Некоторые интересные фрагменты, опущенные настоящим писцем, мы перевели из двух разных изданий «Базмавепа», опубликованных на основе венецианских рукописей.

ԱՐՄԷՆ ՍԱՐԳՍԵԱՆ

ԶԺՀ, Սիշուանի նահանգ, քաղաք Չինդու (Գրթարան օտար լեզուաց)

ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԵՍ ՂԱԶԱՐԵԱՆ. ԱՍՏՈՒ ԽՕՍՔԸ ՃԵՆԱՅ ԼԵԶՈՒՈՎ

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

Յովհաննէս Ղազարեանն անուրանալի աւանդ ունի Աստուածաշունչը չինարէն թարգմանելու գործում: Իրեն անդարդարձող ուսումնասիրութիւններ կան անգլերէն, ռուսերէն, աւելի սակաւ հայերէն: Սակայն զարմանալիօրէն, անասելի քիչ են չինարէն ուսումնասիրութիւնները: Ներկայ յօդուածում առաջին անգամ փորձ է արւում չինարէնով ներկայացնելու հայազգի լեզուագէտի գործունէութիւնը:

阿尔缅·萨尔基相、四川省，成都市，（成都外语学校英语老师）

象形文字中的上帝之言；霍夫汉内斯·加扎良¹

霍夫汉内斯·加扎良 (Hovhannes Ghazarean)，又名拉沙，1781 年出生于中国澳门一个富有的亚美尼亚商人家庭。除了亚美尼亚语外，他还在仆人的帮助下学会了一门中国南方方言。²

他还精通葡萄牙语和英语。他的语言能力最初是在与中国宫廷与葡萄牙文通信中被注意到的。在很短的时间内，加扎良证明了自己是不同语言的鉴赏家。他擅长写作、翻译、编辑和校对。难怪那些寻求高质量翻译的传教士更喜欢他的候选资格。³

¹* Ստացուել է 6.12.2022, գրախօսուել է՝ 1.01.2023: էլ հասցէ՝ armensargsean@outlook.com: Խմբագիր 杨明、四川省，成都市，（成都外语学校书法老师） Եան Մին, Զինաստանի Ժողովրդական Հանրապետութիւն, Սիշուանի նահանգ, քաղաք Չինդու (Գրթարան օտար լեզուաց):

² 厘米。https://ru.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ляццар, Джоаннес; CARL T. SMITH AND PAUL

A. VAN DYKE, Four Armenian Families: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328381473_Four_Armenian_Families

³ 厘米。https://vstrokax.net/v-mire/pervaya-kitayskaya-bibliya-perevedena-s-armyanskogo/, Рубен Гини, Andin: Исторические очерки об армянах в Китае, Ереван, 2016, https://allinnet.info/

加扎良于 1804 年抵达加尔各答，威廉堡学院副院长克劳狄乌斯·布坎南(Claudius Buchanan⁴)得知他的中文水平很高，于是邀请他翻译圣经。加扎良接下了这项工作。后来传教士约书亚·马什曼(Joshua Marshman⁵)加入了他的翻译队伍。1807 年，他们搬到了邻近的塞伦波尔市。他们完成了《马太福音》的翻译，并把它交给了坎特伯雷大主教。加扎良在他的翻译中使用了亚美尼亚语和英语版本的圣经，以及葡萄牙语-汉语词典。

在接下来的几年里，加扎良和马什曼继续翻译新约。1810 年，马太福音和马可福音在塞伦波尔出版。新约全译本于 1813 年出版。这些书以其高质量的翻译和漂亮的书法吸引眼球。为了使圣经中的名字在中文中听起来合适，译者创造了额外的象形文字去表示。

关于加扎良何时去世，据信他在 1820 年至 1835 年间去世。这对今天的我们来说并没有那么重要，重要的是加扎良因他的行为而被后人铭记。正如亚美尼亚人莫夫塞斯·霍雷纳齐(Movses Khorenatsi-5 世纪)最伟大的儿子所说，加扎良作为一个凡人来到这个世界，但深深的把他的名字镌刻在了人们的心中。⁶

加扎良的作品同样受到同代人的赏识，大卫·布朗牧师在一封信中写道：“加扎良教授给我寄来了三本他翻译的圣经中文样本。虽然这些版本的出版很匆忙，但原则上我不会批评他们。我必须承认加扎良先生的中文非常好，如果他再有几年，翻译工作一定会胜利完成。他读中文圣经很流利，就像你读英文圣经一样。他写得也很快。”⁷

РЕЗЮМЕ

Ованес Лазарян имеет неоспоримый вклад в деле перевода Библии на китайский язык. О нем и его трудах есть несколько исследований на английском, русском и гораздо менее на армянском. Однако удивительно, что о нем почти ничего не написано на китайском. В настоящей статье впервые делается попытка представить деятельность армянского Полиглота на китайском языке.

interesting/the-first-translation-of-the-bible-into-chinese-done-by-an-armenian/: “One of the largest Armenian communities was in the city of Macau. There, Hovhannes Ghazaryan (also known as Joannes Lassar in Western literature) was born into a family of rich Armenian merchants in 1778.”; «Նորք», Թիւ 1, 2018, Ռ. ԳինէՅ, Առաջին շինարէն Աստուածաշնչի հեղինակ Ջոհանէս Լասարի պատմութիւնը (Հաստատման գրքից), 108—140.

⁴ (1766–1815) ADRIAN FORTESCUE, The Eastern Churches Trilogy, p. 366, Buchanan, Rev. Claudius. “The Star of The East, 2nd edition, Greenock, 1809: “preached and published in England, in 1808, by Claudius Buchanan, the Scottish chaplain of the East India Company, who gave to the world, in 1804, the first translation of the New Testament in Persian and Hindostanese, had also stirred the souls of the lovers of Jesus all over the land.”

⁵ (1768–1837) 看他的传记 CHARLES EDWARD BUCKLAND, Dictionary of Indian biography, 页面 276, 还有关于他和他的儿子 SUNIL KUMAR CHATTERJEE, John Clark Marshman: (a trustworthy friend of India), Bengal, 2001. 另见他的作品: Dissertation on the Characters and Sounds of the Chinese Language: Including Tables of the Elementary Characters and of the Chinese Monosyllables, Bengal

SUMMARY

Hovhannes Lazaryan has made an undeniable contribution to the translation of the Bible into Chinese. There are several studies about him and his work in English, Russian and much less in Armenian. However, surprisingly, almost nothing has been written about him in Chinese. This article is the first attempt to present the activities of the Armenian Polyglot in Chinese.

ԱՇՈՏ ՀԱՅՐՈՒՆԻ

Պատմական գիտ. դոկտոր, ԵՊՀ

ՀԱՅՈՑ ՑԵՂԱՄՊԱՆՈՒԹԻՒՆԸ՝ ՈՐՊԵՍ ՀԱՐՈՒՆԱԿԱԿԱՆ ՅԱՆՑԱԳՈՐԾՈՒԹԻՒՆ 1894–1923 ԹԹ. ՀԱՄԱՌՈՏ ԱԿՆԱՐԿ

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

Յօդուածում լուսաբանոււմ է 1894–1923 թթ. հայ ժողովրդի հանդէպ Օսմանեան պետութեան իշխող վարչակարգերի համակարգուած կերպով իրականացրած ցեղասպանութիւնը՝ որպէս մէկ միասնական շարունակական քաղաքականութիւն, որն իր գագաթնափուլին հասաւ Մեծ եղեռնի տարիներին:

Գերազանցապէս գերմանալեզու եւ հայ պատմագիտութեան մէջ դեռեւս գիտական շրջանառութեան մէջ չդրուած սկզբնաղբիւրների հիման վրայ նախ ներկայացոււմ են 1878 թ. Բեռլինի պայմանագրով Հայկական բարենորոգումների իրականացման պատասխանատուութիւնն ստանձնած արեւմտեան մեծ տէրութիւնների անգործութեան պայմաններում Հայկական հարցը հայերին բնաջնջելու միջոցով լուծելու՝ սուլթան Աբդուլ Համիդ Բ. եւ նրա կառավարութեան որդեգրած քաղաքականութիւնը եւ դրա արդիւնքում 1894–1896 թթ. սանձազերծուած պարբերական կոտորածները, որոնց զոհ դարձան շուրջ 300 000 հայեր: Ադանայի եւ յարակից շրջանների հայ բնակչութեան 1909 թ. կոտորածը, աւելի ուշ՝ Օսմանեան պետութեան գրեթէ ողջ հայ ժողովրդի տեղահանութիւնն ու սպանդը փաստեցին, որ իշխանութեան եկած երիտթուրքերը ոչ միայն համիդեան ցեղասպան քաղաքականութեան շարունակողներն էին, այլեւ այդ հարցում շատ աւելի վճռական ու արմատական էին գործում՝ ջանալով բնաջնջել ողջ ժողովրդին, որի թուաքանակը, ըստ Կ. Պոլսի գերմանական դեսպանութեան տուեալների, կազմում էր շուրջ 2,5 միլիոն: 1915–1917 թթ. նրանցից աւելի քան 1,5 միլիոնը սպանուեց, իսկ առեւանգուած եւ բռնի իսլամացած հայերի թիւն անցնում էր քառորդ միլիոնից: Հայոց վերջին բեկորները երկրից արտաքսելու միջոցով քեմալական իշխանութիւնների աւարտին հասցրած ցեղասպանութիւնը լուսաբանելով հանդերձ՝ հանգամանալից անդրադարձ է կատարուում

նաեւ այդ հարցում արեւմտեան մեծ տէրութիւնների որդեգրած հանդուրժողական քաղաքականութեանը եւ նրանց՝ ի մասնաւորի կայսերական Գերմանիայի, մեղսակցութեանն ու պատասխանատուութեանը:

ASCHOT HAYRUNI

Prof. Dr., SUJ

DER GENOZID AN DEN ARMENIERN ALS KONTINUIERLICHES VERBRECHEN VON 1894 BIS 1923. EIN KURZER ÜBERBLICK¹

EINLEITUNG

In dem im Anschluss an den Russisch-Türkischen Krieg 1877–78 geschlossenen Vorfriedensvertrag von San-Stefano verpflichtete sich die osmanische Regierung in Art. 16, ohne weiteren Zeitverlust Reformen in den im Hoheitsgebiet des Reiches verbleibenden armenischen Provinzen durchzuführen, um das Leben und das Eigentum armenischer Christen zu schützen.² Die russische Armee sollte als Garant noch sechs weitere Monate in den von ihr besetzten ostanatolischen bzw. westarmenischen Gebieten bleiben. Die damaligen sechs europäischen Großmächte aber, allen voran Großbritannien, setzten bei den Friedensverhandlungen in Berlin 1878 eine Revision des bilateralen Vorfriedensvertrages durch, wobei sie die Signifikarmächte des Berliner

^{1*} Ստացուել է՝ 4.05.2023, գրախօսուել է՝ 8.05.2023: էլ. հասցէ՝ hayruniashot@gmail.com:

² Art. 16. des Vorfriedensvertrages von San-Stefano lautete: „Da der Abzug der russischen Truppen aus dem von ihnen besetzten Gebiet Armeniens, das den Türken zurückgegeben werden soll, Veranlassung zu Konflikten und Verwicklungen geben könnte, die die Aufrechterhaltung der guten Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Ländern unmöglich machen würde, so verpflichtet sich die Hohe Pforte, ohne weiteren Verzug die durch örtliche Bedürfnisse in den von Armeniern bewohnten Provinzen erforderten Verbesserungen und Reform ins Werk zu setzen und den Armeniern Sicherheit vor Kurden und Tscherkessen zu garantieren.“ Siehe Azatyan, Henrik (Hg.): Çakatagrakan paymanager, Erevan 2002, S. 47. Vgl. Lepsius, Johannes: Armenien und Europa. Eine Anklageschrift wider die christlichen Großmächte und ein Aufruf an das christliche Deutschland, 3. vermehrte Auflage, Berlin-Westend 1897, S. 44.

Vertrages zu Garanten für die Umsetzung der „armenischen Reformen“ machten.³ Tatsächlich gelang es der osmanischen Staatsführung, die Umsetzung der Verwaltungsreform in den betreffenden armenischen Provinzen 36 Jahre lang zu verschleppen; auch die Uneinigkeit der Signifikare selbst verzögerte die Reformen.

DIE SYSTEMATISCHEN MASSAKER VON 1894–1896

Der panislamisch agierende Sultan Abdülhamit II. sah durch die europäische Einmischung die Integrität seines Landes bedroht und beschloss, die bereits internationalisierte Armenische Frage durch die Dezimierung und Ermordung der Armenier zu lösen. Er begann, eine planmäßige administrative Verfolgung gegen sie einzuleiten und vor allem, ab 1891, nomadische Kurdenstämme – die so genannten „aşiret/eşiret“-Kurden – in den sogenannten Hamidiye-Regimentern zu organisieren und zu bewaffnen.⁴

Bereits im August 1894 überfielen irreguläre Hamidiye-Einheiten und andere osmanisch-türkische Truppen auf Befehl der Regierung die Dörfer des überwiegend von Armeniern bewohnten Kaza Sason (Sancak Muş, Provinz Bitlis), deren Bevölkerung ausgeplündert und massakriert wurde.⁵ England, Russland und Frankreich legten daraufhin der osmanischen Regierung ein Reformprogramm für die sechs armenischen Provinzen bzw. Vilayets⁶ Erzurum, Bitlis, Van, Mamuretül-

3 Art. 61 des Berliner Vertrages lautete: „Die Hohe Pforte verpflichtet sich, ohne weiteren Zeitverlust die Verbesserungen und Reformen ins Leben zu rufen, welche die örtlichen Bedürfnisse in den von den Armeniern bewohnten Provinzen erfordern, und für die Sicherheit derselben gegen die Tscherkessen und Kurden einzustehen. Sie wird in bestimmten Zeiträumen von den zu diesem Zwecke getroffenen Maßregeln den Mächten, welche die Ausführung derselben überwachen werden, Kenntnis geben.“ Siehe Azatyan, Henrik (Hg.): *Çakatagrakan paymanagr*, S. 60–61. Vgl. Vertrag zwischen Deutschland, Österreich-Ungarn, Frankreich, Großbritannien, Italien, Russland und der Türkei, in: DRGB, Nr. 31, 11. Sept., 1878, S. 307 ff.

4 Ein Verwaltungserlass garantierte Straffreiheit für Delikte, die an Armeniern begangen wurden. Beamte, die sich besonders brutal hervortaten, sollten sogar belohnt werden. Siehe Lepsius, J.: *Die armenischen Reformen*, in: DCO, 1913, S. 180.

5 Kirakosyan, Arman: *T'owrk'akan b'natirawt'yan dem arewmtahayowt'yan ëndvzowmnerë 1890-akan t't'. skzbin*, in: *Hayoc' patmowt'yown*, hator III, girk' arajin, Erewan 2010, S. 515–519. Die Zahl der in Sason geplünderten und verbrannten Dörfer belief sich auf 40, während über 10 000 Menschen getötet wurden. A.a.O., S. 518.

6 Der Begriff „Vilayet“ (veraltete Populärtranskription „Wilajet“) stammt aus dem Arabischen und bedeutet „Provinz“. Die genannten Vilayets bildeten dabei einen Teil Hocharmeniens bzw. des historischen Siedlungsraums der Armenier seit der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit.

Aziz (Harput), Diyarbakir und Sivas vor, das diese nach langem Zögern unterschreiben musste.

Die Reform wurde aber nicht ausgeführt, und Abdülhamit II., von der Straflosgkeit für die Verbrechen in Sason ermutigt, ließ im Gegenteil schon im Jahr 1895 landesweit weitere systematische Massaker verüben, so beispielsweise in Konstantinopel (30. September), Akhisar (3. Oktober), Trapezunt (8. Oktober), Erzincan (21. Oktober), Bayburt (25. Oktober), Bitlis (27. Oktober), Erzurum (30. Oktober), Arabkir (1.-5. November), Harput (10. November), Sivas (12. November), Diyarbakir (1. November), Malatya (4.-9. November), Amasia (15. November), Marsovan (15. November), Marasch (18. November), Kayseri (30. November) und Urfa (28.-29. Dezember).⁷

Diesen Massakern, denen im Jahr 1896 weitere in Eğin (arm. Akn), Van und anderen Orten folgten, fielen über 300 000 Menschen ohne Unterschied von Alter und Geschlecht zum Opfer. Viele Tausende wurden zwangsislamisiert. Rund 250 000 weitere Armenier flüchteten ins Ausland.⁸ „Der Vernichtung des armenischen Volkes liegt ein einheitlicher, schon seit Jahren vorbereiteter Plan zugrunde“, schrieb Lepsius auf der Grundlage seiner detaillierten Nachforschungen, „der in den letzten Monaten des vergangenen Jahres infolge des Vorgehens der Mächte mit überstürzter Hast zur Ausführung gebracht wurde. Während schon seit Jahren die von der Regierung bestellten Werkzeuge zur Zerstörung in aller Stille und mit möglichst wenig Aufsehen arbeiteten, sah sich die Hohe Pforte durch die drohenden armenischen Reformen genötigt, den Prozess zu beschleunigen und, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, ganz Europa in Empörung zu setzen, mit einem Schlag das armenische Volk zu vernichten und dem verhassten Chris-

7 Lepsius, J.: Die armenischen Reformen, S. 214.

8 Siehe Badalyan, Gegam: Arewmtahayowt'yan 1890-akan t't'. koraçneri žogovrdagrakan ewn intesakan hetewank'nerë, in: Hayoc' patmowt'yown, hator III, girk' arajin, Erewan 2010, S. 542. „Es war mit großer Sorgfalt darauf gesehen“, so Lepsius, „dass von allen Männern von Einfluss, Bildung und Wohlstand (nämlich gerade denen, die bei der Durchführung der Reformen einen Anteil an der Verwaltung oder Justiz hätten nehmen können) möglichst keiner übrig blieb. [...] Da man diese Auslese dem Pöbel nicht mit genügender Sicherheit anvertrauen konnte, wurden von den Valis selbst solche Listen ausgestellt und den Soldaten in die Hand gegeben.“ Lepsius, J.: Armenien und Europa, S. 40. Obwohl dem Morden und dem Plündern eine einheitliche Methode zugrunde lag, nämlich, „in möglichst kurzbegrenzter Zeit eine möglichst große Zahl von Armeniern totzuschlagen und ihnen möglichst alle ihre Habe abzunehmen und ihren Besitz zu vernichten“, ließen sich die Mörder überall auch einen „schrackenlosen Spielraum“ für ihre „mordlustige Phantasie“ offen. Dazu gehörten massive Schändungen und Entehrungen, Folterungen und Verstümmelungen jeglicher Art. Für Ausführlicheres darüber siehe a.a.O., S. 11–23, 40.

tentum, welches immer wieder die Sympathie Europas erweckte, ein schnelles Ende zu bereiten. Ein einheitlicher Plan in Bezug auf Ort, Zeit, Nationalität der Opfer und sogar auf die des Mordens und Plünderens, lag der Gesamtheit der Massacres zu Grunde.“⁹

In Bezug auf den Ort waren die Massaker zunächst auf das Territorium jener sechs Provinzen, in denen Reformen eingeführt werden sollten, beschränkt. Allerdings griffen diese auch auf die Provinzen Aleppo, Adana und Angora (Ankara) über, weil die osmanisch-türkische Regierung fürchtete, dass die Mächte auch für diese Provinzen bzw. für bestimmte Bezirke derselben, in denen eine kompakte armenische Bevölkerung vorhanden war, Reformen fordern könnten.¹⁰

Die osmanischen Zivil- und Militärbehörden hatten nicht nur die Vorbereitung der Massaker selbst in die Hand genommen,¹¹ sondern vielfach beteiligten sich höchste Beamten an den Massakern, der Plünderung und der Zwangskonvertierung.¹² Über die Beteiligung der regulären Truppen an den Massakern und der Plünderung hinaus oblag ihnen in den meisten Fällen auch die Führung.¹³ Es waren also gut vorbereitete und systematisch durchgeführte Massaker, die einen politischen Hintergrund besaßen. Wie Lepsius zutreffend feststellte, waren diese „eine administrative Maßregel der Hohen Pforte“, welche einzig den Zweck hatte, die von den

9 A.a.O., S. 38.

10 Ebd.

11 Sie hatten beispielsweise vor Ausbruch der Massaker die systematische Entwaffnung der armenischen Bevölkerung erzwungen, während sie die muslimische Bevölkerung im Besitz ihrer Waffen ließen und überdies die türkische und kurdische Bevölkerung reichlich mit Waffen, zum Teil aus den Militärdepots, versorgten. Zur Vorbereitung gehörten auch die systematische Anstachelung der muslimischen Bevölkerung zum Morden und zur Plünderung, was oft durch Valis (Provinzgouverneuren) und Militärkommandanten geschah, die Erteilung der Instruktionen zum Überfall auf armenische Dörfer und Stadtquartiere, die Täuschung der armenischen Bevölkerung durch die Zusicherung ihres Schutzes sowie durch Einquartierung von Militär und die Rekrutierung von Reservisten, die scheinbar zur Aufrechterhaltung der Ordnung bestellt waren, in Wahrheit aber angewiesen wurden, an den Massakern und Plünderung teilzunehmen. A.a.O., S. 30.

12 Die Zivil- und Militärbehörden selbst legten den Ausbruch jedes Massakers auf einen bestimmten Tag und eine bestimmte Stunde fest, setzten auch eine bestimmte Zeit von Stunden oder Tagen an, während der dem Pöbel, den Kurden und dem Militär strafflose Freiheit zum Morden und Plündern gewährt wurde. Sie wiesen Hilfesuche der armenischen Bevölkerung ab oder nahmen die Bittsteller fest. Sie ließen auch die Massaker durch Trompetensignale oder andere Zeichen einleiten und beschließen. Vor, während und nach den Massakern nahmen sie zahlreiche Festnahmen von Armeniern vor, die ohne Einleitung eines Rechtsverfahrens zum größten Teil in Gefängnissen „den entsetzlichsten Torturen ausgesetzt“ und getötet wurden. Sie befehligen dabei die an den Massakern teilnehmenden Kurden und Tscherkessen und sicherten sich durch die ihnen unterstellten Truppen oder Gendarmen einen Anteil an der Beute. Ebd.

13 A.a.O., S. 26.

Großmächten geforderten „armenischen Reformen“ durch Vernichtung des armenischen Volkes obsolet zu machen.¹⁴

Die europäischen (Garantie-)Mächte des Berliner Vertrages waren über die Massaker gut informiert. Bereits am 4. Februar 1896 war eine Statistik der Botschafter der sechs Großmächte in Konstantinopel in einer Kollektivnote an die Hohe Pforte überreicht worden, die, beginnend mit dem Blutbad von Trapezunt am 8. Oktober, alle Massaker im Jahr 1895 verzeichnete und genaue Angaben der Orte, Daten und Zahlen, der Toten und Verwundeten enthielt. Obwohl naturgemäß die Quellen selbst für die Konsuln der Mächte im Innern Kleinasiens viel zu beschränkt waren, führte doch dieser Geheimbericht nicht weniger als 88.243 getötete Armenier, 2.493 geplünderte und zerstörte Dörfer, 568/77 geplünderte und zerstörte Kirchen/Klöster, 12 höhere Geistliche (Archimandriten, Bischöfe und Äbte) sowie 179 Priester und Prediger als ermordet, 646 Dörfer als zwangsweise zum Islam konvertiert, 55 Priester als zwangsweise islamisiert, dazu nicht weniger als 328 christliche Kirchen als in Moscheen verwandelt auf. Die Zahl der Notleidenden und Hilfsbedürftigen wurde von der amtlichen Statistik der Botschafter auf 546 000 veranschlagt.¹⁵

14 A.a.O., S. 49. Es war daher auch leicht verständlich, warum allein die Armenier nach Instruktionen der türkischen Regierung massakriert werden mussten, während andere christliche Bevölkerungen im Reich verschont bleiben sollten. „Auch in Bezug auf die Nationalität der Opfer waren strikte Ordres gegeben“, so Lepsius. „Der Schlag sollte nur die Armenier treffen. In vielen Städten, die Massacres hatten, sind starke griechische Bevölkerungen. Niemand hat sie angerührt. Wenn trotz vorheriger Warnung seitens der Behörden doch etliche Griechen umkamen, war es ein Zufall. Noch während der Massacres trafen strengste Befehle ein, die Griechen zu schützen. Man wusste in Konstantinopel, dass man im Falle eines Angriffs auf die griechische Konfession es sofort mit Russland zu tun bekommen würde. Solche Ordres allein schon, die den Schutz der Behörden auf eine Konfession beschränkten, erklärten die andere, die armenische, für vogelfrei. Übrigens gelang es im Wilajet Aleppo und Diarbekir doch nicht, dem entfesselten muhammedanischen Fanatismus solche Schranken aufzuerlegen. Die Syrer, Jakobiten und Chaldäer wurden trotz der Befehle von oben mit den Armeniern über einen Kamm geschoren.“ A.a.O., S. 39. „Was sind die armenischen Massacres?“, schrieb Lepsius ferner diesbezüglich, „Ohne Frage: ihrem Ursprung nach ein rein politisches Ereignis, genauer gesagt, eine administrative Maßregel. Aber die Tatsachen beweisen es, dass bei dem Charakter des mohammedanischen Volkes, der auch in den politischen Leidenschaften nur religiösen Motiven zugänglich ist, diese administrative Maßregel die Form einer Christenverfolgung von riesigem Maßstabe annehmen musste und angenommen hat. Soll uns etwa wegen des politischen Ursprungs dieser Religionsverfolgung verboten sein, ‚von den um ihres Christenglaubens willen verfolgten Armeniern zu reden?‘ Dann hat es nie in der Welt Religionsverfolgungen gegeben, denn alle ohne Ausnahme standen mit politischen Bewegungen in Wechselwirkung, und selbst der Tod Christi wäre nichts als ein politisches Ereignis, weil politische Motive bei seiner Verurteilung den Ausschlag gaben.“ A.a.O., S. 19.

15 Siehe Lepsius: Armenien und Europa, S. 180. Vgl. Lepsius, J.: 30 Jahre Deutscher Orient-Mission, in: DO, 1925, S. 130. Dies war das Ergebnis eines schon Anfang Februar 1896 gedruckten Berichtes, worin es nur um die Blutbäder vom 8. Oktober bis Ende 1915 ging.

Die europäischen Mächte übten zwar Kritik an den Massakern, jedoch war kein europäischer Staat bereit, militärisch zu intervenieren. Der deutsche Kaiser Wilhelm II. nannte den Sultan in seinen Randnotizen zu Depeschen, die ihn 1896 aus Konstantinopel erreichten, zwar „einen ekelhaften Menschen“ und fügte hinzu, dass er abgesetzt werden müsse und dass man gegen die Pforte energisch vorgehen solle.¹⁶ „Das übersteigt doch alles Dagewesene“, schrieb er weiter zu den Massakern, „das ist ja eine wahre Bartholomäusnacht.“¹⁷ Aber auch er und sein Kabinett waren nicht bereit einzuschreiten.¹⁸

Die moralische Entrüstung des Kaisers währte nicht lange, und seine Empörung während der Massaker war nur eine kurze Episode in der Beziehungsgeschichte zwischen ihm und Abdülhamit. Die Massaker fanden in einer Zeit statt, in der die deutsche Außenpolitik die frühere Bismarcksche Zurückhaltung aufgab und neue Wege suchte, um zur Weltmacht zu werden. Denn nach der Ansicht der damaligen deutschen Machthaber sollte der deutsche Einfluss im Orient verstärkt werden. Zur Intensivierung der deutsch-osmanischen Beziehungen reiste daher der Kaiser 1898 zum zweiten Mal in das Osmanische Reich, und, die Massaker von 1895/6 vollkommen verschweigend, bekräftigte er in seiner Rede in Damaskus nicht nur seine Freundschaft zu Sultan Abdülhamit II., sondern erklärte sich zum Schutzherren der damals 300 Millionen Muslime auf der Welt.¹⁹ Es gelang dem Kaiser und seinem Kabinett, im Laufe der folgenden Jahre die militärisch-

16 Feigel, Uwe: Das evangelische Deutschland und Armenien. Die Armenierhilfe deutscher evangelischer Christen seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts im Kontext der deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen, Göttingen 1989, S. 41.

17 Ebd.

18 Hatte es Großbritannien 1878 noch für sinnvoll befunden, die Integrität des Osmanischen Reichs zu erhalten, während Russland eine Teilung bezweckte, kehrten sich die Ambitionen in den folgenden Jahren nahezu um: Russland orientierte sich stärker nach Ostasien und wollte an der osmanisch-türkischen Grenze Ruhe haben, während Großbritannien Interesse an einer Teilung des Osmanischen Reiches gewann. Treibende Kraft waren die Liberalen William Gladstone und Archibald Rosebery. Ende 1894, nach dem Massaker in Sason, legte die englische Regierung Russland einen Teilungsplan des Osmanischen Reiches vor, allerdings ohne Erfolg. Im Sommer 1895 versuchte auch der neu ernannte britische Premierminister, Robert Arthur Salisbury, Wilhelm II. für den Teilungsplan zu erwärmen, der jedoch ebenfalls ablehnte. Die Mächte waren also über die Massaker gut informiert. Da ihnen ein Einschreiten aber nur um den Preis einer Teilung des Osmanischen Reiches möglich schien und diese vermeintlich das globale Gleichgewicht stören und ein Kriegsrisiko vergrößern würde, verzichtete man auf eine Teilung und opferete, um der Erhaltung des Status quo willen, die Sicherheit und Existenz der Armenier. A.a.O., S. 38–39, 41. Die deutsche Regierung war ebenfalls über die Massaker informiert, wollte aber selbst nicht aktiv werden, weil sie sich die Sympathie der osmanischen Regierung nicht verscherzen wollte.

19 A.a.O., S. 85.

politischen und Handelsbeziehungen mit dem Osmanischen Reich erheblich auszuweiten.²⁰

DER VÖLKERMORD UND DEUTSCHAND IN DEN WELTKRIEGSJAHREN

Nach 30jähriger Despotie wurde Abdülhamit II. im Sommer 1908 vom Komitee „Einheit und Fortschritt“²¹ (alias „Jungtürken“) gestürzt und das Reich zu einer konstitutionellen Monarchie erklärt. Auch wenn Armenier, Griechen, Aramäer, Juden und Araber sich an der konstitutionalistischen Opposition gegen den Schreckensherrscher Abdülhamit rege beteiligt und auch die Jungtürken bei ihrem Umsturz unterstützt hatten, wurde die von der erneut in Kraft gesetzten osmanischen Verfassung (1876) garantierte und von den Jungtürken für alle Bürger des Reiches versprochene Rechtsgleichheit nie zur Realität. Einer der wenigen Scharfsinnigen, die von Anfang an die durch Machtübernahme der Jungtürken allenthalben entstandene Begeisterung und Hoffnung auf eine baldige Rechtsgleichheit nicht teilten, war Lepsius. „Der Umschwung der Dinge in der Türkei erscheint selbst denen, die ihn herbeigeführt haben, wie ein Traum“, so Lepsius. „Die plötzliche Genesung des ‚kranken Mannes‘ dünkt dem erstaunten Europa wie ein Wunder. Umso zurückhaltender wird unsere Arbeit über die nächste und fernere Zukunft der neuen Türkei sein müssen. Es ist in der Weltgeschichte wieder einmal anders gegangen, als jedermann dachte, und darum ist es am meisten zu schließen, dass auch künftig anders gehen wird, als irgendjemand denkt. Man wird von den neuen Tatsachen lernen müssen, ohne die alten Erfahrungen darüber zu vergessen.“²²

20 Dies war für Deutschland keineswegs ein gutes Geschäft, denn Deutschland investierte weit mehr in das osmanische Entwicklungsland, als es profitierte. Ebd. Die Intensivierung der Orientpolitik ging auch nicht auf deutsche Wirtschaftsführer zurück – sie protestierten sogar dagegen –, sondern auf den politischen Ehrgeiz der damaligen deutschen politischen Führung.

21 Die „Jungtürken“ gehörten der konstitutionalistischen Oppositionsbewegung im Osmanischen Reich an, die seit 1878 auf die Wiedereinsetzung der von Abdülhamit II. außer Kraft gesetzten ersten und einzigen osmanischen Verfassung hinarbeitete. Das Komitee „Einheit und Fortschritt“ wollte außerdem den auseinanderfallenden osmanischen Vielvölkerstaat durch liberale Reformen stützen. Ziel war die Stärkung des außenpolitisch geschwächten und innenpolitisch von Sezessionsbestrebungen bedrohten Reiches durch systematische politische, militärische und wirtschaftliche Modernisierung. Bei seinem Vorgehen gegen das Regime Abdülhamits wurde es von den politischen Eliten der osmanischen Armenier, Griechen, Juden und anderen Bevölkerungsgruppen des Osmanischen Reichs unterstützt, denn diese hofften, sich bei Machtübernahme der Jungtürken von Diskrimination und Unterdrückung befreien zu können.

22 Lepsius, J.: Die politische und religiöse Wiedergeburt des Orients, in: DCO, 1908, S. 144–145.

Diese seine Skepsis wurde durch die Ereignisse der folgenden Zeit, als die Jungtürken Panislamismus,²³ Türkismus und Pantürkismus (Turanismus)²⁴ zu Direktiven ihrer Politik machten, vollkommen bestätigt. Als im Frühjahr 1909 in der Provinz Adana (Kilikien) Anhänger des gestürzten Sultans einen Aufstand organisierten, kam es zu neuerlichen, vom Provinzgouverneur bereits im März 1909 geplanten Massakern an Armeniern, an denen sich ab dem 12. April 1909 auch die von der jungtürkischen Regierung zur Niederschlagung des Aufstandes entsandten Regierungstruppen beteiligten. Die Zahl der Opfer der „kilikischen Massaker“ wird auf 30 000 geschätzt.²⁵

Die Balkankriege (1912/13) nährten auch unter Armeniern die Hoffnung, dass die seit dem Berliner Kongress versprochenen, aber bisher nicht erfüllten Verwaltungsreformen endlich doch verwirklicht werden könnten. Russland nutzte die kriegsbedingte Schwäche des Osmanischen Reiches und ließ einen Reformplan ausarbeiten, den es den übrigen europäischen Mächten und Signifikaren des Berliner Vertrages zur Bestätigung vorlegte. Während Großbritannien und Frankreich dem Plan zustimmten, befürchtete Deutschland eine Ausweitung des russischen Einflusses im Nahen Osten und widersetzte sich dem Plan.

23 Ziel des Panislamismus ist die Vereinigung aller Muslime in einem islamischen Staat oder Kalifat und die Durchsetzung ihrer Interessen. Die Jungtürken versuchten im Ersten Weltkrieg den Panislamismus zu instrumentalisieren, um ihre pantürkischen Ideen leichter durchzusetzen. Zu Kriegsbeginn war zu diesem Zweck der Aufruf zum Dschihad, „Heiligen Krieg“, erfolgt.

24 Die jungtürkische Regierung verfolgte außenpolitisch das Ziel, alle Turkvölker in einem Staat zu vereinen. Dieses „Groß-Turan“ sollte von Nordchina (Sinkiang) bis Kleinasien und dem Balkan reichen. Es sollte nach der Eroberung Kaukasiens die Errichtung eines Nordpersien, Mittelasiens, Südsibirien und den Pamir einschließenden Kalifats erfolgen. Die Jungtürken verkündeten noch im April 1915 als Kriegsziele die Eroberung des Südkaukasus und die Vereinigung aller Turkvölker unter dem osmanischen Sultan. Kriegsminister Ismail Enver hielt die Stoßrichtung über den Kaukasus für am aussichtsreichsten, um „über Afghanistan nach Indien zu marschieren“, und träumte schon 1915 von einer „Zusammenfassung der 40 Millionen Türken in einem Reich.“ Nach Unterzeichnung des Brest-Litowsker Friedensvertrages im März 1918 steigerte sich die Turanbegeisterung im Lande nochmals und die jungtürkische Regierung ließ sich nicht mehr von der Verfolgung ihrer Turanpläne abhalten. Vgl. Bihl, Wolfdieter: Die Kaukasuspolitik der Mittelmächte. Teil 1: Ihre Basis in der Orient-Politik und ihre Aktionen 1914–1917, Wien 1975, S. 155, 234 und 242. Vgl. Krecker, Lothar: Deutschland und die Türkei im zweiten Weltkrieg, Frankfurt am Main 1964, S. 207.

25 Hofmann, Tessa: Verfolgung und Völkermord: Armenien zwischen 1877 und 1922, in: Hofmann, T. (Hg.): Armenier und Armenien – Heimat und Exil., Reinbek bei Hamburg 1994, S. 21–22. Dr. Paul Rohrbach, der Vorstandsmitglied der DOM war und vom Vorstand schon im Sommer 1909 mit einer Erkundungsreise nach Adana beauftragt wurde, berichtete über das Massaker nach seiner Rückkehr nach Berlin in einem umfangreichen Beitrag, der im Christlichen Orient veröffentlicht wurde. Vgl. Rohrbach, Paul: Die Wahrheit über Adana, in: DCO, 1909, S. 145–159.

Es kam deswegen 1913 zu erneuten Verhandlungen zwischen den Botschaftern der sechs Signifikarmächte in Konstantinopel. Nachdem der deutsche Botschafter manche wichtigen Änderungen zugunsten des jungtürkischen Regimes durchgesetzt hatte, gab er seinen Widerstand auf. Der vereinbarte gemeinsame Reformplan wurde im Januar 1914 auch von der osmanischen Regierung unterzeichnet²⁶ – nicht aus Überzeugung, sondern aus einer Position der Schwäche. Der Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs bot der jungtürkischen Regierung den Anlass, das Reformprojekt aufzukündigen.

Sie sah im Krieg die günstige Gelegenheit, die bereits durch den Berliner Vertrag internationalisierte „Armenische Frage“ dauerhaft dadurch zu lösen, indem sie sich des Anlasses für ausländische Interventionen und Reformdiktate für immer entledigte. Das bedeutete ihrer Ansicht nach die vollständige Vernichtung der Armenier im gesamten osmanischen Herrschaftsgebiet.

In den Kriegsjahren 1915–1916 wurde fast die gesamte armenische Bevölkerung des Osmanischen Reiches, deren Zahl sich nach Schätzung der deutschen Botschaft zu Konstantinopel auf zweieinhalb Millionen belief,²⁷ in die mesopotamische Wüste deportiert, nachdem ihr immobiles und mobiles Eigentum sowie ihr gesamtes Bankkapital von der Regierung konfisziert worden waren. Über 250 000 wehrpflichtige Armenier wurden ab Februar 1915 entwaffnet, in Arbeitsbataillone gesteckt und in der Regel nach Abschluss der Arbeiten als Lastenträger oder beim Straßenbau getötet; Ende April und im Mai 1915 bzw. unmittelbar vor der Massendeportation der Armenier wurden die Festnahme, Deportation und Tötung der geistigen und geistlichen Eliten durchgeführt.²⁸

Bei den Deportationskonvois handelte es sich eigentlich um Todesmärsche. Betroffen waren hauptsächlich Frauen und Kinder, weil die Männer, sobald sie ihre Wohnorte verlassen hatten, in der Regel aus den Konvois ausgesondert und ermordet worden waren.²⁹

26 Vgl. Simonyan, Hrač'ik: Azatagrakan payk'ari owğinerowm. Girk' V. Erevan 2013, S. 852–857.

27 Vgl. Der Geschäftsträger der Deutschen Botschaft Konstantinopel, Radowitz, an Reichskanzler Bethmann-Hollweg, Telegramm vom 04.10.1916, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PA/AA), [http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/\\$\\$AllDocs/1916–10–04-DE-002](http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/$$AllDocs/1916–10–04-DE-002) (abgerufen am 23.12.2018).

28 Für Ausführlicheres darüber siehe Dadrian, Vahakn N.: The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus. Berghahn Books, Oxford/Providence 2004. Vgl. Kévorkian, Raymond H.: The Armenian Genocide. A Complete History. London/New York: I. B. Tauris 2011.

29 Auch bei den Todesmärschen der Frauen und Kinder kam es öfters zu Massakern.

Über die Hälfte der deportierten Armenier wurden unterwegs ermordet oder starben, soweit nicht Frauen und Kinder von Muslimen verschleppt wurden, an Hunger, Erschöpfung und Seuchen. Von den 870 000 Deportierten, die das „Ansiedlungsgebiet“ in Nord-Mesopotamien erreichten, kamen die meisten – als das Deportationsbüro im Frühjahr 1916 realisierte, dass das Sterben an Seuchen und Hunger nicht schnell genug ging – vor allem durch Massaker um.³⁰ Im Verlauf des Sommers und Frühherbstes 1916 wurde ein Konzentrationslager nach dem anderen durch Massaker oder Massenverbrennungen liquidiert.³¹

Nach einer hochrechnungsgestützten Schätzung der Deutschen Botschaft zu Konstantinopel vom Anfang Oktober 1916 wurden über 1,5 Millionen armenische Bürgerinnen und Bürger des Osmanischen Reiches bei Todesmärschen und Massakern getötet.³² Darüber hinaus wurden über 300 000 armenische Frauen und Kinder von Muslimen verschleppt, versklavt und zwangsweise islamisiert. Nach Angaben des armenischen Patriarchats wurden 66 Städte sowie 4.000 Dörfer entvölkert und 2.350 Kirchen entweder zerstört oder in Moscheen umgewandelt. Nur einem geringen Teil der armenischen Bevölkerung gelang die Flucht ins Ausland.³³

Auch wenn die türkische Regierung ihre Vernichtungspolitik gegen das armenische Volk zu verschleiern versuchte, blieb diese schon beim Beginn den europäischen Regierungen nicht verborgen. Bereits am 24. Mai 1915 veröffentlichte die Nachrichtenagentur „Agence Havas“ eine gemeinsame Erklärung der britischen, französischen und russischen Regierungen, in der diese die Türkei wegen Verbrechens gegen Menschlichkeit und Zivilisation anklagten. „Seit ungefähr einem Monat“, so in der Erklärung der Alliierten, „begeht die türkische und kurdische Bevölkerung Armeniens unter Duldung und oft mit Unterstützung der osmanischen

30 Zwischen Sommer und Herbst 1915 erreichten 870 000 armenische Deportierte in drei Märgen à 130 000, 150 000 sowie 590 000 Personen die osmanische Provinz Syrien (nicht deckungsgleich mit dem heutigen Staat dieses Namens), wo die meisten von ihnen vorläufig in Konzentrationslagern interniert wurden. Allein in den Gebieten von Ras-al-Ain und Deir ez-Zor wurden fast 200 000 Menschen getötet. Siehe Kévorkian, R. H.: *L'extermination des déportés Arméniens Ottomans dans les camps de concentration de Syrie-Mésopotamie (1915–1916): La deuxième phase du génocide*. Tome II. «Revue d'Histoire Arménienne Contemporaine», Numéro Spécial, Tome II, 1998, 7–244, insbesondere S. 14, 60–61.

31 Ebd.

32 Vgl. Der Geschäftsträger der Deutschen Botschaft Konstantinopel, Radowitz, an Reichskanzler Bethmann-Hollweg, Telegramm vom 04.10.1916, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PA/AA), [http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/\\$\\$AllDocs/1916–10–04-DE-002](http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/$$AllDocs/1916–10–04-DE-002) (abgerufen am 23.12.2018).

33 Vgl. Melk'onyan, Ašot: *Hayoc' patmowt'yown*, Erevan 1998, S. 181–182.

Behörden Massenmorde unter den Armeniern. Solche Massenmorde haben um die Mitte des April in Erzerum, Terdschan, Egin, Bitlis, Musch, Sassun, Zeytun und in ganz Kilikien stattgefunden. Die Einwohner von ungefähr hundert Dörfern in der Umgebung von Wan sind alle ermordet und das armenische Viertel ist von den Kurden belagert worden. Zur selben Zeit hat die osmanische Regierung gegen die wehrlose armenische Bevölkerung in Konstantinopel gewütet. In Anbetracht dieses neuerlichen Verbrechens der Türkei gegen Menschlichkeit und Zivilisation geben die alliierten Regierungen der Hohen Pforte öffentlich bekannt, dass sie alle Mitglieder der türkischen Regierung sowie diejenigen ihrer Handlanger, die an solchen Massennorden beteiligt sind, persönlich zur Rechenschaft ziehen werden.“³⁴

Die deutsche Regierung war bestens informiert über all diese Vorgänge. Sie zeigte aber noch im Frühjahr 1915 bzw. seit Beginn des Völkermords kein Interesse an der wirksamen Verhinderung dieser Massenvernichtung. Sie begnügte sich damit, sich den türkischen Gräueltaten mit „in freundlicher Weise“ ausgesprochenen Warnungen zu widersetzen. Selbst dies geschah weniger um der Gerechtigkeit willen, als mit dem politischen Kalkül, möglichen Vorwürfen deutscher Mitschuld oder Mitverantwortung zuvorzukommen.³⁵

34 Siehe Lepsius, J.: Der Todesgang des Armenischen Volkes, Bericht über das Schicksal des Armenischen Volkes in der Türkei während des Weltkrieges (Reprint, Besorgt von der Deutsch-Armenischen Gesellschaft, der Ausgabe: Missionshandlung und Verlag Potsdam 1930), Heidelberg 1980, S. 200. Vgl. die englische Version der Erklärung: https://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.160/current_category.7/offset.50/affirmation_detail.html (abgerufen am 15.01.2020)

35 Dies belegt ebenfalls die deutsche diplomatische Korrespondenz. „Um eventuellen späteren Invektiven unserer Feinde, als seien wir mitschuldig an dem rigorosen türkischen Vorgehen, wirksam entgegenzutreten zu können“, telegraphierte beispielsweise der deutsche Botschafter in Konstantinopel Hans Freiherr von Wangenheim am 7. Juli 1915 an den Reichskanzler, „habe ich es daher für geboten erachtet, die Pforte darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass wir Deportationen der armenischen Bevölkerung nur insofern billigen, als sie durch militärische Rücksichten geboten ist und zur Sicherung gegen Aufstände dient, dass aber bei Ausführung dieser Maßregel die Deportierten vor Plünderung und Metzeleien zu schützen seien. Um diesen Vorstellungen den nötigen Nachdruck zu geben, habe ich sie schriftlich in Form eines Memorandums zusammengefasst, das ich am 4. d. M. dem Großwesir persönlich überreicht habe.“ Siehe Der Botschafter in Konstantinopel (Wangenheim) an den Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg), Telegramm vom 07.07.1915, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PA/AA), [http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/\\$AllDocs/1915-07-07-DE-001](http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/$AllDocs/1915-07-07-DE-001) (abgerufen am 23.12.2018). In einem anderen von Wangenheim am 16. Juli an den Kanzler geschickten Telegramm hieß es: „Wenn ich in letzter Zeit über diese Vorgänge Euer Exzellenz ausführlicher berichtet habe, so geschah dies in der auch von Vicekonsul Kuckhoff geteilten Voraussicht, dass unsere Feinde uns später eine gewisse Mitschuld daran nachsagen werden. An der Hand meiner Berichte werden wir in der Lage sein, der feindlichen Welt insbesondere durch die Presse zu gegebener Zeit nachzuweisen, dass wir die zu weit gehenden Maßnahmen der türkischen Regierung und noch mehr die Ausschreitungen lokaler Organe stets nachdrücklich verurteilt haben.“ Siehe Mikaelyan, Wardges: Die Armenische

Die deutsche Regierung versuchte dabei, ihre duldende Hinnahme der türkischen Vernichtungspolitik damit zu rechtfertigen, dass die osmanische Regierung das Militärbündnis mit Deutschland beenden würde, sollte sie wegen der Vernichtung der Armenier unter Druck gesetzt werden.³⁶

Dass diese „Begründung“ in Wirklichkeit nur ein Vorwand war und das Deutsche Reich den Völkermord hätte verhindern können, ohne das Kriegsbündnis zu gefährden, wird durch eine Analyse der betreffenden Vorgänge und der dazugehörigen Dokumentationen vollkommen bestätigt. Das ist nicht zuletzt durch das Verhalten des Leiters der deutschen Militärmission im Osmanischen Reich, General Otto Liman von Sanders, bewiesen worden, der im November 1916 unter Androhung von Waffengewalt dem für die Provinz Aydin zuständigen jungtürkischen Gouverneur Rahmi Arslan verbot, die Armenier aus Smyrna zu deportieren. Bemerkenswerterweise begründete von Sanders sein Verbot mit militärstrategischen Motiven, welche das jungtürkische Regime sonst stets offiziell zum Vorwand für die Deportation der Armenier benutzte.³⁷

Ein weiteres Beispiel auf lokaler Ebene lieferte Feldmarschall Colmar von der Goltz, als er die Deportation der Armenier aus Mossul erfolgreich unterband.³⁸

Frage und der Genozid an den Armeniern. Dokumente aus dem politischen Archiv des deutschen Auswärtigen Amts, Jerewan 2004, S. 157. Es ist dabei bemerkenswert, dass Wangenheim im genannten Bericht vom 7. Juli offen ausdrückt, dass die türkische Regierung beabsichtige, „die armenische Rasse im türkischen Reiche zu vernichten.“ Vgl. Lepsius, Johannes: Deutschland und Armenien 1914–1918, Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstücke, Potsdam 1919, S. 94.

36 Vgl. die Rede des Staatssekretärs Gottlieb von Jagow auf einer Sitzung im Reichstag am 29. September 1916. A.a.O., S. 294.

37 „Ich schickte am 10. November morgens den Chef des Stabes der V. Armee, Oberst Kiasim Bey, zum Wali“, schrieb diesbezüglich von Sanders in seinem am 17. November 1916 an die Botschaft geschickten Bericht, „und ließ ihm sagen, dass ich derartige Massenverhaftungen und Transporte, welche in einer vom Feinde bedrohten Stadt nach verschiedenen Richtungen in das militärische Gebiet eingriffen, nicht weiter dulden würde. Sollte die Polizei trotzdem mit diesen Maßnahmen fortfahren, so würde ich sie mit Waffengewalt durch die mir unterstehenden Truppen verhindern. Ich gab dem Wali bis zum Mittag dieses Tages Zeit, sich zu entscheiden. Den Kommandierenden General in Smyrna, Königlich Preußischen Oberst Trommer, der die Vorgänge bereits kannte, verständigte ich durch Major Prigge von obiger Mitteilung und den eventuell zu treffenden Maßnahmen. Gegen 1.30 Uhr nachmittags kam Major Kiasim Bey vom Wali, der in Burnabad war, zurück und meldete mir, dass die Verhaftungen und Transporte eingestellt worden seien und unterbleiben würden.“ A.a.O., S. 312–313. Vgl. Vierbücher, Heinrich: Was die kaiserliche Regierung den deutschen Untertanen verschwiegen hat. Armenien 1915. Hamburg 1930, S. 75; Vgl. Lepsius, J.: Der Prozess Teilirian-Talaat, in: DO, 1921, S. 70.

38 Als im Dezember 1915 die Deportation der Armenier in Mossul sowie die der dorthin verschickten Bagdader Armenier in Richtung Euphrat befohlen wurde, intervenierte der Feldmarschall energisch bei den Provinzbehörden. „Die Sache zog sich fast einen Monat lang hin“, so in einem Bericht des Legationsrats Dieckhoff, „und der Feldmarschall konnte zunächst nur erreichen, dass die Armenier einstweilen in Mossul auf weitere Weisung warten sollten. Als bis Mitte Januar 1916 keine

Wenn diese beiden hochrangigen deutschen Offiziere aus eigener Initiative, ja, sogar ohne zuvor Berlin um Erlaubnis zu bitten, die Deportation der Armenier aus Smyrna und Mossul erfolgreich verhindern konnten, wie zielführend wäre dann erst eine humanitäre Intervention der deutschen Regierung gewesen?³⁹

Die Ansicht, dass trotz starken Drucks seitens Deutschlands auf die Türkei das Waffenbündnis nicht zerbrechen würde, ist nicht zuletzt auch vom deutschen Sonderbotschafter zu Konstantinopel, Paul Wolff Metternich, vertreten worden, der Ende 1915 seine Regierung vergeblich dazu zu bewegen versuchte, Druck auf die osmanische Regierung auszuüben, um wenigstens die damals noch lebenden Armenier vor der Vernichtung zu bewahren. „Auch soll man in unserer Presse den Unmut über die Armenierverfolgung zum Ausdruck kommen lassen und mit Lobhudeleien der Türken aufhören“, schrieb Metternich am 7. Dezember 1915 an den Reichskanzler. „Was sie [die Türken; AH] leisten, ist unser Werk, sind unsere Offiziere, unsere Geschütze, unser Geld. Ohne unsere Hülfe fällt der geblähte Frosch in sich selbst zusammen. Wir brauchen gar nicht so ängstlich mit den Türken umzugehen. Leicht können sie nicht auf die andere Seite schwenken und Frieden machen. Mit den jetzigen Machthabern wird die englische Regierung nicht leicht paktieren, schon eher mit Djemal, wenn er, was nicht ausgeschlossen ist, Enver verdrängen sollte. Die englische Regierung sucht seit Jahren Enver zu Fall zu bringen. Dass sie einen Separatfrieden mit den jetzigen Machthabern anstrebt, ist höchst unwahrscheinlich. Noch viel unwahrscheinlicher, dass sie Enver Pascha für allgemeine Friedens-Son-

Weisung aus Konstantinopel eingetroffen war, verbot der Feldmarschall auf Grund seiner Oberbefehlshaberbefugnisse dem Wali von Mossul, die Armenier weiter zu transportieren. Der Wali berichtete erneut nach Konstantinopel. Eine Antwort war bis zum 27. Januar nicht eingetroffen, vielmehr kam die Nachricht, die Regierung bestehe auf dem Abtransport. Hierauf bat der Feldmarschall telegraphisch um seine sofortige Abberufung. Erst jetzt antwortete Enver Pascha in einem verbindlich gehaltenen Telegramm, in welchem er Zusicherungen bezüglich des Verbleibens der Armenier in Mossul machte, im Übrigen aber den Feldmarschall darauf hinwies, dass ihn seine Oberbefehlshaberbefugnisse nicht berechtigen, sich in die inneren Angelegenheiten des türkischen Reiches einzumischen.“ Siehe Lepsius, J.: Deutschland und Armenien 1914–1918, S. 218–219. Dieser Hinweis des Kriegsministers hatte keinen wahren Anhaltspunkt: Wenn man davon ausginge, dass die jungtürkische Regierung die Deportation der Armenier offiziell stets durch militärstrategische Gründe zu motivieren versuchte, dürfte das im Osmanischen Reich stationierte deutsche Militär diese - militärstrategisch keineswegs gerechtfertigte - Maßregel vollständig oder zum größten Teil unterbinden, ohne sich deswegen eine Einmischung in die inneren Angelegenheiten des Osmanischen Reiches zuschreiben zu lassen. Und es war natürlich kein Zufall, dass sowohl von Sanders als auch von der Goltz ihre genannten Verbote gerade durch militärstrategische Gründe motivierten.

39 Allerdings blieb das Verbot des Feldmarschalls nur bis zu seinem Tod im April 1916, also nur wenige Monate in Kraft.

dierungen benutzt. Es stehen ihr hundert andere Kanäle hierzu offen. Um in der Armenierfrage Erfolg zu haben, müssen wir der türkischen Regierung Furcht vor den Folgen einflößen. Wagen wir aus militärischen Gründen kein festeres Auftreten, so bleibt nichts übrig, als mit ferneren erfolglosen Verwahrungen, die mehr verärgern als nützen, zuzusehen, wie unser Bundesgenosse weiter massakriert.“⁴⁰

Anstatt aber dem Morden ein Ende zu setzen, kommentierte Reichskanzler Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg die Eingabe des Botschafters Wolff Metternich mit einem inzwischen weithin bekannten Zynismus: „Unser einziges Ziel ist, die Türkei bis zum Ende des Krieges an unserer Seite zu halten, gleichgültig, ob darüber Armenier zugrunde gehen oder nicht.“⁴¹

Dies alles weist auf den absoluten moralischen Bankrott hin, worin sich die politische und militärische Führung des Deutschen Reichs schon in den ersten Weltkriegsjahren befand.⁴²

40 Vgl. Der Botschafter in Außerordentlicher Mission in Konstantinopel (Wolff-Metternich) an den Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg), Telegramm vom 07.12.1915, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PA/AA), [http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/\\$\\$AllDocs/1915-12-07-DE-001](http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/$$AllDocs/1915-12-07-DE-001) (abgerufen am 23.12.2018).

41 Vgl. Hosfeld, Rolf: Tod in der Wüste. Der Völkermord an den Armeniern, München 2015, S. 255.

42 Etwa 800 deutsche Offiziere waren integraler Bestandteil der osmanisch-türkischen Armee, gehörten ihrem Kommando und ihrem Generalstab an. Der preußische Generalmajor Friedrich Bronsart von Schellendorf, Generalstabschef des osmanischen Feldheeres und enger Berater des jungtürkischen Kriegsministers Enver, begrüßte die Deportationen der Armenier. Den US-Botschafter in Konstantinopel, Henry Morgenthau, der auf die Rolle der Deutschen im Osmanischen Reich hinwies, beschimpfte er als „Juden“ und „Gesandten der ‚Ver-un-reinigten‘ Staaten von Nordamerika“. Der preußische General und spätere Feldmarschall Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz, oberster Ausbilder der osmanisch-türkischen Armee, hatte schon 1913 vorgeschlagen, die christlichen Armenier nach Mesopotamien zu deportieren, um im anatolischen Kernland des Osmanischen Reiches ein homogenes muslimisches Bollwerk gegen die ebenfalls christlichen Russen zu schaffen. Oberst Otto von Feldmann, deutscher Operationschef im osmanischen Großen Hauptquartier, bekannte, dass „auch deutsche Offiziere – und ich selbst gehöre zu diesen – gezwungen waren, ihren Rat dahin zu geben, zu bestimmten Zeiten gewisse Gebiete [...] von Armeniern freizumachen.“ Der deutsche Konteradmiral Wilhelm Souchon, der die osmanische Flotte befehligte, vermutete im Sommer 1915, dass drei Viertel der Armenier „bereits bei Seite geschaffen“ wurden. In seinem Tagebuch notierte er: „Für die Türkei würde es eine Erlösung sein, wenn sie den letzten Armenier umgebracht hat.“ Und Korvettenkapitän Hans Humann, Marineattaché an der deutschen Botschaft zu Konstantinopel, meinte lapidar: „Die Armenier wurden jetzt mehr oder weniger ausgerottet. Das ist hart, aber nützlich.“ Einige deutsche Offiziere waren auch direkt an Massakern beteiligt oder unterzeichneten Befehle, die zur Deportation führten. So ließ der Artillerieoffizier Graf Eberhard Wolffskeel von Reichenberg, der dem osmanischen Generalstab angehörte, im Herbst 1915 das armenische Viertel der nordmesopotamischen Stadt Urfa beschießen, nachdem er zuvor erfolglos armenische Bauern belagert hatte, die sich auf dem „Mosesberg“ (Musa Dağ bzw. Mussa Ler) verschanzt hatten, um ihrer Deportation zu entgehen. Oberstleutnant Sylvester Boettrich, Direktor der osmanischen Feldeisenbahn, unterzeichnete den Befehl, der die Entlassung und Deportation tau-

Die deutsche Regierung sorgte dabei dafür, durch Zensur und andere Instrumente kritische Stimmen zum Schweigen zu bringen. Sie behielt diese vorbehaltlose Duldungspolitik auch im letzten Kriegsjahr noch bei, als die osmanisch-türkische Armee nach Ost- bzw. Russisch-Armenien vorstieß und die dortige armenische Bevölkerung massakrierte.

Etwa 300 000 Armenier, meist Bewohner der östlichen Grenzgebiete des Osmanischen Reiches, hatten sich nach Russisch- oder Ostarmenien retten können. Die nach der Februarrevolution 1917 in Russland gebildete provisorische Regierung der Menschewiki erklärte das von der russischen Armee besetzte Osmanisch- oder Westarmenien zu einem Militärgouvernement, das unmittelbar ihr unterstehen sollte. Sie gestattete den armenischen Flüchtlingen, in ihre Heimat zurückzukehren. Bis Oktober 1917 waren über 140 000 armenische Flüchtlinge in ihre Heimorte zurückgekehrt. Der im Mai 1917 in Jerewan gebildete westarmenische Nationalrat kümmerte sich um die Organisation der Heimkehr der Flüchtlinge, den Wiederaufbau des Schulwesens und die Gründung von Waisenhäusern. Es kam zur Sammlung von Lösegeld zur Befreiung der in muslimische Haushalte verschleppten armenischen Kinder und Frauen.

Diese Entwicklung endete, als im Oktober 1917 die Bolschewiki in Petersburg die Macht ergriffen. Die neue Regierung unter Lenin, die von der Entente nicht anerkannt wurde und dabei mit vielen inneren Gegnern im Krieg stand, sah sich gezwungen, ihre Truppen aus den besetzten Gebieten des Osmanischen Reichs zurückzuziehen, was den osmanisch-türkischen Militärs schon im Januar 1918 den Verstoß gegen den am 5. Dezember geschlossenen Waffenstillstand und weiteres Vordringen nach Osten ermöglichte. Kurz danach, am 3. März 1918 gelang es der politisch-militärischen Führung des Deutschen Reiches, die russische Regierung zur Unterzeichnung des für Russland ungünstigen Friedensvertrages von Brest-Litowsk zu zwingen; danach musste Russland mehrere seiner europäischen Gebiete an Deutschland und darüber hinaus sowohl die russisch besetzten Teile West- bzw. Osmanisch-Armeniens als auch die Bezirke Kars, Ardahan und Batumi, die seit 1878 zum Russischen Reich gehört hatten, an das Osmanische Reich abtreten.

sender Armenier zur Folge hatte, die beim Bau der Bagdadbahn eingesetzt waren. Der Schweizer Diakon Jakob Künzler, Augenzeuge eines Massakers an armenischen Bahnarbeitern, berichtete: „Mit dem Messer wurden sie alle erledigt.“ Siehe Das Deutsche Reich und seine Verstrickung in den Völkermord an den Armeniern, <http://haypressnews.wordpress.com/2012/04/01/> (abgerufen am 04.10.2018). Vgl. Künzler, Jakob: Im Lande des Blutes und der Tränen. Erlebnisse in Mesopotamien während des Weltkrieges (1914–1918), 2. Auflage, Zürich 2004, S. 99.

Die jungtürkische Regierung sah im Brester Vertrag die günstige Gelegenheit, nicht nur die abgetretenen Gebiete, sondern den gesamten Südkaukasus zu beherrschen, um dadurch ihre pantürkischen Ziele zu verwirklichen. Der türkische Vorstoß wurde durch neuerliche Massaker an der weitgehend schutzlosen friedlichen armenischen Bevölkerung begleitet, während die an Zahl geringen und schlecht bewaffneten armenischen Verteidigungstruppen keinen erfolgreichen Widerstand zu leisten vermochten. Erst Ende Mai 1918, als die türkischen Truppen bereits in der Araratebene auf Etschmiadsin und Jerewan vorstießen, gelang die Gegenwehr. Als die türkische Militärführung, die eine schwere Niederlage erlitt, sich mit der Unterzeichnung des Batumer Vertrags am 4. Juni 1918 zur Anerkennung der Ersten Republik Armenien mit einem Territorium von etwa 12.000 qkm gezwungen sah, baute sie eine neue Vernichtungsstrategie auf: Durch politische und wirtschaftliche Isolierung sowie durch die vertragswidrige Besetzung ihrer ertragreichen Gebiete sollte die kleine Republik Armenien ausgehungert werden. Bei diesem Vorgehen konnte die jungtürkische Regierung einige Erfolge erzielen: Nachdem die Bevölkerung der genannten Gebiete zur Flucht gezwungen war, belief sich die Zahl der Obdachlosen in der Republik Armenien auf über 500 000 völlig mittelloser Menschen. In nur sechs Monaten verhungerten davon im Jahr 1918 über 180 000 Menschen, viele von ihnen osmanisch-armenische Flüchtlinge.⁴³

Eine weitere Folge der türkischen Expansions- und Vernichtungspolitik gegenüber den Armeniern war das im September 1918 bei der türkischen Besetzung Baku errichtete Blutbad, als bewaffnete Irreguläre aus der ansässigen muslimischen Bevölkerung, vielfach ermutigt von den türkischen Besatzern, die armenische Bevölkerung Baku und seiner Umgebung massakrierten, mit 30 000 Opfern.⁴⁴

Die deutsche Regierung erhielt auch 1918 von vielen Seiten alarmierende Nachrichten über die neuerlichen systematischen Massaker und anderen Gräueltaten an der armenischen Bevölkerung in russisch- bzw. ostarmenischen Gebieten und anderen Distrikten des Südkaukasus, verbunden mit Appellen, die Türkei von ihrer Vernichtungspolitik abzuhalten und sie zum Rückzug ihrer Streitkräfte hinter die im

43 Für Ausführlicheres über die genannten Massaker und weiteren Vorgänge im Jahr 1918 siehe Hayruni, A.: Armenien in der deutschen Außenpolitik im Jahr 1918, Jerewan 2017.

44 Für Ausführlicheres über das Massaker in Baku siehe den Augenzeugenbericht des osmanischen Oberstleutnants Paraquin, der sich in Baku als Chef des Generalstabes der osmanischen Heeresgruppe Ost betätigte. Paraquin: Vorgänge in Baku nach der Einnahme am 16. Und 17. September 1918, in: Lepsius, J.: Deutschland und Armenien 1914–1918, S. 441–446.

Brester Vertrag gezogene Grenze zu zwingen.⁴⁵ Sie zeigte sich jedoch nicht bereit, ihre Hinnahme der Vernichtungsmaßnahmen ihres osmanischen Kriegsverbündeten aufzugeben; hierin zeigte sie somit eine Fortsetzung der bereits 1915 angesichts der Deportation und Vernichtung der osmanisch-armenischen Bevölkerung eingenommenen Haltung. Wie damals, begnügte sie sich auch 1918 mit friedlichen Warnungen an die jungtürkische Adresse. Und selbst dies geschah hauptsächlich aus dem Kalkül, möglichen Vorwürfen deutscher Mitschuld oder Mitverantwortung vorzubeugen.

NACH DEM WAFFENSTILLSTAND

Nach Unterzeichnung des Waffenstillstandes mit dem im Weltkrieg besiegten Osmanischen Reich (am 30. Oktober 1918) vergingen mehr als anderthalb Jahre, bis am 10. August 1920 der Vertrag von Sèvres geschlossen wurde, der den Krieg zwischen der Entente und dem Osmanischen Reich beenden sollte. Die Artikel 88–93 bezogen sich dabei ausschließlich auf Armenien. Mit Artikel 88 wurde das

45 „Die Lage verschlimmert sich täglich“, schrieb der deutsche General Kreß von Kressenstein im August 1918 an seine Regierung. „Sollten alle verzweifelte Hilferufe der Regierung und der obersten Geistlichkeit Armeniens ungehört verhallen, so wird die Verantwortung für Vernichtung dieses alten christlichen Volkes für immer auf Deutschland und Österreich lasten. Geschichte wird und muss Zugeständnis versagen, dass die beiden großen Christenreiche Mitteleuropas nicht imstande waren, wenigstens hier, wo es sich um Sein oder Nichtsein eines ganzen Volkes handelt, ihrem asiatischen Verbündeten ihren Willen aufzuzwingen.“ A.a.O., S. 431. Es wurden nicht nur an die deutsche Regierung, sondern auch an den Reichstag vielfach Appelle und Warnungen geschickt. „Kann Deutschland“, so in einer von der DAG schon am 27. April 1918 an den Reichstag gerichteten Eingabe, „nachdem es die Vernichtung der christlichen Armenier in der Türkei nicht gehindert hat, [...] nun dulden, dass auch die Armenier des Kaukasus demselben Schicksal verfallen? Deutschland allein ist imstande, dem verhängnisvollen Vorgehen der Türken Halt zu gebieten. Es sollte sie veranlassen, in den von Russland abgetretenen Gebieten das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker zu achten. Es sollte sie hindern, die durch den Friedensvertrag gezogenen Grenzen zu überschreiten. Es sollte fordern, dass die Türken sich jeder Einmischung in die inneren Angelegenheiten des Kaukasus enthalten, wo soeben eine friedliche Auseinandersetzung der einzelnen Nationen über die Grenzen ihres Volkstums auf dem Wege war vollzogen zu werden. Es sind dies alles Punkte, die mit den Bestimmungen des Brester Friedensvertrags übereinstimmen. Deutschland hat den Vertrag unterzeichnet und damit eine Verantwortung für die Innehaltung aller seiner Bestimmungen übernommen. Es sollte sich durch keinerlei Einwände der Türken davon abhalten lassen, auf der strikten Ausführung dieser Bestimmungen zu bestehen. Eine deutsche Kommission müsste an Ort und Stelle die Innehaltung der Punkte überwachen. Da die Türken andauernd vorrücken und mit ihrem Eindringen in das am stärksten von Armeniern bewohnte Gouvernement Eriwan in allernächster Zeit zu rechnen ist, darf keine Zeit verloren werden. Es handelt sich um Leben und Sterben einer begabten christlichen Nation, es handelt sich um unersetzliche Kulturwerte. Es geht aber zugleich um die Zukunftsinteressen des deutschen Volkes und um seinen Beruf als christliche Nation.“ Siehe Stier, Ewald: Geschäftsbericht der Deutsch-Armenischen Gesellschaft. Erstattet auf der Generalversammlung am 21. Mai 1919, Berlin 1919.

Osmanische Reich verpflichtet, „Armenien, wie es bereits die alliierten Mächte getan haben, als einen freien und unabhängigen Staat anzuerkennen.“ Gemäß Artikel 89 sollten die Grenzen zwischen Armenien und der Türkei in den Provinzen Erzurum, Trapezunt, Van und Bitlis sowie der armenische Zugang zum Meer durch den Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika persönlich festgelegt werden.⁴⁶ Der diesbezügliche Schiedsspruch W. Wilsons erfolgte am 20. November 1920. Demnach sollte Armenien ein Gebietsgewinn von 90.000 qkm aus den Provinzen Erzurum, Trapezunt, Van und Bitlis mit einem Zugang zum Schwarzen Meer gesichert werden. Nach dem Anschluss dieses Gebiets an das damalige Territorium der Republik Armenien sollte das gesamte Hoheitsgebiet des armenischen Staates 161.370 qkm betragen.⁴⁷ Auf der Pariser Friedenskonferenz wurde vergeblich nach einem Schutzstaat gesucht, der das Völkerbundmandat für Armenien mit allen seinen Kosten und der Verpflichtung zur Landesverteidigung übernehmen würde. Für diese Rolle kamen nur die Vereinigten Staaten in Frage. Der amerikanische Senat aber lehnte mit 52 gegen 23 Stimmen die Übernahme des Mandats für Armenien ab,⁴⁸ weil dies angeblich zu hohe Kosten erforderte, während ihm das arme und in Trümmern liegende Land wirtschaftlich nicht attraktiv genug zu sein schien.

Der Vertrag konnte folglich nicht umgesetzt werden, weil kein Staat bereit war, die damit verbundenen Verpflichtungen zu übernehmen, während die östliche Armee des Ankara-Regimes unter dem – im Osmanischen Reich zur Macht gekommenen – Mustafa Kemal schon wenige Wochen nach Unterzeichnung des Vertrags in die vormals von Armeniern bewohnten Provinzen einmarschierte. Anfang Dezember besetzten russische Bolschewiken ihrerseits die de-facto-Republik Armenien im Südkaukasus und kurze Zeit später, dem Vertrag von Moskau vom 16. März 1921 entsprechend, teilten die Regierung Lenins und das Ankara-Regime unter Kemal Armenien untereinander auf. Dem darauffolgenden Aufstand der betroffenen Armenier und dem militärischen Vorgehen des kemalistischen Regimes gegen die Republik Armenien sah die Entente tatenlos zu. Der Völkerbund kam in der armenischen Frage zu keinem Ergebnis. Auf der Londoner Orientkonferenz im Februar-März 1921 bestand man nicht mehr auf eine Umsetzung des Vertrags von Sèvres. Die Tür-

46 Meißner, Axel: Martin Rades „Christliche Welt“ und Armenien, Berlin 2010, S. 249. Vgl. Der türkische Friedensvertrag, in: DO, 1920, S. 41.

47 Lazean, Gabriël: Hayastan ew hay datë hay ew rows yaraberowt' iwnnerow loysin tak, Erewan 1991, S. 213. Vgl. Meißner, A.: Martin Rades „Christliche Welt“, S. 249. Vgl. Melk'onyan, A.: Hayoc' patmowt'yown, S. 207.

48 Ebd.

kei wurde lediglich aufgefordert, den türkischen Armeniern eine so genannte Nationale Heimstatt an ihrer östlichen Grenze zu sichern, deren Grenzen von einer vom Völkerbund ernannten Kommission festgelegt werden sollten.⁴⁹

Der genannten Forderung zur Schaffung einer „Nationalen Heimstatt“ für die türkischen Armenier war auch kein Erfolg beschieden, weil das Ankara-Regime diese ablehnte und wiederum keine Großmacht bereit war, sich dafür einzusetzen. Schließlich verzichteten die Entente-Mächte bei der Lausanner Friedenskonferenz auch auf diese Forderung. In dem am 24. Juli 1923 in Lausanne unterzeichneten multilateralen Vertrag kam die Armenische Frage nicht mehr zur Sprache.⁵⁰

DIE ABSCHLUSSPHASE DES GENOZIDS

Unter diesen Umständen konnte die neue kemalistische Regierung in der Türkei ungehindert durch neuerliche Massaker an Überlebenden und systematische Vertreibungen aus dem Lande den Völkermord vollenden.⁵¹ Mustafa Kemal hatte die Führung der türkischen Nationalisten übernommen und erkannte den Friedensvertrag von Sèvres nicht an. Er begann neben einem militärisch-politischen Druck auf die Entente-Besatzungen im Lande eine massive christenfeindliche Politik zu betreiben, welche darauf abzielte, die Integrität des Osmanischen Reiches zu wahren und dessen Türkisierung durch Vertreibung von Christen und durch neue Massaker an der christlichen Bevölkerung zu vollenden. Diese seine Politik bekam besonders nach der Londoner Konferenz im Frühjahr 1921, bei der die Entente-Mächte die kemalistische Regierung anerkannten und auf eine Ausführung des Vertrags von Sèvres nicht mehr bestanden, freie Hand. Es wurden von Kemalisten auch den christlichen

49 Meißner, A.: Martin Rades „Christliche Welt“, S. 249. Vgl. Lepsius, J.: Das betrogene Armenien, in: DO, 1921, S. 53. Der Ausdruck „Foyer national“ (nationale Heimstatt) war dem zionistischen Programm für Palästina entlehnt, das unter arabischer bzw. unter englischer Herrschaft bleiben sollte. Ebd.

50 Lepsius, J.: Die Armenische Frage in Lausanne, in: DO, 1923, S. 2. Für Ausführlicheres über den Vertrag von Lausanne siehe Naimark, Norman M.: Flammender Hass. Ethnische Säuberungen im 20. Jahrhundert, München 2004, S. 70–75.

51 Für Ausführlicheres über M. Kemal und die von ihm geleitete türkische „Nationalbewegung“ siehe Hofmann, T.: Mit einer Stimme sprechen – gegen Völkermord, in: Hofmann, Tessa (Hg.): Verfolgung, Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Christen im Osmanischen Reich 1912–1922, mit einem Geleitwort von Bischof Dr. Wolfgang Huber, Münster 2004, S. 30–34. Vgl. Akçam, Taner: Armenien und der Völkermord. Die Istanbul Prozesse und die türkische Nationalbewegung, Hamburger Edition; Auflage: Unveränd. N.-A. (1. September 2004), S. 122–137.

Hilfswerken, welche es seit dem Waffenstillstand im Land gab, viele Hindernisse bereitet. „Der türkische Staat, der ehemalige Verbündete Deutschlands“, so Schäfer, „schließt jede christliche Missionstätigkeit von seinem Staatsgebiet aus. Also auch die deutsche. Die Staatslenker der neuen Türkei wollen die Aufzucht ihres reinen Türkentums auch geistig selbst gestalten. Die christliche Mission wiederum kann dieser Aufgabe ihre Kräfte nicht widmen, auch dann nicht, wenn es unter irgend-einer türkisch gedachten Form möglich wäre – etwa durch Subventionierung von Anstalten und Waisenhäusern.“⁵²

Die Unduldsamkeit der kemalistischen Regierung gegenüber den Christen sowie den christlichen Liebeswerken im Lande, zu der auch die muslimische Bevölkerung mehrfach angestachelt wurde, kannte keine Grenzen. Die Schweizer Arme-nierfreunde mussten schon 1921 ihr Waisenhaus in Sivas aus dem Inneren an die Küste nach Samsun, dann nach Konstantinopel und schließlich in die französische Schweiz verlegen, „weil die Türken es nicht mehr ansehen“ konnten, „dass Christen-kinder in ihrer Mitte“ lebten.⁵³

Selbst Waisenhäuser, die unter englischem oder amerikanischem Schutz standen, „waren ihres Lebens nicht sicher.“⁵⁴ Mit dem Ziel, die christlichen bzw. ar-menischen Hilfswerke im Lande vollkommen zu beseitigen, wurden ihnen von der türkischen Regierung fortlaufend Schwierigkeiten in den Weg gelegt, die ihren Fort-bestand unmöglich machte. Man machte beispielsweise die Aufnahme eines christli-chen Waisenkindes von der gleichzeitigen Aufnahme eines türkischen Waisenkindes in derselben Anstalt abhängig, oder es wurde verlangt, für die Pflege eines christli-chen Waisenkindes auch Pflegekosten eines türkischen Waisenkindes auszus zahlen. Darüber hinaus wurde der christliche Religionsunterricht verboten und der islami-sche gefordert.⁵⁵ „Als im Jahr 1919 die Amerikaner im Osmanischen Reich 22000 christliche Waisenkinder in 70 Waisenhäusern gesammelt hatten, um sie vor der Ge-fahr des Verhungerns und der Vernichtung zu retten“, so Lepsius, „verlangten die türkischen Behörden, dass ihnen für je ein Christenkind, dass sie im Lande dulde-ten, die Unterhaltskosten für je ein Türkenkind ausgezahlt würden. Dies tat man am Anfang. Notorisch aber wanderte der größte Teil der ausbezahlten Summen in die

52 Schäfer, R.: Geschichte, S. 110.

53 Lepsius, J.: Unser Waisenhausplan, in: DO, 1923, S. 35.

54 Ebd.

55 Schäfer, R.: Geschichte, S. 110. Vgl. Lepsius, J.: Herr Christoffel und das Near East Relief Work, in: DO, 1925, S. 71.

Taschen der türkischen Beamten, und die armenischen Waisenkinder waren nicht einmal ihres Lebens sicher. Noch nach dem Friedensschluss fanden unter den Augen der Entente mehrere Massaker in Mersivan, Marasch, Hadjin u. a. Orten statt.⁵⁶

Als der Unterhalt der armenischen Waisenkinder in der Türkei somit zu kostspielig und zu gefährlich wurde, beschlossen die Amerikaner, ihre Waisenhäuser in der Türkei zu räumen und 22 000 Waisen in nicht-türkische Gebiete zu überführen.⁵⁷ Diese Entscheidung wurde nicht zuletzt durch die erwähnten jüngsten Massaker an den Armeniern in Kilikien und anderen Orten veranlasst, welche durch die Untätigkeit der Entente-Mächte zur Durchsetzung des Friedensvertrags von Sèvres und die frühzeitige Räumung ihrer jeweiligen Besatzungsgebiete möglich wurden.

Als die türkische Regierung 1922 der gesamten christlichen Bevölkerung „alle Türen zur Abwanderung“ öffnete, begann eine massenweise Flucht der Armenier und anderer Christen zur syrischen Grenze. Die Auswanderung galt dabei in der Regel als ein Muss, und diejenigen, die sich weigerten, ihre Heimat zu verlassen, wurden dazu durch verschiedene Bedrohungen gezwungen.⁵⁸

Somit wurde der Völkermord selbst in dieser seiner Abschlussphase ungestört fortgesetzt und vollendet.

56 Ebd. Für Ausführlicheres über diese Massaker siehe Gasparyan, Բօւեն: Iradrowt'yownë Kilikiayowm: Hayeri ink'napaşpanakan marterë, in: Hayoc' patmowt'yown, hator IV, Girk' arajin, Er-ewan 2010, S. 224–231.

57 Lepsius, J.: Herr Christoffel, S. 71. Die amerikanische Assoziation „Near East Relief“ leistete einen höchst wichtigen Beitrag dazu, die den Völkermord überlebt habenden Reste des armenischen Volkes am Leben zu erhalten. Seit dem Bestehen dieses Werkes in den Jahren 1919 bis 1925 hat sie rund 100 Millionen Dollar (das waren 420 Millionen Mark) ausgegeben, deren größter Teil armenischen Waisenkindern und Flüchtlingen zugutekam. Im genannten Zeitraum sind von ihm nicht weniger als 132 532 Waisen versorgt worden, von denen 75% noch nicht zehn Jahre alt waren. Darüber hinaus sind 500 000 Flüchtlinge durch ihre Unterstützung am Leben geblieben. Die Near East-Waisenhäuser waren anfänglich über die ganze Türkei und die Nachbarländer verteilt. Es stellte sich aber sehr bald heraus, dass, „je höher die Kemalisten ihr Haupt erhoben“, desto weniger selbst Waisenhäuser, die unter englischem oder amerikanischem Schutz standen, sicher waren. Hatten doch selbst die Schweizer Armenierfreunde ihr Waisenhaus in Sivas aus dem Inneren an die Küste nach Samsun, dann nach Konstantinopel und schließlich in die französische Schweiz verlegen müssen, weil die Türken es nicht mehr dulden wollten, das Christenkinder in ihrer Mitte lebten. Im Jahr 1922 wurden daher zehntausende von Waisenkindern aus dem Innern der Türkei nach Syrien, Ägypten, Griechenland und in die Balkanländer abtransportiert, die dort weiterhin unter dem Schutz der betreffenden Organisationen standen. Siehe Schäfer, R.: Geschichte, S. 111. Vgl. Lepsius, J.: Unser Waisenhausplan, S. 35. Vgl. Lepsius, J.: Herr Christoffel, S. 75.

58 „Im Jahre 1922 erschlossen sich die Tore für alle noch in der Türkei sich befindenden Armenier“, so Künzler. „Jetzt waren sie frei, das Land zu verlassen, ja es wurde ihnen vielfach nahegelegt, auszuwandern, und wo sie es nicht verstehen wollten, da wurde durch irgendwelche Gerüchte über Verfolgungen nachgeholfen.“ Künzler, J.: Im Lande des Blutes und der Tränen, S. 180.

ՀԻՄՆԱԲԱՌԵՐ.

Օսմանյան պետություն, Աբդուլ Համիդ II, հայկական կոտորածներ, Գերմանիա, Յոհաննես Լեփսիուս, երիտթուրքեր, ցեղասպանություն, եվրոպական մեծ տերություններ, Սերի պալմանագիր, Մուստաֆա Քեմալ

РЕЗЮМЕ

Статья охватывает 1894–1923 годы. геноцид, систематически проводимый правящими режимами Османского государства против армянского народа, как единая непрерывная политика, достигшая своего апогея во время Великого геноцида.

1878 г. впервые представлен на основе еще не введенных в научный оборот первоисточников, особенно в немецкоязычной и армянской историографии. Политика султана Абдул-Хамида II и его правительства, принятая султаном Абдул-Хамидом II и его правительством в 1894–1896 гг., по решению армянского вопроса путем истребления армян в условиях бездействия великих западных держав, взявших на себя ответственность за осуществление Армянские реформы по Берлинскому договору. развязаны систематические массовые убийства, в результате которых погибло около 300000 армян.

Армянское население Аданы и соседних районов в 1909 году. Резня, а позднее депортация и истребление почти всего армянского народа Османского государства доказали, что пришедшие к власти младотурки были не только продолжением гамидийской геноцидной политики, но и действовали в этом вопросе гораздо решительнее и радикальнее, стремясь истребить весь народ, численность которого, по словам К. По данным посольства Германии в Польше, их было около 2,5 млн. человек. 1915–17 более 1,5 миллиона из них были убиты, а число похищенных и насильственно исламизированных армян превысило четверть миллиона.

Наряду с освещением геноцида, завершившегося депортацией последних остатков армян из страны властями Кемаля, также делается подробная ссылка на толерантную политику, проводимую великими западными державами, их пособничество и ответственность, в частности, имперской Германии.

SUMMARY

The article covers the Genocide of the Armenian people systematically carried out by the ruling regimes of the Ottoman state in the years 1894–1923 as a single continuous policy, which reached its peak during the years of 1915–1917.

Based on mostly German primary sources that have not yet been put into scientific circulation in Armenian historiography, this article discusses the policy adopted by Sultan Abdul Hamid II and his government to solve the Armenian issue by exterminating the Armenians in the conditions of the inaction of the great Western powers (who took responsibility for the implementation of Armenian reforms under the Treaty of Berlin in 1878), which resulted in systematic massacres unleashed between 1894–1896 that left some 300,000 Armenians dead.

The massacre of the Armenian population of Adana and surrounding regions in 1909, and later the deportation and slaughter of almost the entire Armenian population of the Ottoman state proved that the Young Turks, who came to power, were not only continuing the Hamidian genocidal policy, but also acted much more decisively and radically in this matter, striving to exterminate the entire Armenian nation, the number of which, according to the data of the German embassy in Constantinople, was around 2.5 million. During 1915–1917 more than 1.5 million of them were killed, and the number of kidnapped and forcibly Islamized Armenians exceeded a quarter of a million.

Along with the coverage of the genocide, which ended with the deportation of the last remnants of the Armenians from the country by the Kemalist regime, detailed reference is also made to the tolerant policies pursued by the great Western powers, their complicity and responsibility, particularly that of imperial Germany.

ԱՆԻ ՖԻՇԵՆԿՋԵԱՆ

Պատմական գիտ. թեկնածու, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՊԻ, ԼԻ

ՎԱԼԵՊԻ «ԷԼ ԹԱՎԱՏՏՈՄ» ԹԵՐԹԻ ԱՐՁԱՎԱՆՈՒՄԸ ԻՆՅՈՑ ՑԵՂԱՄՊԱՆՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՎԵՐԱԲԵՐԵԱԼ

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

Հայոց ցեղասպանության թեմային վերաբերեալ գրուած են բազմաթիւ յօդուածներ, հրապարակուած են մենագրութիւններ, որոնք արխիւային փաստաթուղթերու, մամուլի, ականատեսներու վկայութիւններուն եւ վերապրողներուն յուշերու պատումներու հիման վրայ գրուած մեծարժէք աշխատութիւններ են: 1908–1947 թթ. Հալէպի մէջ հանրայայտ արաբ լրագրող Շուքրի Քընէյտըրի կողմէ կը հրատարակուի արաբալեզու «էլ Թագատտոմ» թերթը՝ համանուն տպարանէն: Թերթի հիմնադիրը նոյնինքն Շուքրի Քընէյտըրին է: Հալէպ հրատարակուած «էլ Թագատտոմ» թերթը տեղեկութիւններ կը փոխանցէ համիտեան, Ատանայի կոտորածներու, 1915 թ.-ի երիտթուրքերու ձեռամբ իրագործուած հայոց ցեղասպանութեան, հայոց տարագրութեան, գաղթի ճանապարհի, գաղթականներու դէպի Սուրիա, Լիբանան հոսքի մասին:

أصداء الإبادة الأرمنية في الجريدة "التقدم" الحلبية

أنى أوايس فشكنجيان

مرشح العلوم التاريخية

معهد التاريخ للأكاديمية العلوم الوطنية بجمهورية أرمينيا

الكلمات الرئيسية- الجالية الأرمنية، الهجرات الأرمنية، سورية، إلى حلب، الانتداب، كيليكا، الدولة العثمانية.

المقدمة -

تُعتبر الجالية الأرمنية في سورية واحدةً من أقدم الجاليات في الشتات ويرجع وجودها إلى الأزمنة الغابرة إلى القرن الأول قبل الميلاد منذ عهد الملك الأرميني ديكران الكبير إذ كانت مرهونةً بالظروف السياسية والعلاقات التجارية والاقتصادية.

^{1*} Ստացուել է 6.01.2023, գրախօսուել է՝ 1.02.2023, էլ հասցէ՝ fischenkjianani@gmail.com:

Խմբագիր՝ Յովիկ Օհանեան, Hovig Ohanian, BA, Սուրիոյ Արաբական Հանրապետութիւն:

وفقاً للمعلومات التاريخية تعود هجرة الأرمن الأولى إلى سورية للقرن السادس الميلاديّ إبان الفتوحات العربيّة لسورية التي وصلت إلى ذروتها أيام الخلافة الأمويّة حيث كان الأمراء الأرمن يقومون بزياراتٍ دائمةٍ إلى دمشق عاصمة الأمويين. كانت المدن السوريّة مراكز تجارية مزدهرة وعالمية أثناء الحكم العربيّ حيث ارتبطت مع مدن أرمينيا بطرق تجارية عدّة لذا كانت العلاقات التجارية بين الشعبين العربيّ والأرمنيّ علاقةً مزدهرة وقد استمرت حتى بعد سقوط الخلافة العربيّة وبذلك ازداد عدد الأرمن في سورية.

انتقل وهاجر الأرمن إلى سورية واستوطنوا في المناطق الشماليّة من البلاد وخاصةً في لواء إسكندرون وكسب واللاذقية ودمشق وحلب ومناطق أخرى نتيجة لظروفٍ سياسية واقتصادية وثقافية.

وقد زاد توطّن الأرمن في سورية بسبب الهجرات الأرمينية الكبرى إلى سورية عقب الاضطهادات العثمانية للأرمن في تركيا خلال سنوات ١٨٧٦ و ١٨٩٥ و ١٩٠٩ م. وكان العدد الأكبر إثر المذابح الكبرى وسياسة البطش والإبادة والتهجير القسريّ التي مارستها الدولة العثمانية في عام ١٩١٥ و عام ١٩٢٢ بحق الشعب الأرمنيّ المسلم. هذه وغيرُها من المعلومات التاريخية القيّمة نجدُ في صحيفة "التقدّم" الحلبيّة /الصادرة في حلب بين عامين ١٩٠٨-١٩٤٧ م.

تتناول الجريدة مواضيع عديدة. تحتوي الأعداد المختلفة منها على معلومات قيّمة عن سياسة العثمانيين، والحرب العالمية الأولى، ونضال التحرير الذي خاضه العرب ضد الانتداب الفرنسيّ أثناء بناء الدولة في التاريخ السوري الحديث، والوضع في سنوات ما بعد الاستقلال، وكذلك تاريخ العودة الكبرى والسياسات التي انتهجتها الحكومة السوريّة.

كما أنّها تحتوي على معلومات قيّمة عن هجرة الأرمن والأورام من كيليكيا / الأناضول/ إلى سورية، وخاصةً إلى حلب، بين ١٩١٥-١٩٢٢ م.

لقد كُتبت مئات من الدراسات والمقالات العلميّة حول المواضيع المنشورة أعلاه باللغات الأرمينية والأجنبية.

تتناول المقالة عن مواضيع الإبادة الجماعية للأرمن في عام ١٩١٥ و عن هجرتهم وتوطينهم إلى سوريا، ولا سيّما في حلب، وموقف الأهالي المحليين تجاههم. والهدف اطلاع المجتمع العلمي عن مواضيع منشورة أعلاه على هجرة الأرمن كيليكين، وترحيل قسم منهم إلى البادية السورية وحلب ولبنان، وكذلك تعاطف المهاجرين، وتطور اقتصاد البلاد، وعن قضية لواء الإسكندرون، وعودة الأرمن إلى وطنهم الأم أرمينيا، إلخ.

وأخيراً، لا ننسى القول بأنّ في سياق بحثنا، درسنا محتويات الأعداد المختلفة لهذه الصحيفة في المكتبة الوطنية بحلب، ولكن ليس بالكامل. لذلك، كان كتاب الدكتور الكسندر كيشيشيان، "صفحات وثائقية من جريدة «التقدم» الحلبيّة عن الأحوال الأرمينية والعربية في الدولة العثمانية والبلاد الشامية"² مصدراً أساسياً لكتابة مقالنا.

²- د. الكسندر كيشيشيان ، صفحات وثائقية من جريدة (التقدم) الحلبيّة والعربية في الدولة العثمانية والبلاد

لمحة عن جريدة «التقدم»-

جريدة «التقدم» جريدة سورية، أُسّس في حلب من قِبَل شكري كنيدر في عام ١٩٠٨ على شكل صحيفة صغيرة لنشر الأخبار البرقية والأنباء المحلية. بعد صدور سبعة أعداد منها حوّلها إلى جريدة وسمّاها «التقدم»

شكري كنيدر من أبرز الصحفيين العرب في القرن العشرين. ولد في حلب عام ١٨٨١ من عائلة عريقة تعود جذورها إلى عام ١٦٢٦ .

تلقى دروسه الابتدائية في المدرسة المارونية بحلب، ثم أنهى دراسته الثانوية في (المكتب السلطاني) ثانوية المأمون حالياً. أتقن ثلاث لغات وهي الفرنسية والتركية والإيطالية أمّا لغته العربية التي أحبها وكتب فيها طوال خمسين عاماً.

تأسست مطبعة آل الكنيدر باسم (مطبعة التقدم) عام ١٩٠٥ .

في شهر تشرين الأول من عام ١٩٠٨ صدر أول عدد منها تحت اسم (حوادث محلية) وهي نشرة مترجمة عن الوكالة التركية للأنباء (أتاك).

كان شكري الولد البكر ورئيس تحرير الجريدة.

صدر من جريدة «التقدم» ٧٠٧١ عدداً بين تشرين الأول عام ١٩٠٨ و٥ حزيران عام ١٩٤٧ وبعدها أغلقت بسبب تقدمه في السن و كان يصدر من (٣-٤) أعداد أسبوعياً.

كتب في جريدة «التقدم» مفكرون وأدباء وصحفيون كبار³.

الموضوع

أحيا الشعب الأرمني هذا العام الذكرى السنوية الثامنة بعد المئة للإبادة الجماعية بحقّ الشعب الأرمني.

لقد مرّ أكثر من مئة وثمانية عام على تلك الأحداث، لكننا اليوم، في القرن الحادي والعشرين، نشهد مرةً أخرى وسنظل نشهدُ الإبادة الجماعية ضد الإنسانية، وخاصةً ضدّ الأرمن، بأساليب وحشية.

تم تكريس ونشر العديد من الدراسات والمذكرات والمقالات العلمية المتعلق، كما ذكرنا من قبل، موضوع الإبادة الجماعية باللغات الأرمنية والأجنبية، وهي دليلٌ على سياسة الإبادة التي خطّط لها الأتراك الفتنة ضد الشعب الأرمني قبل مئة وثمانين سنوات بالضبط.

الشعب الأرمني المنتشر في كل أنحاء العالم، كان يتوقّع العدالة من القوى العظمى، ولكن الدول الكبرى كانوا يحاولون الاستيلاء على جزء الأنسب من المنطقة للاستفادة من خيرات الشرق وللاستيلاء على تلك الثروات.

الشامية، عن الأحوال الأرمنية حلب، ١٩٩٦.

³- د. الكسندر كشيبيان ، صفحات وثائقية من جريدة (التقدم) الحلبية والعربية في الدولة العثمانية والبلاد الشامية، ص ٦ .

قبل بداية الحرب العالمية الأولى، كانت الدولة العثمانية تعاني من التفكك والضعف. وعقب اندلاع الحرب العالمية الأولى عام ١٩١٤، بدأ العثمانيون بتنفيذ الفكرة مستغلين انشغال العالم كله بالحرب. وبدأت حملات تهجير الأرمن قسراً، وأطلقت السلطات كافة المسجونين، وشكلت منهم ميليشيات لمرافقة الأرمن المهجّرين إلى حلب في سوريا. وخلال تلك الرحلة، ارتكبت أفظع الجرائم الإنسانية.

أ- معاناة الأرمن على يد الأتراك، وتهجيرهم إلى صحراء سورية وحلب.
في الفصل الخامس من الكتاب، الذي يحوي عنوان المجازر الأرمنية بين عامي (١٩١٥-١٩٢٣)، يتناول مواضيع عن مهاجرة الأرمن وفق الوثائق الأجنبية/الأوروبية/، والقسطنطينية، والخ.

-فحسب وثائق مقتطفة من كتاب أبيض بريطاني، يتضح لنا أنّ الترحيل الإجباري للأرمن من بایبورّد قد بدأ في أوائل شهر حزيران. فقد تتم إخلاء كلّ القرى وثلاثة أرباع المدينة. ونُقل في البرقية أيضاً أنّ القافلة الثالثة من بایبورّد، التي كانت «تشمل على ٤-٥ آلاف شخص، قبل رحيلها بستة أو سبعة أيام قاموا جنود الأتراك بذبح جميع الأولاد الذين هم دون سنّ الخامسة عشرة. أمّا قرى الأرمن⁴ فكانت تتعرض باضطهادات مشفوعة بعذابات»⁵.

جدول قرى الأرمن وعدد العائلات اللواتي تعرضن لمعاناة قاسية وذبح على يد جنود الأتراك.

قرية	عائلة	قرية	عائلة
بغجه جق أو برديزاغ	ستمانه عائلة	صبانجه	ألف عائلة
أوفاجق	ستمانه عائلة	إزميت	-
أرسلانليک	ستمانه عائلة	كورد بيلينه	-
دونکول	خمس وستون عائلة	عراکير	-

أمّا عن المهاجرة الإجبارية للأرمن حسب تفاصيل الواردة من القسطنطينية (٢٨ حزيران ١٩١٥)، تقول بأنّ الأهالي الأرمنية في جميع أطراف تركيا بحالة سيئة. وقد بدأ الأتراك بتنفيذ خططهم من كيليكيا (من الزيتون، ودورت يول، ومرعش، وحسن بكلي) منذ أربعة أشهر. حيث نهب الأتراك بيوت الأرمن بطريقة وحشية دون سابق الإنذار. أمّا عن أهالي سلطانية، فهم طُردوا من أراضيهم فساروا مشياً على الأقدام حتى وصلوا إلى المكان المقرر. من ألف عائلة فقد تبقى

⁴ د. الكسندر كشيبيان، صفحات وثائقية من جريدة (التقدم) الحلبية والعربية في الدولة العثمانية والبلاد الشامية، عن الأحوال الأرمنية، حلب، ١٩٩٦، صفحة/ص/ ١١٨.

⁵ د. الكسندر كشيبيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ١١٨.

خمسون رجلاً. أما الشيوخ والصغار، والنساء الحوامل فهلكهم العطش، والجوع والمرض فماتوا عشرات منهم⁶.

نفس الأحوال كانت تسود في أرضروم وبتليس وسعرت.. والخ. كانوا يُبعدون أرمن أرضروم وأطرافها إلى ترجان، وإلى بقية الأهالي يمنحهم مهلة بضعة أيام. أما البرقيات التي قد تصلهم من بتليس وسعرت كانوا يطالبون المعونة. أما في خنس مذابح، وفي أطراف سيواس وخاصة في غوفدون. قرى كثيرة مهدمة ومحروقة⁷.

حسب مصادر الرسمية في القسطنطينية. / بتاريخ ٢٦ تموز ١٩١٥

ففي أول أيار من عام ١٩١٥ تُرسل أهالي أرضروم وأطرافها إلى صمسون، أما أهالي قيصرية وديار بكر وأورفة وطرابزون وسيواس وخربوط وجهات وان إلى صحارى العراق وجنوبي حلب حتى الموصل وبغداد.

وقد تُفرض على المهاجرين أن يقطعوا طريقهم مشياً على الأقدام، مسافة تقتضي شهراً أو شهرين أو أكثر، حتى يصل إلى بقعة الصحراء المقررة لسكنهم. حسب شهود عيان «طرقات الفرات مفروشة بجثث المنفيين والذين لا يهلكون على الطريق ينتظرهم موت محقق في تلك الصحراء التي لا منازل فيها ولا عمل ولا قوت»⁸. هذا دليل بأن الأتراك قد مارسوا أساليبهم الوحشية ضد الشعب الأرمني.

يتابع الشاهد قوله بأن كثيرين من المهاجرين ماتوا تحت ضرب النبايت⁹. وقد قُتل بهذه الطريقة ثلاثة عشر أرمنياً في ديار بكر وستة في قيصرية وثلاثة عشر آخرون في طريقهم من قره حصار إلى سيواس¹⁰.

وقد نهب الأتراك الكنائس والأديرة وخربوها حتى قبضوا على بعض المطارنة والأسقف وسلموهم إلى المجلس العرفي. «فالمطران (باركيف دانييلان) أسقف (بروصه) والمطران (طوريان) أسقف (طرابزون) والمطران (بهركيان) أسقف (قيصرية) والمطران (طوركيان) أسقف (شايين قره حصار) والمطران (كيورك نعلبنديان) أسقف (جار سنجق)، فقد قضاوا على القس (مكرديج) نائب مطران ديار بكر. وقد لقوا نفس المصير كهنة (قرية كورك) مع بعض من رفاقه على طريق (صوشبير - سيواس). و«مئات من النساء والفتيات حتى الأولاد قد ألقوا في غياهب السجون»¹¹.

وبحسب إفادات شهود عيان «إن كثيرين اعتنقوا الإسلام لأنه لم يكن لديهم حيلة أخرى لإنقاذ

6- د. الكسندر كشيشيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ١١٩.

7- د. الكسندر كشيشيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ١١٩.

8- د. الكسندر كشيشيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢٠.

9- النبايت- النبوت أو الشوم، عصا خشبية سميكة مستقيمة تنتهي في الطرف بكتلة مستديرة، ويرجع أصل التسمية، ويرجع أصل التسمية إلى كلمة نبا في اللغة الهيروغليفية التي تعني عموداً أو سارية من الخشب، وكانت وحدة لقياس الأطوال عند المصريين القدماء. \ <https://www.google.com/search?q>.

10- د. الكسندر كشيشيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢٠.

11- د. الكسندر كشيشيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢٠.

حياتهم»¹².

وحسب مصادر رسمية من القسطنطينية أيضاً. / ١٥ آب ١٩١٥ /

منذ أوائل شهر نيسان بدأت الحكومة التركية بنزع السلاح من الأهالي في جميع القرى والمدن. وقد استخدمت رجالاً من الدرك والمجرمين اللذين قد أطلقوهم خصوصاً لهذا الغرض. فالدرك بحجة نزع السلاح كانوا يرتكبون القتل وجميع أنواع الجرائم. وقد سجنوا جماعات من الأرمن بحجة وجود أسلحة عندهم أو «كتب لمجرد اتهامهم بانتمائهم إلى أحزاب سياسية»¹³. فيقول المصدر نفسه بأن النساء والأولاد فقد أصبحوا ملكاً مشاعاً للمسلمين كانوا يأخذون منهم ما يشاؤون. «فكان أكبر موظف كأحقّر فلاح يختار المرأة أو الفتاة التي تعجبه ويتخذها زوجة ويجبرها على الإسلام. أما الأولاد الصغار فقد كانوا ينتقون منهم ما يريدون والباقيون يطرحون في الطريق جياً عراً فيموتون جوعاً»¹⁴.

وحسب المعلومات المنشورة في الجريدة نعلم أن الأرمن في بعض الأماكن كانوا يريدون اعتناق الإسلام لانقاذ حياتهم ولكن الأتراك كانوا يشترطون على الذين يريدون الدخول في الإسلام «أن يدفعوا أولادهم حتى سن الثانية عشر إلى الحكومة وهي تهتم بوضعهم في الميتم وأن يقبلوا بهجر بلادهم والذهاب إلى المكان الذي تعينه لهم الحكومة. وأما في (خربوط) فلم يقبل إسلام الرجال. أما النساء فقد اشترط حين إسلامهن وجود رجل مسلم يرزى الزواج بهن. على أن عدداً كبيراً من النساء الأرمنيات قد أثرن أن يرمين بأنفسهن في الفرات مع أولادهن الرضع أو أن ينتحرن في منازلهن. وقد أصبح الفرات ودجلة قبراً لألوف من الأرمن»¹⁵.

في أحد الأعداد من الجريدة نقرأ شهادة بنت صغيرة وهي تقص عن الجرائم البربرية التي ارتكبتها الأتراك بأهالي مرسيوان وأماسيا وطوقات لما وصلوا إلى صاري قشلة [بين (سيواس) و(قيصرية)] أمام دار الحكومة. تقول الفتاة. «فصل الأتراك الأولاد والبنات عن أمهاتهم وحبسوهم في قاعات وأجبروا القافلة أن تتابع طريقها. ثم أرسلوا إلى القرى القريبة أن كل أحد يستطيع أن يأخذ من الأولاد والبنات ما يروقه»¹⁶.

مصدر آخر يقول بأن مذابح الأرمن مستمرة في ولاية ديار بكر وخصوصاً في ماردين. ولم يبقَ أرمني واحد في ولايات أرضروم وطرابزون وسيواس وخربوط وبتليس وديار بكر. ونحو مليون أرمني الذين كانوا يسكنون في الولايات المذكورة قد أبعادوا عن أوطانهم ونفوا إلى جهة الجنوب.

وقبل نفيهم، تعطي الحكومة التركية لأفراد الولايات أرضروم وبتليس وسيواس مهلة خمسة أو عشرة أيام لبيعوا قسماً من أرزاقهم وأموالهم وتسمح لبعض العائلات أن تستأجر عربات حتى يستطيع التنقل، ولكن «بعد مسيرة عدة أيام يكون المسافرون في نصف الطريق ويرجعون

12 - د. الكسندر كشيشيان ، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢٠.

13 - د. الكسندر كشيشيان ، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢١.

14 - د. الكسندر كشيشيان ، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢١.

15 - د. الكسندر كشيشيان ، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢٣.

16 - د. الكسندر كشيشيان ، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢٢.

بعرباتهم إلى المدينة فيخرج في اليوم التالي أو بعد أيام على المهاجرين عصابات أو قرويون من الأتراك فيسلبونهم جميع ما معهم»¹⁷. ونقرأ في الجريدة بأن رجال العصابات كانوا يتحدون مع الجندرية «ويقتلون من بقي من الرجال والشبان في القوافل ويسبون النساء والبنات والأولاد ولا يركون غير العجائز اللواتي كانت الجندرية تسوقهن بالمقارع وأكثرهن يمتن جوعاً أثناء الطريق»¹⁸.

ومع تدفق المهاجرين إلى حلب، عضو من أعضاء لجنة المهجرين في حلب ساركيس جيريبيان في رسلته /تاريخ ١٠ أوغسطس ١٩١٥/ الموجهة إلى الكاثوليكوس ساهاك الثاني خبايان¹⁹ يقول بأن عدد الأيتام الذين وصلوا منذ ٢٠ يوليو / تموز إلى ٥٠٠٠ أيتام ، ولم يتلقوا [أي] مساعدات حكومية حتى ١٠ أغسطس / آب ، ويعيشون على ١٨٠ ليرة من الخبز تقدمها يومياً، نصرف مقابلها ٢٥ ذهباً فقط في اليوم الواحد.

بصرف النظر عنهم، لدينا أيضاً ٥-٦٠٠ مهاجر مختلف ندفع لهم ١/٢-٥ عملات ذهبية مقابل خبزهم اليومي.

من بين الـ ٥٠٠٠ أيتام المذكورين أعلاه، سيكون هناك عدد كافٍ من المواطنين البروتستانت والكاثوليك، الذين سيتم الاعتناء بهم على قدم المساواة، بلا تمييز.

ولكن هؤلاء الأيتام والأرامل بالغ عددهم 5000 شخص هم شبه عراة تماماً وبدون [أي] سرير أو غطاء. معظمهم يحتمون في الهواء الطلق في الحديقة، ومعظمهم مصابون بمرض، وتحدث 30-40 حالة وفاة يومياً²⁰.

هكذا، وإن وُثِّق من مصادر ألمانية تقول بسبب المجازر لم يبق الأرمني واحد في المئة حياً في الولايات الست ولا ندري حتى الآن هل استطاع أحد أن يصل إلى الموصل أو إلى أطرافها»²¹. ويبلغ المصدر نفسه، قد نفذت الحكومة التركية هذه الخطة في أطراف القسطنطينية والأرمن في منطقة (إزميت) وولاية (بروصة) قد نفوا بالقوة إلى العراق تاركين بيوتهم وأموالهم. وكذلك نفي أهالي (أطه بازار) و(أرماش) وجميع تلك الأطراف. ونفي أيضاً رئيس دير أرماش وجميع كهنته ورهبانه²².

ب- المهجّرين الأرمن في سورية وخاصة في حلب.

كما نعلم، نتيجة للسياسة التي تبناها تركيا نزع قسم كبير من الأرمن والروم من أهالي الأناضول إلى سورية. ولكن وفقاً لاتفاقية مودروس الموقعة في عام ١٩١٨ ، كان مصير الأرمن

17 - د. الكسندر كشيشيان ، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢١.

18 - د. الكسندر كشيشيان ، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢١.

19- أني فشنجيان، موضوع هجرة المنفيين الأرمن إلى سوريا في الصحف الأرمنية، «نشرة مطرانية الأرمن الأرثوذكس في حلب، "كانتثاسار"، عدد ٤، أبريل، ٢٠٢٠، ص ٣.

20- أني فشنجيان، موضوع هجرة المنفيين الأرمن إلى سوريا في الصحف الأرمنية، مصدر نفسه، ص ٣.

21 - د. الكسندر كشيشيان ، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢٤.

22 - د. الكسندر كشيشيان ، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٢٤.

الذين يعيشون في مناطق معينة من كيليكيا إنشاء مجتمع وطني بوعده من الحكومة الفرنسية. لذلك تم دعوة المنفيين وتشجيعهم على العودة إلى وطنهم كيليكيا.

أولئك الذين أرادوا العودة إلى ديارهم واجهوا العديد من الصعوبات في طريقهم إلى كيليكيا. لم تتمكن قادة المجتمع الأرمني في حلب من دعم احتياجاتهم في طريق العودة. سيكتب ممثلو الجمعية الإدارية في حلب إلى الأب حول هذا الموضوع.

ومع استيلاء الجيوش الفرنسية على كيليكيا، في نهاية ديسمبر ١٩٢١، بدأ تدفق جديد من المهاجرين يغمر مدينة حلب. جاؤوا من «خربوط، ديار بكر، ملاطية، عرابكير، كغي، بالو، موش، سبسطية/ سيواس/، عينتاب، كيليس، كونيا، بروسا وأقليم ازمير»²³، فكل يوم يأتي 300 شخصاً كلهم في حالة الفقر، «وهم مجبرون على ترك ما لديهم، والوصول إلى هنا شبه عراة وسط المصاعب والفقر الشديد. جميع القوافل بلا استثناء هوجمت من قبل الاتراك ووصلت الى حلب عراة بلا نوم بلا لباس»²⁴.

وقد اهتمت السلطة الفرنسية²⁵ بأمرهم واتخذت التدابير اللازمة لايوائهم وإعالتهم. وقد عُيِّنَتْ لإقامتهم مؤقتاً (خان التنن) و(خان القولي). وقد طلب البعثة الفرنسية بحلب مساعدة من المفوضية العليا. قدمت المفوضية العليا مبلغاً لأجل استئجار خانات أخرى لايواء هؤلاء المساكين والعناية مبذولة لجمع الأموال اللازمة لإطعام الفقراء²⁶.

من اصدارات صحيفة "التقدم" نعلم أن الأرمن المنفيين تلقوا اهتماماً خاصاً من السلطات الفرنسية المهمة، حيث قَدِّمُوا اللجوء والرعاية الطبية للمهاجرين. لم تظهر السلطات المحلية في سوريا والعالم العربي عناية أقل. وكيل مرخص الأرمن بحلب الخوري أرتين يسايان في رسالته الموجهة لصاحب جريدة «التقدم» /١٩٢٢/. يعبر عن شكره أولاً للحلبيين والأمة العربية اللذين متوا يد المساعدة للاجئين الأرمن ساكنين في أراضيهم. أما عدد اللاجئين الأرمن مقيمون تحت الخيام وفق معطيات الجريدة، فقد جرى الأب تعديلاً، وفقاً للمعطيات الرسمية للكنيسة، فيما يتعلق بعدد الأرمن الذين لا مأوى لهم والذين يعيشون في الخيام في حلب. قد بلغ عددهم الإجمالي (كبار السن والنساء والأطفال) ١٨٥٠٠ شخص «وبدخل في هذا العدد الكاثوليكي والبروتستانت من المهاجرين»²⁷، يعيش منهم ١٤٠٠ شخص في الخيام. ثم يشير الخوري إلى الموقف الإنساني الذي أبداه رجال الدولة في حلب وأهاليها تجاه المواطنين.

²³- أني فشنكجيان، موضوع هجرة المنفيين الأرمن إلى سوريا في الصحف الأرمنية، مصدر نفسه، ص ٤.

²⁴ - أني فشنكجيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ٣.

²⁵- أنشأت الحكومة الفرنسية / الانتداب / دولة منفصلة على أراضي سوريا: «لبنان ودمشق وحلب والعلويين وجبل الدروز ومنطقة الإسكندرون ذو حكم الذاتي». في عام ١٩٢٤ أقيمت دولة سوريا وعاصمتها دمشق بتوحيد دولتي دمشق وحلب. وفي عام ١٩٤٢، انضمت أخيراً الدولة العلوية والجبل الدروز أخيراً إلى الدولة المنشأة حديثاً. /هوفهانيسيان ن. تاريخ الدول العربية، جزء الرابع، الاستقلال والسيادة ١٩٥٨-٢٠٠٥. يريفان، ٢٠٠٧، ص ٤٤٢-٤٤٤.

²⁶ -د. الكسندر كشيشيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٧٨.

²⁷ -د. الكسندر كشيشيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٨٢.

أما في عدد آخر من الجريدة تحت عنوان «مسألة مهاجرة الأرمن» تبليغنا عن مشكلة المهاجرين الأرمن التي كانت موضوع تحقيق في مجلس الاتحاد السوري. وطالب نائب حماة البرازي بمنع دخول المهاجرين الأرمن إلى سوريا، وقال أن هناك اليوم 130 ألف مهاجر أرمني في سوريا، وبدلاً منهم 120 ألف سوري يهاجرون من سوريا إلى دول أجنبية²⁸. وقد ناقشت قضية المهاجرين الأرمن ووافقوا اتخاذ قرار بشأن حظر دخول المهاجرين وتوطينهم في حلب وأطرافها. «لأن هناك 60 ألف مهاجر أرمني في حلب يحتاجون إلى المساعدة ولا داعي لإضافة آخرين إلى الآلامهم»²⁹. وفي النهاية قرروا تقسيم المهاجرين وتوطينهم في الأراضي الخالية.

الخلاصة.-

إن جريدة «التقدم» جريدة حيادية كانت تنشر في حلب. تتناول مواضيع عديدة عن الدولة العثمانية وسياستها، والانتداب الفرنسي، والأرمن ما قبل فترة ١٩١٥ وبعضها. نتيجة تهجير الأرمن من كيليكيا، أجبر اللاجئين الأرمن على التصالح مع الواقع، وساعدت هذه العوامل ببساطة في الحفاظ على الهوية القومية والثقافية الأرمنية. كما ساهم الأرمن على مدار الوقت في التنظيم الذاتي، والتكيف مع الحياة الاجتماعية في سوريا، وعملية الإبادة الجماعية، ثم موقف العرب تجاه الأرمن. ففي الجريدة معلومات عن الموقف الإنساني الذي أبداه رجال الدولة وأهالي حلب تجاه اللاجئين القادمين إلى حلب، حيث قاموا بتزويدهم بالطعام والمأوى والمساعدات الطبية، مع إنقاذهم من الوباء الذي كان يودي بحياة الناس. فمقالات وأخبار منشورة في الجريدة ضرورية، لأنه توضح عن القمع والوحشية والمجازر الذي ارتكبتها الدولة العثمانية، والآثار الكفائة ضد الشعوب، وخاصة ضد الشعب الأرمني.

Տեղանուններու / قائمة أسماء المدن، القرى /

Կ. Պոլիս	القسطنطينية	Պախշաճըխ/Պարտիզակ	بغجه جق أو برديزاغ
Կիլիկիա	كيليكيا	Ուխաճիկ/Ուխաճիկ	أوفاجق
Հէթուն	الزيتون	Արսլանիկ	أرسلانيك
Տորթ եօլ	دورت يول	Տունկել /	دونكول
Մարաշ	مرعش	Սապանճը	صبانجه

²⁸ -د. الكسندر كشيبيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ١٨٥.

²⁹ - أني فشنكجيان، مصدر نفسه، ص ٥.

إزميت	Իզմիթ	حسن بكلي	Հասան Պէքլի
كورد بيلينه	Քիւրտ Պիլինէհ/	تركيا	Թուրքիա
عراكير	Արաբկիր	ترجان	Դերճ/ջ/ան
بتليس	Պիթլիս	أرضروم	Էրզրում
سمرت	Սդերդ	سيواس / سبسطية/	Սվազ/ Սեբաստիա
سلطانية	Սուլթանիէ	قره حصار	Գարահիսար
طرابزون	Տրապիզոն	بتليس	Պիթլիս
بروصه	Պրուսա	جار سنجق	Ջարսանճաք
خربوط	Խարբերդ	ديار بكر	Տիարպէքիր
خنس	Խնուս	غوفدون	Կովտուն/Դովտուն/
صحاري العراق	Իրաքի անապատներ	أورفة	Ուրֆա
صمسون	Սամսոն	وان	Վան
الموصل	Մուսուլ	وبغداد	Պաղատատ
بيبور	Պալպուրտ	قرية كورك	Քուրք գիւղ
صوشبير	Սուշէհրի ~	ملاطية	Մալաթիա
كفي	Քդի	بالو	Բալու
موش	Մուշ	عينتاب	Այնթէպ
كيليس	Քիլիս	كونيا	Գոնիա
أطه بازار	Ատապազար	أرماش	Արմաշ
مرسيوان	Մարզվան	أماسيا	Ամասիա
طوقات	Թոքատ	حلب	Հալէպ

تدقيق وتصحيح
هوفيك أوهانيان
مختص في اللغة العربية وآدابها
موجه عام في ثانوية دار التربية الخاصة
-حلب- سوريا

ՀԻՄՆԱԲԱՌԵՐ

Հայկական համայնք, գաղթեր, հայկական, Սուրիա, դէպի Հալէպ, Ման-
դատ, Կիլիկիա, Օսմանեան պետութիւն.

РЕЗЮМЕ

На тему Геноцида армян опубликовано множество статей и монографий, представляющих собой ценные труды написанные на основе архивных документов, материалов прессы, рассказов очевидцев и чудом выживших. В 1908—1947 годах известный арабский журналист Шукри Кенейтер издавал арабоязычную газету «Эль Тагатом» в одноименной типографии. Издаваемая в Алеппо газета передает информацию о резне организованной Султаном Абдулом Гамитом, о массовых убийствах в Атане, Геноциде армян младотурками в 1915 году, депортации армян, путях миграции, потоке беженцев в Сирию, Ливан.

SUMMARY

Numerous articles and monographs have been published on the topic of the Armenian Genocide, representing valuable works written on the basis of archival documents, press materials, accounts of eyewitnesses and miraculously survived. In 1908—1947, the famous Arab journalist Shukri Keneiter published the Arabic-language newspaper “El Tagatom” in the printing house of the same name. The newspaper published in Aleppo transmits information about the massacre organized by Sultan Abdul Hamid, the Atane massacres, the Armenian Genocide by the Young Turks in 1915, the deportation of the Armenians, migration routes, the flow of refugees to Syria, Lebanon.

ՌՈՒԲԷՆ ՄԵԼՔՈՆԵԱՆ

Բանասիրական գիտ. դոկտոր, պրոֆեսոր

ՀԱՅՈՑ ԳԵՂԱՍՊԱՆՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԹԵՄԱՆ ԹՈՒՐՔԱԿԱՆ ԱՐԴԻ ԳՐԱԿԱՆՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՄԷՋ

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

Հայոց ցեղասպանությունն ուրանալու եւ ժխտելու Թուրքիայի պաշտոնական քաղաքականությունը դրսևորում է տարբեր ոլորտներում: Բացառություն չէ նաեւ գեղարուեստական գրականությունը: Հայոց ցեղասպանութեանը յաջորդող տարիներին Թուրքական գրականությունը եւս հետեւելով այդ պարտադրանքին՝ կամ լռություն է պահպանել, կամ սատարել է ցեղասպան քաղաքականութեանը: Սակայն արդէն 1950-ական թուականներից ընդդիմադիր Թուրք գրողներից ոմանք իրենց ստեղծագործություններում սկսում են անուղղակի կամ ակնարկներով խօսել հայերի կոտորածների, տեղահանութեան մասին: 2000-ական թուականների կէսերից, Թուրքիայի արտաքին եւ ներքին քաղաքական որոշ փոփոխությունների արդիւնքում, Թուրքական գրականութեան մէջ հայկական նիւթն սկսում է ուշագրաւ զարգացում ապրել: Դա պայմանաւորուած էր Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը վերապրած եւ բռնի իսլամացուած հայուհիների անձնական յիշողությունների ու ողբերգությունների հրատարակմամբ: Այս յուշագրական ստեղծագործությունները աշխուժացրին Թուրքիայում Հայոց ցեղասպանութեան վերաբերեալ քննարկումները եւ բացեցին խնդրի մէկ այլ կողմ. ցեղասպանութեան տարիներին հայուհիների առեւանգումներն ու բռնի իսլամացումը, որը եւս ցեղասպանութեան անհերքելի ապացոյցներից է: Հրատարակուած մէկ տասնեակից աւելի յուշագրական վէպերն ու վիպակները, որոշ ժամանակ անց իրենց տեղը զիջեցին աւելի ցածրարժէք ստեղծագործությունների: Սակայն յընթացս տարիների նիւթը կորցրեց իր ճանաչելիությունը եւ դուրս եկաւ գրական գործընթացներից:

RUBEN MELKONYAN

Prof. Dr.

TÜRK ÇAĞDAŞ EDEBİYATINDA ERMENİ SOYKIRIMI KONUSU¹

Edebiyatın büyük oranda toplumu ilgilendiren anlık ve güncel sorunları irdelediği ve onları ön plana çıkardığı bilinen bir gerçektir. Lâkin, bununla birlikte, ülke içinde ve toplum bünyesinde hüküm süren ortamın, edebi konuların seçimi konusunda etkili olduğunu da belirtmek gerekir. Bu açıdan, 20. yüz yıl Türk edebiyatının da, tabu olarak kabul edilen bazı konulara karşı genel olarak benzer tutum takındığına şahit olmaktadır. Bu konular arasında Ermeni konusunu da sayabiliriz. Türk edebiyatının, yakın zamanlara kadar bireysel ve yüzeysel bazı değinmelerin haricinde, Ermeni konusuna yeterince ilgi göstermemiş olduğunu söylemek mümkündür.

20. yüz yıl Türk edebiyatında Ermeni konusuna “değinmeler”.

Genel bakış

Her ne kadar tutucu veya milliyetçi yönelimli Türk yazarların Ermeni konusıyla ilgili duyarsızlığını, dahası, genel olarak azınlıklara ve özel olarak Ermenilere karşı düşmanca tutumlarını, onların ideolojileriyle açıklamak mümkün olsa da², ilerici ve sosyalist olarak kabul edilen Türk yazarların sessizliğini en azından garip olarak adlandırabiliriz. Geçen yüz yılın 30’lu yıllarında Türk edebiyatında şekillenen sol-sosyalist yönelimin bilhassa 40-50’li yıllarda parlak gelişimini göstermiş olduğu bir gerçektir. Eleştiri ve sosyal gerçekçilik yönelimi açısından eserler veren, insanların çeşitli hakları için mücadele eden, sosyal ve cinsel ayrımcılığı tenkit eden bir dizi eserlerde dahi Ermenilerle ilgili sorunlara yönelik yaklaşımlara gayet ender

^{1*} *Ստացուել է՝ 3.02.2023, գրախօսուել է՝ 18.02.2023: էլ. հասցէ՝ rubenmelk@gmail.com: հմբազիր՝ Նաիրա Պողոսեան:*

² Eleştirmen Ömer Türkeş, modern Türk edebiyatında, Türkler haricindeki tüm milletlerin düşman olarak gösterildiğini belirtmektedir. Menfi kişilik yaratmanın en yaygın ve kabul gören şekli şahsın Türk olmadığını belirtmekte yatmaktadır. Bk., Ertan O., Ermenileri “ötekileştiren” edebiyat ve “Hayatta Kalanlar”, Agos, 08.02.2008.

rastlamaktayız, o da yukarıda belirttiğimiz gibi yüzeysel ve çoğu kez dolaylı olarak. Türkiye’de hüküm süren şartlar altında bu belki de anlaşılır bir durumdu, belki şartlar el vermiyordu, belki de bu durum bilgisizlikten kaynaklanıyordu. Bu arada, Hrant Dink’le gerçekleşen sohbet esnasında tanınmış yazar Vedat Türkali “*Bizim kuşağımız neler olduğunu bilmiyordu*”³, derken bu bilgisizlik sorununa değinmektedir. Türk aydınlarının ve genel olarak toplumun bilgisizliği hakkında konuşurken konuyla ilgili Hrant Dink’in sözlerinden de bir alıntı yapmak istiyoruz. “*1915 sonrasında Türkiye toplumu, o dönemde neler yaşandığını köylüleriyle kentlisiyle çok iyi biliyordu. Pek çoğu, bire bir tanık olmuşlardı yaşananlara. Yaşananlar kötü ve acıydı ve bunun için de susmak gerekiyordu. Bu konuşmama üzerine gelip çöken resmi devlet tutumu suskunluğu da resmileştirdi. Bu konu tabu haline getirildi. Sadece muhafazakâr insanlar değil, kendini devrimci olarak gören insanlar da bu konuda iki çift söz edemez hale geldiler. Nazım Hikmet’in şiirlerinde Ermeni sorununa ilişkin tek bir satır yer alır; o kadar*”⁴.

Gerçekten de, solcu yazarların bilgisizliğini belki de bahane olarak kabul edebilmek mümkün, yine de bu açıklama yeteri kadar tatmin edici değil. Lâkin, her halükârda bazı Türk yazarlarda –genellikle sol cenahtan- arada bir, satır aralarına serpiştirilmiş olarak, Ermeni konusuyla ilgili yaklaşımlara rastlamaktayız. Örneğin, toprak temasıyla çok ilgilenmiş olan tanınmış ve yetenekli yazar Yaşar Kemal, Ermeni soykırımından ve tehcirinden sonra sahipsiz kalmış Ermeni topraklarının paylaşılması konusuna değinmiştir. Mesela, “Akçasaz”ın ağaları” romanının kahramanlarından Muallim Rüstem’i şu şekilde tasvir etmektedir: “*Kaçıp kurtulmaya çalışan Ermenilerin, gecenin karanlığında, bir kartal gibi üstlerine inen, hepsini doğrayıp köprüden attıktan sonra heybe heybe altınlarını alan, onu da götürüp Adana paşasına veren oydu*”⁵. Bundan başka, “Yağmurcuk Kuşu” adlı eserinde şu satırlar yer almaktadır. “*Annesi, İsmail Ağa’ya şöyle öğütler: “Bir de senden dileğim, oğlum, o kasabaya gidersen, o Ermenilerden kalma evleri, tarlaları kabul etme. Sahibi kaçmış yuvada, öteki kuş barınamaz. Yuva bozanın yuvası olmaz. Zulüm tarlasında zulüm biter*”⁶.

Yukarıda belirtildiği gibi, tanınmış Türk komünist şair Nazım Hikmet de bir-iki satırla Ermeni sorununa değinmiştir, örneğin, onun “Çolak İsmail” şiirinde aşağıdaki satırlara rastlamaktayız:

3 ÇİLİNGİR O., Türk romanında 1915 ve örnek eserler (2), Agos, 11, 01, 2008.

4 KAPLAN S., 1915’te ne oldu, İstanbul, 2005, ikinci baskı, s. 77-78.

5 ÇİLİNGİR O., Türk romanında 1915 ve örnek eserler (5), Agos, 01, 02, 2008.

6 KEMAL Y., Yağmurcuk Kuşu, İstanbul, 1980, s. 95.

İsmail’i seferberlikte, yaşı on altı olduğu halde,
 Tutup askere gönderdiler.
 Domuzuna yığitti.
 Yozgat taraflarına jandarma gitti.
 Ve Ermeniler kesilirken
 Kana battı göbeğine kadar⁷.

Nazım Hikmet’in bir diğer, “Akşam gezintisi” şiirinde ise aşağıdaki satırlara rastlamaktayız:

Bakkal Karabet’in ışıkları yanmış.
 Affetmedi bu Ermeni vatandaş
 Kürt dağlarında babasının
 Kesilmesini
 Fakat seviyor seni,
 Çünkü sen de affetmedin
 Bu karayı sürenleri Türk
 Halkının anına⁸.

Türk bilim adamı Halil Berktaş bu düşünceleri irdeleyerek, haklı olarak, resmi devlet yöneliminin tersine, sıradan halkın hafızasında bu olaylarla ilgili anıların saklı bulunduğunu belirtmektedir. Berktaş, bugün de bazı evlerde duvardan asılı kılıçlar olduğunu ve bunlarla ilgi olarak da üzerindeki kanın Ermeni kanı olduğunun belirtildiğini, üstelik, bazı insanların bu olgudan büyük gurur duyduklarını, diğerlerinin ise utandıklarını eklemektedir⁹.

Ermenilerin islamlaştırılması ve bu konunun Türk edebiyatına yansımaları

Ermeniler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun gayrimüslim milletlerinden biri olarak düzenli şekilde ve değişik zamanlarda farklı yoğunluklarda seyreden, zorunlu islamlaştırılma dalgalarına maruz kalmışlardır. Ermeni soykırımı yıllarında da cebri

7 BERKTAY H., Nâzım, Ermeni kıyımı, bir kolej hikâyesi, Taraf, 12.1.2008.

8 A.g.m.

9 A.g.m.

islamlashtırılma hadiselerinin vuku bulmuş olduğu bilinen bir gerçektir. Zorla islamlashtırılmış Ermeniler arasında kadın ve çocuklar büyük bir oran teşkil etmektedirler. Bu ihtida sürecinde devletin olduğu kadar toplumun belli katmanlarının da önemli bir rol oynamış oldukları bilinmektedir. Ermenilerin islamlashtırılmasının sebep ve ayrıntılarına fazla girmeden, bilhassa tehcir edilen Ermeni kadınların ve çocukların kaçırılması ve islamlashtırılmasında, nadiren görülen insancıl tarafını da gözardı etmeden, belirgin olarak ön plana çıkan ekonomik rolü belirtmek istiyorum. Tüm bunların sonucu olarak bugün Türkiye’de, Ermeni orijinine, özellikle Ermeni ninelere sahip bir toplum katmanı oluşmuş durumdadır. Konuyla ilgili olarak Hrant Dink “Bugün Anadolu’yu dolaştığınızda hemen her yerde, birçok ailelerde ‘Benim ninem de Ermeniydi’ diyenlere rastlayabiliyorsunuz”¹⁰ demiştir.

Günümüz Türkiye’sinde, insanların Ermeni ninesi olması durumu öyle yaygın bir hal almıştır ki, bu durum modern Türk belge edebiyatına malzeme sağlamaktadır. Son yıllarda Türkiye’nin gündemine yerleşen, soykırımdan sağ kalmış ve islamlashtırılmış Ermeni kadınların hikâyeleri, son on-yirmi yıl içinde geniş bir yaygınlığa ulaşan sözlü tarih (*oral history*) dalının bir bölümünü oluşturmaktadırlar¹¹. Ermeni etnograf Marutyan’a göre, sözlü hikâyeler özellikle toplumun sessiz ve göz ardı edilmiş üyelerinin seslerini duyulur hale getirmektedir¹².

Günümüzde, modern Türk edebiyatında, 1915’te kaçırılmış veya mucize eseri kurtulmuş ve islamlashtırılmış Ermenilerin, bilhassa da kadınların konusunu işleyen bir hareketin, bir akımın başlamış olduğunu ifade edebiliriz. Yayınlanan kitapların özellikle belgesel niteliği göze çarpmaktadır. İslamlashtırılmış Ermeniler konusunun ele alınabilme imkânları hakkında konuşulurken, çoğunlukla, Türkiye’nin Avrupa entegrasyon sürecinde beliren bazı hürriyetlere atıfta bulunulmaktadır, lâkin konunun kitleleşmesindeki temel itici gücün, islamlashtırılmış Ermenilerin haleflerinin -daha kesin olarak torunlarının- olduğu kabul edilmektedir¹³. Bu acı hikâyelerin çoğu insan tarafından bilinmiş ve halkın hafızasında devamlı olarak saklanmış olmasına karşın Türk edebiyatı ancak son yıllarda bu konuya eğilmektedir. Türk edebiyatının uzun yıllar bu konuları neden sanat teması olarak ele almadığının ise birçok sebebi vardır. Bu sebeplerden başlıcaları konunun kapalı ve tabu olmasıdır.

10 Kayıt dışı çocuklar akrabalarını arıyor, Sabah, 07,09,2005.

11 MARUTYAN H., “Milli kimlik inşasında hafızanın rolü” (Ermenice), Yerevan, 2006, s.71.

12 A.g.e., s. 72.

13 BAŞYURT E., Ermeni Evlatlıklar: Saklı Kalmış Hayatlar, İstanbul, 2006, 2-inci baskı, s.11.

Kitap piyasasında bugün, kahramanlarının karmaşık ruhsal dünyalarıyla, zorla islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınların olduğu bazı belge-roman niteliğinde eserler bulunmaktadır. İslamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadını kişilikleri arasında belli farklılıklar olmasına rağmen bazı genel çizgiler de göze çarpmaktadır. Özellikle dikkat celbeden durum, bu kadınların, tüm yaşamları boyunca kurtulamadıkları travmatik anıları genellikle hayatlarının sonlarına doğru seslendirmeyi yeğlemiş olduklarıdır. Diğer bir deyişle, onlar bu acıyı belki korkudan, belki de çocuklarına acı vermek istemediklerinden dolayı hayatları boyunca saklamışlardır. Acılarını saklamalarının bir diğer sebebi ise bu acıyı paylaşabilecek uygun bir sırdaş bulamamış olmalarıdır. Benzer hikâyelerin bir diğer ortak yönü ise, hayatı boyunca gizli tutulmuş bu travmatik anıları anlatarak onlar, belki de bilinçaltında, bu yükten kurtulmak veya onu hafifletmek istemişlerdir. Uzmanlara göre, travmadan kurtulabilmenin en yaygın metodu onun hakkında konuşmak (*storytelling*) ve bu şekilde ruhsal durumun hafifletilmesidir¹⁴. Ermeni ailelerinden koparılmış veya ailelerini kaybetmiş kadınlar ve çocuklar dinlerini, dillerini ve yaşam ortamlarını değiştirmiş, kırımların ve sürgünün getirdiği eziyetleri çekmiş olarak, tabiidir ki, kendilerini yıllar boyu eşlik eden çeşitli travmalara maruz kalmışlardır. İslamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlarıyla ilgili kitaplarda en çok nine torun ilişkileri, bu ilişkilerdeki karşılıklı bağlılık ve güven göze çarpmaktadır ve denilebilir ki, bu durum, bu konuyla ilgili en önemli özelliklerdendir. Çeşitli halkların edebiyatında yaygın ve edebiyat biliminin konularından biri olan babalar ve evlatlar konusu Türk edebiyatındaki islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlarla ilgili eserlerde özel bir nineler torunlar ilişkisine dönüşmüştür.

İslamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlarının torunları, onların acı hikayelerinin dinleyicileri olarak, ister istemez bu travmanın taşıyıcıları durumuna dönüşmüşlerdir. Diğer bir deyişle travma, onu taşıyandan güvenilir kişiye aktarılıp, bu sırrın yeni taşıyıcısı bu yükün ağırlığı altında ezilmeye başlamaktadır. Uzmanların belirttiğine göre, soykırımın travmatik anıları farklı Ermeni nesiller boyunca devam etmiş, zamana ve şartlara göre kendini değişik şekillerde belli etmiştir. Hrant Dink bu konuda “*Kuşaktan kuşağa aktardığımız travmamızdan kurtulmadıkça, Ermeni dünyasının huzurlu bir gelecek kurması mümkün gözüküyor.*”¹⁵ demektedir.

14 MARUTYAN H., a.g.e., s.77.

15 DINK H., Türkler ve Ermeniler: İki Yakın Halk; Türkiye ve Ermenistan: İki Uzak Komşu, Ermeni Sorunu Tartışılırken..., İstanbul, 2006, s.55.

Ermeni etnograf Harutyun Marutyan'a göre islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlarının travmatik anılarına bir de travmatik gündelik yaşam eklenmiştir¹⁶. Bu, gerçekten de ilginç bir açıklamadır ve az aşağıda bu durumun dışavurumlarını örnekleriyle göreceğiz.

İslamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlarıyla ilgili yazılı eserlerde özellikle göze çarpan olgu, bu kadınların ilerlemiş yaşlarında aileleri ve çevreleri içinde büyük saygınlık görmeleridir. Hemen tüm kitaplarda da islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlar akıllı, temizliğe büyük önem veren, çalışkan ve yetenekli ev kadınları olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadırlar. Özellikle onların çok iyi yemek pişirme yetenekleri belirtilmektedir. Nineleriyle ilgili torunların anlattığı sayısız anılardan, kanımızca çok belirgin olan birini burada aktarmak istiyoruz. Ninesi Fate'nin kitaplara yönelik tapma derecede sevgisi bir Kürt aşiretinin üyesi olan Ahmet Önal'ı etkilemişti. *"Bizim evde yaşardı ve diyebilirim ki bizim evi o yönetiyordu. Bütün köylerde de sözü geçerdi. Aydın bir aileden çıktığını hissediyordum. Çocukların okutulmasına çok önem verirdi. Çok iyi hatırlıyorum bir gün okul dönüşünde kitap ve defterlerimi çamura düşürmüştüm. Eve o halde getirince annem buna kızdı. Anneannem annemi susturdu ve beni çağırdı bir hikaye anlatacağım diye. 'Bizimkiler' diye başladı. 'Bizimkiler'in ayrı bir aidiyete işaret ettiğini o zamanki çocuk kafamla bile anlamıştım, demek ki Kürt değilmişler. 'Bizimkiler bizi duvar diplerine bıraktılar. Altınlarını ve paralarını top-rağa gömdüler. Ama kitaplarını sırtlayıp götürdüler. Kitap çok kıymetlidir. Ben bu dünyadan giderim, altın ve paralar da gidebilir ama bir kitap gittiği zaman insanın her şeyi gider, bilgisi, geleceği, tarihi. Bu yüzden kitap insandan da, paradan da daha kıymetlidir. Onu çok iyi koruman gerekir. Bütün kitaplar kutsaldır"*¹⁷.

Hrant Dink de islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınların sahip olduğu saygınlığı konusuna değinerek *"Ve o kızlar, o kadınlar dedim, birer efsaneydiler, o evin birer dervişiydiler"*¹⁸ demektedir.

İslamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınları konusuyla yazılmış ilk eserlerden biri İrfan Palalı'nın *"Tehcir Çocukları: Nenem bir Ermeniymiş"* anı-romanıdır. Bu kitap kanıtlar üzerine kurulmuş olmakla birlikte kahramanların isimleri çeşitli nedenlerden dolayı değiştirilmişlerdir. Kitapta nine, islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadını Fatma ve torun Demir arasındaki özel bağı görmektedir. Sonuçta da nine, ilerlemiş yaşında hayatının sırrını ona teslim etmektedir. Bu kadın, soykırıma kadar olan hayatını, sürgün yolunu, kırımını, babasının öldürülmesini ve annesinin ölümünü ilerlemiş yaşına

16 MARUTYAN H., a.g.e., s.82.

17 ÖNAL A., "Bizimkiler, bizi duvar diplerine bıraktılar!", Yeni Aktüel, № 116, s. 50.

18 DINK H.: "Ölenlerin değil, kalanların üzerinden konuşalım", Zaman, 26, 11, 2005.

rağmen en ince ayrıntısına kadar hatırlamaktadır. Tüm bu görüntüler hayatı boyunca kendisine eşlik etmiştir. Anlatımlarına göre kervanları 80 kişiden müteşekkil olmuştur. *“Sonunda bir ben kaldım sanıyorum ya, neyse. Belki de benim gibi kurtulan bir kaç kız çocuğu daha vardır”*¹⁹. Kervandaki erkeklerin, bu arada babasının öldürülmeleri anını da hatırlamaktadır *“Daha sonra sıra ile tüm erkekleri öldürdüler. Adamlardan iki kişi tutuyor üçüncü biri öldürüyor. Ölenler kaç kişiydi bilmiyorum ama erkeklerin hepsini hançerleyerek öldürdüklerini biliyorum. En son babamı öldürdüler”*²⁰. Annesinden koparılma anı diğer tüm kaderdaşları gibi Fatma nine de derin izler bırakmıştır. Erkekleri öldürdükten sonra kervanda kalan kadınları ağaçların arkasına götürürler, tahminen tecavüz etmek için. *“Annem o tarafa doğru gitmeden önce bana doğru geldi ve bana bir şeyler söyledi, ya da fısıldadı, ama ne dedi hatırlamıyorum şimdi. Sadece beni öptüğünü hatırlıyorum. Zaten daha sonra annemle de bir daha hiç sarılıp öpüşmedik. Yanıma geldi beni öptü, bir onu biliyorum. Bu son öpüşü imiş meğer. Çünkü ertesi gün de annem soğuktan donarak öldü”*²¹.

Genelde, benzer eserlerde, islamaştırılmış Ermeni kız çocuklarının iyi halli ailelerden geldiklerini ve ihtimam altında olduklarını hatırladıkları göze çarpmaktadır. Fakat, daha sonra tam tersine, çeşitli baskılara, hakaretlere maruz kalmışlardır ve çocukluklarından kalan sevgi ve ihtimamdan bir parça hatırayı korumuşlar ve belki de bu, kendilerine zorluklara karşı göğüs germe gücü vermiştir.

Kaderdaş bir grup çocukla birlikte kurtulduğunda Fatma 5-6 yaşlarında bir kız çocuğuydu, ardından Urfa'ya varırlar, orada besleme olarak alıkoyulur, daha sonra ise ailenin oğlu Derviş'le evlendirilir. Cinayet sahnelerinin çocuk üzerinde ne derin iz bıraktığını, onun hayatı boyunca ölümden korkmasında görebiliriz. Fatma nine nin anlattığına göre kendisi için çok ağır ve hastalıklı bir durum olduğundan dolayı hayatı boyunca akrabalarının cenazelerine dahi gitmeye korkmuştur, fakat tüm bunların açıklaması, basit ve aynı zamanda derin bir mana ihtiva eden cümlesinin içinde gizlidir *“Ne zaman bir ölüm duysam babamın ölümü gözlerimin önüne geliyor”*²².

Torunlarından herhangi biriyle ilgili özel bağılıklarını islamaştırılmış Ermeni kadınları bir nirengi noktası olarak görmüşlerdir. Lâkin bu bağ içinde onlar, geçmişteki Ermeni aileleriyle bir benzerlik görme arzusunda olmuşlardır. Örneğin, son telefon görüşmelerinde Fatma nine torunu Demir'e kendisini görebilmesi ve özlemini

19 PALALI İ., Tehcir Çocukları: Nenem bir Ermeniymiş, İstanbul, 2005, s. 14-15.

20 A.g.e., s.16.

21 A.g.e., s.16-17.

22 A.g.e., s. 41.

giderebilmesi, belki de son olarak onu kucaklaması için çabuk gelmesini söylemektedir, çünkü ölümünün yakın olduğunun hissetmektedir ve ekler. “*Sen benim hem evladım, hem babamsın. Bilimiasen Keko, babam siye çok benzerdi. Yalavuz sen birez karasan. O daha beyazdı*”²³.

Türkiye’de islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınları konusunun güncellik kazanması ve açık tartışmaların başlaması açısından Fethiye Çetin’in “Anneannem” anı-romanı büyük rol oynamıştır. Bu kitap bu açıdan yazılmış ilk ve en etkili kitaplardan biri olmuştur, fakat benzer diğer eserlerden bilhassa yüksek sanatsal değeri açısından özel bir yer tutmaktadır.

Çetin’in anneannesi Heranuş da küçük yaşta kırımların, sürgünün dehşetini yaşamıştır. Sürgün yolunda bir jandarma tarafından kaçırılır, bu adam kendisini evlat edinir ve adını Seher olarak değiştirir. Heranuş, torunlarından Fethiyeyle derin bağ içinde olur ve sırrını ilerlemiş yaşında ona açar. Anneanne ve torunun bağının gelişmesinin birkaç sebebi vardır, fakat İrfan Palalı’nın ninesinin durumunda olduğu gibi Heranuş da, kanımızca, tornunda kaybetmiş olduğu ailesiyle bağlayan bir şey görmüş veya görmeye çalışmıştır. Fethiye’ye yönelik ve sık sık tekrarladığı sözler bunun ispatıdır “*Sen bizim tarafa benziyorsun*”²⁴. Çetin’in belirttiğine göre anneannesinin güçlü bir hafızası vardı, fakat Ermeni ailesini, sürgünü ve katliamlarla ilgili ayrıntıları hatırlamak için bunları hayatı boyunca kendi kendine devamlı tekrarlamış²⁵, yani devamlı travma içinde bulunmuştur. Heranuş’un kaderdaşı diğer Ermeni kadınlar da aynı ruh hali içinde olmuşlardır ve tüm bunlar hakkında yüksek sesle konuşma fikri bu kitabı yazma konusunda önemli bir itici güç olmuştur. “*Daha sonra anneannem gibi kaderdaş çok sayıda başka kadınların da bunları anlatamadıkları için onun gibi sürekli kendi kendileriyle, kendi içlerinde konuşmuş olduklarını öğrendim*”²⁶.

“Anneannem” kitabında islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınların travmatik günlük yaşamlarını resmeden belgelere rastlıyoruz. Heranuş ve kaderdaşları diğer islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlarının, kendi Ermeni-Hristiyan adetlerinden bazılarını gizlice devam ettirme çabaları bilhassa dikkate şayandır. Örneğin, Paskalya kutlamak, bu bayramla ilgili çörek pişirmek gibi²⁷. Bu arada, eski dini olan hristiyanlığın adetlerini korumakla ilgili dolaylı dolaysız belgelere de rastlıyoruz bu kitapta. Mese-

23 A.g.e., s.122.

24 ÇETİN F., Anneannem, İstanbul, 2005, 5-inci basım, s. 29.

25 GHAZARYAN S., “Anneannem” romanının yazarı Fethiye Çetinle söyleşi, (Ermenice), Azdak, Beyrut, 27.11.2006.

26 A.g.m.

27 ÇETİN F., a.g.e., s. 78.

la, Ermeniler arasında, evlilikte “yedi göbek” sorma adeti yaygındır ve Heranuş’un kaçırılıp islamlaştırılarak, kürtleştirilmiş teyzesi Siranuş, oğluna Heranuş’un kızını istediğinde, Heranuş’un cevabı kesindir. *‘Ben akrabaya kız vermem’*²⁸.

İslamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınların bir kısmı gerçekten müslüman olmuşlar ve dinin gereklerini yerine getirmişlerdir. Kendilerini çevreleyen ortamın etkisi altında bunların çoğu ellerinden geldiği kadar inanmış müslüman gözükmeye, kraldan fazla kralcı olmaya çalışmışlardır. Lâkin, tüm bunlara karşın, kitaplarda göze çarpan sayısız kanıt, çevrelerinin onların Ermeni orijinli olduklarını bilerek, gerekli olduğu zamanlar hakaret amaçlı olarak “*gâvur*”, “*Ermeni dölü*”, “*gâvuroğlu*” ve benzer terimler kullanmaktan geri kalmadıklarını belgelemektedir.

Almanya’da yerleşik Türk yazar Kemal Yalçın da kitaplarında zorla islamlaştırılmış ve gizli Ermeniler konusunu işlemektedir. Bu konuyla ilgili yazılmış ilk eseri olan “*Seninle güler yüreğim*” kitabında yazarın islamlaştırılmış ve gizli Ermeniler ile onların nesilleriyle yapmış olduğu görüşmeler röportaj şeklinde takdim edilmektedir. Kitapta adı geçen kahramanlardan gizli Ermeni Sultan Bakırcıgil, hemen hemen tüm islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlarına özgü olan ilginç bir ayrıntı sunmaktadır “*Çoğunluğun yüzü gülmezdi*”. Yalçın’ın diğer kitabı olan “*Sarı Gelin*”de ise Adıyaman’lı tanınmış Bersumların ailesinden güzel Siranuş’un hikâyesine tanık oluyoruz. Bölgenin tanınmış Kürt ağalarından Nuri onu kurtarır ve daha sonra da kendisiyle evlenir. Yalçın’ın kitabında Nuri ağa ve Siranuş’un küçük oğulları Mehmet Nuri, annesi hakkında anlattıklarında islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlarının yaşadığı travmatik gündelik hayatları ve anıları net bir şekilde karşımıza çıkmaktadır. “*Anamın asıl ismi “Siranuş” idi. Babamla evlendikten sonra, “Hanım” demişler. Anam, gençliğinde bana ve ağabeylerime; “Hele bana bir kere Siranuş deyin de duyayım!” derdi. “Siranuş” deyince bana sarılır öper, öper ağlardı. Çocukluğumda anamın ağlayışına bakar bakar ben de ağlardım. Anamın neye ağladığını bilmezdim. Anam bazan dağlarla, kuşlarla, taşlarla, toprakla, çiçeklerle konuşurdu. Konuştuğu dili anlamazdım. Sorduğumda başımı okşar; “Anamın, babamın dili, senin dayılarının dili, Hayların dili” derdi. Hayların dili, anamın gözyaşlarının diliydi...*”²⁹.

Yusuf Bağı’nin “*Ermeni kızı: Ağçik*” anı-romanı da islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlar konulu ve tekrar hayatta kalmış görgü şahidinin anlattığı anılarına dayanan kitaplardandır. Fatma olarak isimlendirilmiş Mariam, onyıllarca yaşadığı acıyı içinde saklamış

28 ÇETİN F., a.g.e., s. 60.

29 YALÇIN K., *Sarı Gelin*, Bochum, 2004, s. 294.

ve sadece ilerlemiş yaşında bir sırdaş bulabilerek anılarını onunla paylaşmıştır. Küçük yaşta soykırım dehşetini yaşamış olan Mariam, köyü, Erzurum'un Karskapı köyünü, iyi halli ve mutlu ailesini, kaybettiği babası, annesi ve iki erkek kardeşlerini gayet iyi hatırlamaktadır. Kitabın yazarı Yusuf Bağı şöyle söylemektedir. *"Fatma, kimliğiyle ilgili bu bilgileri kimseyle paylaşamazdı, sadece bana güveniyordu ve ben sorular sorduğumda beni kırmıyor ve bazı şeyleri anlatıyordu"*. Fakat, görünüşe göre, yaşadığı korkudan dolayı, o yaşında dahi anlattıklarının sadece ölümünden sonra yayınlanmasını kendisinden rica eder. Kervanlarının ve ailesinin boğazlanma sahnesi hafızasına kazılmıştır *"Akşama doğru küçük bir grup olarak kalmıştık. Bizi de almaya gelecekleri zamanı bekliyorduk. Bile bile ölüme gidiyorduk. Ben küçüktüm, farkında değildim. Fakat diğer kafile halkı sonunun ne olacağını pek iyi biliyordu. Kamptan beş yüz metre kadar uzaklaştık. Kampa bakan askerler bizi cellatlara teslim ettiler. Cellatların ellerinde kılıç, bellerinde kama vardı. Bellerine bağlı kuşağın altındaki kamayı ve kılıcın üstündeki kanı gözlerimle gördüm. Bizim grubumuzu alan cellat kırk yaşlarında, kısa boylu, şalvar ve yelek giyinmiş, kaşları kalın ve siyah, esmer tenli, siyah bıyıklı, başında hamayıl olan bir adamdı. O adam benim annem ve iki kardeşlerimi öldürdü"*³⁰. Celladın görüntüsü tüm ayrıntılarıyla Mariam'ın hafızasına yerleşmiş ve hayatı boyunca ona eşlik etmiştir. Bu dehşet yüzünden hayatının değişik devrelerinde derin ruhsal sarsıntılar geçirmiş, fakat tüm bunları kendi öz çocuklarından dahi gizlemiştir. Mariam'a göre, öldürmeden önce cellatlar yalnız bir soru soruyorlardı *"Müslümanlığı kabul ediyor musunuz?"* ve onlardan ret cevabı alınca kılıcı indiriyorlar³¹. Küçük Mariam'ı Salih adlı başka bir cellat alır. Adını değiştirir. Fakat küçük çocuk uzun zaman gördüklerini atlatamayıp hep kâbuslar görmüş, uyuyamamış ve anlattıklarına göre cellat İbrahim'in yüzü gözlerinin önünden gitmemiştir. Ailesini öldüren cellat onun çocuk belleğinde o kadar derin bir iz bırakmıştır ki yıllar sonra tesadüfen onu görünce hemen tanımış ve yine aynı travmayı yeniden yaşamış, fakat bunları hiç kimseyle paylaşmamıştır. *"Tabii kimseye söylemezdim, içimde kalırdı. Hiç sırdaşım yoktu. Ben kimseye güvenip de sırlarımı söylemezdim"*³². Lâkin, Mariam'ın sırrını koruyabilmesinde bulunduğu çevresinin de rolü vardı, çünkü o ortamda Ermeniler hiç hoş görülmezlerdi. *"Kimseye de derdimi söyleyemem, çünkü söylesem beni hiç ederler. Fatma daha Ermenidir derler"*³³. Hayatının sonunda torunu Yusuf'a bunları anlatırken Fatma nine travmalı anılarını ve onlar-

30 BAĞI Y., Ermeni kızı. Ağçık, İstanbul, 2007, s. 11.

31 A.g.e., s. 13.

32 A.g.e., s. 36.

33 A.g.e.

dan kurtulmak için uygun ortamın olmadığını söyledi. “*Benim en büyük sıkıntım nedir biliyor musun? Yusuf oğlum, bu sırları bir sırdaş bulamadığım için bunca yıl sakladım. Güvendiğim kimse yoktu. Ben de unutmaya çalıştım. Yalnız unutulur bir olay değildi*”³⁴ sözleri bunu yeterince göstermektedir.

Gördükleri ve yaşadıkları dehşetler bu çocukları korkuya yönlendirir ve bu korku onlara hayatları boyunca eşlik eder ve bu açıdan Baskın Oran’ın hazırlamış olduğu ““M. K.” Adlı Çocuğun Tehcir Anıları” başlıklı kitabın kendisi kanıt niteliğindedir. Bu kitapta Adanalı Manvel Kırkyaşaryan sürgün yolundan geçip, ebeveynlerini kaybettikten, belli bir süre kendisini evlat edinen ailelerin yanında kaldıktan sonra Halep’e varıp kurtulur. Lâkin önemli olan, Sidney’de yaşayıp 90 yaşında olmasına rağmen Manvel Kırkyaşaryan hatıralarını anlatırken asıl ismini söylemekten korkması “*Benim adım M.K.dır*” demesidir.

İslamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlar konusunda elimize ulaşan bir başka ilginç kitap Gülçiçek Günel Tekin’in “Kara kefen” belge-romanıdır. Bu kitapta bir kaç islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlarının hikayeleri yer aldığından dolayı, bunu daha çok bir derleme olarak kabul edebiliriz. Kitabın “İslamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınların dramı” alt başlığı da dikkate değerdir. Kitaptaki birbirine benzeyen hikâyelerden sadece Elazığ’ın Kulvenk köyünden Varter Tumacanyan’ın hikayesine değinmek istiyoruz. Varlıklı bir ailenin çocuğu olan Varter, katliamda Cafer Tan adlı bir Kürt tarafından kaçırılıp ölümden kurtulur ve onunla evlenir. Varter’in tüm ailesi öldürülür. Varter’in hikâyesinde ilginç bir ayrıntı vardır. Bir süre sonra Varter kocasıyla kendi köyüne döner ve tek mirasçısı olarak baba evine, tarlasına, bağına sahip çıkar. Lâkin, köye dönüşün Varter için başka bir anlamı daha vardır, o kendi öz ortamına dönmektedir, bu ise onun için hem eziyet hem de tesellidir, fakat Varter bunu bilinçli olarak tercih etmiştir. Tüm bunlar bir taraftan ona kaybetmiş olduğu ailesini hatırlatmakta, bir yandan da özlemini giderme imkânı vermektedir. Daha sonra Varter bu konuda kızı Şirin’e şunları söyleyecekti: “*Her tarlada, her ağacın altında, her çeşmede, her su yolunda annemin, babamın, kardeşlerimin izi vardı. Her eve girişimde, annemi, babamı, kardeşlerimi hayal ediyordum. Sanki onları görüyor, sanki sesleri kulaklarımı çınlatıyordu*”³⁵. Fakat bir süre sonra köyü terk etmek zorunda kalırlar ve bu, Varter için ikinci bir travma olur. Kitapta, Varter’in diğer islamlaştırılmış kadınlar gibi, kaderdaşlarıyla ilişki içinde olduğu görülmektedir, onları birleştiren ise

34 A.g.e., s. 37.

35 TEKİN G., Kara kefen, İstanbul, 2008, s. 12.

yaşadıkları acılardır. Şirin Tan'a göre annesi, bir diğer islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadın olan Melek'le çok yakın bir dostluk kurmuştu: "*Zaman-zaman sohbetlerinde ağ-larlardı. Niye ağladıklarını bir gün olsun hiç sormadık, hiç sorgulamadık*"³⁶. Varter Tan da bazı hristiyan geleneklerini gizlice sürdürmeye çalışmıştır. Bu gelenekler-den biri ekmek pişirirken üzerine haç yapmaktı, fakat bir gün kocası bunu görünce ona çok kızar ve "*Ermeni kızı, yıllar geçti hâla Ermeniliğinden vazgeçemedin!*"³⁷ di-yerek döver. Onun böyle yalnız, çevresi tarafından anlaşılmamış ve kendi iç dünya-sına kapanmış halde kalmasını yıllar sonra çocukları acıyla hatırlayacaklardır. Onu anlamadıkları, onun dertlerini ve acılarını paylaşmadıkları için bugün vicdan azabı duymaktadırlar. Kızı Şirin, yıllar sonra şöyle söyleyecekti, "*Biz onu hiç anlayama-dık, hiçbir acısına ortak olamadık. Anam hep yalnızdı ve acı çekiyordu. Hiç kimse de onun derdini sormadı*"³⁸. Varter'in, hayatının sonunda çocuklarına ettiği vasiyet de dikkate değer. "*Ben gün görmedim. Günlerim kara oldu. Hep acılar yaşadım. Ya-şamım kara oldu. Ölürsen kefenim kara olsun*"³⁹. Kitabın başlığı olan "Kara kefen" sadece Varter'i değil, kaderdaş birçok islamlaştırılmış Ermeni kadınlarının hayatla-rını sembolize etmektedir.

Sonuç olarak, Türk edebiyatında İslamlaştırılmış Ermeniler konusunun yansı-ması Ermeni soykırımının hem bir ispatı, hem de bir parçasıdır.

KEYWORDS:

Türk edebiyatı, Ermeni konusu, sosyal gerçekçilik, Ermeni soykırımı, Ermenilerin islamlaştırılması, Anı, roman

РЕЗЮМЕ

Официальная политика Турции по опровержению и отрицанию Геноцида армян проявляется в самых разных сферах. Художественная литература также не является исключением. После Геноцида армян турецкая литература, следуя

36 A.g.e., s. 17.

37 A.g.e., s. 19.

38 A.g.e., s. 5.

39 A.g.e., s. 21.

этому принуждению, либо хранила молчание, либо поддерживала политику геноцида. Однако с 1950-х годов некоторые оппозиционные турецкие писатели стали косвенно упоминать массовые убийства и депортации армян в своих произведениях. С середины 2000-х годов, в результате некоторых внешне и внутриполитических изменений в Турции, армянская тематика начинает заметно развиваться в турецкой литературе. Это было связано с публикацией личных воспоминаний жертв трагедии – армянских женщин, переживших Геноцид армян и насильственно исламизированных. Эти мемуарные произведения оживили дискуссии о Геноциде армян в Турции и открыли новые аспекты проблемы: похищение и насильственная исламизация армянских женщин в годы геноцида, что также является одним из неопровержимых доказательств геноцида. Более десятка опубликованных мемуарных романов и рассказов через некоторое время уступили место более мелким произведениям. Однако в последние годы материал потерял свое признание и вышел из литературных процессов.

SUMMARY

The official policy of Turkey to refute and deny the Armenian Genocide manifests itself in a variety of spheres. Fiction is no exception, either. After the Armenian Genocide, Turkish literature, following this compulsion, either remained silent or supported the policy of genocide. However, since the 1950s, some opposition Turkish writers have begun to indirectly mention mass killings and deportations of the Armenians in their works. Since the mid-2000s, as a result of some external and internal political changes in Turkey, the Armenian theme has begun to develop noticeably in Turkish literature. This was due to the publication of personal memoirs of the victims of the tragedy – Armenian women who survived the Armenian Genocide and were forcibly Islamized. These memoirs have revived discussions about the Armenian Genocide in Turkey and opened up new aspects of the issue: the abduction and violent Islamization of Armenian women during the genocide, which is also one of the irrefutable proofs of the genocide. More than a dozen published memoir novels and short stories gave way to smaller works after a while. However, in recent years, the material has lost its recognition and has withdrawn from literary processes.

LITERARY REVIEW



A NEW AND VERY NEEDED PUBLICATION

“During the Patriarchate of Catholicos of all Armenians Garegin II” in 2023, WCC Armenia Round Table Foundation published a new and very needed volume about diaconic work¹. In the annotation on page 2, we read: “The manual was prepared for the purpose of the program “Prevention of discriminatory selection due to the sex of the foetus and/or related harmful practices in the South Caucasus within the project “To support regional, national, and south-south initiatives”. The program is implemented by the United Nations Population Fund in cooperation with the WCC Armenian Round Table Foundation. The project is financed by the European Union and the United Nations Population Fund. The book was prepared with the support of the European Union and the United Nations Population Fund. Its content is the responsibility of the Armenian Round Table Foundation of the Council of Europe, and it does not necessarily express the views of the European Union and the UNFPA.”

The book consists of two parts: part A. “The Biblical aspects of diaconia” (pp. 16–58) and part B. “The modern understanding of diaconia” (pp. 65–113). In a Supplementary part is added the work of one of the graduates of Gevorgyan Theological Seminary Deacon Garegin Hovsepean (1867–1985) (later Catholicos of Great House of Cilicia): “The Church and the Care of the Poor” (pp. 121–189). This part of the book ends with a list of used literary sources (190) which will also be helpful for readers. On page 114 is the “Summary” of the book that is telling the following: “The preparation of the manual “Introduction to Diaconic Work” is based on the need to inform and train students with diaconic knowledge within the programs implemented in Armenia by the WCC Armenian Round Table Charity Foundation.

¹ DR. KAREN NAZARYAN, ARCHIMANDRITE ANDREAS YEZEKYAN, Introduction to Diaconic Work (in Armenian) (ԴՐ. ԿԱՐԷՆ ՆԱԶԱՐԵԱՆ, Տ. ԱՆԴՐԷԱՍ ՎՐԴ. ԵԶԵԿԵԱՆ, *Դիակոնիկ աշխատանքի ներածություն*), Etchmiadzin, 2023, 292 pages; “Two words” by Rev. Fr. Shahe Ananyan Director of the Inter-Church Department of Holy Etchmiadzin, Supervisor of Gevorgyan Theological Seminary. Editor of the book Dr. Lusine Vardanyan.

Diakonia is a theological principle that is closely connected with the mission of the Church. It is a call to action, a response to human deprivation, the fight against modern challenges, injustice, and inequality, and a message to care for creatures, with a particular focus on vulnerable groups, such as women, elders, children, and people with disabilities. Christian diakonia, according to the modern ideas of the WCC, is understood as a manifestation of mercy towards everyone, a service to all humanity... The manual, composed by Rev. Fr. Archimandrite Andreas Yezekyan and Dr. Karen Nazaryan, consists of two main parts as it was mentioned. The first part reflects foster care areas that are viewed in Biblical Light, some social mechanisms to help those in need, the greatest commandment that is the basis of diakonia, the diaconal significance of the parable of the Good Samaritan, the image of the last judgment as a basis for diakonia, some episodes of Jesus' diaconal activity, early Church diakonia and family diakonia. The second part refers to the Diakonia of Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant churches and ecumenical Diakonia. After that, the types of diaconic work, the basics of program work, and the way of developing programs are presented in detail." (p. 115) The authors emphasize: "We believe that this manual will be useful both for the students of Gevorgyan Theological Seminary and for other students studying in the humanitarian direction, as well as for social workers who are engaged in both diaconic and social work." (ibid.) The authors, who are well-known and recognized in the scientific, and spiritual spheres and especially in the Etchmiadzin Congregation from the beginning are mentioning the purpose and problems discussed in the book. They note that the mission of the Church is threefold: the proclamation of the Gospel, worship, pastoral care, and Diakonia. It can also be formulated in this way: the main functions of the Church are preaching, ritual, and service.

On this trinity is constructed the true and real Church. And if any of these constituents is absent or imperfect the life and the scope of function of the Church will be incomplete. The service or diakonia, which is an integral part of the nature and mission of the Church, is the main object of study of the authors. And we can see that both authors: doctor of biological sciences Karen Nazaryan the director of WCC Armenia Round Table Foundation and Father Andreas Vartabed Yezekyan head of the chair of the Historical Theology of Gevorgian Seminary (Theological University) had done their best to research all the circumstances in connection with Diakonia. First of all, are pointed out the problems and perspectives of Diakonia in present-day Armenia. Also are shown the basics and the origins of Diakonia and

some mechanisms for helping those in need. It's mentioned that the commandment to love God and neighbor is a general idea for Diakonia. This commandment and the parable of the Good Samaritan were discussed in connection with the origins of the Diakonic work. Turning to modern reality the authors are writing: "We would like to note that the social diaconal service is especially developed in those dioceses and parishes where hardworking and devout ministers serve. As a rule, they combine active social-philanthropic initiatives and preaching service, which also contributes to the formation of a strong, conjoint, consolidated community."

In addition to clergymen and students, the book will undoubtedly be useful for social workers who take care of the needy, as well as for others who are interested in the humanitarian activities of the Armenian Church.

So let's welcome greatly this initiative of Fr. Andreas Yezekyan and Dr. Karen Nazaryan and wish that the book will reach its worthy reader and will spread abundantly the good and humane ideas in wide circles paving the way for new similar volumes that are very needed today.

GEVORK MELIK-BAGHDASAREAN

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