

The Life and Work of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken Guleserian

Translated and Edited by
Vatche Ghazarian

Mayreni Publishing
Waltham
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Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I Guleserian

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INTRODUCTION

The Life and Work of the Coadjutor Catholicos Papken Guleserian is not only a tribute to one of the outstanding spiritual leaders of the Armenian people in the twentieth century, but also a valuable resource for understanding the structure and creed of the Armenian Church. Containing the biography and writings of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I Guleserian of the Great House of Cilicia, this work spans thirty years of twentieth century history of the Armenian people and their church.

The Life and Work of the Coadjutor Catholicos Papken Guleserian presents Catholicos Papken as a clergyman of selfless devotion to his church, his nation, and his vocation. Catholicos Papken is also revealed as a man of bright intellect and progressive thought, with great commitment to his ideals and unquestionable patriotism.

Some of the opinions presented in this work may seem outdated to the contemporary reader, but when considered within the framework of the early twentieth century and compared with other opinions of the time, they testify to the revolutionary nature of Catholicos Papken's ideas.

This publication is the realization of a suggestion made in 1998 by Catholicos Karekin I of All Armenians, of the blessed memory, to the relatives of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I living in the United States, namely, the Walter and Edward Guleserian and Mary Bergoudian families, that their ancestor's life and work be published in English.

The biographical information in this work and the posthumous testimonies herein were gathered from a memorial book¹ dedicated to the Coadjutor Catholicos and compiled in Armenian through the combined efforts of Vahe Guleserian, a nephew of Catholicos Papken I; Archpriest Papken Maksoudian, a student of the Catholicos; Puzant Yeghiayan, a pro-

1. *Hooshamadyan D. D. Papken I Atoragits Gatoghigosin Medzi Dann Giligio* (A Memorial Book on H. H. Papken I Coadjutor Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia), 1968, Beirut, Lebanon. The inner title page reveals that the publication was dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Catholicos and enjoyed the auspices of the Central Committee of the Aintabtsis in the United States of America.

fessor at the Seminary established by the Catholicos, and Krikor Bogharian, a compatriot of the Catholicos.

Also included in the book are two letters translated from a book of letters exchanged between Catholicoi Sahag II and Papken I.²

The selected writings of the Catholicos compiled in this book were translated from a variety of different sources, each of which is referred to at the beginning of the selection.

Acknowledgment is due to the Very Reverend Father, Dr. Krikor Maksoudian, and to Barbara Ghazarian for their editorial revisions and comments, as well as to Reverend Father Arten Ashjian for his translation of an essay by Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I.

It is the sincere hope of the sponsors and the translator/editor of this work that it serve as a source of information and inspiration for those who are interested in learning about the Armenian nation, its church, and one of its most industrious and prominent servants of the twentieth century.

Vatche Ghazarian, Ph.D.

2. *Tghtagtsootyoon Sahag I yev Papken II Gatoghigosneroo* (Correspondence of Catholicoi Sahag I and Papken II), Archives of the Catholicate of Cilicia, No. 1, 1999, Antelias, Lebanon. There is a mistake in the title. It should read “. . . Sahag II and Papken I.”

GREETINGS

We greet with joy and patriarchal love the reproduction of the “Hooshamadian” which was dedicated, three decades ago, to the living memory of His Holiness Papken I, Coadjutor Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of the renowned clergyman.

Indeed, the reproduction of the book is a new and worthy gesture of gratitude toward the Catholicos of blessed memory. It is also a praiseworthy gift to the sons of our people, particularly the new generation, who, with this book, will acquaint themselves with the path this hardworking clergyman, revered intellectual-haranguer, and graceful pedagogue crossed. Readers will be inspired by the model of a man strong in his faith and exemplary in his courage and dedication, so that they may evaluate the role of the Armenian Apostolic Holy Church in the life of our nation within the context of the fruitful life and work of this noble Armenian and great patriot.

Brought up under the unparalleled spirit and breath of the holy fathers Malachia Ormanian and Yeghishé Tourian, Papken Guleserian helped his great teachers as a representative of the senior graduates of the Seminary of Armash. He relentlessly added to their heritage as a prominent clergyman who also left an everlasting religious, historical, and literary heritage.

This tireless sower of hope, faith, and love remained strong in his vocation throughout his forty years of spiritual life.

Wherever he was sent for service he awakened the community with his bright and broad-minded character, his administrative abilities, and his reformatory tendencies. In these ways he kept the identity alive in the veins, hearts, and souls of Armenians.

It was a blessing that the Armenians, crushed by the Genocide, drained of blood, and deported from their homeland, found in Papken Guleserian an invincible, selfless, and courageous pastor. He was destined to raise the traditional Throne of Cilicia with its rich heritage, simultaneously advocating the unity of the Armenian Church as a law-abiding and faithful son of Holy Etchmiadzin.

We believe that the sublime, proud, and luminous image of Catholicos Papken I, with his eyes focused on the renaissance, the bright future, and the

perpetuity of the Armenian people through his visionary mission, will never fade in the grateful soul of our people.

We extend our blessings to those who have labored to republish the “Hooshamadian” by praying to the Most High, so that He may grant success to their thankful initiative in commemorating the sacred memory of His Holiness Papken I, Coadjutor Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia.

Eternal prayer and a respectful deep bow to the luminous soul of the righteous whom we have as an intercessor before God.

With blessings,

Karekin II
Catholicos of All Armenians

MESSAGE

A man of vision and commitment—this is how I describe the Coadjutor Catholicos Papken Guleserian. His entire life was sustained and guided by a clear vision for the future of the Armenian Church and the Armenian people, and by a firm commitment to all ideals, principles, and aspirations which constitute the identity, the unity, and the enduring existence of our people.

In the first place, His Holiness was a *man of culture* par excellence. He was not an intellectual in the ordinary sense of the word; his deep knowledge of Armenian history, his academic mind, and his scholarly achievements have given to him a unique place among the historians, theologians, and intellectuals of the twentieth century. In fact, he was not just a writer, but a profound thinker; not a simple describer, but a deep analyzer. His books, which touch various spheres and dimensions of the life and witness of the Armenian Church, are eloquent manifestations of his broad knowledge, deep-penetrating mind, and scholarly skills.

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I was a *great administrator*. As Coadjutor to Sahag II Khabayan Catholicos he played a pivotal role in reorganizing the Armenian Catholicate of Cilicia in Antelias, Lebanon, and reactivating its missionary engagement in the life of our people. One may imagine the life of our people after the Armenian Genocide: tremendous difficulties, enormous problems, famine, and diseases. In the midst of these uncertainties, which characterized the life of our people in exile, the Armenian Catholicate of Cilicia played a significant role in meeting the needs of our suffering people under the wise and courageous leadership of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I. In fact, the annals of our contemporary history are full of testimonies which point towards the strong leadership of His Holiness.

The scope of my brief statement does not allow me to say more about a person whose intellectual heritage and theological reflections have played an important role in my own theological education and ministerial formation. I would like, however, to single out three major concerns which dominated his life, reflection, and action:

1) The *reformation* of the Armenian Church remained a major item on the agenda of his life. He not only wrote passionately about this crucial issue,

but he also made constant efforts to materialize his convictions and dreams concerning this timely and burning question.

2) The *renewal* of the Armenian Church acquired an important place in the writings and activities of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I. For him the Armenian Church was not only a spiritual institution, a sanctuary of our spiritual values and theological heritage, but also a source of life, hope, and faith, embracing the totality of the life of our people in all its aspects and manifestations. Hence, the renewal of the church was of vital importance in view of the changing times and realities.

3) The *unity* of the Armenian Church and the Armenian people became the driving force of his whole life and pontifical mission. He strongly believed that the strength of our church and people lay in unity—a unity that brings all segments of our people and the church together under one umbrella, in spite of the nature and scope of our differences.

Reformation, renewal, and unity: I consider these challenges the sacred heritage of His Holiness, a heritage that must be taken with responsibility, courage, and commitment today.

I welcome this initiative of bringing to focus some of the perspectives, insights, and challenges of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I. He will undoubtedly remain one of the visionary and great Catholicoi of the Armenian Church.

Aram I
Catholicos of Cilicia

FOREWORD

Father Papken Guleserian of Aintab entered the scene of Armenian history at a time when our people had begun the process of restructuring themselves into a modern nation. As an Armenian priest and a man of the 1890s, he was convinced that the Armenian Church had a very important role to play in the process of bringing the Armenian people into the twentieth century. He devoted the earlier part of his life to this cause, and after the tragedy of the 1915 genocide, he turned his energies to the task of reviving the Armenian Church and the Armenian people. In this respect, Father Papken must be considered as one of the foremost founding fathers of the post-genocide Armenian Church—the most ancient, the most traditional, and the most grass-roots body in Armenian life today.

In trying to assess Catholicos Guleserian's achievements, I find one trait in him that runs like a straight line throughout his life: his selfless dedication to the Armenian Church and the Armenian people.

What makes him worthy of remembrance is the fact that he exerted all of his energies not for his own personal advancement, glory, and gain, but for his people's spiritual, intellectual, and moral welfare. He lived frugally throughout his life and had very little in his possession at the time of his death in 1936. In the early 1930s, when he became Coadjutor Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia, there was nothing glamorous about the office of Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia. The position of Catholicos entailed serving a deported multitude that had miraculously survived the genocide of 1915.

In our days, particularly in the United States, capitalistic ideology urges people to cherish the importance of self and encourages one to live only for personal gain, advancement, and pleasure. This kind of attitude towards life leads one to entertain a scorn for idealism and virtues such as commitment, dedication, and devotion to the cause of one's people. Catholicos Papken Guleserian and others like him would have found themselves out of place in the contemporary Western world. It is fortunate that humanity is not totally affected by the snares of present Western values, and still holds at high esteem those who are dedicated to idealistic causes. As for a small people, like us, with no professionally trained leadership, we, more than other nations,

needed—and still need—dedicated, far-sighted, and selfless leaders in order to withstand the odds against us and survive. Exemplary leaders of past times must serve as models for our future leaders. Catholicos Papken Guleserian stands out in the annals of our contemporary history as such an exemplary religious and national leader who had, during his lifetime, been an inspiration to those who knew him, worked with him, and studied under his direction. His life and work could serve as a handbook for all those who aspire towards positions of leadership.

From his days as a student at the Armash seminary in the early 1890s, Catholicos Papken Guleserian made a commitment to apply his intelligence, immense drive, and industriousness towards one goal, namely, the service of his people. He excelled in whatever he did, showing a great deal of originality. Throughout his life he was a great pastor and an inspiring preacher, a prolific writer and educator, and the editor of the journal *Loosy*, one of the most progressive religious periodicals in Armenian and still considered to be a repository of valuable information on the Armenian Church. His record as a church administrator—as the Primate of a number of dioceses in the Ottoman Empire and later as the Coadjutor Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia—was impeccable.

Until recently, Catholicos Papken Guleserian was best remembered in religious circles as a great teacher. In the mid- and late 1920s he taught in the Seminary of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem and in 1930 he founded the Seminary of Antelias. His students remembered him as a very inspiring teacher. Among those who studied under his direction were the majority of the high-ranking clergymen of the Armenian Church of the 1950s and 1960s: Abp. Norayr Bogharian of Jerusalem, a renowned scholar born in Aintab; Catholicoi Zareh and Khoren of the Great House of Cilicia; Patriarch Yeghishé of Jerusalem; Patriarch Shnork of Constantinople; several diocesan primates, priests, many well known intellectuals, teachers, community leaders, editors of newspapers, and so on. Although these men are now in their eternal rest, they are remembered as the ones who shaped the Armenian Diaspora over a period of several decades, from the 1930s onward.

Catholicos Guleserian's activities were not limited to the religious sphere. He was truly a community leader. During his stay in America—where he had come for an operation in 1914 and was consequently spared the sure death that awaited him in his diocese, the present-day Ankara—he briefly served as the locum tenens of the Diocese of the Armenian Church of America. It was during that period that he and a few other clergymen and intellectuals founded the Knights of Vartan, which since then has stood at

the side of the Armenian Church. In 1918 he began publishing an interesting and popular weekly journal called *Davros*, which he edited with Armenag Nazar, an Aintabtsi intellectual and the editor of the Boston-based newspaper *Azk*.

In 1927 Patriarch Yeghishé Tourian of Jerusalem and the Executive Council of the Brotherhood of St. James asked Bishop Guleserian to undertake the publication of *Sion*, the official monthly journal of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem that had ceased in the 1870s. During his tenure, the journal became an important scholarly and religious publication. A few years later, soon after Bishop Guleserian had settled down in Antelias, he also founded the journal *Hasg*, the official publication of the Catholicate of the Great House of Cilicia to this day.

This amazing bishop, who never had the opportunity to further his education beyond the six years he spent at the Armash seminary, worked diligently and with unparalleled industriousness. He produced several scholarly tomes and popular works on the Armenian Church and Armenian history, as well as thousands of articles on various topics, scattered in journals and newspapers. Besides several published works, there are still many unpublished manuscripts from his pen. His popular works stand out as an extension of his pastoral mission. Almost all of them are still useful despite the passage of time.

Catholicos Guleserian's scholarly works are indispensable, since they contain original material that is not available from other sources. Among these are two major catalogues of Armenian manuscripts. Many of the manuscripts described in these catalogues were presumably destroyed during the genocide.

In the 1890s Guleserian initiated the first major critical study on Yeghishé, the historian of the Vartanants War. This study had originally been his seminary thesis and is a wonderful example of what Armenian criticism can produce. In listing his other important works, one must mention "The History of the Catholicoi of Cilicia," which was posthumously completed and published by his student Archbishop Norayr Bogharian. One must also count among his serious works a critical essay on how to modernize the Armenian Church, and the recently published correspondence exchanged with the Mekhitarist scholars of Vienna.

Today most of Guleserian's students are already gone. In another decade very few people will be left to remember him from their youth. But scholars will always be grateful to Catholicos Papken for his valuable contributions to Armenian scholarship, and he will always be remembered for his work.

Armenian Church historians will write about him as the clergyman who reestablished the Catholicate of the Great House of Cilicia in Antelias and was instrumental in reviving the Armenian Church in the Near East. The Armenian people will cherish his memory, since he devoted his entire life to educating, enlightening, consoling, and helping his people. His was a life spent only for his people. He served God by serving his flock. It is indeed wise for the community to remember Catholicos Papken in connection with the heroic struggle of our people. His life was indeed a heroic struggle against ignorance, against the Turks, and against all the odds facing a deported nation.

We cannot let time fade the memory of a leader of that caliber.

Very Rev. Fr. Krikor Maksoudian, Ph.D.

His
Life

Excerpts from the diary of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken

How sweet it is to talk with God. But we are not worthy of that intimacy. The annoyances of a harsh life pressure us and distort the reality of visions. . . .

December 13, 1919

You are righteous, O Lord, and there is nothing more worthy than serving my people with righteousness and for righteousness . . . If I am to be helpful in the service of this right cause, enlighten my mind and bless my path. If not, take my soul and let me not be inert and useless in any measure or in any way.

January 1, 1920

This afternoon, I go to Dorchester to perform the Liturgy—the covenant that gave us Your Only Begotten Son. Lord, make me worthy, so that I deliver a Liturgy of heart to myself and of comfort to those Armenians of America who have lost their direction.

Armenian life will slowly diminish in this community, unless a new fury, a new enthusiasm lifts its spirit.

April 4, 1920

THE STAGES THAT SHAPED AN OUTSTANDING CLERGYMAN

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I of the Holy See of Cilicia was born in Aintab, Cilicia, on April 5, 1868, to Avedik Guleserian and Sophig Nazarian. He was named Harutiun by his parents and by his godfather, Fr. Melkon Gemijian.

Avedik Guleserian owned a linen store in Aintab. His first wife died of an epidemic disease, leaving him with their two sons, Hagop and Sarkis. His second wife, Sophig, was a widow with a daughter named Vartouhi. This second marriage resulted in three sons, Nerses, Harutiun (the Catholicos), and Kevork; and one daughter, Mariam.

As a child, Harutiun rarely interacted with his peers. Even at an early age, he preferred the intimacy of his books and the company of the elderly, particularly clergymen, whom he tried to learn from and imitate. One of the first books Harutiun read was a leather-bound manuscript written about the lives of Armenian saints.

One day his father took him to visit Mgrditch Kefsizian Catholicos, who was a friend of the family. The Catholicos asked Harutiun a few questions, then he inquired about his future aspirations.

“I would like to be a Catholicos,” replied the daring teenager.

“Yes, my child, you may be a Catholicos one day, but perhaps not my immediate successor,” said Catholicos Kefsizian.

Although influenced by this visit and his studies, the single most influential factor binding Harutiun to the church and his religion was his mother. Shortly after his mother’s death, he wrote in an article that Sophig was an illiterate woman who could not distinguish *A* from *One*, but that she was a woman who managed the house perfectly, according to her own system of *A* and *One*.

Sophig was a true believer whose basic tenet of faith could be summarized in these familiar words: “In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,” though she would have misspelled them in Armenian, because Turkish was the language she used in everyday life.

Through her piety, kneeling before God and praying, tears in her eyes, for grace for her children, Sophig taught her sons to cherish the Armenian Church, and to value education.



A photo pertinent to the Gronasirats portraying Harutun Guleserian (seated, first from left) and his schoolmates of Vartanian College. It is believed that the photograph was taken in 1889, immediately before Harutun's departure for Armash Seminary.

Sophig's love for her children, however, surpassed her love of the church. It is known that she had voiced her reservations about Harutian's decision to join the ranks of the clergy.

Harutian's Early School Life

The first school Harutian attended was the Upper School located adjacent to the old church in Aintab. Later he went to the Nersessian National School. In addition to the lessons he was taught at school, he learned the crafts of coppersmith, goldsmith, carpenter, and painter in his spare time. However, craftsmanship did not attract him, and later he became a full-time student at Vartanian College, whose principal at the time was Vahan Kurkjian, an intellectual well known for the role he played in educating young Armenian students.

It was Kurkjian who convinced Harutian's father to make the great sacrifices, despite the financial hardship they required, to send Harutian to school and allow him to complete his basic education. During those influential years a new energy was stirring in the community in Aintab. The Armenian community was experiencing a revival of interest in education that coincided with the construction of a new cathedral and the establishment of new educational organizations.

It was as a student at Vartanian College that Harutian first demonstrated considerable ability as a speaker, organizer, and leader.

One of his first achievements was the establishment of the Gronasirats (Religion-Lovers) Association. The goal of the Association was to educate preachers and priests, with the intent of reviving the Armenian Church and, at the same time, resisting the growing influence of Catholicism.

The Association later merged with another organization and together they formed the Yegeghetsasirats (Church-Lovers) Association. In 1912, the Yegeghetsasirats, with the cooperation of Vartanian College, played an instrumental role in establishing the Giligian College of Aintab.

It was at Vartanian College that Harutian made his literary debut. He wrote a piece entitled "Elbise" for the school's biweekly newspaper called *Mentor*, and signed it H.A.G.¹

Twenty years later, in 1906, while reminiscing about his school days at Vartanian and his debut in *Mentor*, the Bishop Papken wrote:

Mentor was a Turkish publication with an Armenian alphabet—an accomplishment realized by our beloved school . . . I was a newly-enrolled student when *Mentor* began

publication . . . Aintab, the city of Cilicia most known for cherishing education, and for having, previously, given life to many schools, a museum and lecture halls, now was offering a semimonthly publication to the community. To edit it in Aintab and to publish it in Constantinople was a daring enterprise; however, publication continued for a full year (January through December 1886), ending with the completion of the first year's collection. For a whole year, *Mentor* spoke to the people using the Turkish language, which they understood, without, of course, neglecting the Armenian language. It presented writings on religious, moral, social, economic, and other subjects, and sometimes also included stories, anecdotes, and translations. . . .

The memory of *Mentor* is dear to me. After all, in its pages are my first published article, my first journalistic attempt.

Oh, I'll never forget it. One day, I was at the principal's residence for a task. Upon the principal's instruction, a teacher was preparing a clean copy of the articles for *Mentor*. I watched the labor with pleasure and awe, imagining journalism in its majesty and holiness. I don't know why, but the principal suggested I write an article, and he gave me a theme—a health-related issue about clothes and their cleaning. I remember preparing a lengthy article. I used my textbooks and whatever I had heard on the subject as my sources . . . I wrote it and gave it to the principal. A few weeks later, it was published in the 16th issue of *Mentor* (August 15, 1886) under the title, HEALTH: CLOTHES, signed H.A.G. (Harutiun A. Guleserian). Believe me, in published form, my article had been totally changed. I cannot recall now how disappointed I was because of the alterations; I know, however, that my lengthy article had been edited down into a concise commandment on health.

Hagop Der Melkonian, who attended the same school, recalls his elder schoolmate Harutiun as someone who had more authority over the students than the teachers did. "He could make many internal arrangements with regard to school life," said Der Melkonian.

His Years of Preparation in Armash

One of the aims of the Religion-Lovers Association was the dispatching of its most adequate members to Jerusalem for the priesthood. As one of the chosen, Harutiun went to Jerusalem in November 1888. The Seminary, however, did not meet his expectations and he soon returned to Aintab.

Then, in the following year, the Armenian newspapers announced the establishment of a new Seminary in Armash under Bishop Malachia Ormanian's supervision. The Religion-Lovers Association arranged for Harutiun to attend there.

At the Seminary of Armash, Harutiun became "the first among the firsts," due to his abilities and his slightly older age. His happiness there increased when Reverend Yeghishé Tourian arrived as deputy principal the following year. During his second year, Harutiun broadened the scope of his knowledge in all fields, especially those related to religion and languages, including Armenian, Turkish, French, and English.

In general, life at the Seminary went smoothly for Harutiun despite his fragile health. He distinguished himself from his fellow students in age, height, and particularly in knowledge and rhetoric abilities. He was always simple and thoughtful in the speeches he delivered at the Seminary.

He was an activist, not only participating in debates and literary groups, but initiating and leading them as well.

His attachment to his hometown and to Cilicia made it easy for him to encourage many students from Aintab to attend the Seminary. He wrote the following verse during his second year at the Seminary in 1890:

*When the blue sky dives into darkness,
And the countless brilliant stars shine,
One here, over my head; another there, in the distance,
The clusters ardently shine in memory of my brothers,
I can never forget them
Cilicia, my pretty country, cradle of
The brave, the saints. . .*

On June 28, 1895, Harutiun, together with six classmates, was ordained a celibate priest and given the name Papken by his principal, Bishop Ormanian. The Bishop had established the custom of renaming his apprentices with Armenian names comprising two syllables. In choosing for Harutiun the name Papken—the name of a Catholicos who had formerly played a most significant role in the autonomy of the Armenian Church—

Bishop Ormanian indicated to the community at large both the spirit of the Seminary and the characteristics that distinguished his young ordainee.

The six other celibate priests ordained at the same time as Papken were: Zaven Der Yeghiayan (later Patriarch of Constantinople); Khosrov Behrigian (later Primate of Kayseri and a victim of the 1915 Armenian Genocide); Mushegh Seropian (later Primate of Adana); Smpad Saadetian (later Primate of Erzurum); Aghan Hamamjian; and Nerses Papazian.

After ordination, these young clergymen spent another year at the Seminary preaching, teaching, and writing.

Papken taught Classical Armenian, and contributed to the newly established religious weekly, *Massis*. *Massis* was published by Ormanian and Tourian, who edited it in Armash and printed it in Constantinople.

In 1896, appeals for priests and preachers from the Armenian provinces within the Ottoman Empire reached the doors of both the Patriarchate and the Seminary. Papken was the first to leave. He went to Constantinople, where he was appointed to serve as a preacher for the Armenians living in Yeni-Keuy.

While in Constantinople, Patriarch Izmirlian resigned and Papken witnessed the election of his beloved teacher, Ormanian, as Patriarch of Constantinople in November 1896.

Patriarch Ormanian selected Papken and five other graduates of the Seminary to work closely with him in order to ensure they obtained the kind of administrative experience he believed they would need in their future endeavors. With the exception of the eldest, Papken, whom he kept as his personal assistant, he commissioned them to preach in the quarters and suburbs of Constantinople.

On September 21, 1897, when it was time for his graduates to assume responsibilities in different Armenian provinces, Patriarch Ormanian elevated them in rank to Dzayrakuyn Vartabed (Supreme Doctor) at the Cathedral of Kum-Kapu, which was the Seat of the Patriarch.

Vicar in Janig (1898–1899)

A year or so later, on September 27, 1898, Fr. Papken left Constantinople for Samson, a city located on the shore of the Black Sea, in the western region of Trabizond. Samson was already a booming location where many Armenians had recently relocated from diverse provinces. The city was considered the door to Armenia Minor, as well as an important commercial link. Since the Diocesan Seat of Trabizond was far from this prospering region, the Patriarchate decided to create a new diocese, with Samson as its center,

known as the Diocese of Janig. It included the cities of Bafra, Unia, Termé, Tcharshamba, and Basta, along with their villages.

As the first Primate of Janig, it was Fr. Papken's duty to organize the diocese in accordance with the rules and regulations of the national constitution. He successfully accomplished the task and became known for his skill in fostering cooperation among the wealthy, intellectual, and patriotic elements of the region's population.

Although the educational movement in the province had achieved satisfactory results prior to his arrival, he improved it further. He also improved the relationship between the Turkish government officials and the local Armenian community, thanks to his excellent knowledge of the Turkish language.

In order to increase religious awareness and strengthen the ties of Hamshentsi Armenians with the Armenian Church, Fr. Papken studied the dialect² of the Hamshentsi Armenians and wrote circulars in that dialect. In addition, he encouraged interested young people to enroll at the Armash Seminary, thus securing new priests for the region in the years to come.

While still in the midst all these activities, he was appointed Abbot General and Vicar of Daron in the province of Mush by the Central Council of the Armenians in Turkey.

Abbot General and Vicar of Daron (1899–1900)

The mountainous region of Mush was totally different from that of the seaside community of Samson.

Although Cilicia had been Fr. Papken's preference, he must have had a certain inclination towards Daron. Daron was home of the old Armenian Mamigonian Dynasty, a subject of his thesis at the Seminary of Armash. Daron overflowed with the living memories of Sahag Catholicos, Mesrob Mashdots and their disciples—all men credited with ushering in the Armenian Golden Age. This Golden Age began in the fifth century with the invention of the Armenian alphabet, the translation of the Holy Bible into Armenian, and the launching of a major literacy campaign for the people of Armenia.

Some sources indicate that Fr. Papken himself may have asked to be moved to Mush in order to examine the location where so many of the heroes of his scholarly study, *An Analytical Study of Yeghishé*, lived and worked.³

During this time Turkish oppression and Kurdish persecutions were at their peak. Amidst these hellish conditions, many Armenians began to adopt

the idea of national liberation through revolutionary means. Given the widespread misery of the Armenians, and the intolerable religious, social, and economic conditions in which they lived, Fr. Papken discovered that the Armenians of Mush required instant attention and drastic administrative arrangements.

Knowing well the challenges awaiting him, Fr. Papken left Samson for Daron with numerous projects in mind. According to Armenian tradition, a mixed crowd of cavaliers and footmen from Mush came forth to greet the new Primate. Fr. Papken entered the city of Mush cheered by daring horse races, spear games, gun shots, and the singing of religious and national songs. During the celebration, however, Fr. Papken's horse took fright and threw him to the ground, resulting in serious injury to his ribs and vertebrae.

After his recovery, one of the first steps he took in Mush was to publish an appeal in the Armenian newspapers of Constantinople directed to those emigrants from Mush now living in Constantinople. In a bold action, he announced his intention to allow the abandoned women of the emigrants to marry again if their mates did not return home, or send money to their families within a deadline set forth in the communiqué.

While the practical result of the appeal remains unknown, it did stir up resentment among the members of the Religious Council in Constantinople against this ambitious clergyman, while securing for him the affection and respect of many residents of Daron and Constantinople. Fr. Papken was henceforth viewed by the latter as a caring Primate.

In Daron he found an opportunity to dedicate himself to the religious and social administration of his people, as well as the chance to study, in depth, the dialect, customs, traditions, and aspirations of the Armenians living in the area.

It is generally believed that Fr. Papken accepted the idea of a potential armed struggle of Armenians against Turkish and Kurdish oppression. He is known to have helped the revolutionaries financially and morally, especially after he personally witnessed the barbaric calamities inflicted upon the Armenian population in the provinces.

In his written reports to the Patriarchate, Fr. Papken summarized the plunders, rapes, kidnappings, bloodshed, and vexation faced by the Armenians, and the indifferent and silent collaboration of government officials with the outlaws aimed at implementing a policy of extermination of Armenians.

In the beginning of 1901, when European newspapers published a report sent by the Diocese of Mush to the Patriarchate concerning Kurdish

persecutions of Armenians, the local authorities of Mush imprisoned Fr. Papken and then transported him to Bitlis, the center of the province. Months later he was relocated to Constantinople, following the appeals of Patriarch Ormanian to the Sublime Porte.

During his short service in Mush, Fr. Papken improved the performance of the schools, where he taught, and of the monastery of St. Garabed, where he established an orphanage and a vocational training school.

Father Papken in Constantinople (1900–1907) and as Abbot of Armash (1907–1909)

After spending some time under the heavy watch of authorities at Pera's Holy Resurrection Church in Taksim, where Patriarch Ormanian's house was located, Fr. Papken moved to St. Gregory the Illuminator Church of Galatia as preacher and supervisor of the library of the church.

The church of Galatia was the oldest among Constantinople's Armenian sanctuaries and was famous for having hosted many prominent Armenian clergymen, such as Mkhitar Sepasdatsi, the founder of the Mekhitarist Congregation of St. Lazar, Italy; Archbishops Khrimian (later Catholicos of All Armenians) and Varjabedian; and Patriarchs Hovhannes Golod and Nalian.

During his tenure at St. Gregory's, Fr. Papken followed Patriarch Hovhannes Golod's lead and made the study of his great predecessor's life the subject of his research, thus composing his work, *Patriarch Hovhannes Golod*. For him, Golod was the Datevatsi⁴ of his century. Influenced by Golod's example, he dedicated himself to reading and writing. A good part of his days were spent in the privacy of his dark and humid room filled with sounds from the stories above and below his quarters.

At the suggestion of some of his compatriots in Aintab, Fr. Papken's first publication at this church⁵ was a pocket-sized book titled *Munajat*—a book of prayer. It was written in Turkish, prepared specifically for those Armenians who spoke only Turkish. The precious little book found great popularity and went into a third publication within a very short time.

Soon after, Fr. Papken published his second book, *The People's Almanac*.

In 1902, in acknowledgment of Fr. Papken's outstanding services, Catholicos Khrimian awarded him the right to bear a cross studded with jewels. He was also awarded the medal of the Third Order of Mejdich of the Ottoman Government.

While the above-mentioned books were prepared in Samson, the following were the result of his laborious studies in Constantinople: *Sermons*,



Left to right, seated, Nerses Guleserian, Bishop Papken, Mariam Guleserian, and Vahe Guleserian; standing, Papken, Gariné, Haygouhi, Drad, and Piuregh (nephews and nieces of Bishop Papken), Aintab, 1913.

Dzovk-Dluk-Hromgla, Patriarch Hovhannes Golod, The Colophon of Krikor Basmajian Patriarch, An Analytical Study of Yeghishé, and The Armenian Church in the Fifth Century.

Another accomplishment was *Loos* (“Light”) *Weekly* which was published for two consecutive years in 1905 and 1906. The weekly played an important role in the religious life of the Armenian community. Many prominent clergymen, including Patriarch Ormanian and Bishop Yeghishé Tourian, were among its regular contributors.

In 1907, Patriarch Ormanian succeeded in sending Fr. Papken to Armash as deputy Abbot and supervisor of the Seminary.

This new position, however, did not last long. Fr. Papken moved to Angora (modern Ankara), shortly after the declaration of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908.

Primate of Angora and Abbot of the Red Monasteries (1909–1913)

In 1909, Fr. Papken was elected Primate of both Angora and Diarbekir. He chose Angora, and moved there to assume his new position that same year.

A year later, Fr. Papken traveled to Etchmiadzin as a delegate for the election of the new Catholicos. Based on an official petition received from the District Council of the Diocese of Angora, Catholicos Madteos II Izmirlian ordained Fr. Papken as Bishop on September 19, together with eight other clergymen, among whom were two of Fr. Papken’s former classmates, Zaven Der Yeghiayan and Smpad Saadetian.

In his new Diocese, Bishop Papken organized the schools and the religious affairs. He established an orphanage, which prepared orphans for the school of St. Garabed in Kayseri, and undertook the cumbersome task of preparing the catalogue of manuscripts in and around the Red Monasteries in Kayseri.

Bishop Papken’s Visit to Aintab (1913–1914)

On September 19, 1912, one of Bishop Papken’s nephews enrolled in Aintab Giligian College, a new college. The school’s official inauguration was planned for the following October, 1913, in order for it to coincide with the 1,500th Anniversary of the invention of the Armenian alphabet and the 400th Anniversary of the printing of the first book in Armenian.

Bishop Papken was invited to preside over the ceremonies. Accepting, he set out for Aintab in September 1913.

Bishop Papken spent five months in Aintab.

While there, he became preoccupied with three major issues: matters

relating to Giligian College, preaching and lecturing, and the treatment of his chronic colic.

In Aintab, Bishop Papken viewed sermons and lectures as inseparable. He did so because the Armenian Church in Aintab was forced to defend itself and its faithful against extrinsic religious influences.

Giligian College greatly benefited from Bishop Papken's presence. Soon 2,630 Ottoman pounds were raised as seed money for a proposed 10,000 pound endowment fund. Then, as a plenipotentiary representative to the Board of Trustees of the college, Bishop Papken traveled to various Armenian communities on a fundraising mission for the college. He went to Kilis in Cilicia, Aleppo and Damascus in Syria, Beirut in Lebanon, Alexandria and Cairo in Egypt, and, finally, Marseilles and Paris in France. While in Paris, the Bishop met with philanthropist Raphael Margosian. Bishop Papken wrote in his memoirs:

I arrived in Paris on June 3 and I went—together with the honorable Fr. Vramshabouh—to visit Margosian in his office on Shosha Street.

He kept us for long that day. He showed us many Armenian manuscripts he had purchased . . . I eventually had the chance to know him better and to befriend him. His feelings were fine and sincere . . . I talked to him about the need to prepare men. I explained to him the projects and the goals of Giligian College of Aintab, and I mentioned to him that a building was about to be constructed, and that there was a financial need for 400 to 500 pounds.

“ . . . Very well, Your Eminence, I'll donate 10,000 francs to the new building; name it the Raphael Margosian Hall. Come back for the check on Friday. As for the 10,000 pounds, I'll think about it.”

Finding it very little, Margosian had his doubts about the feasibility of the project's success with only 10,000 pounds. I gave him a lengthy explanation about the conditions prevailing in Aintab . . . He interrupted me, saying: “Your Eminence, look at me. From the first day, I read on your forehead and in your eyes that you are a MAN. . .”

“Perhaps God sent me to you, that I may guide you to true benevolence, so that you may leave an immortal fame within our nation . . .” I replied.

And that noble Armenian gave. On June 19, he transferred 500 Napoleons to Aintab. He would have donated the 10,000 and perhaps even more, had not the First World War erupted. . .

The Saga of His Manuscripts

When Bishop Papken visited Aintab, he brought with him four cases of books and manuscripts. He left these with his brother, Nerses, prior to leaving for the United States.

When he reached Paris, World War I broke out, and shortly after the Turks began the April 1915 Genocide of the Armenians.

The deportation of the Armenians of Aintab began in July 1915. The deportees deposited their belongings—whether books or other objects—either at the American College or at the Holy Mother of God Armenian Church. Both were considered safe havens.

At the Holy Mother of God Church only Fr. Harutiun Melkonian, the priest, and Hovhannes Titoyan, the archdeacon, remained. They were supposed to prepare a list of vessels and vestments of the church before leaving the city and handing over the church key to Turkish government officials.

The two clergymen suggested that Bishop Papken's cases be placed in a secret shelter behind the altar, where the vessels of the church had also been gathered. Nerses' three sons—Vahe, Drtad, and Papken—stowed the cases behind the altar. They believed it a safer place than the American College.

On August 11, 1915, the authorities granted Nerses permission to remain in Aintab. He was a coppersmith whose services were deemed necessary. Given this, it was decided to bring the cases back.

By the time one of Nerses' sons went to the church to arrange for the move, however, the Turkish authorities had uncovered the secret shelter and made a list of its contents. Three days later, the items were placed up for auction. No Armenian was allowed to participate. The only way to rescue the cases of books and manuscripts was to find access to the church and steal them, but the church was locked and guarded by an old Turk.

Nerses' youngest son, Papken, offered money to the guard. He pleaded to be allowed inside claiming that he needed papers for packaging purposes in his family's grocery store. The old man took the bribe, and the manuscripts were rescued from the auction.

However, the saga of hiding and protecting the manuscripts continued until 1920. The last episode in the saga began with the burial of the documents in April 1920. Soon after, the Battle of Self-Defense broke out in

Aintab. This battle ended almost one year later, on February 8, 1921, when the French abandoned Cilicia to the Turks and departed. Upon the French departure, the manuscripts were dug up and transported to Aleppo. All the while, Nerses and his sons were careful to hide them from the Turkish officers concealing them in the bottom compartment of a specially constructed case.

Bishop Papken's Years in the United States (1914–1922)

After spending seven months in France and England, Bishop Papken arrived in New York on October 22, 1914. Among those who met him at the port was his former principal from Vartanian School, Vahan Kurkjian.

A week after his arrival in the United States, the Bishop underwent an operation to correct his chronic colic. The operation was a success, but a long period of recuperation followed.

In 1917, Bishop Papken moved from New York to California, hoping to complete his recovery. In California, he accepted every opportunity to tour the cities and preach or lecture to the Armenian communities there. While visiting Fresno, he ordained the deacon of the Fresno Armenian Church as priest for the community in Los Angeles.

It was during this period that the primacy of Fr. Arsen Vehouni became subject of controversy, and Bishop Papken was invited to act as a temporary Vicar to aid the smooth transition of diocesan affairs.

From the outset, Bishop Papken voiced his conviction that violations of the Church Constitution resulted in conflict and capricious arrangement within the Church. Since there was a conflict at hand due to serious violations of said constitution, he felt it was his duty to accept the offer of Vicar in an attempt to restore order through the implementation of constitutional provisions. Moreover, he also realized that since he was the only Armenian clergyman in the United States with the rank of Bishop, it was his duty and obligation to prevent further illegalities within the church hierarchy and to show the lesser clergy the correct path.

While addressing the diocesan delegates at the end of his tenure as Vicar, Bishop Papken stressed in his concluding remarks:

Even if the Diocesan Council had not offered me this position, it would have been a duty and obligation for every Bishop to appeal to the Armenian faithful on his own and to put an end to the current situation using whatever measures possible. Because, above the constitution and above



Bishop Papken in the United States.

any regulation to that matter, there is a justice and there is a righteousness that solves every conflict. As is true in civil transactions, it is even more so in religious organizations such as the church.

Since Bishop Papken had encountered some difficulties and resistance during his office, his parting advice to the convening delegates was:

Look upon the Diocese with spirituality and awe, and arrange its administrative tasks accordingly. The office of the Primate, both in the homeland and in the United States, is not a mechanism of merely administrative works and formalities . . .

It would have been laudable honesty as well as the first reformatory step within the Armenian Church of America, had those who do not believe in the spirituality of the Church terminated their involvement in its administrative process.

Once relieved of his duties, in partnership with Armenag N. Nazar, Bishop Papken initiated the weekly publication of *Davros*. The weekly made its first appearance in 1918, and continued its publication until the end of 1919. During the same time, he wrote a new book, *Vartan the Hero*.

In April 1918, a new Diocesan Assembly was convened in Worcester, Massachusetts, under the auspices of Bishop Shahé Kasbarian, the new Primate. Bishop Papken participated as one of thirty-four delegates. The convention reviewed the church constitution for the U.S. dioceses. Its first act was to eliminate the requirement of a two dollar annual fee as an eligibility requirement to vote. Instead, the convention adopted a new method of funding based on voluntary donations. The convention also granted the right of Armenian women to vote and to hold elected office, provided they were twenty-one years of age or more. It also approved the formation of a new Diocese in California, and legitimized church choirs of mixed genders.

Following the Armistice in 1918, Catholicos Kevork V dispatched Bishop Khoren Mouradpégian to the United States to settle the remaining conflicts caused by the former Primate.

Bishop Khoren arrived in New York in May 1920. That July, the Bishop organized a Diocesan Assembly which elected Bishop Dirayr Hovhannesian of Etchmiadzin as the new Primate. Upon Hovhannesian's

departure, the newly elected Central Council invited Bishop Papken to act as Vicar until the arrival of the new Primate from Etchmiadzin. Bishop Papken accepted.

Deeply concerned with the trend of Armenian assimilation in the United States and the inability of the church to face it, on October 8, 1920, Bishop Papken prepared a memorandum for the Catholicos of All Armenians, in which he pointed out the inevitable harm of assimilation and recommended certain remedies.

The following are excerpts from that memorandum.

a) . . . What is perceived to be the Diocese here in America, is an ill-organized entity, which has been subject to the usury of inadequate clergymen since its inception, as well as to partisan passions and interests which often result in fractionation;

b) The allegation that the Armenian Church of America is facing the threat of turning into a Protestant entity is absolutely groundless.

Your Holiness, the truth is that Protestantism has for long ceased attempting “extrinsics” [converts] both in the homeland and here in the Armenian community of the United States, which itself is a Protestant country. . .

The following is relevant in the everyday life of the Armenian community in America: Armenian Protestants are considerably attentive to their church matters, and their preachers and functionaries are generally more prepared than ours. Also, following the example of American churches, the members organize in and around their church social functions, celebrations, picnics and meetings. Even some of the faithful of the Armenian Church—men of prominence and influence, regardless of their denomination—attend these events. I myself have often been invited to such meetings to discuss historical, national, and philosophical matters and issues.

Also, in this country there are national Armenian organizations, such as the Armenian General Benevolent Union, and the Armenian National Union, as well as many smaller educational associations, and several civil bodies and organizations, where representatives of the community

collaborate without denominational prejudice; a fact that strengthens the national bond and bridges the gap between different Armenian segments.

When I arrived in America, one of the first complaints I heard against some church and community leaders was that they were harassing Armenian Protestants for no reason. These complaints were spoken with sorrow.

Your Holiness, I have tried to remedy this wrong and harmful direction. Our nation needs the harmonious collaboration of all its segments. We, as Primates, have collaborated with Armenian Protestant and Catholic personalities in the homeland. In recent years, this collaboration was intensified when we consider the Armenian Catholics' and Protestants' official support of the Patriarch of Constantinople, especially in view of the cooperation of these denominations with regard to the success of the Armenian Cause.

According to the apostolic teaching, I am but one servant among all the worthy servants of the Armenian Church. And I do not know why God protected the life of this servant from the harassment of the Turks and the jaws of a fierce disease, or why He has led me from Ankara to America, especially when so many of my brothers in rank ordained with me have been martyred in service. This is a mystery to me, and I do not know its cause; however, I do know for sure, and I acknowledge, that I have not been able to dedicate my life—which I have always acknowledged to be of divine grace—in a way that may meet my national aspirations. Because I inconceivably love my nation and its church, and since the very beginning I have dedicated all that I possess—pen, word, and work, besides which, I have little else—to my nation and its church through heavy labor, even as I stood in the melting pot of this New World, where a considerable segment of our nation has been relocated from Historical Armenia.

And amidst all the calamities due to migration, I, as a bishop and member of the brotherhood of the Holy See of Etchmiadzin, have carried on, and still carry on, my obligations to the best of my ability. I strive continuously to preserve the soul and the character of my Armenian



Bishop Papken in Niagara Falls in 1915, after his surgical operation.

Church, and to maintain our sacred national traditions. But I have to admit that neither my efforts, nor others' may suffice to prevent the phenomenon influencing not only the Armenian community, but all the different, multilingual, multiethnic communities that are rushing to the shores of the Atlantic like a huge, crushing river.

America accepts these communities and allows them to settle on one condition—the Americanization of the settlers. The American government has attractive and subtle means and methods to turn its immigrants into Americans. America acts within its right, of course, and it exerts this right with a mighty, methodical, and gradually improving organization.

The basic principles of Americanization are: to learn the English language, become a citizen, and therefore adopt and cultivate American thought and ideas; in a word, America turns each settler into an American in mind, in soul, in tongue, and in habit.

America does not interfere with the religion and the ecclesiastical organization of its new settlers. In that way, the country treats newcomers like its founding citizens. Every individual is free in his or her religious convictions.

There is, however, one significant aspect to this freedom—the overall religious character of this country is Protestant; that is, liberal. This fact is stressed day-by-day with regard to meetings and issues of ecclesiastical and religious nature. And the significance of this phenomenon can also be viewed with regard to the Roman Catholic Church. In number and organizational might Catholics surmount all the Protestant churches combined, but even this power has not been able to give this country a Catholic character.

Now, the problem is the following: What can be or should be the position of the Armenian Church in this Protestant, liberal America?

Your Holiness, during my past six years here, I have had the chance, and have considered it my duty, to personally get involved and study both the conditions of our Armenian community nationwide—in terms of occupation, family, religion, and Americanization—and the

American religious and educational life. I have come to conclusions that require official consideration by the highest religious authorities of the Armenian Church.

. . . The history of the Armenian communities of Poland, Romania, and India indicate that Armenians maintain their national identity and exist as Armenians as long as they keep their national church, their national tongue, and their national traditions. Poland is particularly interesting in this regard, for when the Armenian Church became catholicized, the Armenian community disintegrated quickly. The Armenians rapidly assimilated with the native people.

Now, in America, the organization of the Armenian Church will essentially support the perpetuation of the Armenian identity within the parameters offered by this country. Those conditions are:

- 1- The establishment of churches in all Armenian communities with no exception, including both buildings and staff.

- 2- The preparation of servants of the Armenian Church in American schools.

The Armenian clergyman in America should receive an American education in order to acquire the tools necessary to make the Armenian Church vivacious, interesting, and attractive for the young American Armenian generations. They need also to learn how to represent and position the Armenian Church among the multitude of churches here in America that is in alignment with a manner appropriate to the old and glorious position of our church.

Most of the young American Armenians born on these shores barely speak Armenian. These young Armenians are American in the way they think, feel, and live. To maintain this generation as Armenian, an attachment to the national church is necessary. They must understand it; and in order for them to understand, they need to hear sermons in the English language.

Your Holiness, please do not be surprised. My suggestions constitute inevitable and immediate needs within the

Armenian community of America that are totally independent of our will. We can find examples from the past among Armenians who began using foreign languages. For example, in the churches of Western Armenia sermons were delivered in Turkish when the faithful were Turkophone. In Ankara, Armenians were Turkophones and I was obliged to give the sermon in Turkish. Sermons have been given in Arabic and Kurdish for Arabophone and Kurdophone Armenians respectively. If I am not mistaken, similarly, among Eastern Armenians, sermons were conducted in Georgian and Russian.

This is a phenomenon rising directly from the circumstances of environment. And these circumstances strongly influence the Armenian community of America. Therefore, our civil and religious leadership cannot remain in a state of indifference or dissatisfaction towards these environmental factors.

3- Performance of divine services and the rituals of the Armenian Church should be officially adapted to the spiritual and economic conditions of the Armenians in America. I say officially, that the services, rituals, liturgy, and celebrations of the Armenian Church have already been unofficially adapted in one way or another, out of necessity, to meet local conditions and needs.

I highlight the following in particular to give Your Holiness an idea about the current state of affairs.

a) Nowhere in America is the traditional divine service of the Armenian Church performed and if performed, it is not performed in accordance with the tradition of our predecessors. The service and the sacrament are commonly performed only on Sunday mornings and only in such places where the community has its own church facility. In communities that have no church of their own, a liturgy or a simple service is performed on Sunday afternoon, usually in an Episcopal church. . . .

The majority of Armenians in America are deprived of spiritual comfort, primarily because they are widely dispersed—even when living together in a given city—and because few communities have churches of their own, and

there are not enough clergymen. In other words, there is little organization.

b) Matrimonial services are routinely performed in halls or homes; rarely are they performed in churches. And since the canon is too long, each clergyman abridges it on his own, according to the circumstances and conditions.

The same occurs for christenings and funerals. Therefore, disorder prevails in the Armenian Church of America. This disorder weighs heavier and heavier on our church. It endangers its vitality.

c) The Armenian community of America has been forced to abandon the feasts of its National Church, since life here is subject to the economic conditions of this country. Armenians living in America are obliged to recognize the national feasts of America and to attend their businesses or factories on days of Armenian feasts unless an Armenian feast falls on a Sunday.

When January 6 does not fall on a Saturday or Sunday, an absurd situation develops. The Armenians find themselves forced not to celebrate their Christmas. For this reason, they tend to celebrate the Birth of the Savior and the Epiphany on the Sunday which falls closest to the 6th of January.

d) Since the Armenian Church has not yet adopted the New Calendar, it makes the Christmas celebrations for the Armenian Church of America more complicated . . . America, with all of Europe, celebrates Christmas on December 25. The country celebrates the day with enormous preparations and enthusiasm, and the Armenians, especially the younger generation—the American Armenians—join the irresistible stream.

Armenians have also departed from the collective celebration of Easter . . .

In my humble opinion, the Armenian Church should adopt the New Calendar, and become one with the civilized world. This issue . . . should be an immediate one for our church.

We know from history that the calculations with regard to the dates of Easter and Christmas have resulted in

tense controversies and arguments among churches, and as a result, each Church has shaped its own tradition. But we also know that these controversies and arguments have not been the result of accuracies or inaccuracies in calculations, but rather of considerations relative to the authority or supremacy of one Church or See. And since such considerations and issues do not exist any more in the practical life of Churches and in their relations with each other, and no danger threatens us, it would be worthwhile for the Armenian Church to accept the New Calendar, and to accept the calculations of the Christian world in deciding the dates for Easter and Christmas. By doing so, a harmony among the religious and social lives of the Armenian people and the peoples of the civilized world will be created.

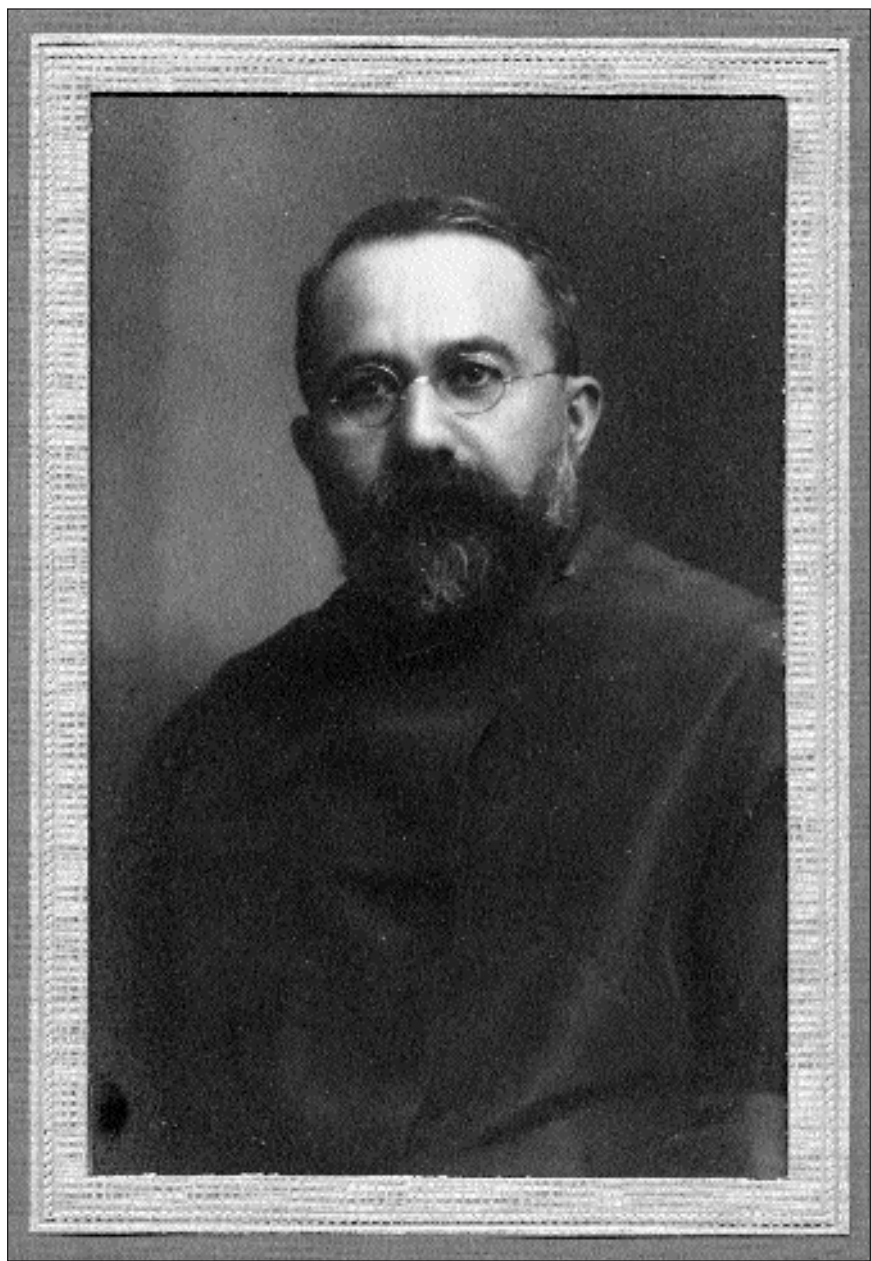
In case such a move is considered to be difficult or impossible at this moment, at least let it be easy and permissible for the Armenian communities of America and Europe.

4- A new system of primacy or administration needs to be considered for the Armenian Church of America, and it should be given vast authority . . . The Armenian community needs to govern the church according to the requirements of this country and its needs. . . .

5- It could be argued that the above-mentioned considerations and recommendations are irrelevant for the Armenians of America, because the community is in influx and many Armenians here still plan on returning to their homeland in the future.

Nevertheless, the fact is that America has been and will continue to be a refuge for the sons of our nation as a place to work and build income, as it is for all nations and peoples. While it is certain that many Armenians will return to the homeland, many others will come to the United States. A commercial traffic has already begun, and currently those who come to the States outnumber those who return to the homeland.

The generations born and raised here, which represent the real numbers of American Armenians, will most certainly remain here.



Bishop Papken as Locum Tenens, 1917.

Finally, no matter what is said about the future of the Armenians in America, the Armenian Church will continue to exist on these shores and in order for the church to justify itself in this country and among the greater community of churches, it needs to be organized according to the requirements of this land.

. . . American churches each have their own Sunday School used to prepare and cultivate the future constituency of those given churches. Since the schools in America are public and religion is not taught, it is through Sunday Schools that religious education is offered to the young generation.

In addition, the influence of American churches penetrates deep into the social classes of this country. It can be said that the constituency of each church, whether young or old, male or female, have committed themselves to serving their church in their capacities, both as individuals and groups.

The Armenian Church of America exists within this environment, and it should be organized according to the methods of the environment in order to survive and secure its stature, deservedly, next to American churches. Otherwise, our church is destined to demolition and death, thus paving the path for the assimilation and estrangement of the Armenian community.⁶

Some of Bishop Papken's accomplishments in America were:

- a) Together with Vahan Kurkjian and other friends, he established the brotherhood of the Knights of Vartan.
- b) With Fr. Shahé Kasbarian, Vahan Kurkjian, and with the support of the Armenian General Benevolent Union, he laid the initial groundwork for the establishment of a high school in the Middle East.
- c) He arranged, with the Episcopal Church of America, to send Fr. Bridgeman as an instructor to the Armenian Seminary in Jerusalem.
- d) He negotiated an agreement with an American Theological institution to accept and educate competent young Armenians desiring to serve the Armenian Church, on the condition that the institution design a special Armenian language course for the candidates. Despite the fact that Bishop Papken succeeded in securing funds to

pay the tuition for the first students, no candidates were found.

- e) He prepared the by-laws for his compatriots, The Union of American Aintabtsis.

In mid-1922, Bishop Papken visited Europe, Syria⁷, Lebanon, and Jerusalem. The miserable condition of the Armenian refugees he saw on his trip deeply influenced him. The Bishop submitted reports to Catholicos Sahag of Cilicia, to Patriarch Tourian of Jerusalem, and to the Armenian National Delegation of Paris, recommending remedies.

In October 1923, Bishop Papken returned to the United States to say good-bye to the community. He had accepted the invitation of Patriarch Tourian, his former teacher in Armash, to assume a five-year position as a lecturer at the Seminary in Jerusalem.

Bishop Papken in Jerusalem (1924–1930)

Bishop Papken arrived in Jerusalem at a time when his former instructor, Archbishop Yeghishé Tourian, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was in dire need of a visionary and a diligent colleague to help him rejuvenate the Armenian community there.

During the six years he spent in Jerusalem, Bishop Papken's primary occupation was teaching the seminarians and editing *Sion*, the monthly publication of the Patriarchate.

At the Seminary, he taught the following subjects: Classical and Modern Armenian, Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, History of the Armenian Church, History of Israel, History of Modern Armenian, History of the Bibliography of the Old Testaments, General History of the Church, Ecclesiastical Canons, and Ecclesiastical Calendars.

Some of his students went on to become Patriarchs. These include Archbishop Diran Nersoyan, Archbishop Yeghishé Derderian, and Archbishop Shnork Kalousdian. Archbishops Sion Manoogian and Serovpé Manoogian later became Primate, and Bishop Norayr Bogharian became a prominent monk of letters.

As for *Sion*, Bishop Papken applied all his editorial experience and intellectual wealth to revive the publication after a silence of fifty years. In January 1927, the first issue of the renewed *Sion* was published.

Moreover, the centuries-old tradition of book publishing of the Patriarchate also received the Bishop's energy. The revival of the press resulted in the publication of the third volume of Malachia Ormanian's *Azkabadoum* in 1927.

Due to the fruitful cooperation between Patriarch Tourian and Bishop Papken, the Seminary, the press, and the monthly publication were reborn, and this renaissance in Jerusalem eventually led to the revitalization of all major Armenian religious institutions from the Holy See of Etchmiadzin to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.



Bishop Papken with five deacons in Jerusalem, 1927.
The deacons are, left to right, Hagop Dervishian (Dirayr Dzayrakuyn Vartabed),
Yeghiazar Derderian (Patriarch Yeghishé Derderian), Simeon Aslanian (Archbishop
Hayrig), Toros Arevian, and Ghazaros Ghazarian (Bishop Asoghig).

PAPKEN GULESERIAN AS COADJUTOR CATHOLICOS

Restorer of the Catholicate of Cilicia (1930–1936)

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken Guleserian spent the next six years in Antelias during the period of the restoration of the Catholicate of Cilicia. However short this period of time spent in Antelias, it marked some of the most fruitful years of service and some of his crowning accomplishments.

Puzant Yeghiayan, the chronologist of the Catholicate of Cilicia, wrote:

A man of bright intellect, daring and courageous, with realistic approach, righteous vision, and the enthusiasm of relentless work and practical entrepreneurship, Catholicos Papken was one of the greatest ecclesiastical personalities of the post-Genocide Armenian Diaspora. A man in the tradition of Malachia Ormanian and Yeghishé Tourian. While Catholicos Sahag II Khabayan spread his oak-like umbrella over the newly-founded Holy See in Antelias, and Archbishop Shahé Kasbarian and other colleagues dedicated themselves selflessly to the reorganization of the Holy See and to the foundation of the Seminary, the Library, the Press, and other establishments, and as many bishops of the Cilician brotherhood tried their best to strengthen the administrative structure of the dioceses, the central figure always remained Catholicos Papken himself. He was the true planner, guider, and regulating architect.

He was not only a great cleric, but also a great intellectual and honorable Armenian; not only a clergyman, but also a man of spirit, “one of the most valuable and present glories of the Armenians, one of the most renowned representatives of the Armenian spiritual hierarchy,” as Patriarch Torkom Koushagian made testimony to the Coadjutor Catholicos in his eulogy. Coadjutor Catholicos Papken was a model, deserving the deep gratitude of not only his contemporaries, but also of those in the generations to come.

It is believed that he was the first person to recognize the central role of the Holy See of Cilicia in the reorganization of the Armenian Diaspora.

His years in the office as Coadjutor Catholicos were years of diligent work, not of glory and joy, despite his fragile health.

The Circumstances Leading to His Appointment as Coadjutor Catholicos

Catholicos Sahag II Khabayan was eighty years old when he chose sixty-year-old Bishop Papken as his “co-adjunct and successor.” The decision was not dictated only by age considerations. It was made in response to the many challenges that faced the church at that time—challenges that required a leader with organizational skills and a broad modern vision.

Indeed, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken rose to the occasion and demonstrated himself as the new leader that the post-Genocide circumstances required.

In the early 1920s, Mustapha Kemal Ataturk’s policies had driven the population of Western Armenia and Cilicia from their ancestral homeland. The people of Armenia were scattered throughout the Middle East.

In 1921, Catholicos Sahag of Cilicia was forced to close the one-thousand-year-old Holy See of Cilicia. He sought refuge in Damascus in December of that same year. Those who survived were little more than a haphazard bunch of scattered refugees. The administrative reorganization of Armenian community life in the Middle East became the prime concern of the church. The refugees had no other unifying establishment but their church.

Thus, in the spring of 1923, Catholicos Sahag II called a meeting of clergymen in Aleppo, Syria. Since the seventeenth century, Aleppo was recognized as the seat for the Catholicos of Cilicia. Soon after the meeting, on May 29, 1923, the Catholicos blessed the Holy Myrrh in Aleppo and appointed vicars to many communities. Upon doing so, he urged the communities to elect national representatives in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Armenian National Constitution. In certain instances when elections failed, he himself appointed such bodies, which unfortunately resulted in discord and splits.

But by March 1924, Colonel Veygand, the French High Commissioner, officially recognized Sahag II as the spiritual leader of the Armenians. This recognition helped turn the spotlight on the Holy See of Cilicia.

Armenian intellectuals from the Middle East, Europe, and the United

States united under Sahag II's leadership. All agreed that the See should play a central role in organizing the wreckage left by the Genocide.

However, these expectations placed the Catholicos in an awkward position. He was old and he lacked an adequate headquarters. The few clergymen who had survived the Genocide were unable to meet the needs of the refugees whose lives were in a state of total disorder.

The desperate situation prompted the Catholicos to write his famous Will, dated February 29, 1928. In it he said:

The hierarchy of the Armenian Church is endangered both in the East and in the West. Today the Armenian Apostolic Holy Church—which, since the day of its establishment, has faced the tempest of fires, swords, exiles and crusades, yet has managed to continue to service the Armenian people to help our nation maintain its unity and identity—is surrounded by dangers, and is in jeopardy.

Today the Catholicate of Cilicia, with its throne crushed—a reality in my grievance I was witness to—and its Cane broken, is as exiled as its scattered faithful, wandering in hospitable foreign lands, and incapable of protecting the people. It has no dioceses, nor headquarters.

What will happen to the Catholicate of Cilicia and its eight centuries of history?

Some have openly said and written that it might be best for the Catholicate of Cilicia to be combined with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. That is an easy but not rational answer to the problem. It would be an appropriate solution if we neglect political considerations, and the reality that today the Armenians of Cilicia are hosted in Jerusalem, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, and beyond.

It was in this historic Will that Sahag II called for the appointment of a Coadjutor Catholicos to assist him in meeting the challenges before them.

The Catholicos received many responses to the Will from clergymen and lay people, intellectuals and writers. All stressed the necessity of maintaining the Catholicate of Cilicia and praised the concept of a Coadjutor Catholicos.

It was not long before eyes turned towards Bishop Papken, who was at the time preoccupied with preparing young clergymen in Jerusalem.



The three architects of the Seminary of Antelias.
Left to right, Catholicos Sahag II, Bishop Shahé Kasbarian, and Coadjutor
Catholicos Papken I.

The entry on May 28, 1928 in Bishop Papken's *Diary* says:

Finally it was clear that the issue concerning the perpetuation of the Catholicate of Cilicia was evolving around me. Without reservation, I said that although the person makes a difference, given our current circumstances, securing the future of the Catholicate comes before all else. Therefore, a committee composed of capable personalities should be formed, in order to study the opinions received in response to the Will and to accordingly prepare a plan agreeable to the majority. Without understanding each other and without having such a plan, it will be impossible to function.

Concerning myself [*Bishop Papken said to the person who had arrived from Beirut, Lebanon, with the mission of ascertaining his openness to such a position*] I can say, without reservation, that I would dedicate myself to the project, provided it be secured prior to anything else. I wish a long and healthy life to Catholicos Sahag. We need him to prepare the plan and work towards its realization. On the other hand, I have a commitment here; I still have at least two years before the class of deacons graduate.

The Catholicos and the Bishop continued to correspond with each other with regard to the proposal. In one of his letters, the Catholicos referred to Bishop Papken as "the Chosen of God."

Bishop Papken discussed the proposal at great length also with Patriarch Tourian.

The Patriarch favored merging the Catholicate of Cilicia with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. However, given the circumstances, the patriarch also said: "I naturally want to help in this matter. Although the best solution may be the merger [of the Catholicate] with this Seat, such a merger is not in demand either by our brethren from inside, or from outside, and since the general tendency is in favor of maintaining the Catholicate, we ought to exert our efforts in that direction."

Encouraged by the initial reaction of certain clergymen, Bishop Papken went to Aleppo to meet with Catholicos Sahag. He told the Catholicos that he would assist him in organizing the Holy See.

Once the promise was given, Bishop Papken proposed the preparatory steps needed before his enthronement. He prepared two sets of by-laws: one

for the organization of the dioceses, and the other relating to the organization of Auxiliary Committees. The Catholicos sent both documents to prominent individuals of Armenian communities for their feedback.

When Bishop Papken returned to Jerusalem in early October, the news of his appointment as Coadjutor Catholicos had preceded him and he was acknowledged warmly.

The official announcement of the appointment, however, was postponed in order to allow Catholicos Sahag to receive the greatest number of responses to his appeals. It was during the Diocesan Assembly held in Aleppo in 1931 that the Catholicos announced the appointment of Bishop Papken as Coadjutor and voiced his joy for the realization of his wish.

In his opening remarks at the assembly the Catholicos said:

I have faced extremely tough and desperate days during my office. Pressured by duties, responsibilities, and age, I appealed to the whole Armenian nation in the communiqué known as “Will.”

Personalities possessing wisdom, experience, administrative skills, and far-sightedness, together with affection towards our nation and church, have encouraged us to keep the Catholicate of Cilicia. They have also advised us to make the choice of our successor and to ordain him, now, in order to prevent future complications.

In 1928, we chose Bishop Papken, Primate of Galatia [as successor]. At the time he was acting as teacher and editor of *Sion* in the Seminary of Jerusalem. Both were established through his efforts and the generosity of Badrig Gulbenkian.

Bishop Papken accepted our choice with one condition—he asked to graduate the students of the Gulbenkian class, a process that will occur within the next two years. In the interim, he has promised his assistance in organizational matters.

The choice I made has been received with appreciation from all Armenians, both in letters directed to us and through the media. . . .

The choice of a Coadjutor and successor Catholicos was a turning point for the Catholicate of Cilicia, directing it towards safer shores.

The Three Years Preceding Anointment (1928–1931)

It may be best to view the accomplishments of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken Guleserian by considering them within two periods:

The first period covers the three years from his election as Coadjutor Catholicos in the summer of 1928, through his anointment in the spring of 1931;

The second covers the five years following his anointment until his death, from April 1931 through July 1936.

Although, in the first period of his appointment, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken acted without being anointed, those three years remain significant. From Jerusalem, and during frequent visits to Syria and Lebanon, he made remarkable achievements through correspondence with Catholicos Sahag.

I- Preparation for the Organization of Dioceses

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken began his new duties by organizing the dioceses—a project and a priority that met with the approval of Catholicos Sahag. Both men agreed that the success of all other projects depended on this particular one.

In conjunction with the above project, the Coadjutor Catholicos wrote to the renowned benefactor Arshag Karagheusian. He asked Karagheusian to help fund the purchase of the buildings of Antelias where the Catholicate was headquartered, and also to help finalize his project entitled “The Diocesan Organization of the Catholicate of Cilicia in Syria.”

Catholicos Sahag approved a copy of the project and ordered it to be sent to Kapriel Noradungian, President of the Armenian National Delegation in Paris. Upon Coadjutor Catholicos Papken’s suggestion, oil magnate Calouste Gulbenkian, and renowned benefactor Garabed Melkonian—through whose generous financial contribution the Melkonian Educational Institute of Nicosia, Cyprus, was established—were also informed and asked to help in the realization of the projects.

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken also prepared the by-laws of the Auxiliary Committee of Organization of the Dioceses of the Catholicate of Cilicia.

On October 3, 1928, Catholicos Sahag and Coadjutor Catholicos Papken invited the members of the Preparatory Committee for a meeting. During that meeting the Coadjutor Catholicos informed those in attendance that the organization of the dioceses of the Catholicate of Cilicia was underway, and that Aleppo, Beirut, Damascus, Laodicea, and Cyprus would

comprise the five dioceses of the See. It was recommended that the Patriarch of Jerusalem transfer properties owned by the Patriarchate and located in Syria and Lebanon to the Catholicate of Cilicia. Since this organizational matter required certain funds, the Catholicate agreed to appeal to Armenians in the Diaspora for their participation in a fundraising drive. The Diocese of Aleppo, the oldest of the dioceses of the Catholicate, accepted its role as the first to raise funds for the Catholicate as a privilege.

To lay the appropriate groundwork and to inform the leaders of the Armenian communities both in Lebanon and France, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken visited Beirut in April 1929, and proceeded to Paris in the summer of the same year. In Paris he met with Kapriel Noradungian. Together they prepared a Memorandum and submitted it to the French authorities who were in control of Syria at that time.

While visiting the mineral waters of Vittel, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken was introduced to M. Ponceau, the High Commissioner of France in Syria and Lebanon. With Ponceau he discussed the possibility of moving the Cilician Holy See to Beirut, and establishing Beirut as an international and religious center.

During the same period, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken met with Calouste Gulbenkian, the oil magnate. Gulbenkian expressed his preference to combine the Catholicate of Cilicia with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Gulbenkian also informed the Patriarch of Jerusalem of his willingness to undertake the cost of building the Tourian Library in Jerusalem as a gesture of his appreciation for the work accomplished by Bishop Papken in Jerusalem. With regard to the financial assistance being sought for the Holy See of Cilicia, the oil tycoon said that he would consider it after seeing tangible results in Antelias.

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken's tour for funds also took him to Brussels, London, and Manchester, where he met with prominent Armenians and solicited pledges in support of the projects of the Catholicate. One of the personalities he met, Nerses Gulbenkian, pledged substantial funds for the Armenians in Syria, once the organization of the diocese was accomplished there. A few years later, Gulbenkian fulfilled his promise by establishing a maternity hospital and a school in Aleppo.

Another benefactor, Dikran Khan Kelegian, who had just purchased a building to be used as a school for Armenian girls in Paris, expressed his readiness to obtain a building in Antelias for the Catholicate. The Coadjutor Catholicos explained to the benefactor that the building mentioned would be donated or sold by the American Near East Relief to the Catholicate for



Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I in his office at the Catholicate of Cilicia.

a symbolic fee. Coadjutor Catholicos Papken suggested that it would be better if Kelegian assisted in the efforts to obtain either a school or church building. The benefactor promised to do so.

On September 20, during his meeting with Badrig Gulbenkian, the Coadjutor Catholicos was shocked to hear that “an encyclical issued from Holy Etchmiadzin instructed all not to encourage Bishop Papken.” Coadjutor Catholicos Papken reacted with disbelief: “We are all sided with the Mother See of Etchmiadzin. The Catholicate of Cilicia is not a new establishment, and its reorganization and strengthening is for the very empowerment of the Mother See.”

Thankfully, a few days later, when the Coadjutor Catholicos met with Bishop Torkom, the Plenipotentiary Delegate of the Catholicos of All Armenians in Europe, Gulbenkian’s information was dismissed.

II- The Transfer of Properties Owned by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken played an instrumental role in the transfer of churches, administrative buildings, and staff under the auspices of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Syria and Lebanon to the Catholicate of Cilicia.

Today, it is generally believed that Catholicos Sahag made a wise decision in maintaining the Catholicate of Cilicia as an independent entity, despite the advice of many prominent Armenians to merge the poor, shelterless Holy See of Cilicia with the well-established See of Jerusalem.

Patriarch Yeghishé Tourian, who personally favored a merger, expressed a positive opinion with regard to maintaining the status of the Catholicate—whether merged or independent. He said: “It is necessary to maintain the Catholicate of Cilicia. When the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin passes away and difficult circumstances rise, we will have the Catholicate of Cilicia, if not for anything else, at least for ordaining bishops, which is significant by itself.”

It was Patriarch Tourian who supported the idea of transferring the properties of the Patriarchate to the Catholicate, once it became organized.

Indeed, upon receipt of Catholicos Sahag’s formal request in March 1929, for transfer of the properties, the brotherhood of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem convened under the presidency of Patriarch Tourian and unanimously voted in favor of transferring the spiritual and administrative rights of the Patriarchate in Syria to the Catholicate of Cilicia—a decision in which Coadjutor Catholicos Papken’s role was most instrumental.⁸

The transferred properties included:

- St. Nishan Church of Beirut, Lebanon, together with an adjacent diocesan building and small school.

- The historic St. Sarkis Church of Damascus, Syria, together with its adjacent diocesan building, the school, and other establishments.
- The church, the diocesan building, and the school located in Laodicea, Syria.

III- The Deed of the Properties of Antelias

In the beginning, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken was reluctant about establishing the Catholicate in the former orphanage of the Near East Relief Foundation. Instead, he advocated establishing the Seat of the Catholicate in Aleppo, Syria, and designating an educational role to the buildings of Antelias.

He continued to nurture this idea even after his visit to Antelias in September 1928, with Catholicos Sahag, to inspect the Near East Relief Foundation orphanage. His conclusion was that: "The properties of Antelias can best serve as a school and orphanage, but not as Catholicate."

Nevertheless, on April 6, 1930, the Catholicate and the Near East Relief Foundation signed an agreement, stipulating that the latter deliver the building of Antelias to the former for five years and seven months against the nominal annual fee of one dollar. Among the signatories, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken was a witness.

In the following four months, the Coadjutor Catholicos completed the relocation of the Catholicate and his preparations for a seminary, then submitted his resignation to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. On August 10 he moved to Antelias to dedicate the rest of his life to the prosperity of the Catholicate of Cilicia.

His first diary entry in Antelias was full of emotion:

. . . I arrived in Antelias at 5:30 p.m. What a horrible desolation. Simon Agha, the gatekeeper welcomed us. We went up the stairs where the residence of the Catholicos is to be. All around us it was bare and bald . . .

We sat on the roof until the moon rose above the mountains of Lebanon.

We find ourselves under unfamiliar stars; the distance between Cilicia and Antelias is immense. The desolation of these buildings will breathe tomorrow with the dreams and visions of the students. The school is the nerve of the Catholicate. The church is its soul. Both will become realities tomorrow in this new and strange place, where the

most significant realities are the mountains of Lebanon that line the eastern horizon with their breath-taking magnificence of green that shade the cedars. To the west, the sea is dominant; it rumbles and pounds the shore like an eternal and monotonous music, as if attempting to break through a natural dam, but “a barrier is placed and it cannot pass it.” Further, in the south-west, the city of Beirut looks like a swollen tongue in the sea—shining at night in lights, burning in the fires of the sun during the day, it is as if it is a city rising out of a huge furnace. Its red roofs reflect human art against the beauty of nature.

Except this silent and silentless eloquence of nature, everything lies in silent desolation around me. Projects, not so distant futures, positive results for our nation, and soul-rejoicing accomplishments dance and change the scenery of the folds of my mind.

A few days later, on August 18, Father Shahé Kasbarian (later Bishop) arrived with the first group of students he had handpicked in Aleppo to study at the new Seminary. Once there, the inauguration of the Seminary became a pre-occupation for both clergymen.

On September 26, Catholicos Sahag permanently moved his residence from Aleppo to Antelias, pleased that the Catholicos finally had a “firm station.” Despite all these developments, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken was not yet fully convinced that Antelias was in fact the final station.

On January 28, 1931, he wrote in his diary:

In their current state, the buildings the Americans gave us are totally inappropriate as Catholicate and school. Whatever we spend will be a waste. They need to be entirely rebuilt; otherwise, we will need to build the Catholicate and its adjacent parts elsewhere.

This hesitance, however, did not hinder him from continuing his diligent efforts to rearrange and furnish the buildings. Under his direction, the carpentry of the former orphanage was transformed into a church which he consecrated as Holy Translators Church. He turned the former tailoring house into the reception hall and adorned it with paintings representing themes from the Kingdom of Cilicia. He also designed four rugs with

Armenian motifs and arranged for them to be woven at H. Tashjian's rug factory in Beirut. In addition, he commissioned a special rug to be woven to represent the Cilician eagle. This rug found its permanent place behind the Throne of the Catholicos. He supervised the building of a secure treasury in the basement of the Catholicos' seat, as well as the remodeling of the seminary, the library, the press, and the kindergarten.⁹

Within one year, the Antelias property had changed so much that when Catholicos Sahag returned from his summer vacation in Cyprus, he exclaimed in joy: "The stable has become a hall!"

IV- Establishment of the Seminary and Sunday Schools

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken established two very important educational institutions during the three years preceding his anointment.

One of the major points in the agreement signed between the Near East Relief Foundation and the Catholicate of Cilicia stipulated the establishment of a seminary to prepare clergymen and teachers. The agreement included an annual allocation of \$7,000 for the seminary, provided that Armenian Americans allocated \$5,000 annually for the same purpose.

The Armenian American Committee for the Cilician College, under the leadership of benefactors Harutiun Gulbenkian and Mihran Karagheusian, issued an appeal for funds in the United States.

At the beginning, it was suggested that the Seminary be named Cilician College, or College of the Catholicate of Cilicia. In the end, however, it became known as the "Seminary of the Armenian Catholicate of Cilicia."

After his arrival to Antelias, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken wrote immediately to Father Shahé Kasbarian, who had gone to Aleppo to recruit students for the Seminary:

Utmost importance should be given to the formation of the first class. In another words, the good appearance, the voice, the brain, the character, the family piety, all these important aspects, should be taken into consideration. And you, of course, should be impartial and prudent in your choice, as we discussed in Jerusalem.

The Seminary of the Armenian Catholicate of Cilicia was inaugurated on October 12, 1930, on the Sunday of the Feast of Holy Translators. From there on, it became a tradition to start the academic year on the Monday following the Feast.

Despite his heavy administrative duties, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken undertook the teaching of Modern and Classical Armenian, and Armenian literature courses.

On March 1, 1931, in appreciation of the Seminary, the French High Commissioner officially recognized the Seminary and announced its decision to allocate 10,000 francs to its annual budget, as well as to subsidize a French language teacher for the school.

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken, who considered the Seminary the “nerve of the Catholicate,” made the following entry in his diary, after evaluating the mid-term exams of the seminarians:

All have brought up both the funny and the serious aspects of their lives and the Seminary. The majority are preoccupied with the state of degeneration among the Armenian people. This majority seems to have made up its mind to find a remedy to this situation by dedicating themselves to the education of the children.

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken played an instrumental role as founder, leader, and protector of the newly established Sunday schools of the Armenian Church. He considered them an extension of the church and the Seminary, and critical to the service of the religious and moral needs of the young generation.

In March 1929, while still in Jerusalem, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken received Reverend George H. Scherer, who had arrived from the United States as a Sunday school activist.

Reverend Scherer informed the Coadjutor Catholicos that as Secretary of the Bible Lands Sunday School Union for Religious Education, which had been founded in 1926 as a branch of the World Sunday School Association, he, with the assistance of Levon Zenian, intended to establish Sunday schools within the Armenian communities.

He gave the Coadjutor Catholicos samples of publications in Arabic and English, and he invited him to attend a convention planned for that April 1929, in Baalbek, Lebanon.

Doubtful of his ability to participate in the convention, the Coadjutor Catholicos said:

Sunday schools should not serve other purposes. They should be a product of pure assistance—an outgrowth of

Christian love to the Christians of the Middle East. They should ease the teaching of the tenets of a Christian education in the languages, traditions, and ways of the church of the attendees. Each Church has to modify the Christian teaching according to its tradition. After all, religion is more than morality. Therefore, Zenian, as a son of the Armenian Church, should organize the Sunday Schools in accordance with the traditions of his national church. With this understanding in mind, you may count on our support.

The Coadjutor Catholicos also stressed the need for the preparation of textbooks containing the history of the Armenian Church, its liturgy, and information pertinent to its unique character, besides those textbooks that spoke in general about Biblical stories and moral issues.

Indeed, at the Baalbek convention, in which Coadjutor Catholicos Papken was able to take part, together with Levon Zenian, a resolution was adopted that established Sunday schools in the countries mentioned in the Holy Bible, and which allowed each church to adopt a core curriculum to fit its unique traditions.

After the convention, Levon Zenian was appointed by Catholicos Sahag as Executive Director to the Sunday schools of the Armenian Church for a period of five years and he was authorized to found a Sunday school in Aleppo.

The concept of Sunday school was not a novelty for the Armenian community of Aleppo. The first Sunday school was initiated there in 1923. In 1927, the Religious Council of the Diocese had already received a formal request from the Aleppo community to revive the early tradition of Christian education within Armenian churches. However, the school established in 1929 by Zenian was the first official one of its kind.

Soon after opposition formed in Aleppo, Beirut, and other cities, claiming that the clergymen who initiated the Sunday school movement were not adhering to the traditions of the Armenian Church and were demonstrating a lack of zeal towards the healthy education of the young generation.

As a reaction to the growing demands of community members to close the Sunday schools, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken wrote an encyclical attributed to Catholicos Sahag, in which he officially stated that the Sunday schools would function under the administrative supervision of the Armenian Church. He went on to say:

We cannot neglect the domestic and foreign traps placed around the Armenian Church. We cannot allow the young Armenian generation to be educated with anti-religious ideas.

We clearly see the tragic state of the Armenian youth. We see the general deprivation of the light of the Gospel and the sanctifying grace of religion. We cannot allow the youth to be educated with feelings of hatred towards their brethren. Finally, we do not want the young generation of Armenians to be raised in ignorance and without religious faith.

We want our sons of the Armenian Church to be the true sons of their families, their nation, and their church.

Therefore, we strongly advise and command that Sunday schools be established in every and each diocese without further hesitation.”

Moreover, the Coadjutor Catholicos invited Levon Zenian to visit him in Jerusalem. Zenian spent the next four months with him, learning Classical Armenian and ecclesiastology.

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken continued his support of the Sunday schools movement and in January 1931, together with Zenian, he edited and completed, the *By-Laws of the Sunday Schools of the Armenian Church*. Soon the number of Sunday schools grew to 55, with a total of 450 teachers and 7,000 students. These schools, as well as those operating in dioceses outside the jurisdiction of the Cilician Catholicate, used textbooks, pictures, and many other religious-pedagogical publications put forth through the efforts of the publication program at Antelias.

The Armenian people owe a great part of the Sunday school program's success to the zeal and entrepreneurial spirit of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken.

V- Anointment as Catholicos, Aleppo, April 26, 1931

The first Complete Council of Bishops of the Catholicate of Cilicia convened in Antelias in April 1931. The Council discussed administrative matters related to the dioceses and unanimously ratified the election of the Coadjutor Catholicos. The Council suggested that his anointment take place on April 26, 1931, immediately after convening the Assembly of Delegates in Aleppo.

As a preliminary step, Catholicos Sahag had previously elevated Bishop Papken's rank to that of Archbishop. The Coadjutor Catholicos himself had also secured the consent of the Director of Security of the French High Commission.

On April 25, 1931, with the approval of thirty-four delegates and the abstinence of the thirty-fifth delegate, Archbishop Papken was officially elected Coadjutor Catholicos. Tearfully joyful Catholicos Sahag exclaimed: "Today I forgot all my pains."

In his acceptance speech the Catholicos-elect stated:

I am undertaking this yoke not for glory and honor, but for a responsibility to which I am fully aware. I have worked up until now, and I will continue to work. My work was interrupted for a time when I was imprisoned in Mush and deported to Constantinople. Now I will work in accordance with two guiding principles. First, according to the commandment of the Savior to love each other, I love our church and the Armenian people. Second, based on the principle of Abraham Lincoln—Of the people, by the people, and for the people."

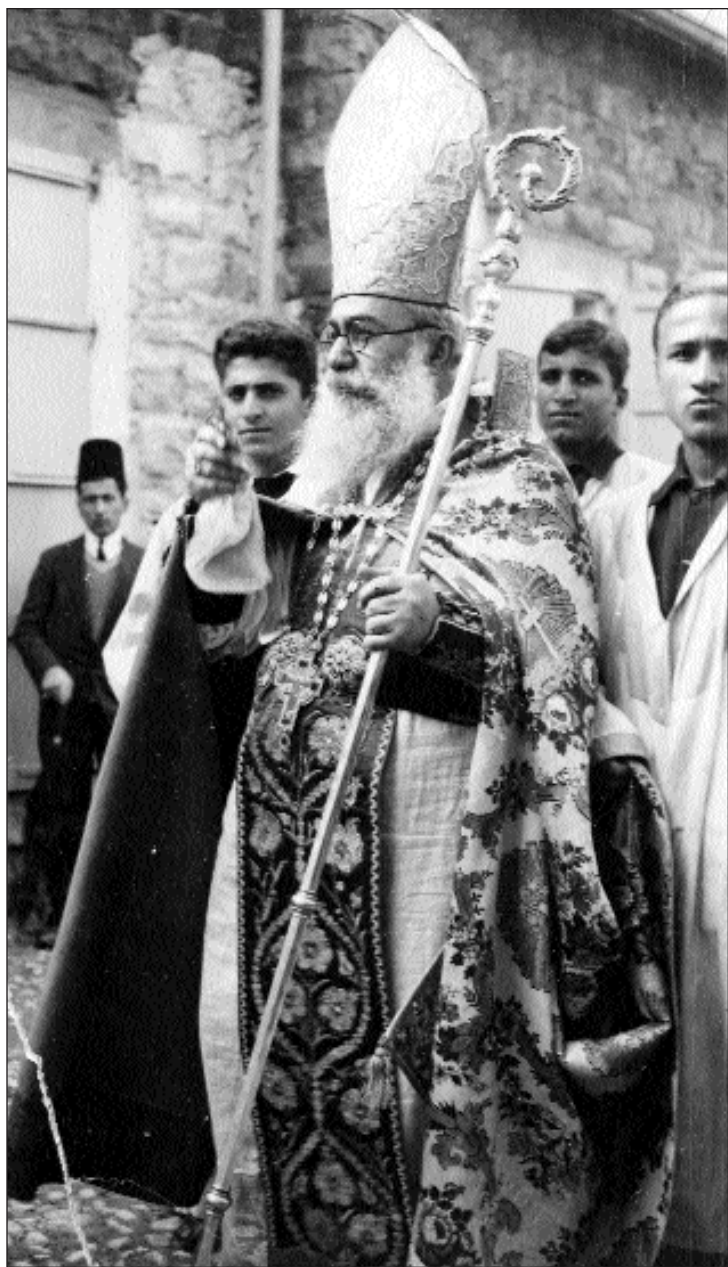
The following day, on Sunday, April 26, the Catholicos-elect was anointed by Catholicos Sahag and the public celebration of his appointment continued for three days.

In his inaugural speech Coadjutor Catholicos Papken said:

The horizon you have targeted for my work is so broad and deep, that I do not dare look at it. I have not made promises in the past, and I will not do so today. I am a worker; and I work selflessly as much as I can, and often with disregard to my health.

You have elected me as your leader; therefore you must allow me to lead. If one of you pulls my right hand and another pulls the left hand, expecting me to do what you say, while others place obstacles in front and behind me, I will not be able to lead. Whether clergyman or lay person, you have a duty to help me in my leadership. Since you have trust in me, you must also trust to be led.

All of you, without political or other prejudice, are the sons of the Armenian Church. You are all equal, and it is



The Coadjutor Catholicos dressed for the Divine Liturgy. To his left, Mesrob Paroyan (later Catholicos Khoren I of the Catholicate of Cilicia). To the right, Krikor Bekerejian (later the editor of *Zartonk* daily).

my obligation to love you all. I have never been a member of any political party, nor am I currently. I belong only to the mother of all—the Armenian Church, towards whom I acknowledge many, heavy obligations. Allow me, then, to fulfill these obligations.

On May 10, following his return to Antelias after the festivities and celebrations, the Coadjutor Catholicos addressed the seminarians:

The eyes of the Armenian people are focused on Antelias. It is you that will justify the hopes placed on Antelias. It is you who will fill the void in the Armenian communities, and offer them new worthy clergymen and superb teachers.

VI- Councils of Bishops and Diocesan Visitations

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken was mainly preoccupied with bringing matters relative to the dioceses under the supervision of the Catholicate in two major ways—through the Council of Bishops and diocesan visitations. By doing so, he envisioned centralizing the decentralized diocesan administrations around the See of the Catholicos.

For Coadjutor Catholicos Papken, frequently held Councils of Bishops were of utmost importance in terms of managing diocesan issues and creating a homogeneity among the dioceses. The authority of the National Assembly of Delegates was limited to the election of the Catholicos and to the setting of guidelines for legislative matters. Therefore, the Council of Bishops was the most appropriate body to define the overall activities of the Catholicate and to secure the success of common projects.

In those days, when the tradition of electing a Central Committee through the General National Assembly had not yet been established, the Council of Bishops represented the body with the most plenipotentiary authority. Bishops were elected as primates in their respective dioceses by the constituency and given the responsibility to raise national-religious or educational-cultural problems of the dioceses to the Catholicate and—through it—to government officials to search out appropriate solutions.

In addition, since most outside authorities viewed ethnic groups primarily as religious communities, it was the religious authorities who were entrusted with the responsibilities of representing their respective communities before the government.

It was Coadjutor Catholicos Papken's intention to convince the High

Commissary that the administration of Armenian communities centered around the Catholicate.

With this goal in mind, he arranged for the Council of Bishops to convene regularly in Antelias around the time of the Feast of the Illuminator.

The Council of Bishops was responsible for discussing spiritual, ecclesiastical, liturgical, educational, family, estate, legal, and other matters. It became the supreme consultative body with regard to formulating the strategies of the Catholicate.

The first Council of Bishops came together immediately following the anointment of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken. The Council had on its agenda the following items:

- 1- To attach to the Diocese of Laodiceae the region extending from Alexandrett, Antioch, and Suedia-Kessab, which had been under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Aleppo, and to restore to the new Diocese its historic designation as “Diocese of Antioch.”
- 2- To attach to the Diocese of Damascus the regions of Hama, Homs, and Selimieh, formerly under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Aleppo.
- 3- To enlarge the Diocese of Aleppo by placing the whole territory of Northern Syria and the region of the Euphrates Valley under its jurisdiction.
- 4- To maintain the five-generations barrier with regard to limiting the right of marriage between relatives.
- 5- To pay special attention to all aspects of religious education in community schools and to encourage the establishment of Sunday schools of the Armenian Church.

The last Council of Bishops attended by the Coadjutor Catholicos Papken convened shortly prior to his death, on March 30, 1936. That Council passed the following decisions:

- 1- Primates should present an annual report concerning the state of affairs in their dioceses.
- 2- A study should be conducted by experts with regard to the new government draft of national minorities.
- 3- The preparation of new by-laws for the brotherhood of Antelias should be presented at the next Council of Bishops.
- 4- The construction of a series of apartments for members of the brotherhood.
- 5- Fundraising within the dioceses, through special committees, for the purpose of purchasing the Antelias property.

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken, throughout his reign, took advantage of every occasion to visit the dioceses in order to better acquaint himself with the situations facing those dioceses functioning under the jurisdiction of the Catholicate of Cilicia. He comforted the people through sermons, met with community representatives, and worked to strengthen the relationships within the communities. He also worked to establish ties with local authorities and the leaders of other religious denominations. Finally, he presided over ceremonies, such as the consecration of St. Gregory the Illuminator Church in Aleppo in late 1933.

His visits proved to be extremely beneficial in terms of reforms within the dioceses during a period that often witnessed much tension in the region.

It is worthy of mention that during a visit to the Diocese of Antioch, and particularly in the villages of Aramon and Ghenemieh, which were inhabited by Arabophone Armenians, the Coadjutor Catholicos realized that not only were those Armenian children attending the newly established Armenian schools, but also that children of Alawi descent were learning the Armenian language and even the Lord's Prayer in Armenian, along with their Armenian classmates.

In his diary he wrote:

The blue eyes, yellow hair, and handsome faces [of the Alawis] grab attention; they are high and thin. There is no question that the blood of the European Crusaders runs in the veins of these Alawis.

The dialect of the Armenians of Ghenemieh and Aramon is almost identical to that of Hamshen and Zeitun Armenians,¹⁰ except it is overcrowded with Arabic words.

In 1934, he visited Cyprus twice. The first visit allowed him to tour the historic sites of the island, to spend some time in the Armenian monastery of St. Magar with its vast properties,¹¹ to examine the manuscripts and archives of the Armenian Diocese in Nicosia, and to gather sources for his book, *Armenian Cyprus*. In addition, he visited the Melkonian Educational Institute often, to meet with the administration, the teachers, and the students. He reported his findings to the Central Board of the Armenian General Benevolent Union under whose auspices the school operated.

His second visit to the island was for the purpose of presiding over the funeral of Garabed Melkonian, benefactor and founder of the Melkonian Educational Institute.

In late 1934, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken visited the communities located in the valley of the Euphrates. It was a trip particularly full of emotion, and that took a toll on his health. He returned to Antelias exhausted and sick with malaria. Altogether, he toured twenty-one Armenian communities, including Deir el Zor, where he made the following entry in his diary:

We saw the desolate fields where the Armenian people perished, driven there from their paternal homes.

Deir el Zor . . . the slaughterhouse of Armenians. A name that brings shivers to Armenians—a shiver that still runs in our nerves like a fever.

And the inhabitants of this city and neighboring cities, who either massacred the Armenians or witnessed their annihilation, believe themselves and tried to convince others, that there were no Armenians left on earth . . . But now they whisper to each other: Who is this visitor who is accepted with so much glory?

. . . Deir el Zor . . . Then the Armenians have not been annihilated; they have their church, their school; their leader; we need to treat them well. Thus were the words I heard spoken between two natives.

The Coadjutor Catholicos also paid visits to dioceses outside the jurisdiction of his Catholicate. During one such visit to Cairo, he met with King Fuad I and Prime Minister Sedki Pasha to address the “pending issue of citizenship” in favor of the Armenians of Egypt. He also met with philanthropists Garabed Melkonian and Janig Chaker. He thanked them personally for their support and asked them for their continuous contributions for the Catholicate.

VII- Financial Security and Wills

Arrangements to secure the budgets for both the Catholicate and the Seminary were a priority for the Coadjutor Catholicos. He made countless appeals to benefactors and institutions. In a letter addressed to Vahan Malezian, Executive Director of the Armenian General Benevolent Union, he stated: “Had my mind been free from the pressures of money, my time and energy would have been spent with more efficiency. . . .”

In this regard, the efforts of Coadjutor Catholicos resulted in both positive and frustrating outcomes.

1- The Melkonian Will

In 1929, while being treated in Paris for colic, the Coadjutor Catholicos appealed to the Central Board of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) to allocate part of the 5,000-Egyptian-pound annual stipend—reserved by the benefactor Garabed Melkonian for himself—to the Catholicate of Cilicia, as was done in the cases of Holy Etchmiadzin and the Patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem. He felt confident that Boghos Nubar, President of the AGBU, could and would personally intercede and convince the benefactor in this regard.

Negotiations lasted a year. Finally, Melkonian consented and the first allocation totaling 1,000 Egyptian pounds arrived in Antelias on the day the of the Seminary's inauguration.

Encouraged, the Coadjutor Catholicos wrote to the Central Board of the AGBU with the suggestion that the benefactor's will be amended to ensure this arrangement in perpetuity. The Central Board replied that their legal advisors found the idea of amendments to or changes in the will a quite complicated issue. However, the Board promised to continue the annual allocation in accordance with the wishes of the benefactor.

The Coadjutor Catholicos, in yet another attempt to ensure the availability of the annual contribution, issued an Encyclical of Blessing to the benefactor Garabed Melkonian, in which he made it clear that in return for his generosity and continued support, the Catholicate would perform an annual requiem mass in memory of the Melkonian family.

Later, when the Coadjutor Catholicos visited the benefactor in Egypt, Melkonian reaffirmed his wish for the aforementioned annual allocation to continue after his death. He also suggested that he would make a special donation to the Catholicate upon his death.

The personal secretary of the benefactor informed the Catholicate that Garabed Melkonian had prepared a new will prior to his death, which was to be delivered to the AGBU Central Board. The secretary confirmed that it was Melkonian's wish that his personal residence and two lots of land go to the Catholicate of Cilicia. However, upon Melkonian's death, all the Coadjutor Catholicos received from the AGBU Central Board was a series of ambiguous letters that continued to arrive until his own death.

2- The Kherian Estate

Madteos Kherian, a trader of cigarettes in Egypt, had provided in his will for the establishment of an Agricultural College in the port of Mersin, in Cilicia. However, before the will could be executed in 1921, after it was abandoned by the French to Turkey, most of the Armenians had left Cilicia.

In 1929, when the Coadjutor Catholicos learned that the Kherian estates were sold for 8,000 British pounds, he appealed to the Kherian heirs. Through the efforts and mediation of Archbishop Torkom Koushagian, Primate of Egypt, the Catholicate of Cilicia finally received a portion of the aforementioned amount. This enabled the Catholicate not only to purchase the old Armenian cemetery of Beirut from the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, but also to initiate the construction of an income-producing building dedicated to Kherian's memory.

3- The Crisis of the Antelias Properties

In a telegram dated February 27, 1934, the Near East Relief Foundation's Headquarters in New York informed the Catholicate that they had decided to discontinue operation in Lebanon and, therefore, would not be extending their agreement with the Catholicate with regard to the properties they owned in Antelias.

This triggered an unexpected crisis. It meant that on June 30, 1935, the Catholicate would lose both its right to operate the properties and the annual allocation of \$7,000 it received from the Foundation.

The Coadjutor Catholicos first approached Baillard Dodge, President of the American University in Beirut and a staunch Armenophile. Dodge had been the major intermediary between the Near East Relief Foundation and the Catholicate in the past. Dodge confirmed the news and added that it was his understanding that the Near East Relief Foundation would offer other buildings to the Catholicate in lieu of the Antelias properties they were about to lose. Coadjutor Catholicos Papken argued that the Catholicate had already spent a lot of money renovating the buildings in Antelias, and that it had become a spiritual center recognized by Armenians worldwide. They concluded that the only solution would be to purchase the properties in question.

Motivated by this conviction, three months before his passing, the Coadjutor Catholicos initiated a national fundraising drive to secure the funds necessary to buy the Antelias buildings. People responded and on October 27, 1937, the purchase of the Antelias property was finalized.

The vision and vigor of the Coadjutor Catholicos, who passed away before seeing this great achievement realized, once again had profoundly shaped and secured the future of the Catholicate of Cilicia in Antelias.

VIII- Official Contacts

The Coadjutor Catholicos paid special attention to the relations of the Catholicate with officials of the government, ecumenical leaders, and lead-

ers of Armenian organizations. He worked tirelessly to secure favorable status for the Armenian communities in the Middle East. His visits with government officials and other church leaders were occasions for him to discuss matters relevant to the Catholicate and the Armenian communities. He often went beyond the accepted limits that ruled diplomatic relations in order to make sure the conditions of the Armenians and his demands were understood clearly. The points he made before the French and local authorities were the following:

1- The Armenians of the Middle East have no political agenda of their own. They are loyal citizens of their respective countries of residence and through hard work they contribute to the economic and cultural development of their host countries; the limit of their contributions was governed by the limits granted them by the state itself.

2- The Catholicate and its dioceses—as the legal representatives of Armenian communities—are preoccupied with spiritual, educational and humanitarian projects. The church, the schools, the orderly functioning of the dioceses, and charity were the objectives of the Catholicate, who requires the trust and support of the authorities in order to function appropriately.

The Coadjutor Catholicos was one of the first proponents of the Armenian Church's participation in the World Council of Churches. He established fruitful contacts with the Maronite, Catholic, and Syrian Patriarchs, as well as with the Moslem Mufti of Lebanon. He cultivated friendly relations with the heads of the Armenian Catholic and Armenian Protestant denominations as well.

With regard to the internal affairs of the Armenian communities, the Coadjutor Catholicos advocated cooperation between the political and other organizations. He suggested they cooperate with the church, which was recognized by local authorities as the official representative of the community.

IX- Etchmiadzin and Antelias

The relationship between the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin and the Catholicate of Cilicia remained warm and within the confine of mutual trust during the reign of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken.

On the occasion of the anointment of the Coadjutor Catholicos, Archbishop Khoren Mouradpegian, Locum Tenens of the Catholicate of All Armenians, telegraphed a congratulatory note from Holy Etchmiadzin in the name of the Supreme Spiritual Council, wishing the Coadjutor Catholicos “a fruitful reign of activity for the benefit of the Armenian Church and nation.”

In return, when Coadjutor Catholicos Papken learned that the election of a new Catholicos of All Armenians would be held in November 1932, in Etchmiadzin, he informed Etchmiadzin in writing of his willingness to participate in the election. However, delays in attaining a Soviet entry visa, combined with the expressed wish of the French High Commissioner for the Catholicos of Cilicia not to visit a Soviet country, prevented him from attending the assembly.

Later, upon receipt of the results of the election, Catholicos Sahag and Coadjutor Catholicos Papken sent a congratulatory telegram to Catholicos Khoren I Mouradpegian, who, in turn, thanked each of them individually. In a letter dated December 30, 1932, the Catholicos of All Armenians said:

The Catholicate of Cilicia and the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Constantinople are destined to play an important role in maintaining Armenians, scattered all over the world, within the womb of the Mother Church, and in the task of supporting the revival and strengthening of the Armenian Church.

My soul rejoices and is strengthened by witnessing that the mentioned Thrones and the Mother Throne are linked to each other with love that will increase during our reign, thus sharing my heavy burden—making it lighter and more pleasant—and allowing me to realize, at least in part, the obligations of my great duty.

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken responded to the letter on January 30, 1933:

I am glad that you seriously understand the need of sharing the administration of the Armenian Church in cooperation with the Sees of Cilicia, Jerusalem, and Constantinople.

You and the Supreme Spiritual Council can count on our cooperation, as well as on our firm love and devotion towards Holy Etchmiadzin.

Catholicos Khoren I included in his first encyclical the following remarks with regard to the Armenians established in Syria and Lebanon, and regarding Catholicos Sahag and Coadjutor Catholicos Papken:

We have learned with pleasure about your immense work and efforts with regard to reviving your Catholicate. You have opened schools and establishments that please God in Antelias and in every city and town, where Armenians have settled and are living under your jurisdiction.

We are extremely glad for your work and success, which I consider to be an extension of my own.

The Coadjutor Catholicos Papken sent copies of the encyclical to be read in the Armenian churches. He also wrote editorials in *Hasg*, the official publication of the Catholicate of Cilicia. In one article written in November 1933, he wrote:

The Armenian church is one. The Armenian Catholicate is one. And the Catholicoi are coadjutors and not representatives of different jurisdictions or authorities with regard to each other. Our priesthood is one, but the priests are many, as the bishopric is one and the bishops are many. Likewise, the Armenian Church has one Catholicate, though today there are two Catholicates.

The Sees cooperate with each other; they are not competitors. And the political and geographical events of our times have undergone such developments, that [the perpetuation of] both Etchmiadzin and Antelias will prove to be worthy through the spirit of cooperation.

The most significant step in terms of establishing closer ties between the two Catholicates was the visit of Archbishop Karekin Hovsepian, Nuncio of the Catholicos of All Armenians (later Catholicos of Cilicia) in December 1935. He traveled to Antelias and participated in the Council of Bishops, where the main topic of discussion was the “issue of relations” between Etchmiadzin and Antelias.

X- Establishments Adjacent to the Catholicate

Although the list of accomplishments of the Coadjutor Catholicos Papken is

quite extensive and ranges among cultural, educational, literary, and philological arenas, special attention should be paid to his efforts resulting in the formation of units that functioned adjacent to the Catholicate of Cilicia, which added to its administrative and national functionality, and helped turn Antelias into a true cultural, educational, and spiritual center.

1- The Press

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken was convinced that publications, in the form of official newsletters, books, liturgical pamphlets, and booklets, were one of the best ways to stay in constant communication with the faithful. It was imperative then for the Catholicate to have its own press. During the very first year the Catholicate relocated to Antelias, he designed space for a press underneath the apartment of Catholicos Sahag. Fonts were brought from Constantinople. The seminarians became the first typesetters and printers.

It was in this small printing house that *Hasg*, the official newsletter of the Catholicate, was initially produced as a four-page pamphlet.

Hasg was to become a viable publication in future years, as Coadjutor Catholicos Papken predicted in his first editorial:

The full stalk is an example of the Kingdom of God. You throw the seed in the cultivated earth, and according to the eternal laws God implanted in nature, the earth reproduces of itself, first the stalk, then the head full of nourishing juice, which transforms into the full grain.

Not every seed flourishes. Not every head is full. There are many empty heads in the fields of grain which stand straight on their stalks, like boastful heads.

Real values are demonstrated through full heads only. The nourishment is in them. It is they that make a person full. But man does not live by bread alone. He has to become full by the full heads of the Word of God, in order to know the taste of the bread he eats.

The Catholicate of Cilicia—the tormented but the hearty cultivator of the “God-planted garden”—threw a grain seed in Lebanon, on the shore of the Mediterranean . . . The grain seed grew and produced the full HEAD (*Hasg*). It is time for the harvest.

Hasg will be a monthly publication, reflecting periodically on the accomplishments of our Catholicate and dio-

ceses, so that our people learn the true news and receive regular information from the source. *Hasg* will also include writings on religious, literary, and other subjects as space is available.

We are full of hope that our beloved people will be interested in *Hasg* and will help this publication grow.

Also published from this small press were the following books, prepared by the Coadjutor Catholicos himself: *Christian*; *The Children's Prayer-book*; *Lessons from the Gospel* (a series of booklets); *Armenian Cyprus*; pocket almanacs, and booklets for the Sunday schools.

Only days before Coadjutor Catholicos Papken's death, this press published his master work, *The History of the Catholicoi of Cilicia*.

2- *The Library* (1932)

"It is impossible to maintain a Catholicate and a Seminary without a library," the Coadjutor Catholicos often argued to Catholicos Sahag, whenever the latter stated that there was no funding for a library.

Despite the objections of Catholicos Sahag, through Fr. Shahé Kasbarian, Dean of the Seminary, and the Union of Knights of Vartan of America, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken arranged for the purchase and transportation of the library of the late Archpriest Hovhannes Megerian from Constantinople to Antelias. The Archpriest, who once served as Patriarchal Vicar, possessed around four thousand books and periodicals. Included in his collection were works of Armenian Classics and the newspapers and periodicals published in Turkey throughout the nineteenth century. Through this acquisition, the Catholicate immediately owned a valuable library.

Later, the library added to its collection primarily through the donations of rich personal libraries such as the collections of Patriarch Zaven Yeghiayan, Moushegh Seropian, Mihrtad Tengerian, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken, and others.

3- *Treasury-Museum*

Underneath the apartment of Catholicos Sahag and next to the press, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken established a secure Treasury-Museum where he deposited sacred objects saved from the Catholicate in Sis. The gold-plated right hand of St. Gregory the Illuminator, the caldron of Holy Myrrh, old candelabras, and chasubles were among the treasures saved.

He dedicated a separate safe to old manuscripts, among which was the renowned silver-plated Gospel of Catholicos Constantin I of Partserpert.

4- Kindergarten-Elementary School

In the autumn of 1931, a kindergarten with twenty-nine pupils and one teacher was established under the supervision of the Seminary. The school was intended to serve the needs of families living in and around Antelias.

The kindergarten soon grew to include an elementary school, initially named the Mesrobian School. The Kindergarten-Elementary School helped train the seminarians. It was considered a pedagogical training field.

5- A Course for Priesthood

The Coadjutor Catholicos established a special course for the education of priests. The curriculum included the history of the Armenian Church, liturgical knowledge, and pastoral theology.

On March 15, 1935, in St. Nishan Church of Beirut, the Coadjutor Catholicos delivered the first lecture to thirteen priests.

The course covered subjects such as:

- The state of the church and the attitude of the public towards it;
- The role of priests in and out of the church;
- The importance of pastoral work among the people, in order to attract them to the church;
- The positive aspects of the enlightenment of the priests and the benefits of their cooperation with each other;
- The exposition of religious, biblical, and theological matters.

The course eventually branched out to the education of married men desiring to be ordained. It was called the Class of Priests.

6- Summer Schools

In 1933, with the approval of Catholicos Sahag, the tradition of Summer Schools was established under the supervision of the Executive Director of the Seminary.

Students from the upper classes of the Seminary organized these Summer Schools in their respective home towns, in order to increase the awareness of Armenian children and teenagers in diverse matters, and to provide them with the opportunity to become handymen in many fields.

7- The Armenian Youth Association

One of the greatest initiatives of the Coadjutor Catholicos was the establishment of the Armenian Youth Association under the auspices of the Catholicate. The move intended to boost the post-school education of young Armenians and increase their cultural awareness.

The Near East Relief Foundation had already founded the League of Orphans of the Middle East, whose membership came from graduates of the

orphanages run by the Foundation. The League had its own periodical, *The Star of Orphandom*.

When the Near East Relief Foundation terminated its operations in the Middle East, it was deemed appropriate to place the League under the auspices of the Catholicate.

On June 1, 1931, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken invited the League's Council members to a meeting. Among those present were Mr. Jessup, Administrator of the League, four officials of the Near East Relief Foundation, Bishops Shahé and Yeghishé, Fr. Boghos Aris of the Armenian Catholics, Rev. Yenovk Geokgeozian of the Armenian Protestants, Dr. Hagop Topjian, Mihran Damadian, and Levon Zenian.

At that meeting, it was decided to change the name of the League to the Armenian Youth Association, and to form two committees: one to revise the by-laws of the League, and the other to research and complete the transfer of the assets of the League to the Catholicate.

The Near East Relief Foundation pledged an annual financial allocation to the Catholicate as a symbolic contribution to the youth organization, and Levon Zenian was appointed Administrator of the Association.

The revised by-laws were ratified by the Coadjutor Catholicos on March 3, 1932, and the new by-laws were presented in French and Arabic to the authorities for approval. Approval was granted in Syria, Lebanon, and the city of Iskenderoun. Soon more than ten chapters were established in Beirut, Aleppo, Damascus, and elsewhere.

The Association was later placed under the directorship of the Armenian General Benevolent Union to function as its youth organization.

XI- His Death

During his first visit to Aleppo, Syria, in 1928, the Coadjutor Catholicos suffered from kidney colic. His health condition made him doubt whether his only remaining kidney would allow him to undertake Catholicos Sahag's offer for Coadjutor Catholicate and endure the burden of such heavy responsibilities.

Upon a medical examination, the Coadjutor Catholicos' physician informed him that the colic was most likely the result of an inner rupture that had been corrected perfectly during his kidney operation in the United States back in 1916. The doctor assured the Coadjutor Catholicos that he would do fine if he paid attention to his diet.

However, when he went back to Jerusalem, he experienced more frequent episodes of colic that lasted for longer durations.

He had no choice but to go to Paris for treatment. The physicians in Paris confirmed the diagnosis made in Aleppo, and recommended he go to the springs of Vittel in France.

The colic, however, persevered, plaguing him with bouts until his death.

The warm and humid weather of Antelias, combined with the tremendous responsibility he had accepted as Coadjutor Catholicos, made his health more fragile.

Although he often felt death approaching, he comforted himself with hard work.

In an entry in his diary on April 19, 1933, he explained:

Yesterday, while Dr. Melkonian examined my chest, his facial expressions worried me. I did not say anything. He finished his examination, then spoke to me, remarking about my artery. I did not want to attach much importance to what he said. However, it seems that I was influenced enough to spend the night without sleep . . . Dr. Melkonian's face suspended before my eyes. It seemed to me that there is something in me that is propelling me towards my death, and that I will die without fulfilling my duty. . . .

But physicians are not the masters of even their own lives. Life has its own rules. I will die, but hopefully after completing my work. Death is inevitable; it is worthless to talk and philosophize about it. We have to work. "As long as there is time, let us work for the good" [Gal. 6–10].

And as long as he was able, he worked for the good of his nation and his church.

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken died peacefully on July 9, 1936.

This is how Vahe N. Guleserian, the nephew of the Coadjutor Catholicos, described his uncle's final hours:

On Wednesday morning (July 8), I went to Antelias with the sunrise. I found His Holiness completely different from what I anticipated. Although in bed, he was joyful, in a very good temperament. He wanted to talk and to listen. He showered me with questions:

– When did you arrive? What has brought you here?
Didn't I write to you that I would visit Aleppo?

I answered his questions.

In the afternoon, Dr. Khayat visited. His Holiness welcomed him with a smile and questioned him about the name of his illness. He could not understand the foreign name that the doctor pronounced and he made him spell it:

– Am I poisoned then? He asked.

According to Dr. Khayat, this was His Holiness' best day. He was talking, joking, and asking questions. Although his tongue movements were slowed, his words were comprehensible. Each physician visit found him improved. Mr. Vahan Malezian, the AGBU General Director, visited His Holiness. They had a short conversation.

Unfortunately, the following day, all hope disappeared. In the morning, a dark spot appeared on his face. He had not slept well the night before. His tongue was slower. He complained of his eyes. Soon we realized that his eyes were fixed to a certain point. He made the sign of cross often; his lips moving. Sometimes he moved both hands, as if lifting the chalice. It seemed to me that he was praying and offering the sacrament. I was the only witness of that prayer, my eyes fixed to his moving arms and lips.

Then he crossed himself repeatedly. The Divine Liturgy was over. He moved his hand right and left on the bed cover, as if he was searching for something with an apparent expression of anger. I approached his bed, took his hand in my hand, and asked him:

– What is it that you want, Your Holiness?

When he heard my voice, he grabbed my hand firmly and a pleasant smile appeared on his face. Spelling the words letter by letter, he whispered:

– Good bye!

He never again spoke.

My uncle died. . .

The death of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken left the aged Catholicos Sahag devastated and alone. The Catholicos wrote:

Grief struck our newly established nest again. A great man, a splendid and active member of our nation has fallen . . . Keep his sacred memory alive throughout your lives . . . our beloved sons.

He was a hard worker and a brave pastor who did not fear the truth. Courageous in work, modest in life, he was an economist, an organizer, and an able teacher. He taught patiently and wrote relentlessly. He always kept himself busy with positive work, building and helping our nation to flourish . . . He strived for the best, but, alas, fell unexpectedly during the struggle for the good, like an apostle.

Let his example be a testament. Let us continue and bring to completion the work he began. . . .

XII- His Funeral

On Saturday, July 11, 1936, at 4:30 p.m., Catholicos Sahag, accompanied by Patriarchs Torkom Koushagian and Zaven Yeghiayan, and diocesan primates, entered the chapel in Antelias to pay their last respects to the beloved Coadjutor Catholicos and to pray for his soul.

Then the chanting graduates of the Seminary who gathered from diverse places, placed the coffin of the Coadjutor Catholicos in a car provided by the municipality. The procession composed of the two Patriarchs, the primates, representatives of national institutions and organizations, members of the municipalities of Antelias and Bourj-Hammoud, and numerous mourners, moved on to Bourj-Hammoud, a suburb of Beirut.

Once there, a crowd surrounded the car. They took the coffin, lifted it up as if it were a sacred relic, and walked towards the church of Nor Marash. It was at Nor Marash that the faithful had the chance to pay their last respects to Coadjutor Catholicos Papken.

On Sunday morning, Archbishop Yeghishé Garoyan offered the Divine Liturgy. Then Patriarch Torkom Koushagian of Jerusalem anointed the forehead and the right hand of the Coadjutor Catholicos, and delivered the eulogy.

Following the service, a new procession, led by a police squad, students, boy scouts, a band, and the representatives of Armenian organizations and clergymen, moved towards St. Nishan Church. The procession passed

through the central square of the city, which was crowded. Members of the Armenian Youth Association were in charge of maintaining order.

On Monday, July 13, a second Divine Liturgy was performed by Bishop Khat Achabashian with the Lebanese President, government officials, dignitaries, and the spiritual leaders of other religious denominations in attendance. Patriarch Torkom Koushagian gave a second eulogy in French.

Finally, the coffin was placed in a special vehicle and taken to Aleppo. Many bishops and clergy accompanied the deceased. On the way, Armenians in many Lebanese and Syrian cities bid the Coadjutor Catholicos farewell.

In Aleppo, the coffin was moved to the Church of Holy Forty Martyrs where the final Divine Liturgy was offered on Wednesday, July 15. Coadjutor Catholicos Papken was buried in the church yard, next to the tombs of Catholicoi Mgrditch Kefsizian (1871–1894), Azaria Tchoughayetsi (1602–1609), and Bedros Gargaretsi (1584–1602).

Later, on September 30, 1966, the remains of the Coadjutor Catholicos were exhumed and placed in Antelias, in a special memorial tomb.

A Eulogy That Says All

As a conclusion to the story of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken's life, it would be appropriate to bring forth the following excerpts from the eulogy read by Patriarch Torkom Koushagian of Jerusalem in Antelias, in 1936:

The See of Cilicia is in mourning; as is the Armenian Holy Church. Our whole nation stands saddened and devastated before this coffin, where rests lifelessly . . . one of our most prominent clergymen. . . .

My memory takes me back forty-seven years, to a time when the late Coadjutor Catholicos, a twenty-two-year-old man, entered the Seminary wearing colorful provincial dress. From that first moment he grabbed our attentions with his determined speech and keen eye. . . .

Nature did not provide him with a strong body. Often jaundiced, he frequently wore the appearance of one suffering internally. . . . His life was a demonstration of the struggle of a weak body against a strong spirit. He considered living his right, because he deeply felt in his consciousness the call to do good work and to render important services. For this reason, whenever called for a duty, or wherever the door of service opened before him . . . he bent

his head voluntarily before the offered burden, and accepted the Yoke of the Savior with love. . . .

A retrospective look at his work, alone, reveals that he lived the life of a true clergyman—of a man who surrendered himself to a noble mission. He did so through his speech and with his pen equally. . . .

Yes, his speech. I point at the fine minister he was. The man of pure religious education and inspiration that graced our church altar . . . His rhetoric was distinguished by its simplicity and warmth. His words were simple, because his thoughts were clear; his expressions warm, because the fire of the faith burned deep in his soul . . . enabling him to plant the grandeur of the mysteries of God, and the sacredness of the works that proceed from the mysteries into human hearts. It is with this spirit that he truly glorified, at quite young age, the altar of the Holy Illuminator in Galatia, where the voices of our best preachers had always been heard. The book of Sermons he published in those days, today remains a sample of inspiring eloquence in our spiritual literature.

Teaching was the second mode of expression he used to spread the works of God . . . The subjects he taught encompassed all of our spiritual, religious, and ecclesiastical literature, and the Holy Scripture. His most significant characteristic as a teacher was his ability to harmoniously combine European knowledge with his deep understanding of our national subjects . . . He never stopped learning and reading. He taught the art of learning—learning the love of God, the spiritual truths, the mysteries of religion, the living faith of the Armenian Church. . . .

To immortalize his work more effectively and permanently, it seems that God gave him the grace of writing. Catholicos Papken assumed a potent presence in our literature as a researching mind, as a courageous editor, and particularly, as an important philologist. How did such a man, who dedicated most of his time to public and administrative duties, find the time to produce so many literary, ecclesiastical, and philological works? To comprehend this, it was imperative to know the man of warm faith and

relentless work that he was. His pen was directed by the spirit of a man who devoted himself to God and to his nation. He was the officer of the Faith and the Homeland . . . He deeply believed—like all his classmates—that God created wonderful works in the past through the hands of our happy and brave ancestors in order to guide our nation towards its destiny. He diligently tried to capture that mystery in his writings; to tell and sing praise for the works of God accomplished in our history.

This ideal was the axis around which his theories revolved . . . It is this idea that shines on every page of the periodicals he masterfully directed and filled. The same can be said, more acutely, about his other works, especially *Yeghishé, The Armenian Church, Dzovk, and The History of the Catholicate of Cilicia*.

The first of the above-mentioned works represented his entry into the world of Armenian literature and philology. It was an analysis of the Armenian-Christian epic using a healthy critical approach and employing clear patriotic spirit. . . .

In *The Armenian Church*—it is not an exaggeration to say it is a philosophy of the history of our spiritual institution—he successfully documented that the heavenly Lord, through the work of men of fine thoughts and clean hands, established this sacred institution on an unshakable foundation, and lit the altar of its sanctity with the light of redeeming example.

And in *Dzovk* and *The History of the Catholicate of Cilicia*, Coadjutor Catholicos Papken affectionately described the unbreakable will of a people. A people who while escaping from political tempests and turbulences and tribulations, did not forget to carry with them the tabernacle of their covenant and their Catholicate—both the centrifugal power of their national and spiritual life so they would be able to gather and vitalize the particles of a destroyed existence around a renewed Catholicate. . . .



Bishop Papken in the United States, 1917.

ANNOTATIONS

1. *Mentor* consisted of sixteen pages folded into eight and was first published in 1886, in Istanbul. His signature later became P.A.G. which indicates any of the following three combinations: Papken Apegha (monk) Guleserian, Papken Coadjutor Catholicos, or Papken Avedik Guleserian.
2. Fr. Papken prepared a concise dictionary of the Hamshentsi dialect and published it in *Piuragn* in 1899.
3. Yeghishé (410/415–470/475) is the chronologist of the Vartanants Battle. It was in that battle that the Armenians defended their right to profess Christianity against the attempts of the Persian rulers to convert them into the Zoroastrian faith.
4. Gregory of Datev or Krikor Datevatsi (1346–1409) is the most renowned and universal doctor of the Armenian Church. Of particular importance is his *Book of Questions*—the *Summa Theologica* of the Armenian Church.
5. Fr. Papken had already authored *Cilicia* in 1896, in Tbilisi, Georgia.
6. This memorandum was received by the Catholicos of All Armenians in August 1921. A letter dated September 1, 1921, addressed to Bishop Dirayr, Primate of the Armenian Church of America, instructed him to hold a forum to discuss Bishop Papken’s memorandum and to report the outcome signed by all of the participants back to His Holiness.
7. Some sources mention that Bishop Papken was offered the primacy of the diocese in Aleppo—an offer he rejected.
8. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem possessed some churches and dormitories in Syria and Lebanon which served the needs of the local communities and of those visiting the Holy Places for pilgrimage. The properties were managed by cleregymen appointed by the Patriarchate and they had jurisdiction over the local Armenian population. During World War I,

when a huge number of Armenian deportees and survivors of the Genocide were relocated to Syria and Lebanon from Cilicia, the Catholicos of the Holy See of Cilicia, in turn, appointed vicars and primates to attend to the spiritual needs of the community. This caused a duality, wherein both appointees of the Patriarchate and the Catholicosate performed almost identical duties and enjoyed almost the same jurisdictions. The decision to transfer the jurisdictions of the Patriarchate to the Catholicosate eliminated these dualities.

9. These buildings were entirely rebuilt in later years. In 1937, the land was purchased with funds donated by Simon and Matild Kayekjian. The St. Gregory the Illuminator Cathedral was started in 1939 and completed in 1941 with sums donated by Sarkis Kenadjian.
10. To escape the persecutions of Arab governors ruling Armenia, at the end of the eighth century some twelve thousand Armenians left their lands in Armenia proper and settled on the southeastern shores of the Black Sea. They were lead by Shabouh and Hamam Amadooni and other princes. The new settlers founded the principality of the Armenians of Hamshen, with Hamshen (Hamamashen) as its capital, named after their leader. In the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Turks occupied the territory and terminated the independent principality. In the seventeenth century, the Turks forced the Hamshentsis and their Greek and Laz neighbors into Islamic conversion. Despite forced conversions and persecutions, and the heavy influence of the Laz population, the Hamshentsis kept the Armenian elements of their culture, represented primarily in their dialect. During the period beginning in the 1860s to 1870s and particularly following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, a great number of Hamshentsis migrated and settled on the Caucasian shores of the Black Sea and elsewhere under Russian control. A second major migration of Hamshentsis from their original settlement toward the Caucasian shores of the Black Sea occurred during the Genocide of 1915 (*Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia*, Vol. 6, Yerevan, 1980, p. 119). According to most recent estimates, there are close to two million Moslem Armenians currently living on the shores of the Black Sea.
11. St. Magar Monastery, also known as Armenian Monastery or Blue Monastery, was constructed around A.D. 560 by the Egyptian Copts and was named after their revered saint, Magarius (Makarius). The

monastery, located in the Kyrenia range, was later possessed and administered by the Armenians until the Turkish occupation of the Northern part of Cyprus. Occupant Turks ruined and plundered the monastery, which in 1998 became the subject of controversy upon the news that occupant Turks intended to turn the property into a hotel.

His  World

THROUGH HIS LETTERS

(Excerpt from a letter dated February 18, 1892 and mailed to Fr. Karekin Bogharian, while the Coadjutor Catholicos was a student at the Seminary of Armash.)

We love to dedicate ourselves to fundamental improvements, to work in the crowd, to plan useful projects, and thus elevate ourselves. My conviction grows stronger that the only way to achieve this kind of elevation is the church, because the Armenian Church is the life of the Armenian nation. The more those who protect life elevate themselves with virtues, the more life becomes nobler and sublime.

(Excerpts from a letter dated December 4, 1924, and mailed from Jerusalem to Fr. Karekin Bogharian.)

. . . The Armenian Church nears disintegration. Few are those who see this horrible reality. Since we believe through our tradition, education, and experience that this church represents a certain value and importance with regard to the cultural education of the Armenian people and also to our nation's political preservation, we ought to do what we can to prevent disintegration and to restructure our church through reform, so that it, once again, is an expression of the life of the Armenian people. . . .

It seems to me that we can prevent this disintegration through people who are prepared. By preparedness I mean, first of all, men of character—good, faithful, and knowledgeable. A handful of such clergymen can radiate their beams of light from St. James, warm the hearts that have become cold and the minds that have become estranged. For such clergymen, the issue of celibate or married life is secondary. They should be absolutely free to choose the lifestyle they prefer—married or not, it should be their decision. Those who have followed my speeches and, in particular, my writings, are aware of how liberal I am in this regard . . . Mistaken are those who think the termination of celibacy within the Armenian Church is one of the conditions of fundamental, or even nominal, reforms. Celibacy and marriage are matters that reform the lifestyles of clergymen, whereas the reform of the Armenian Church remains a more fundamental problem . . . Based on my experience and reasoning, married life does not remedy the potential disadvantages and scandals pertinent to celibacy, particularly if people view marriage as a life-long partnership between husband and wife. In married life there are as many potentials for scandal as there are in celibate life; and there are as many virtuous models and chaste people amongst those who are married as there are among those who are celibate. To me, the issue of understanding married or celibate life correctly is one of education. And we must admit that the lack of this process of education has left our people to our current fate, the sad consequences of which lay before our eyes. . . .

I would like to make clear here that I am a supporter of Apostle Paul's good judgment. I will go even further, and wish as a remedy for such human weaknesses, that the clergy of the Armenian Church marry as do the clergy of the Anglican and Episcopalian Churches. Elevation in spiritual life should be based on merit—merit of character, merit of intellectual preparedness, merit of service and its undeniable results. . . .

1923 July 27, Jerusalem

His Holiness Catholicos Sahag
of Great House of Cilicia
Beirut

Your Holiness,

. . . The organization and protection of the Armenian refugees in Syria and Lebanon is so serious a problem that it has brought me here from America. Look at the historic conditions of the old Armenian colonies and you will see that they assimilated or were lost because those in charge could not see or comprehend the importance of the task before them; instead, they spent time moaning. The Great Powers . . . of the twentieth century have cast our miserable nation into such a position in their game as has had no precedence in our national history, or in the history of world as far as I am aware. We find our people smashed and finished. We are not functioning as a national-political unit any longer. We have been turned into a jumble of fragmented colonies located in Palestine, Syria, and in Middle Eastern and Greek countries. To lose our sanity is nothing for people who think and serve as we do, because we are well aware of the significance of the catastrophe that has happened to our nation. But grief, complaints, and sorrowful excuses are of no use.

In this horrible misery, we ought to do something . . . Especially now that the Great Powers have signed the treaty of their defeat in Lausanne—treading one more time upon the crushed body of the Armenian nation and its inviolable and screaming rights—it seems to me, Your Holiness, that the Armenian Church needs to care for itself in order not to lose the colonies that remain. The Catholicate of All Armenians in Etchmiadzin is crestfallen under the oppression and harassment of the Soviet government . . . The Patriarchate of Constantinople is diminished under the attack of a different Soviet regime, the Milli regime. To a degree the Constitutional Patriarchate of the Armenians of Turkey no longer exists, because Armenians in Turkey no longer exist. It was only natural for the Millies—who erased the Ottoman state by terminating the sultanship, and who destroyed the Greek Universal Patriarchate—not to spare the Armenians. In view of such realities, talk of “Turkish and Armenian . . . Solidarity” in Constantinople is a terrible comedy, simply because the Turks are not sincere. We know they are laughing deep in their hearts at the naiveté of the Armenians of Constantinople. Amongst these bitter developments, the land stretching from the Nile to the

Tigris is under British flag and free from Turkish influence. Many Armenians, both native and refugee, remain on this land. They need to organize in order to face the current challenges. This organization should be purely ecclesiastic and educational, to help those Armenians sustain themselves if at all possible. . . .

Old ways and means are powerless and useless. Our national-ecclesiastic affairs have been turned upside down. In face of such disorder, it is the obligation of the Church to devise new and effective methods of operation and administration. . . .

1929 March 13, Jerusalem

His Holiness Catholicos Sahag
of the Great House of Cilicia
Beirut

(The first part of this letter spoke about the fact that Catholicos Sahag asked Patriarch Yeghishé Turian of Jerusalem to appeal to the Catholicos of All Armenians for the rank of Archbishop for Bishop Papken Guleserian. It also revealed that Bishop Papken asked the Patriarch to refrain from making an appeal to the Catholicos, informing him that in 1927 he had declined a similar offer. The following excerpt furnishes some details of the incident.)

. . . On July 29, 1927, I received a letter from Archbishop Kevork Cheorekjian. It was a spontaneous and brotherly letter, and the first of its kind. In 1910, after my ordination as Bishop, I passed through Southern Russia and Etchmiadzin on my way to Romania. I met Cheorekjian when he was a deacon in New Nakhitchewan. Though I made my acquaintance with him on that occasion, we did not correspond. Cheorekjian . . . closed his [aforementioned] letter with the following words:

“You have been a Bishop for quite a while. All your friends and successors have already been adorned with the rank of Archbishopric, it is time—past time—for you also to be adorned. Do not think that people are not thinking about it here; there are those considering it. Would it be possible for the Honorable Patriarch to intercede in this regard? The matter could then be settled at once.”

. . . I wrote the following in response. . . .

. . . The real issue is that I do not think about it. I was ordained Bishop for the Archbishopric of Ankara, but I have never signed using the title of Archbishop, although it has been the right of my Seat ipso facto . . . Besides, as a bishop, I do not know what services and merits make a person worthy to the honor of Archbishopric . . . Had I known, I would have worked to add a *new* merit to my merits, and to be recognized by the Mother See as Archbishop by right of this *new* merit. I stand short of understanding the value of “Intercession,” especially when a person does not have his own merit and, therefore, the right to such a reward. The Mother See knows of the works and services of *its* bishops, does she not? Why then should there be the need for “intercession” and reminders by others?

. . . I am a servant of the apostles . . . Labor and service have always

been, and are my pleasure . . . Pray for me, so that God helps me in my beneficial services for His Holy Church and for the small flock of His beloved Son.

THROUGH HIS THOUGHTS

Bits of Thoughts

(From the diary of the Coadjutor Catholicos Papken I Guleserian.)

If you are a brave fighter, be also a virtuous one. If you are a brave lover of your nation, be also a lover of the spirit. If you are rich, be also generous. If you are a man of ideals, be also a man of pure deeds. If you are a man of abundant knowledge, open yourself also to the lessons of the Gospel.

* * *

Greatness and supremacy, glory and honor, position and wealth are things that cannot be given, they are taken—they are received as a reward, and as a right for a service.

* * *

It is not death alone that disturbs the valuable expression of life, but also fatal realities—sloth in work, indifference towards duties, unfaithfulness in commitments. All these are moral deaths more catastrophic than the death of the body.

* * *

There is wealth enough in the sons of the Armenian people; there is plenty of intellect; there is astonishing enthusiasm and strength; desires and wishes are limitless in us, our words and pens are like fire. You name it, and there is plenty of it. One ingredient that insures the harmony and positive deployment of all the aforementioned things, however, is missing—justice. Justice corrects the barbarity of greed and selfishness.

* * *

The more the inner life of a people is clean, the easier it is to find strength to endure calamities. The more the social relationship of a people is composed of love and peace, the more life is protected. The more a people earn their living by righteous work and labor, the more invincible and respected by foreigners they become.

* * *

Distances, environments, and local customs can separate Armenians in the Diaspora; however, the Mother Church personifies the inseparable unity of Armenians with its inviolable historic stamp.

* * *

Home . . . The sanctuary of peace, the source of the joys of life, the shelter of sacred family, the chest of honor.

On Pan-National Reconstruction

(From Dr. Vahram Torkomian's album, Paris, France, October, 29, 1924.)

The quantity and quality of our national damages and losses are unspeakable; our people should not forget this.

However, today the Armenian people face the task of reconstruction—reconstruction within the geographical boundaries of the homeland, and throughout the Diaspora. Reconstruction is a task not limited to the government alone, but also to the Armenian people themselves.

Each and every Armenian must labor to rebuild. We need to unite our forces and channel our efforts around the same tasks and around the same goals.

It is time to put an end to presumptuous isolations, petty personal interests and concerns, and the partisan fights that destroy our community life.

Let us expect nothing from foreigners; let us not place hopes in them. Let us wisely benefit from them only when an appropriate chance presents itself.

Every Armenian who has intellect, has vigor, has authority, has pen, has tongue, has money, and finally, who has anything that can help the reconstruction, should dedicate it, as well as dedicating himself. In other words, each Armenian has value and should become an active participant in the task of national reconstruction.

The pillars of the reconstruction are:

- a) the Mother earth; that is, the cradle of the Armenians—Armenia.
- b) the Mother blood; that is, a pure and strong generation—a growing and active nation.
- c) the Mother tongue; that is, the authentic language of the Armenians—that pure, clean, beautiful, and expressive golden language.
- d) the Mother Church; that is, the Armenian lantern of the Gospel's light that has enlightened Armenians throughout the centuries and guided them from the slopes of Arakadz, Ararad, and Davros to the remote Diasporan communities of today.

Reconstruction is not a word, it is work. It is the work that will speak. Since 1915—the history of which we shall never forget—the slogan of the Armenian people should be silent work, and not speech. . . .

To take attention away from reconstruction efforts in any measure or way, is a most terrible betrayal.

A Plan for Reforming the Armenian Church

(This Plan was prepared on August 25, 1910, in response to Patriarch Tourian's circular which asked the primates for reform suggestions.)

The ecclesiastical-ritualistic reform of the Armenian Church should be based on the results of a serious and deliberate study. The basis and the structure of the reform should be formed from the results of a multifaceted, deliberate examination of the history of the Armenian Church and of the demands of the century we live in. With this in mind, I will refrain from presenting external or secondary issues or suggestions as opinion or comment. That is the task of committees formed by capable and skilled experts. I will suggest some principles that I think are essential for launching the work of reform.

Why do we want to reform the Armenian Church and its ecclesiastical-ritualistic aspects? The answer, of course, is to make Armenians understand and love this motherly institution more. Very well; but I insist that the remedy will not be permanent. In order for a people to love their church, they need to understand their church. The reform in question does not fundamentally secure this understanding.

I think the first reform should begin in the Armenian school. Armenian boys and girls should receive a basic and simple Christian education, just like the education provided by the British. I don't think certain religious lessons . . . that are currently taught in our schools, prepare conscious Armenian Christians. Our boys and girls should receive from school Christian morality and spirit. This should be the essence of the school.

The second reform falls into the area of the preparation of the staff of the church. Obligatorily, and at the very minimum, only people who have obtained a secondary education and possess good character should be invited into ecclesiastical service. A church upholding such a spirit will always be a source of vitality and will show the public the path to go.

The third reform concerns the simplicity and efficiency of the liturgy, service, and order of the church.

Accordingly, we ought to:

- 1- Refrain from lengthiness and redundancy.
- 2- Change the language used in the church into the language used by the people; i.e. at minimum with regard to readings and mysteries. Exceptions may include the mass and chosen hymns and songs.
- 3- Fundamentally alter church singing in accordance with Fr. Gomidas' research, and adopt instrumental music, such as the organ, in the service.

4- Restore the Rituals back to the oldest versions. Once restored, we can then abbreviate and adapt them to our current needs. A few examples may be to condense and polish the canons of baptism, matrimony and burial; eliminate the Last Anointment of deceased clergymen; and reform in its entirety the Canon of Ordination.

5- Allow all priests the right to attain the highest ranks of the church, and turn celibacy into a voluntary choice.

6- Redefine the office of the primate and determine the dioceses, so that the church eliminates unnecessary staff.

7- Simplify the canons of matrimony, and support by all means the conditions that increase happiness in everyday life. (For example, be prudent only with regard to the marriage of relatives to one another; remove prohibitions placed on custodians and god-fathers; reestablish the system of divorce, etc.). Correction of the Book of Canons will be considerably beneficial in this regard.

To accomplish these reforms, committees composed of clergymen and lay people—who must be unquestionably skillful and capable people—should be formed, and the reforms to be implemented should be based on the results of their studies.

It would also be of great value to form a committee to gather, classify, and write a report summarizing the books, articles, and studies already published that concern the reform of the Armenian Church.

Already local customs have insensibly brought forth changes, rather than reforms, within our church. Those changes should be taken into consideration, and I promise the result will be glamorous for the Armenian Church. Just by implementing such a project, the charm of the Armenian Church will increase. Nothing will be alienated from its Armenian character; on the contrary, the church will become a healthy presence, which will continue to shine and maintain its historic and undeniable significance in our national life. It will inspire the faithful on the path of goodness, progress, and self-perpetuation.

On Sermons and Preaching

(From Looy's weekly, Jan. 15, 1905, No. 3, pp. 49–54.)

. . . The sermon, as word and speech, has its own form of expression and modes. In other words, the sermon is an art which needs to be mastered in order for both the sermon and the preacher to succeed.

However, to eliminate misunderstandings, it should be considered that the sermon and the preacher do not succeed by art alone. The words said on the pulpit of the church should emanate, before anything else, from deep conviction. Words of conviction delivered as art attain undeniable and marvelous success. Indeed, the foundation of the successful and fruitful sermon lies in conviction. When the preacher is not convinced as to the words he speaks, no matter how artfully he utters them, they will not secure a permanent, and therefore, a constructive, message from the stage. The pulpit of the church is truly different from, say, the stage of a theater, although it has been proven that even on the stage an actor has greater success when he loves his art and chooses roles he can truly personify. Despite similarities, the preacher is not an actor. He preaches the Gospel that the church has maintained over the centuries and has delivered to him. He serves a church whose founder and organizers have been others. But he preaches, and particularly should preach, because he believes in what he preaches. He serves the church, because he has undertaken his position as a result of his convictions. An actor, for example, can change roles, and even accept roles that contradict one another. A lawyer, for example, defends today a truly innocent person, but may undertake tomorrow the defense of a criminal. The preacher, however, cannot change roles or enter into diverse trials. . . .

The preacher has chosen only one role—a missionary role that cannot be changed, and cannot be altered by other roles or masks. The preacher has chosen only one case—the case of the Gospel, the case of his true convictions that cannot be sacrificed to other considerations. . . .

The fathers of the Armenian Church paid sufficient attention to the principles of preaching. We might not find in their works sermons and commentaries written according to an art we understand, but we find in them conviction and belief. . . .

Nowadays, however, preaching is more complicated. The overall taste of the audience is more refined than in previous times and their knowledge requires more from the preacher. The reforms that have been implemented in world economy, the ease of communication among nations and peoples,

and the love of beautiful arts. In other words, the dramatic change in lifestyle in recent times has brought about many changes within the ecclesiastic concept of the people. Some are no longer pleased with churches in general, others complain that the divine services are too long, others rightfully demand graceful singing and graceful sermons. Some do not like sermons at all, or find them lengthy, others come to church infrequently, if at all, and when they come . . . they do it perhaps for appointments. It should be admitted that these phenomena are not new. Those who have studied the internal life of the church throughout the centuries, know that in each century and period of history people have expressed, more or less, indifference, criticism, devotion, and sincere affection towards church. The negative approaches, despite their unpleasant aspects, have helped the staff of the church work harder, while the positive approaches have encouraged them in their endeavors.

Today, too, the balance between the confrontation of the pros and cons is a good sermon. However, what qualifies as the art of good preaching has changed. And although our tastes are inclined more towards the art, we must guard against a superficial approach, because a good sermon is good only if grounded in a sound foundation and body. Those among us who have been in Europe and America, influenced by the novelties in their new environment, seek for preachers in the Armenian Church who are capable of competing with the preachers in Europe and America. We admit that competition brings forth the best results, but we do not attain much from copying and imitating others in the religious field where every church has principles and traditions of its own, both in terms of substance and art. Each preacher has his own capabilities. It is one thing to improve the art of sermons, and it is another to change or forget the principles of our fathers in order to look like others or imitate them. . . .

. . . We are confident that the art of preaching will continue to be cultivated in our churches and that it will prosper through the efforts of serious laborers.

On Matrimony

(From Looy's weekly, February 19, 1905, No. 9, pp. 191–192.)

. . . The blessing of marriage is trusted to the honorable priests of the Armenian Church. The task of our priests is to bless, truly bless, and not to curse nor turn their backs to distortions. Matrimony is the basis of human society, civilization, family, personal happiness, and most everything else. The priest is entrusted with a great, very heavy, and at the same time, a sacred duty to establish the foundation of marriage in the best way possible. If his faithful stray and commit mistakes, whether willingly or unwillingly, he needs to put aside all other considerations and all notions of personal gain, and work diligently to bring his wandering flock back to the path. He does this by reminding them of the tenets and requirements of health, social, and religious laws.

A priest, therefore, can provide his most constructive blessing to those who come to him for matrimonial advice, and later, when he brings them before the altar of God and blesses them with his prayers. It is in the performance of the formation of a happy family that his efforts and counsels, his prayers and blessings attain their goals. . . .

On the Spirit of Philanthropy

(From Looy's weekly, June 25, 1905, No. 26, pp. 617–618.)

Social life is natural for mankind. However, the relationships that bind people with one another are not constant. The most natural phenomena of life are complicated by men who bring to their relationships colors that are variable, based on interest, concern, etc. In spite of these variables, inherent in both a natural social life and in human relations, there is a phenomenon that proceeds from magnanimous beings. And it needs to be mentioned that magnanimity is not a quality unique to a certain class of people. A magnanimous being can hide itself both under a rich cloth and beneath the most pitiable rag. The phenomenon that proceeds from magnanimous beings is the spirit of philanthropy. It is the perfect, pure, diffused, and permanent expression of social love. If “Love your friend as yourself” is the first and last message of religion, that message would be vain and illusionary, had the message not been given as a divine formula for the meaning of human life. It is in philanthropy that the prerequisites of a social life are realized, or, say, the truths that are essential for human life consecrated in a religious context.

Indeed, when man comes to understand the noble meaning of the naturalness of social life, when he is convinced that there is a debt incurred in social relations that is above his personal interests and considerations and which defines the extent of his abilities, only then will he know what philanthropy is, what the spirit of philanthropy is. . . .

On Relationships Among Churches

(From Looy's weekly, June 25, 1905, No. 26, pp. 634–636.)

All Christian churches, or all denominations, are in agreement with regard to faith; that is, the essential issue of Christianity; however, they differ with regard to the form of the profession of faith . . . Every Church should express its zeal for the universal Christian faith as well as for the unique concept of profession of faith and traditions the church upholds. This is an important prerequisite for the preservation of national churches and for clearly understanding their significance.

The Armenian Church is the oldest of the Eastern churches. It has maintained not only the universal Christian faith—the essence of Christianity—but also its own concept of profession of faith which, despite its unique character, is consistent with the early concept of the Church. . . .

Now, in order to strengthen Christian love and harmony among Christian denominations, mutual respect and reverence towards each other is imperative. This is called broadmindedness. This is the spirit free of prejudices. This is Christianity.

And the officers of the Church, whether priest or minister, ought to respect and secure respect for their unique profession of faith and order. . . .

On the Secret of Success

(From Looy's, July 2, 1905, No. 27, pp. 641–643.)

People in general pay a lot of attention to big realities that bring forth magnificent works. However, it is not these big realities that always result in the greatest religious and moral realizations. It is true that money and power, with their absolute and semi-material attributes, are considered indications of success . . . It is also true that the secret of human achievement is based first of all on a moral nature. The big realities follow this first prerequisite as tools and means, and reveal the moral. . . .

Every person wants to be successful in life; however, few are those who succeed. Many look for the secret of success elsewhere, not willing to look in themselves. When an individual believes in his work, when he expresses the influence of spirit in his activity, when he is able to put into order the results of his beliefs—even in works that are considered most negligible, whether at home or in the market—then it is impossible for the secret of success not to be understood.

It is not the big realities that always bring forth magnificent results. Moral forces are primal in all human operations, and big realities are but the result of those moral forces. . . .

On Ardor and Fanaticism

(From Looy's weekly, July 16, 1905, No. 29, pp. 690–691.)

. . . There are those faithful for whom it is said that they are hypocrites, and there are those who are ardent or fanatic.

Hypocrisy is a most harmful state in the life of the faithful. To not know Christianity, yet pretend to know it; to not love the church, yet pretend to love it, etc., are lies, terrible lies . . . The hypocrite follows a very dangerous path in religious life. . . .

More interesting are the states of ardor and fanaticism expressed among the faithful . . . Often ardor and fanaticism are confused with each other . . . To be an ardent defender of the Christian religion is the product of all those serious and well-nurtured conditions under which a faithful person is born and nourished. Conscience and training have their own considerable input in the ardor by which the faithful man loves his religion and church. Such a distinct, important, and useful ardor—hot or warm—is necessary for the faithful. Ardor is the most secure, most natural, and most reasonable path drawn between the extremes of blind imitation and fanaticism. Blind imitation has no relation with free will and conscience. Fanaticism is the result of either blind imitation or exaggerated ardor. It results from ignorance and passion, for passion, in its extreme excitation, makes man equally ignorant.

A vice or addiction, regardless of how we comprehend it, is a condemnable state. It is the result of the disturbance of the natural psychological and physiological state of man. It is a kind of illness, and illness is always a pitiable state for man. The attitude demonstrated towards religion, church, etc. should have a character distinct from all others—a constructive and useful character. It is ardor that comprises that character. . . .

A man cannot be forced to become ardent. Ardor is an aspect of character that is shaped according to the conscience of the faithful. To know why he believes, what it is that he believes, why he prays, why he goes to church, and the answers to many other such questions, shape the character of ardor. Had ardor not been shaped as a consequence of conscience, over time, religion and the church would have gradually become incomprehensible concepts because the ways of thinking and talking about such subjects cannot be petrified. On the contrary, it is fanaticism that treads upon the rights of conscience and strives to petrify religion and the church according to how the fanatic conceives them.

Ardor is a matter of principle and spirit, while fanaticism is a matter of form. Religious advancement and development are strengthened by ardor, and both the life of the faithful and the church made up of such individuals gradually attains a constructive and useful nature. Fanaticism drains love and hampers the conditions necessary for the advancement of religious life. Fanaticism petrifies everything. . . .

Ardor among the sons of the Armenian Church has an emphasized presence; but it is saddening to see that many often confuse it with fanaticism . . . To return things to their normal state in both religion and the church, and to avoid exaggeration . . . we must avoid fanaticism. Moderation, as in everything, in matters of religion, is also truth. When ardor remains attached to consciousness, the religious state of the faithful will be peaceful. The opposite takes man and casts him not only into the abyss of fanaticism, but also of vanity.

On Spiritual Ardor

(From Looys weekly, September 2, 1906, No. 35, pp. 817–818.)

. . . Spiritual ardor is the essential nerve of worship. When the officer casts away . . . the idea of forced labor, then spiritual ardor works in him. The whole purpose of the divine service is the perpetual shaping of the faithful. For this effect to flow from the officer to the congregation during the service, it is imperative that the officer himself first be affected, influenced, and filled with spiritual ardor. . . .

On Transfiguration

(From Looy's weekly, July 23, 1905, No. 30, pp. 714–715.)

Beings who are adorned with a kind heart and sincere faith desire to rise for a while with Christ on top of the conceivable Mount Tabor where the essence of man is revealed—free from worldly connections and limitations—in the rich pleasures of a peaceful heart and mind.

– O you who spend life without color and character; you, who are healthy and not deprived of the ability to think and judge; gather your spiritual strength and follow the steps of Christ in order to rise with him to the top of the conceivable Mount Tabor . . . be transformed; this specific color of life is essential for you.

– O you who are faint-hearted, who have no idea of the magnificent heights of moral life, and who do not know the vast and inviolable limits of a peaceful and holy spirit; you must follow the transfigured Jesus. For you have destroyed the beauty of your soul, and you have limited the inner forces of your soul to the desert of filthy vapidness, and you have completely forgotten the high, the sublime, the great, the true, the beautiful.

– O you who are indifferent, pay attention for a moment to the Holy Mountain. Fix your mind to the scenery which is described in the Gospel in plain words, and see if you will not be affected, if you will not be touched with the realization that it is Christ who is transfigured on that mountain, peaceful and sweet in his just work, in his duties and devotions, in his incomparable philanthropic services, in his superhuman sacrifices. . . .

– O you who are sinful and cultivators of a dark and obscure life. Don't you feel the need for the rays of vivifying light? Do you not seek the attractions and pleasures of a noble and innocent life? You are the miserable of spiritual life; your moral strength is deteriorated. Distance yourselves from the destructive influences that darken your souls. Climb the Holy Mountain. You need light. . . .

To transform yet better to transfigure—this should be the goal of the life of the faithful. The other form is not ours, it belongs to Christ. To transfigure means to always be like Christ, to have a transfigured life like his.

To despise a life without color and character is to be transfigured. To fear faint-heartedness and to be magnanimous and generous, is to be transfigured. To do away with indifference is to be transfigured. To hate the darkness of sin is to be transfigured for a Christian. And it is these transfigurations that make the faithful bright and elevate him. . . .

On Sin and a Moral Life

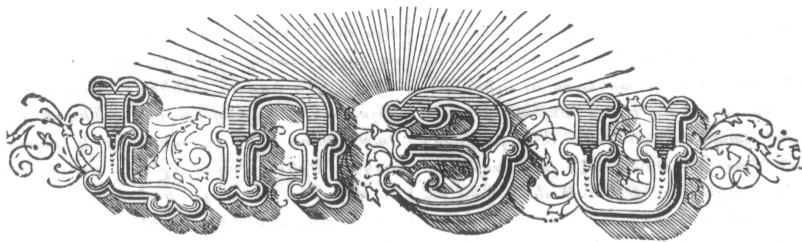
(From Looy's weekly, July 22, 1906, No. 29, p. 692.)

[Someone] asks: "Do sins have useful or good aspects, as everything has its good and bad aspect?"

If every thing has a good and bad aspect, it logically follows that sins also have their good and bad aspects.

The goal of the question is not clear, however. If it means to state that since everything has its good and bad aspects, sin therefore should be committed in order to make use of its good aspects, the goal is extremely wrong. To know the sin, and yet to commit it, is the true sin. . . .

But if the goal of the question is to know whether sins eliminate hope, or if they have their benefit in terms of reestablishing and strengthening morality in man, then the answer is evident. Sin in moral gain is like a loss in material gain. When we know what the material losses are, and where they come from, we act accordingly. We ought to take a similar approach towards sins. He who discerns a loss, does not want to lose any more and should not fall into despair; likewise, he who knows sin, should not sin again. This is the benefit [of sin]. An alert mind and a clean conscience serve to keep us away from sin, and this is the greatest benefit of both. If turning halfway back from a loss is a gain, according to the popular proverb, then this concept is true for sin also. He who has sinned and decided not to sin again, has gained a benefit already, and he who stays away from sin by keeping an alert mind and clean conscience, finds permanent gain on the path of life. This is a fortification for moral life.



ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ

Կրօնական, Գրական, Բանասիրական, Քաղաքական

22 ՅՈՒՆԻՍԻՐ 1905

(ՆՈՐ ՇՐՋԱՆ)

ԺՂՂ ՏԱՌԻ.— ԹԻԻ 4

« Որ եւ յաւախան արար զմեզ, պաշտօնեայս Նորոց Կաթարանացս, ոչ գրով, այլ հոգով
զի զիրն սպանանէ, այլ հոգին կեցուցանէ : » (Բ. ԿՈՐԻՆ. Գ. Ծ) :

ՔԱՀԱՆԱՅԱԿԱՆ ԽՆԴԻՐԸ

Քաճանայական խնդիրը նոր չէ՝ Հայ. եկեղեցւոյ մէջ։ Անոր ծագումը նոյն է զրիստոնէական եկեղեցւոյ ծագման հետ. վասն զի՝ եկեղեցւոյ լաւ կառավարութիւնը՝ բարեկարգութիւնը՝ միշտ խնդիր եղած է եւ պէտք է ըլլայ շարունակ։ Եթէ օր մը չխօսուի Քաճանայական խնդրին վրայ, այդ օրը պէտք է ըլլայ եկեղեցւոյ բարեկարգութեան վերջը։ Կարելի չէ՝ փափաքիլ՝ որ այդ օրը չուտ հասնի։ Վասն զի ասի չնշանակեր թէ ա՛լ ո եւ է. պէտք չկայ եկեղեցւոյ բարեկարգութեան եւ ոչ իսկ կ'նշանակէ թէ՛ քաճանայական խնդիրը լուծուած ըլլայ։ Խնդիրը այս ձեւով դիտուած ատեն՝ իր կարեւորութիւնը պէտք եղածին պէս աչքի կ'գտնէ։

Ես որպիսի գիտեմ՝ եկեղեցւոյ առաջին դարերէն ի վեր գորուածներ կան այս

խնդրին վրայ եւ մեր մատենագրութեան մէջ բաւական բան կայ. կանոններ, խրատներ, քարոզներ, մեկնութիւններ, կոնդակներ, հրահանգներ եւ նոյն իսկ գիրքեր եւ յօդուածներ, որոնք վերջին քահնի մը տարիներու ընթացքում չա՛տ բան ըսին քաճանայական խնդրին վրայ։

— Բայց ի՞նչ է «Քաճանայական խնդիրը», որ այնքան հին է, որ այնքան կենսական է, որու մասին այնքան բան գրուած է եւ սակայն դեռ լուծուած չէ՛ ան։

Այս հարցումին պատասխանել որոշ կերպով՝ կ'նշանակէ միանգամայն խնդիրը լուծել։ Եւ ես կ'խոստովանիմ՝ որ այդպիսի պատասխան մը պիտի չկրնամ տալ. ոչ թէ չկայ՝ անոր համար, ո՛չ. այլ անոր համար որ, որոշ կերպով արուած պատասխանին մը գործադրութիւնը դիւրին

A cover page of the *Loos* weekly edited by Bishop Papken Guleserian.

On Religious Education

(From Looy's weekly, August 19, 1906, No. 33, pp. 772–776.)

The religious education, in its pure religious-psychological sense, is the formation of individual character. The question is, around what basis do we want to shape the character of our children in our schools?

. . . The problem of character-shaping is the cornerstone of education. Filling the brain of the student with diverse knowledge, no matter how brilliant, is not character-shaping. A man's character is only a psychological matter. If the courses of religion and ethics are not designated to build character, they are unnecessary and a waste of time. . . .

The morality of religion is what should fundamentally interest our schools while teaching religious courses. . . .

Like it or not, we are a religious nation. We, in fact, live through religion. That is, our morality is the morality of Christianity, despite its being distorted and misunderstood by us. . . .

It follows that a religious education, that is understood correctly, will definitely improve our state of overall education. And when our educational system is established around such a concept, all educational curricula will bear fruit. Otherwise . . . our schools will graduate students without character . . . and few will succeed in life. Unfaithfulness will become the moral standard for our youth. Deceit and mockery will be considered cunningness and viewed as positive traits needed by our men of business to earn money. . . .

Religion offers the truest and most real proof of the nobility and preciousness of life. The doctrine of Christ's incarnation and divinity, for example, essentially revolves around the nobility and preciousness of life . . . And Christ, in order to realize salvation . . . was crucified. Tell me now, doesn't this evangelic story tell you what the human life is worth? Don't you learn the secret of philanthropy in Christ's redemption? Don't you wish to see the glories of an adamant character in your small egos?

Aren't the principles of justice, labor, faithfulness, and friendship, spread in mankind through religion? How can one not understand the significance of religious education?

On Exaggerated Eulogies

(From Looy's weekly, October 13, 1906, No. 41, pp. 961–963.)

Complaints and dissatisfaction are countless with regard to eulogies that are extravagantly spent over coffins in churches . . . A eulogy, in its modern meaning, is a public acknowledgment—an evaluation made from the sacred pulpit in praise of the virtues of those who have passed away. However, this prevailing meaning of eulogies in our churches has broadened to an extent where all deceased people have become worthy of ecclesiastic praise. The eulogy today is considered the most important component of the funeral service, especially for those who give money. In this matter, both clergy and lay people are equally responsible for exaggerated eulogies.

Was it necessary to consider the eulogy—which has moved away from its original meaning—an essential part of the funeral service, so that men of wealth and caprices hire the pulpit of the church to generate praise for the non-existent virtues of the deceased and for the living distantly or closely connected with the coffin?

It is impossible to hear, without deep pain and dismay, eulogies in churches, or to read about them in newspapers, upon coffins in which those laid are in no way worthy of the praise. . . .

In our modest opinion, it is an absolute violation of covenant for a clergyman to climb the sacred pulpit of a church and abundantly spread graces—given to them through ordination—against money or influence over the coffins of those who are not worthy, and in addition, to praise the living connected to the deceased who may be as unworthy of praise as the deceased. If the deceased was a worthy person, regardless of the class to which he belonged, the church will definitely fulfill its duty. The quality worthy of praise from the sacred pulpit is perfect Christianity; that is, the believer, who has been a faithful son of his church, and whose life resulted in benevolent acts. Benevolence is not a virtue established by great wealth. Benevolence consists of all the types of good work that a person accomplished according to his abilities through the use of all material and moral means available to him. Christians who shine by such character are worthy of public praise from the sacred pulpit of the church; and such praise is the duty of the church. The church does not and should not wait to be invited to deliver a eulogy for one person or another. The church itself should know when and for which deceased persons it should deliver eulogies. . . .

It is our modest opinion that the indifference demonstrated with regard

to this practice by the church is the reason people are taking advantage of the pulpit to praise worthless people . . . the pulpit and the tribunal of the church should be maintained inviolable sanctuaries for justice and honest judgment. . . .

The Armenian and the Turk

(From Davros weekly, January 4, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 1.)

The hatred between Armenians and Turks has been deeper in the past than it is thought now. Although Armenians, and other Christian nations oppressed under Turkish tyranny have endured the insults of the Turks, at times with apparent discontent and often with submission, the hatred has persisted. Therefore, up until recently, it was impossible for Armenians in Turkey, and even in Constantinople, to walk the streets and quarters where Turks dwelled exclusively without insults from old and young Turks alike. . . . Hatred of Turks against Armenian clergymen was even more evident. . . .

The least insult pronounced by Turks against Armenian clergyman is to call them black-headed.

It is true some improvement has been made recently and the insults have subsided; however, they have not been eliminated, nor can they be.

We know Turks that are considered to be educated. When they feel obliged to respect an Armenian officer as the officer passes them on the street, soon after his passing, they insult him or his religion or his wife.

This moral oppression has wounded the dignity of the Armenians more than financial vexation.

Additionally, the barbarity perpetrated towards Armenians since 1915 confirms that the Turks are the same as they were in the period of the Janissaries.

There was a time when Armenians were not allowed to reside in fine houses. Even in Beshigtash, Constantinople, an influential person such as the Royal Architect Garabed Bey Balian made the exterior of his house almost ugly, even though the interior was magnificent and splendid.

The churches of the Armenians were required to be low, their houses narrow and uncomfortable.

Shiny colors, particularly green, which is the sacred color of Turks, were forbidden to be used on the dress of Armenians. Armenians wearing green would face the penalty of death. . . .

In the eyes of the Turks the Armenian was a slave. For this reason Armenians were obliged to wear black turbans on their heads, while the Turks wore white turbans, the color of freedom. . . .

In many provinces, the Armenian language was abandoned due to the pressures placed on Armenians by the Turks.

Resentment against the Armenian language grew so severe that Turks cut out the tongues of insubordinate Armenians.

Even the bodies of dead Armenians were subject to harassment. Judges, while issuing permission for their burial, used language unbelievably ugly and insulting—saying things unspeakable.

The following is a copy of such permission:

“You unholy old Priest who bears the crown of Satan and wears a dress as black as oil, and who is deprived of the Eden of God, since one of your filthy unbelievers has died, let the detestable carcass be carried forth; and though the very ground may well reject it . . . let a ditch be dug, let the above-mentioned carrion be put therein, earth thrown upon it and firmly stamped down, and thereafter return to your affairs you infidel pig.”

. . . Had Europe and America—who were acquainted with the fox-like sham and diplomatic maneuvers of the Turks and Turkism—known what the Turks were in the past, and are now, they would not allow such a government to remain on earth.

And those who are not familiar with the ins and outs of the Turks, and are deceived by external or exceptional phenomena which lead them to assume that the Turks can be civilized, will of course feel pity towards them when they play down the crimes perpetrated against Armenians. . . .

At a time when the fate of our nation is about to be clarified, Armenians and those who pretend to be “friends of Armenians” should know well the Armenians and the Turks.

Our experience over many years indicates that the Turkish element is the cancer of civilization. The skilled hands and sharp knife of a brave surgeon should cut and dispose of the Turkish element from among the nations.

Such an operation should be beneficial for Turkey itself.

A famous Armenian Turkologist and journalist made the following statement while discussing with me the issue of Armenian-Turkish relations:

“I have been friends with a Turkish editor for twenty-two years. We have never hurt each other. We have been writing colleagues, and have shared food and drinks together. Our relationship was more than friendship; it was something like brotherhood.

“But once I disagreed with him during a discussion, and he shouted me down. ‘You infidel pig,’ he said.

“This Turk was my friend for twenty-two years.

“They are what they are. You are right when you say the Turk cannot be human.”



ՏԱՒՐՈՍ

ԱՂԱՏ ՀԱՅԱԹԵՐԹ

THE TAURUS, An Armenian Weekly

“Յու՛ւ, Տէ՛ր, Յու՛ւ.” — “Յիս արդ ո՛ր յու՛ւ մի՛ ասէ՛ր” : ՎԱԶԱՆ ՄԱՄԻՆՅԱՆ

Բ. ՏԱՐԻ. — ԹԻՒ 24
1919 ՅՈՒՆԻՍ 14, ՇԲ.
ՊՈՍՏՈՂ, ՄԷՍՍ.



VOL. 2. — NO. 24
June 14, Sat. 1919
Boston, Mass.

Ազգային ազատ ոգի եւ ամուլտ ուղղութիւն: Պատգամութիւն եւ պատկառման հարգանքաց նկիւղեցոյ եւ Հայ Ընթերցիկի սրբաբանաց: Դասանախնդրութիւն ազգային փառաւոր անողութեանց: Հայացի Ազատագրութիւն, Հայացի Վերաշինութիւն եւ Բարեգործութիւն:

ՅԱՐԿԱՆԻ ԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ՎԱՄԻՐ

Համալսարանական սկզբունք եւ յառաջդիմական սկզբունք: Բարեացակամ գնահատութիւն ազգաշինարմամբնու եւ զորմեղու, եւ նայման բարեացակամ բնագաւթութիւն ընթերցողին ապ ոչ միայն կարգաւոր, այլեւ խրեկու: Տիր: Մամաւ Հայերէն եւ ազնիւ խօսք:

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ՄԵՐ ՆԵՐԿԱՅ ԿԱՅՈՒԹԻՒՆՔ

Հայկական Դատը կը մօտենայ իր վերջնական լուծման, որ կը յուսանք թէ հաղառակ կարգ մը թերթերու եւ չրջմաներու կողմէ տարածուած յոռետես լուրերու, նպատաւոր պիտի ըլլայ մեզ: Եթէ չպատկէ իսկ մեր լուրը յայտնել:

Արդարեւ, ուղղութեամբ հետեւելով իրադրութեան վեհաժողովին որոշումներուն եւ գէպերու ընթացքին, Անկախ Հայաստանը վճռուած խղիւղներու կարգը կրնայ դատել: Դժուարութիւններ եթէ կան, աւելի կը վերաբերին անոր սահմաններուն եւ խնամատարի ընտրութեան: Արդէն Ազգ. Պատուիրակութիւնն ասացուած

հետադիւրսն ալ մի քանի շաբաթէ ի վեր ալս վերջին կէտին վրայ կը ծանրանան եւ երբեք չունին այնպիսի շեշտ մը, որմէ կարելի ըլլայ հետեւցնել թէ մեր Դատը հիմնապէս յատկացուած է: Ընդհակառակը, պէտք է խորհել որ եթէ Անկախ Հայաստանը գէթ սկզբունքով ապահովուած չլլայ, անխմատ բան մը պիտի ըլլայ Ազգ. Պատուիրակութեան կողմէ զրադիլ խնամատարութեան խղիւղով, եւ ալ զմասին Դաճակեց կառավարութեանց եւ Անթիպիւսի Պատուիրակութեան հետ խորհրդակցութիւններ կատարելով, հրահանգներ տալ մինչեւ Անթիպիւս:

Խնդիրը ուրիշ տեսակէտէ մը ալ դիտելով կը յանդիւրնը նոյն կարակացութեան:

Դիտենք թէ Թուրքերը Անդրիւր ու Ֆրանսայի դէմ պատերազմ հրատարակած ըլլալով եւ Գերմանիոյ մեղաւորութեամբ թոյլտուութեան չունելու յարմար առիթը գտան Հայկական Խնդիրը լուծելու: Իրենց հասկացած ու փափաքած ձևով, այսինքն Հայ Ազգը ընտելն ընելով: Պատերազմի սարսափներուն եւ ոչ մէկ զրուարդ կրնայ բաղդատ

A cover page of the *Davros* weekly edited by Bishop Papken Guleserian.

We Need Foreign Support

(From Davros weekly, January 11, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 2.)

Once in a while, a fool comes up with an idea that pleases the public and puts it into circulation. Cunning demagogues adopt it immediately and spread it, thus establishing the concept in the minds of the public as an unquestionable truth. Often a thousand intelligent persons cannot shake such a false conviction even through strong evidence, no matter how impractical, unrealizable, and harmful the conviction is. Woe to those who dare to oppose or criticize; they become enemies of the people. . . .

This happens in all peoples; but it often happens in us.

Every Armenian desires and demands complete liberation from Turkish rule and a United and Independent Armenia within its historic boundaries. Likewise, no one wishes nominal liberation and independence, nor for an Armenia subject to a foreign dominion or protection in any way. These are simple truths accepted by all. However, it is likewise true that we cannot have an independent Armenia, nor can we govern and rebuild given the current circumstances, without external protection and support. . . .

It is imperative not only for external reasons, but also for the sake of our own benefit for us to have the support of one or more foreign states at this juncture, regardless of the name of that support or mandate. We need, however, to place one condition on any support given: the support should not take an aspect of dominion or protectorate, and it should not endanger the possibility of our obtaining total independence in the future. As I have mentioned before, the day Armenia declares independence, we will encounter vital and immediate problems such as the protection of boundaries, arrangement of the civil debts of Turkey, foreign loans, and the like. Alone, we, without the support of a powerful state from outside, will not be able to face these problems successfully. We will also need support and guidance to organize ourselves administratively and economically. Indeed, we have able and skilled men from all professions and fields among us, many of whom have proven their merits and skills while in the service of great powers. However, we still need help from outside sources. We need an organizing hand to help bring out the true potential of our able men, push them forward, and teach us how to follow them . . . For a nation such as ours that has been deprived of independence and has been down-trodden for five centuries, it is perfectly appropriate to wait and seek foreign aid and support. . . .

“The Araradian Republic”

(From Davros weekly, Feb. 8, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 6.)

. . . A United and Independent Armenia, a just compensation, and the punishment of the leaders of Ittihad are not the invention and possession of the Tashnag party; they reflect the demands of the entire Armenian nation. In addition, the military and revolutionary spirit are not the monopoly of the Tashnag party, nor has the party created and stirred the Armenian liberation struggle alone. Regardless of the praiseworthiness of the partial efforts and initiatives of the Tashnag party in this regard, they cannot be compared with the liberation movements, the sacrifices, and the heroic struggles of the Armenian nation throughout history. The Armenian nation had military spirit before the Tashnag party. Our nation has given birth to organizations whose services in the past, as well as today in the forwarding of the Armenian cause, equal, if not surpass, the services of the Tashnag party. It is unforgivable under any pretense to restrict a national movement to one political party and to desecrate the sublime and noble character of the national movement . . . If we take these items out of the platform of the Tashnag party, there remains only the issue of the Araradian Republic which comprises the sole distinction between the party and other parties. There is no question that every Armenian would hail the liberation of Armenia from the yoke of the Tsars, and . . . that every Armenian desires the unity of Armenia, too long divided by tyrants from the Caucasus to the Taurus. What the Central Committee of the Tashnag party in America demands, that other national factions disagree with, is simply the following—recognition of the local government established in the province of Yerevan due to circumstances as the temporary government of all Armenians. . . .

The Armenian cause is one cause; however, the cause of the Armenians of Turkey is totally different in nature than the cause of the Armenians in Russia, therefore it requires us to pursue it differently.

There Is No United Armenia Without a United Armenian Nation

(From Davros weekly, Feb. 15, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 7.)

Armenians from the Caucasus to the Taurus, from the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia to the most remote colonies, in one voice demand a United Armenia. . . . But even if we succeed to level all external obstacles and attain through the Peace Conference a United Armenia, it will be solely a name, not a united nation. The Peace Conference can recognize our rights and allow us the right to establish a United Armenia; however, it cannot build a United Armenia. It is we—if we have the merit and ability to be a nation—who need to build our nation by employing the strength of our arms, our sweat and blood, and the power and wisdom of our minds. And a united Armenian nation is an essential and imperative prerequisite to enable us to coordinate and use all of our abilities. . . .

When we say a united Armenian nation, we do not understand it in a sense that is common among us. In fact, it is dreamt about and sought naively by many. A united Armenian nation demands the elimination of diverse factions, the termination of ideological adversities and struggles, and the amalgamation of the whole nation in one mold joined by common emotions, thoughts, and deeds. This is both impossible and harmful, because it makes the nation too immobile and stagnant. It is natural to have adverse factions, and ideological diversity and confrontations within our nation should continue. Only through their contact and competition will we obtain a healthy and productive national life. However, diverse factions and their competition and confrontation should be focused towards one goal—the benefit and the good of the nation. National spirit needs to dominate our relationships, and not personal egos or interests, or partisan passions and arrogance.

Unfortunately . . . our political parties looked upon matters primarily through partisan eyes . . . and even at most crucial moments, they ardently adhered to their goal of national domination; not service. . . .

Throughout our history, it is this disease [partisan approach], this evil spirit, more than foreign enemies and influences, that has prevented us from creating a United Armenia. . . .

There is no United Armenian without a united Armenian nation, nor can there be; and the main obstacle before a united Armenian nation is partisan fanaticism.

Why don't we uproot it?

Partisan Operation

(From Davros weekly, April 5, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 14.)

. . . As in every country, in future Armenia too there will be political parties, and those parties will try to govern the country in accordance with their principles and views. We know that the legal struggle and developments of political parties offer the majority the right to rule and the minority the right to control, thus allowing the healthy and secure progress of the political life of a given country. However, in view of our current situation and conditions, we would unreservedly declare that at this very moment there is nothing more dangerous and harmful for us than the demonstration of partisan spirit in our national operations and the striving for dominance which opens up the likelihood of partisan confrontations.

We are facing the immense task of National Renaissance which can be attained only by united and harmonious effort. Those who try to add a partisan color to the task, commit an evil that has no remedy . . . True political streams should come forth and be developed based on the needs and conditions of a liberated Armenia. Until then, we should forget our differences and think and work to fill and build an Armenia with Armenians. . . .

There is also another delicate and vital issue that forces us to look at the dangers of partisan spirit and confrontations on the eve of our liberation. The new Armenia needs foreign support, morally and especially financially. And this support depends on the confidence we inspire and the credit we enjoy. Now, nothing makes a more unfavorable impression . . . than the shabby tendencies for partisan dominance among us, with all their ugly consequences. We should not overlook this issue, especially these days, when we all expect the United States to undertake Armenia's mandate.

Let Us Be Fair Towards Our Cause

(From *Davros weekly*, April 12, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 15.)

. . . All the shiny words and principles . . . cannot build a humble hut in Armenia, or place one stone on top of another, or buy a piece of bread and a rag for an orphan, widow, or the disabled. . . .

And those who run from one corner of America to another to attract . . . one or two more followers with their “mighty” words and principles, and those who try to divert public attention from reality with their noise in order to make the public purchase their junk, have they ever felt the sting of a needle on their skin for the sake of liberal or revolutionary ideas? Have they ever sacrificed a thumbnail for a goal? . . . Have they ever seen and known those Armenians who survived the sword and fire? . . .

From the beginning, our greatest national misfortune has been this—we confuse words with facts, and often we pursue the *form* at the expense of sacrificing or forgetting the *work*.

Whenever a great power or a diplomat follows a policy or utters words that do not match our aspirations and demands, we bitterly complain that the world is governed only by interests, and that rights and justice are empty words, and that the powerful of this world continually sacrifice the rights of the weak—and therefore our misfortunate cause—to their passions and interests.

But are we any more conscientious and righteous than foreigners with regard to our own cause?

. . . It is not enough to become intoxicated with the news of imminent liberty, clap our hands at bright speeches, or generously give our money and even our lives for Armenia’s liberty. These historic days require more from us. They require that we sacrifice all personal and petty interests, partisan prejudice and gains . . . so that we may bring justice to our cause . . . and serve the rebirth of our nation and homeland with pure hearts and hands. . . .

Cilicia, Cilicia

(From Davros weekly, May 31, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 22.)

Armenians worry about Cilicia. . . .

Their anxiety grew upon receiving the news from Paris that Cilicia's mandate was entrusted to France.

. . . This arrangement contradicts President Wilson's principles on which permanent world peace is based.

We are sure that President Wilson will stay firm in his principles, and will honor and make others honor the right of Armenians and Armenia to self-determination.

And through the right to self-determination Armenians strive only to reestablish a united and independent Armenia, under American or European mandate for a given period.

Following the news from Paris, Armenians grew more anxious simply because the principle of a united and independent Armenia could be jeopardized.

Armenians are not worried much about whether France, England, or America will mandate a united and independent Armenia, because all three are fine and each has their advocates among Armenians. . . .

For us Armenians, the reinstatement of a united and independent Armenia is a most vital issue; however, this united and independent Armenia cannot be reinstated without Cilicia. Cilicia is Armenian, and it belongs to the Armenian people.

Through the purchase of lands and castles, and by shedding their own blood, Armenians have owned Cilicia since the eleventh century.

The Armenian nation struggled for one hundred years to become the independent ruler of Cilicia. The Rupenid Kingdom was the result of its struggle. . . .

Old and new civilizations of the world have come forth and prospered on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

The Armenian nation has reserved for itself its worthy place around that pool, and from the shores of this pool Armenian boats and fleets have navigated all corners of the Mediterranean. . . .

The mountains and gorges of Cilicia are full of ruins or semi-destroyed remnants of Armenian art and architecture. Plains and cities, churches, markets and bridges, passes and paths silently yet eloquently offer evidence and glory of Armenian rights throughout Cilicia.

Cilicia is the inseparable and unconfused part of a united Armenia. We cannot comprehend an Armenia without Cilicia. . . .

Armenians cannot under any conditions give Cilicia away. . . .

And it is for this reason that we cannot understand the concept of two separate mandates for Armenia and Cilicia, one French and the other American.

We hope that the news from Paris, which has caused so much anxiety, is a misunderstanding.

The Catholicate of Cilicia, a contemporary of the Rupenid Kingdom, has survived through centuries-long difficulties, and continues to supervise the ruins of that glorious kingdom.

Cilicia, we know, is free now, and we hope that it will not remain separate from Armenia, because Cilicia is part of a united and independent Armenia.

“The Armenian Language of the Future”

(From Davros weekly, Dec. 27, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 41–52.)

. . . A grammatical essay aims at the unification or amalgamation of “Western Armenian and Eastern Armenian languages.” It suggests the adoption of grammar that combines the rules of both languages.

. . . The issue in question is of great importance.

. . . Let us first say that it is useless to talk about “the Armenian language of the future.” It is today’s Armenian that is vital for Armenians. . . .

Grammar comes forth from a language. Language is the mother of grammar. Therefore, it is not possible to create grammar and then shape the language in accordance with it. Such an attempt is absolutely artificial. . . .

Attempts throughout centuries, as well as studies and arguments, have resulted in one conclusion—it is impossible to pour the Armenian language into a pre-cast mold.

. . . Therefore, the effort to create a unified Armenian language for the future is useless. . . .

Our nation needs an Armenian language that is truly an Armenian language of today!

But the state of our language today is horrible, because the state of affairs of our nation is terrible.

. . .

The issue of the Armenian language is more tangible and significant in America.

We need to admit that solid achievements are rare exceptions in the Armenian-American media.

People spend unlimited vigor arguing about individualistic and partisan issues and themes.

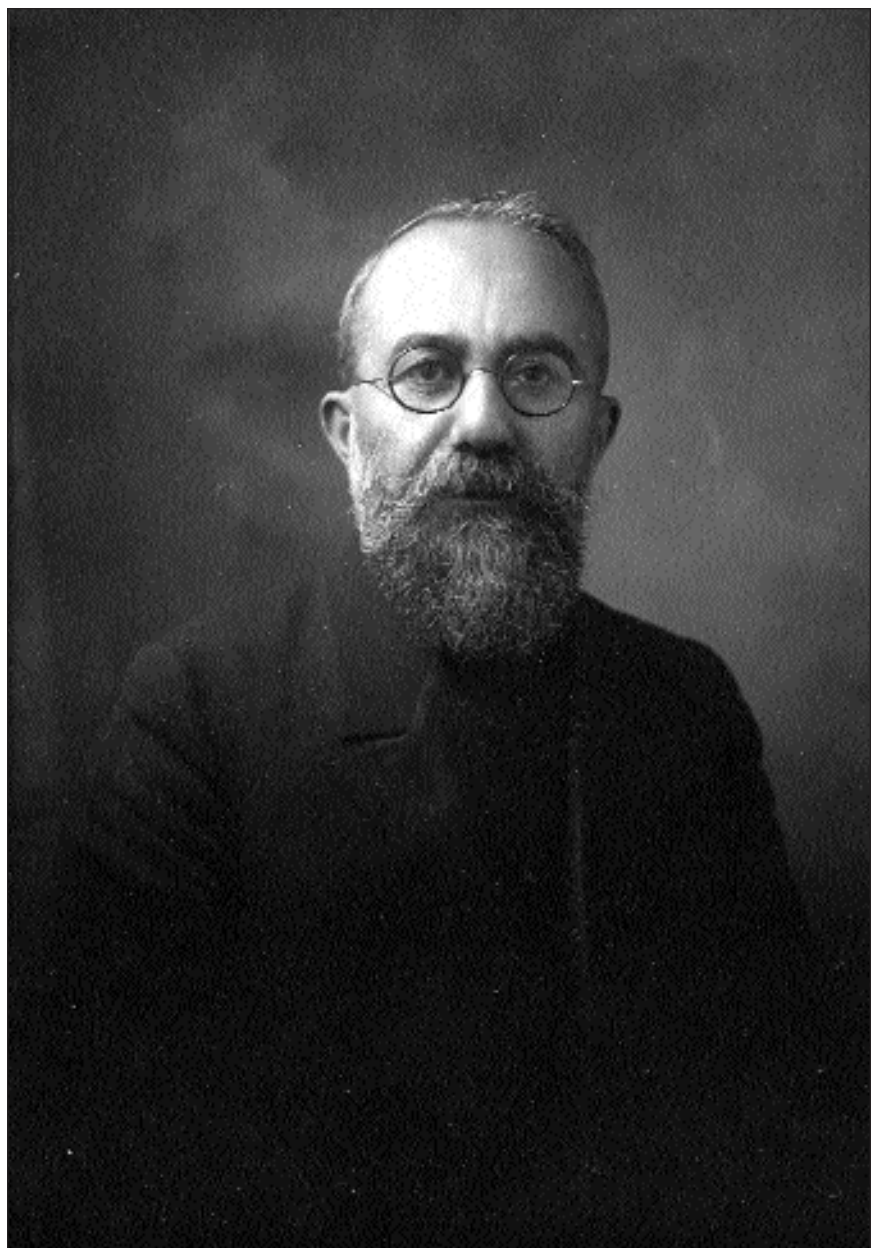
. . . Passion, anger, wrath, even rage characterize the issues debated. The Armenian American literature uses all kinds of superlative words and styles. And speaking about journalism, one can say that each newspaper takes on the role of a bastion, always armed and protected by admissible and inadmissible arms, ready to fire, as if the media were a battleground.

Meanwhile grammar, literary elegance, a refined style in the art of making new words, and many similar peculiarities and necessities have been abandoned. . . .

And the language of speeches, and the language of everyday conversation are not far behind the journalistic fights. When a people reads in the

language of confrontation, hears in the language of confrontation, and speaks in the language of confrontation . . . how can it be possible to think that the Armenian language can become attractive in its grammatical forms and expressions? . . .

Of course this dangerous phenomenon and this epileptic condition will not last forever. We are in a phase of transition. The improvement of our nation's situation and the conditions of a healthy reconstruction will bring new light and new hopes to the Armenian reality. I am confident that the sciences and arts will modify and refine the mentality of Armenians, who will no longer be "politicians": superficial, egocentric, narrow-minded, partisan fanatics. On the contrary, their mentality will expand with broadened concepts of patriotism, they will love law and order in all aspects of life, they will respect the harsh rules of science, they will seek beauty and correctness while expressing their thoughts and ideas, and as a result, the Armenian language of the future will become truly Armenian in its grammatical, logical, and literary beauty.



Bishop Papken in the United States around 1920.

Red Easter Egg

(From Davros weekly, April 19, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 16.)

The seriousness of the Great Lent begins to cheer up with the coming of the fresh and spring-like breath of Palm Sunday. . . .

The Children, the Armenian children, drag Great Thursday with golden chains.

There is no greater enjoyment than this in children's dreams.

Armenian mothers color red eggs. That day, the eggs of hens ripen with color.

That day, a beautiful tradition is revisited by the mature Armenian . . .

While for the young generation the magnificence of red eggs is the most real pleasure in life. . . .

* * *

Red eggs, apricot-like eggs. The Turk also loves you.

Do they, too, look for you today?

"When the skin of the red egg touches the ground, the weather begins to warm."

The Easter Egg sat in a prominent place in the calendar of the Turks, because that page, that place, that spot was red. . . .

And now, in the last four years, the blood of the Armenians has poured onto the earth; even the desert sand has turned red. . . .

The Turk will never forget the beginning of the spring on his calendar. . . .

That page is forever colored with Armenian blood. . . .

* * *

O Fatherland! O sacred Fatherland!

Years have passed without Christmas and Easter. . . .

For four years you have been martyred, and the world-egg is colored with the blood of your martyrdom.

All nations know the reason and the date of your redness.

Again your ruins will be rebuilt, and they will not be destroyed again.

Again you will gather from remote districts the sons of your rib, and you will protect them under your umbrella.

Again your houses will rise and will prosper.
Again Armenian mothers will give birth to Armenian cubs.
The Armenian Palm Sunday will flourish with new growth.
Again Great Thursdays will whiten with the altars of holiness, abundance, dedication, and sacrifice.

And red eggs will bring back the old Armenian memorable mysteries, because, O sacred Fatherland, you have never been without a mystery. . . .

And Armenian children will again gather around their mothers, will hold their skirts, and will ask for the red eggs, for the decorated eggs. . . .

* * *

The deserts are emptied already.
The houses and shelters of a new Armenia are full of life.
The chimneys of the cities and towns of Armenia smoke and fume.
The Armenian schools are full of young generations.
The Armenian churches are glorious with new blessings.
The Armenian fields and orchards have become green and golden with the sweat of righteous laborers.

The renovated Armenian homeland has begun to shine with the lights of civilization that extend around it and enlighten also distant lands.

The Armenian enjoys the feast and the enthusiasm of celebrating an admirable Easter.

And the *red egg* symbolizes the perpetuation and resilience of its new life. . . .

On Women and Christianity

(From the book Sermons, Constantinople, 1904, pp. 205–217.)

. . . Christ, in his great project of redemption, does not look upon the condition of women accidentally and superficially. He makes very serious and practical efforts to reinstate women in a worthy place with regard to their real role and position.

Particularly significant is the fact that the women who surrounded Christ were, in general, ill, widows, poor, and especially, sinners. Christ Himself defended the case of women. He especially spoke of the class of women who had been deprived of their womanly rights.

As we will see, Christ wanted to see woman as woman. It is for this very reason that he reinstated so called spoiled or ruined women back to the state of their true role. He even turned them into communicators of the teaching of the Gospel.

In the religious world, the piety of women has been one of the most powerful factors in maintaining faith within every day life . . . And it is not only in matters pertinent to faith and beliefs that women have such a great role. They also secure the perpetuation of customs and traditions in national and family life. Finally, on a human level, women have undertaken great moral tasks that equal and even surpass the undertakings of men. And it cannot be otherwise. Both a man and a woman . . . have equal shares in the life of a family, and one or the other alone does not make the family—that which is whole. And it is from this very point that the significance of a woman's role extends over all aspects of human life.

Given this principle, it is not possible to consider man's qualities advantages, nor can woman's peculiarities be considered advantages. The differences between man and woman are not advantages for one and defects for the other, nor should they ever be considered such.

The real error is to consider the differences between men and women defects. The issue of feminism is a result of such an approach. . . .

If the woman in her womanhood and the man in his manhood walk straight, there will never be an issue of feminism. But when the woman is not in the condition of womanhood, feminism surfaces. The woman needs to stand in her own shoes, and not in the shoes of man. . . .

Christ, and therefore Christianity, pay attention to this issue as such. The Gospel wants a woman to be a woman. . . .

In the environment in which Christ established his religion, the condi-

tions for women were far from enviable. The woman was disdained in married life; the system of Jewish divorce had enervated her courage, had wiped from her memory her mission; her future was uncertain. In order to return to women their rights, Christ said that man and woman were one, that they comprised a wholeness equally. The man should not divorce her and destroy the wholeness of family life, unless there was such an unforgivable reason by one or the other that permanently destroyed the wholeness. . . .

The verse that raised and defended the rights of women in Christianity Christ himself established with adamant foundation. What would have become of the state of women, had their fate depended on the judgment of men alone?

Man and woman are one. Their unity should remain untouched. Both should be allowed the freedom to perform their individual roles perfectly.

It is with this great principle and with forceful protection that Christ justified those women accused as sinners, providing they did not sin again. . . .

The elimination of divorce was an essential part of re-establishing the rights of women on solid ground. . . .

The cleansing of sins was equally essential

Women that were cleansed and justified, and were enlightened by the light of the Gospel accomplished a true service at that time, and later, became the most faithful missionaries of Christianity. . . .

Let us recall the women that gathered around Christ's tomb.

. . . Mary of Magdalene, who had sinned seven times and justified, was the first to lead her women friends to the tomb and find it empty . . . and Christ said: ". . . go to my brothers and say to them, I am ascending to my Father. . ."

"Go to my brothers and say to them:" behold the role women played and should play in Christianity.

Christ protected their most important rights and sanctified them in marriage. Christ solved their issue of womanhood and feminism through vivacious and luminous principles, and showed women the role of women . . . It is with this principle that the Christian woman becomes the master of her rights and the issue of womanhood is solved.

It is with this principle that there is no women's issue for Armenian women. There is an issue per se in her mission and goal. The Christian-Armenian woman should not require a different feminism for herself. . . .

Why Do We Celebrate the Nativity on January 6?

(Explanation in Sion, official magazine of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, April 1929. Translated by Fr. Arten Ashjian, Archpriest.)

H. Arsenian of Gaza asks: “Why do Armenians celebrate the Nativity and the Baptism on the same day, whereas the rest of the denominations celebrate them on different days?”

The historical fact is that the early Christian Church celebrated both of those feasts on January 6, and the Armenian Church has remained loyal to that ancient tradition.

John Chrysostom, while preaching in the Church of Antioch in 386, said in reference to December 25: “It is hardly ten years since that day became known to us.” This means that the Greek Church, too, celebrated in 376 the two feasts together on January 6. According to Chrysostom, the Romans were the first to make the change, and later the Greeks followed.

As to the joint celebration of the two feasts in the ancient church, tangible proof is the fact that to this day the Greek Church celebrates the feast of Baptism on January 6.

There are two accounts as to why they separated the two feasts:

a. According to the Jerusalem Church, celebrating the two feasts on the same day in two different locations necessitated their separation, for they celebrated the feast of the Nativity in Bethlehem, while the Baptism was celebrated at the Jordan river.

Indeed, going down from Bethlehem to the River Jordan on the same day, January 6, was very difficult in those times. It is difficult even today, despite the convenience of roads and admirable means of traveling. But this seems to be a local reason specific to the Jerusalem church; the second reason is more probable.

b. According to the Church of Rome, the move of the celebration of the Nativity from its traditional date is due to a more serious reason.

On December 25 the *Saturnalia* festivities were observed in pagan Rome. It was a major and a very popular celebration which endured through the fourth century, in spite of the entry and spread of Christianity into Rome.

It was with the intention of banning that famous pagan feast that the Nativity, Christianity’s most famous and popular feast, was moved from January 6 to December 25.

A Discourse on the Reform of the Armenian Church

(From Reform of the Armenian Church, reproduced from Hayasdani Gochnag weekly of New York, Antelias, 1940.)

The issue of our church's *reform* is again the subject of much speech and writing. The word "reform" has a specific meaning in the mind of each speaker and writer; sometimes simple, sometimes complex. . . .

We have two words before us—"church" and "reform." What kind of a meaning do these two words have in our current life and understanding?

Today, when we say *church*, we understand an *establishment* that comprises a totality with its four major parts; that is, the physical *building* of the church, the *people* of the church, the *profession of faith* and the *service* of the church, and the *staff* of the church.

These *four* major components, with their subdivisions, comprise separate totalities. Therefore, when we say reform, we consider the church not only with its four major components, but also each of the latter with its subdivisions. These should be kept in mind, because if we pay attention to one of these components or another as subject of reform, while neglecting the rest, it simply means that we did not understand the church of whose reform we speak.

Therefore, we need to define the word "reform."

The word *reform* is very simple in Armenian in terms of lexicology. This word, composed of two words "good" and "order," means "good order, good arrangement"; that is, "every thing in its right place, in good condition."

Will reform serve to keep our church within the universal church of Jesus Christ according to its historical and organic relations, or will it separate it?

This is an issue that arises when the very idea of reform is considered. If the reform sought will in any measure disturb the position of the Armenian Church within the big family of the historic Christian Church, or distort its organic or dogmatic system by which the members of the *one* and *universal* church (Greek, Latin, Copt, Assyrian, and other denominational churches) are connected to each other, then reform will somehow destroy the Armenian Church, because the *one* and *universal* church is comprised of the totality of churches. Therefore, it is imperative that we first define the position of our church within the *one* and *universal* church of Jesus Christ.

. . . In our *Creed*, the Church of Jesus Christ is characterized as *one*, *universal*, *apostolic*, and *holy*.

The Armenian Church is a member of the church that is described by these *four attributes*. And the members of this church are the ancient, historic churches that are known as Eastern and Western, all who acknowledge the profession of faith formulated in the *Creed* of Nicea-Constantinople. The Armenian Church confesses this *Creed* daily, and declares that it is not only faithful to the first three Universal Councils of the Christian Church . . . but also a member of the *one, universal, apostolic* and *holy church*. This church is made up of those who confess the aforementioned *Creed*, regardless of the differences in language, rituals, and certain national characteristics.

It is easy to conclude that the Protestant churches, historically, with the exception of the Anglican Church, are excluded from the *one, universal, apostolic, and holy church*, because the Protestant reformation put aside the profession of faith that was defined in the *Creed*, rejected the authority of the church, and replaced it with the authority of the individual . . . As a result, Protestantism gradually tends to Unitarianism; that is, it rejects the doctrine of Trinity . . . Thus, the direct result of the reformation of the 16th century in Europe was the disintegration of the fundamental concept of the *one, universal, apostolic, and holy church*.

If, within the Armenian Church, reformation will penetrate into the *Creed* and the dogmatic matters of the historic church will be analyzed using a rational and materialistic method, the result of such a reformation may be the separation and alienation of the Armenian Church from the *one, universal, apostolic, and holy church* that is characterized in the *Creed*. Meanwhile, the secret and strength of the Armenian Church and its perpetuation has been due to its faithful participation in the *one, universal, apostolic, and holy church*. . . .

It follows that while there may be important issues to be discussed surrounding the Reform of the Armenian Church, in order to discuss them, in addition to desire, zeal, and courage, we need to have knowledge, skill, prudence, piety, faith, and love—all of which are the prerequisites for the success of any religious and spiritual work.

While talking and writing about reform, many stress the *principle of simplicity*. We all agree to this principle, but attention should be paid to the *principle of simplicity* alone, and not to its form and mode. . . .

And it should be pointed out that the Armenian *Liturgy*, indeed, with its ceremonial and other expressions, is not only one of the most attractive and positive parts of the divine service of the Armenian Church, but also, according to the testimonies of European and American witnesses, it is only the Armenian Church that has managed to perform the holy mystery of

communion in such a sublime, religious, and influential way within the Christian Church.

. . . Our ancestors have been able to give this magnificent form to the ceremony of the Liturgy through the unreserved amalgamation of their faith and art.

Now, I ask, if we wanted to . . . replace the Armenian Liturgy with a Jewish dinner table for the sake of simplicity . . . would it work?

. . . Here let us point to the misconception of some who believe that it is possible in the religious field to go back to ancient practices and revive the old in current religious life. Unfortunately, this misconception is demanded for religion and religious matters alone, and not for other aspects of life. For example, in pedagogy and education we do not accept the old methods. We do not follow the ancients in our dress. The modern Christian world has adopted totally new and progressive concepts and methods in the sciences and arts . . . yet people who are aware of these dare to seek the old in the field of religious practice and demand we consider those old ways for the sake of simplicity. Is it possible to implement such simplicity in the Armenian Church? No, it is impossible.

. . . The Christian church began its reform, progress, growth and adaptation to the changes in human life during the time of the Apostles and Paul. Change is natural. The church is not frozen, nor has it remained the same as it was in the apostolic age. . . .

Now, let us discuss the four major components one by one, to highlight the aspects that need reform in each component.

Although the church building is not a central issue in reformation, and although the reformation of church buildings have not previously been a subject of discussion, nevertheless, it may be of interest to take a look at this aspect of the issue also. . . .

I- The Church Building

Every building is built for a purpose. The construction should elegantly fit the purpose. . . .

The buildings that house the Armenian Church are indeed elegant. In their diversity they reflect not only the religious comprehension of the Armenian people, but also the history of their social status . . . The aim of the church building is to offer ease and convenience to the faithful, especially with regard to enabling them to express their spiritual life, to pray . . . in summary, the building is there to help them complete their spiritual wor-

ship. By spiritual worship we refer to all the activities necessary to teach Christianity and shape the faithful.

II- The People of the Church

The issues of educating and preparing the people and the staff of the church should have a central place in reform. . . .

People are the church; that is, a collective body educated according to the faith and principles of the Gospel.

. . . Today, when we talk and write about ecclesiastical reform, we need to consider the current state of education of the Armenian people.

Since the nineteenth century, the main character of education has been national, without distancing it from religion. The people themselves have taken up control of the schools, following European methods . . . When “new” ideas penetrate the consciousness of the youth, alienation from religious education becomes visible. Religious courses take on only nominal importance. The reality is that, today, the Armenian youth know very little about their religion and the Armenian Church, and generally have wrong information which is not consistent with the level of the lay education they receive.

. . . Persecutions, deportations, and the refugee life have had a deteriorating influence upon the general assumptions of Armenians. The change in minds and national life represents a new phase which urges us to consider the status of the Armenian people particularly in the Diaspora, where they increasingly will be subject to the influences of the environment . . . Armenian refugees will be forced to adapt to their new conditions.

And in such conditions, the Armenian Church is the only entity that can maintain the nation and pay attention to the spiritual education of Armenians.

. . . One of the most important issues of reform will be solved if we succeed in educating our people according to the demands of our time. And in order to succeed in this matter, we need to take advantage of the educational methods used in American Christianity . . .

Education is offered to the faithful in five major ways:

- 1- From the pulpit of the church;
- 2- In Sunday schools;
- 3- Through pastoral visitations;
- 4- In Biblical readings;
- 5- Through the spiritual media.

1- . . . In modern times, the usefulness of the pulpit of the Armenian Church depends on the personal merits of the preacher.

. . . To play an educational role in the spiritual life of Armenians, the pulpit should be a prepared stage, a religious stage. The pulpit of our church should be an ever-flowing, pure, refreshing source of the Gospel's light, of the popularization of spiritual truths. . . .

2- Sunday schools play an instrumental role in the life of new churches. Since religious studies are excluded from civil schools, the task of religious education has fallen to the church. The term "Sunday" is not a must for religious education. Any day of the week, especially the evenings, can be used along with Sundays for religious education, according to local circumstances. In this way, these programs can be designated as spiritual or religious schools which all the classes of Armenians should welcome as a way . . . for them to consciously understand the services and ceremonies of their church and to receive pleasure from them.

. . . The "Sunday," religious, or spiritual school is of paramount need for Armenians.

3- Pastoral visitations are an important and practical factor in spiritual education . . . The purpose of a pastoral visit is to call on the people house by house, individual by individual, for the purpose of education, rather than limiting official visits to the homes to special occasions only, such as for blessing of a house, matrimony, christening, or a funeral. Subjects that can not be publicly discussed from the pulpit of the church or in "Sunday" school can be addressed by the visiting pastor in the home. Pastoral visitations provide precious support to both the pulpit and "Sunday" schools.

. . . The Armenian clergyman should bring his skill, his good heart, his devotion, and all of his experience to the preparation of a pastoral visitation.

. . . When the pastor has developed these qualities and pays regular visits to the homes of his faithful, the home becomes comforted and grows morally, and the people feel warmth for the church. Thus the Armenian homes are turned into cradles of peace. . . .

A reformed church is a church of people who are prepared through religious education. And pastoral visitation is one of the most important avenues for educating the faithful.

4- Biblical reading is an important factor in public education. Since the beginning, Armenians have held a great fondness and love for the Holy Bible

and they love it still; they follow its meaningful stories with pleasure. However, it is essential for every Armenian to regularly read the Holy Bible at home and to think about what they have read. Chosen sections from the Old Testament help in spiritual formation to a great degree . . . while the New Testament should be familiar to all our faithful from cover to cover.

Therefore, the Holy Bible should be made available to the public by all means. It is one of the most solid and permanent means for religious education. . . .

But to make the Holy Bible available to the sons of the Armenian Church so that each have a copy in their home will require serious work and financial sacrifices, because a new, fine modern Armenian translation needs to be published.

5- Spiritual literature is essential for public education. There is currently an encouraging movement among us to discuss spiritual and religious-moral issues in books and particularly in newspapers. However, our efforts are not sufficient. They are not comparable to the need. In order to make books, pamphlets, and other important publications available to the public, means need to be created. The cultivation of spiritual literature should be organized on a firm foundation. What we have now is the result of individual efforts. The church itself should undertake the responsibility for writing, publishing, and distributing spiritual media.

III- The Creed and the Service of the Church

The most delicate item of reform is Creed, which has a close association with Service. Although, when most people talk about reform they usually do not approach the issue of Creed . . . However, the subject should be dealt with using pious courage, and it should be examined in relation to whether our clergymen and people are faithful to the creed of the one and universal church, or in apostolic terminology, whether we remain in the same faith.

What is the profession of faith, and what is its significance for a church?

. . . The profession of faith, better known as the creeds, contains the doctrinal issues that are formulated officially by the church, and which are to be accepted without discussion or argument. Either you accept them, believe in them, and remain in the church, or you do not accept them, do not believe in them, and leave the church. In a historical sense this is scholasticism; that is, the verdict of a school that has no revision. It is a totally different matter whether the school itself revises its verdict. In other words,

members of a church are not allowed to have personal, free opinions with regard to the creeds. . . .

Although scholastic in its profession of faith, the Armenian Church is liberal vis-à-vis other churches. In the history of our church, Nerses Shnorhali was a bright and influential representative of conservative liberalism.

However, Shnorhali himself was tough on the members of his church, he demanded they know well the *Creed* of their church. . . .

Will such a demand be acceptable in modern times? Is it possible to believe in the simple evangelical story of Christ's humanization, as well as in the officially edited formulas or creeds concerning it? Since Armenians have also learned to search . . . the whys and hows in every matter. They resist swallowing things such as "the doctor said." They argue, they want to be enlightened, and if they find the subject of argument reasonable, they accept it; otherwise they reject it. . . .

We have mentioned previously that the church is a school of faith—deceit and doubt are allowed no room. And today, in this century commonly referred to as enlightened, the church of Jesus Christ comes to us with its firm character of the apostolic era, with its strong logic, as well as with its naïveté and traditions. Even if you cast doubt over the formulated, the profession of faith in the name of free thought, you cannot doubt the writings of the Gospels and apostles. You cannot proclaim the magnificent martyrs of the church in the preceding centuries as nothing . . . You cannot neglect the history, traditions, and lessons of a church that has had a life spanning twenty centuries. You ought to bow, descend from the heights of arrogance, cross your hands, stand with respect and reverence before the mysteries of *Faith*, and follow the mysteries like a lamb. Even the physical universe is full of mysteries and mysterious things. It is true that the human mind has penetrated many such mysteries of nature, once beyond imagination and classified as miracles. However, the discoveries of science are insignificant compared to that which has not yet been discovered. Nature is the wonderful revelation of truths that cannot be proven. And in the religious domain far more mysterious are such truths, as—in theological language—the *existence of God, the Trinity, the Humanization*, and others.

Now, the sciences and truly enlightened minds ought to . . . bow before mysteries and truths that cannot be proven—truths, by which nature is filled, by which heaven and earth are filled, and religion is but a mysterious revelation of those truths through mysteries of its own. . . .

Today, science is not against pure religion. We admit that superstitions

and facts resulting from human weakness have become woven into pure religion. These will not withstand the light of science; they will fade away and disappear. However, the pure religion, that was preached to mankind by Jesus Christ, remains, and will remain, unaltered, just as the Savior Himself, who according to the Apostle is the same yesterday, today, and tomorrow.

. . . With regard to the reform of our church, the profession of faith needs to remain untouched. We accept it with our entire liberalism, because it is not fake, nor is it an illusion pertinent to the insane. True liberalism is never self-absorbed; it is altruistic; that is, free from the prejudices of science, or better to say from scientific narrow-mindedness. True liberalism has large spaces in it for incomprehensible and mysterious things.

. . . The *Creed* and *the Profession of faith* of the church are like the by-laws of associations. As an association cannot exist without its own by-laws, likewise a church cannot be conceived of without its *Creed* and *Profession of faith*. As in the case of any association, when its members neglect, disturb, or reject the articles of the by-laws that they do not understand or do not approve of, or they amend them as they wish, or throw them away, they destroy the association, likewise the church is harmed when its members treat the *Creed* and *Profession of faith* of their church like the members of an association.

Religion is religion, and science is science. They exist without mutually harming one another. On the contrary, it is the duty of a knowledgeable man to respect religion for its worth, and not confuse its mysteries with his objective calculations and formulas.

In our humble opinion, while reforming the Armenian Church, the faithful need be educated to comprehend the *Creed* and *Profession of faith* of their church, and respect them even if they don't understand them . . . If we accept the Gospel, we have to accept also its consequences. Any objection against this, is nothing more than pedantry.

Now let us talk about the service. . . .

We have already mentioned that there is a close association between the profession of faith and the service. To make this clear and understandable, let us begin with the *Creed* and compare each word with parts of the service, and soon we will discover the association between the two. For example, let us examine the Hymn. The songs classified under the Canon of Resurrection are all Dominical; that is, they evolve around divinity and the resurrected Savior; the songs of the Canon of Repose are the glorification of the immortality of spirit . . . The prayers and the songs of the service in all their forms indicate that the people stand before the mysterious presence of a living

God. Ceremonies and rituals are in principle the mysterious expressions of man's relationship with God. As the mind and the soul in their astonishing and extremely mysterious exaltations and meditations communicate with God and with the divine, likewise the mysteries of the church, the forms of service, and the ceremonies are visible symbols of those mental and spiritual exaltations and meditations . . .

It follows then that the church service is one of the most practical and pleasant methods of religious education. In order for this method to maintain its attraction, and positively influence the faithful, it needs to be comprehensible and not boring. These two requirements play an instrumental role in the field of spiritual formation. Therefore, one of the practical aspects that needs to be considered in reforming the Armenian Church is the making of the service both comprehensible and not boring for the faithful.

Is the reformation of service possible within such a principle?

Of course it is possible, because the essence of the service, its content, is tightly associated with the profession of faith, but not with the forms and modes of the profession of faith. For example, it does not matter whether the Liturgy is simple or ceremonial. . .

According to us, the way to make the service comprehensible and not boring is to address the following:

- 1- The language of the service;
- 2- The duration of the service;
- 3- The appropriateness of the forms of service (the aesthetical aspect);
- 4- The practical participation of the faithful in the service.

1- When you speak to people in a language they understand, you interest them in any subject. The language used by the Armenian Church is Classical Armenian, while the Armenian people speak Modern Armenian.

. . . Now, without official reform, the prudence of Armenian clergymen has somehow remedied the complications caused by language by performing an important part of the service in the language people understand. The sermon, for example, which is the spirit of the service, is delivered everywhere by a language intelligible by the people . . . These informal reforms indicate that the needs and demands of time and environment have forced the church to make key sections of the service accessible to the faithful. This fact also indicates that it is possible to expand the circle of intelligibility; for example, it may be advisable to translate all scriptural readings into Modern Armenian . . . Our people need to read the Holy Scripture at home in a language they understand, and hear the readings at church in a language they

comprehend. Modern Armenian is as beautiful and sacred a language as Classical Armenian. When Modern Armenian is spoken as our everyday language, the language of our social relations, of our schools, of our literature and journalism, as well as the language of our solitary prayers, why then should it not officially have the place it deserves in our church?

As for the other parts of service—the Liturgy, the prayers, and the hymns—we need to admit that the Classical Armenian of the first two . . . is very simple . . . The hymns, however, contain many complex pieces, but the parts most often repeated and sung are not totally incomprehensible for the public. Therefore, there is no need to translate them into Modern Armenian. . . .

2- The duration of the service is very important. In human economy, there is a limit and a boundary to everything. Even the most delicious food cannot be eaten beyond a limit. Even the most elegant and inspirational sermon cannot be listened to for hours . . . A lengthy service, even if it is perfect, is boring. The faithful have other things to do also in the struggle for life. . . .

We would like to conclude by saying that lengthy services cannot build and repair the spiritual life of the Armenian people. We should remember that the church is a school for spiritual education for the faithful, and in order for a school to attract students and grab their attention, it should not bore or exhaust them. . . .

3- The elegance of the forms of service—in other words, the aesthetic aspect of the service—have close association with the duration of the service.

We seek beauty in everything, and this is the desire of the soul . . . Religion is a canvas of mysteries, and mysteries shine in beauty . . . The church, as much as possible, should rank aesthetics and taste highly. . . .

a. Repetitions should be eliminated especially if they do not disrupt the composition of the service, for they tend to cause lengthiness, and, therefore, boredom. . . .

b. Care should be taken for the art of performance of the service. All readings (prayers, Holy Scripture, Psalms, anthem, sermon) should be delivered with perfect prosody, resonant as silver, and inspirational. In this way, the faithful's attention is sustained for the entire service in all its parts. . . .

c. Reverence of the sanctuary is critical. Our church service loses much of its aura if principles of civility are neglected. Traffic during the service, the coming-in and going-out of the faithful and the staff, the noise of children,

conversations, inappropriate clearing of throats and noses . . . all of these are adversaries of fine taste . . . Unfortunately they are natural phenomena in Eastern or Asian customs, but their occurrence during the divine services violates the reverence of the sanctuary.

These issues are part of public education. The ecclesiastical leadership should work to accomplish public education with regard to church reform . . . These may seem to be secondary considerations when compared with other important issues; nevertheless, we think that graceful expression and art have an essential value in the divine service, and that they are a testimony of the refinement of public taste. It should be remembered that it is the people who are the church itself.

4- One way to make the service light and comprehensible is to solicit the participation of the faithful. This is not a novelty in our church, but rather a forgotten and abandoned beauty.

People come to church to pray; therefore, they should practically partake in all forms and expressions of prayer. In this way they perform their part in the Divine Service. . . .

The choristers represent the faithful during the service; however, their participation does not justify the passiveness of the rest of the congregation.

The faithful should be encouraged to sing along during the sacred performances in church and pray, together with the staff, aloud, at times whispering, in accordance to the need and the moment.

This is not something that can be accomplished through expressed wishes, nor can it be forced . . . People need to be taught to sing in church regardless of gender and age.

IV- The Staff of the Church

First among the important issues concerning reform of the Armenian Church is the preparation of church staff. Had we preferred to give a narrower definition to the reformation effort of the Armenian Church, we may have said: The reformation of the Armenian Church means the reformation of the staff of the Armenian Church. Because only reformed clergymen can keep a church reformed in the full meaning of the word. St. Sahag said: "When the clergy, who are the heads of the church, are fine and useful, the people will be even more fine and useful."

. . . In order to reform the staff, we need to pay attention to the following:

- a. Vocation;
- b. Character;
- c. Education;
- d. Lifestyle;
- e. Income.

Let us discuss these one by one.

a. Vocation

The office of clergy is usually viewed as a profession. This is not totally wrong, but it is not totally correct either. The office of clergy, or better, the priesthood, is a *vocation*. *Profession* indicates the concepts of gain, glory, and other considerations, while *vocation* demonstrates the spirit of selflessness, dedication, and service.

Therefore, it follows from the very meaning of the word that the current prevailing concept about clergymen needs change or revision. The change in concept should first of all occur in the minds of the candidates themselves, and then in the minds of those who have undertaken administrative duties in the church.

The Armenian Church is a ritualistic and ceremonial church. These rituals and ceremonies are attractive. Many clerical candidates think that the mechanical performance of rituals and ceremonies is a service that can be fulfilled by anyone accustomed to church life, especially if he is adequate in personal appearance, voice, and body language. . . .

What is *vocation*? It should be admitted that the definition of this word is quite complicated. Vocation is a spiritual condition that differs from all other properties and attributes by its inner value and inner reality. Sometimes, like in the case of the Biblical Samuel, a person might not realize his inner value for diverse reasons. Although prepared for divine service, Samuel could not understand and analyze his inner voice. . . .

Today there is the need for a strong, bold call, ringing of the mysterious golden bell of religion so that dull ears hear the call. And only the clergymen with *vocation* are capable of ringing that bell, because *vocation* is the expression of faith, convictions, dedication, and service of the spiritual serviceman. . . .

Even when we look at the spiritual serviceman from the aspect of rituals and ceremonies, we can state that *vocation* is a requirement for success. The best actors are those who can create the roles they play, personify them, make them come alive, and live through them. We do not deny that it is not possible to expect equal adequacy and capability from all members of the

ranks of ecclesiastical staff . . . because each one has his own merits. Not every man is an apostle. . . .

To avoid misunderstanding, we would like to carefully mention that when we emphasize *vocation* we do not want to ignore other merits that the candidates for office might have. It is possible for a candidate to have physical, moral, and social advantages that make him significant in the views of his contingency; however, such a candidate cannot make full use of his merits as a spiritual serviceman or carry the spiritual yoke of the Gospel if he does not have *vocation*.

. . . *Vocation* is the essential quality needed to develop a fine staff.

Concerning reform, as a practical step, those who do not have *vocation* should not become clergymen.

b. Character

Character is spoken about often in modern languages and manners . . . In terms of psychology and ethics, *character* means the *nature* and *qualities* of an individual. And character, first of all, means *letter* and *alphabet* . . . What role the alphabet plays in expressing the nature of language, the same role that *character* plays in expressing the nature and qualities of an individual; that is, the *specific, evident lines* or *letters* of an individual's moral value.

One of the principles of Christianity is that a Christian's *character* should be specific and clear, so specific and clear as to never leave room for suspicion and confusion. Let your "yes" be a "yes," and your "no" be a "no." Straight, correct, specific, and clear. . . .

Character, after *vocation*, should be first among qualities to be sought in a candidate for spiritual service. *Character* provides the spiritual serviceman with a proper position in his office. The secret of a clergyman's success at gaining the confidence of the faithful, and his ability to lead them with the authority of his words and manners, can be found in his character. . . .

One of the most thrilling attributes of *character* is *kindness*. The man who says "yes" for "yes" and "no" for "no" cannot be *evil*. An evil person cannot be a clergyman. He might dress like a monk and pretend to be a clergyman, but this does not mean that he has become a spiritual serviceman. . . .

In order to reform the staff of the Armenian Church, next to *vocation*, good character should be sought in a candidate.

c. Education

. . . A man of *vocation* and *character* cannot render any useful service if he lacks appropriate mental preparedness and knowledge. . . .

What is the definition of an educated clergyman?

. . . Our century is a century of professionalism. General knowledge is not sufficient for the preparation of a person for any profession or field. Something more is required; that something is a fundamental preparation.

While diverse branches of technology require well prepared professionals, and while professionals, such as teachers, physicians, and lawyers, are sought in all fields of liberal arts, the spiritual serviceman also requires a professional training.

Of course, in principle education, preparation does not have limits. It is possible to study every day, to add every day something new to one's pile of knowledge and skill . . . However, a standard for each job and the minimum preparation required for individuals of any office or field is necessary if he is to be useful in his job, to himself, and to others.

For Armenian clergymen that standard should be at a level of preparation that surpasses mediocrity. . . .

As a physician needs *a license that is obtained through dedicated and hard work* in order to practice his art or science, likewise a candidate for ecclesiastical service needs to have a license obtained in a similar fashion with regard to his mental preparedness.

Such preparedness, combined with *vocation* and *character*, secures for the spiritual serviceman a progressive contribution; that is, a serviceman possessing *vocation*, *character*, and the required *education* is capable of perpetual progress and revival. . . .

d. Lifestyle

Let us be direct. This issue is about celibacy.

A celibate life is viewed first of all, and naturally, from the aspect of temptations it is surrounded with, and is criticized severely. Since the preparation of clergymen holds a central position in the reformation of the Armenian Church, many proponents of reform raise the issue of the elimination of celibacy without even the slightest hesitation. And they place a forceful accent on the word "elimination," as if the issue thus would be solved by itself, and as if the issue of reform of the staff of the Armenian Church is limited to celibacy alone. In reality, the issue of celibacy is not as important as it is generally considered to be, because, fortunately, married clergymen number the majority in the Armenian Church, and that majority also requires reformation. . . .

In human life, marriage and celibacy are a matter of both nature and custom. In other words, marriage is not an absolute guarantee for the pre-

vention of corruption and misdeeds in sexual life . . . As every married person is not a model of sexual morality and virtue; likewise, every unmarried or celibate person is not immoral . . . We do not neglect the significance of the comparative safety provided by marriage with regard to temptations and corruption, because this is an obvious reality for every man of reason; however, termination of celibacy in the Armenian Church is not an absolute guarantee in terms of reforming the manners of clergymen. . . .

Concerning the reformation of the Armenian Church, the candidates for church service should be free to choose between marriage and celibacy; this should be considered a personal matter for all. . . .

Thanks to such a freedom (the freedom of choosing a lifestyle), another important issue will find its solution; that is, opening up the hierarchical orders of the church to all those who are worthy, not to just those who chose celibacy. An unworthy clergyman, simply because he is celibate, should not be elevated to the rank of Vartabed or Bishop, and should not be elected a Primate. Contrary to this, a worthy clergyman, simply because he is married, should not be deprived of such ranks and offices. Elevations and rewards in the offices of the church are based and should be based on a tested and gained merit; that is, on such merits that by themselves reflect *the results of the life and works of a clergyman who is a man of vocation, character, appropriate preparedness, and education.*

e. Income

Money plays a dominant role in modern life. This was not the case in ancient times, the customs of which are still among us with regard to how we compensate the staff of the church. . . .

The system of wage was introduced to our church in Turkey as a result to the Armenian National Constitution (1863), but only with regard to the Patriarchs and Primates. In general, compensation of clergymen through wages found its roots in richer churches. Egypt, for example, compensates the Primates with monthly wages, and partially allocates wages to the priests. Only partially, because they receive gifts from their parishes also. America, the largest of all Armenian colonies, compensates its priests through monthly wages. . . .

However, the overall mode of compensation for the staff of the Armenian Church is not commensurate with the spirit and conditions of modern times. Some even think that some of the insecure and disrespectful modes of compensation in common practice within the church have kept worthy people away from the priesthood . . . Regardless of the approach we

take with regard to this matter, it is a fact that the mode of compensation for the staff of the Armenian Church requires fundamental reform which could easily be realized by the establishment of a system of wages.

In order for such a system to be established, the faithful need to be required to pay annual dues to the church justly appropriate to their wealth. It follows that the Armenian people should solve this problem on their own.

. . . The church is a temple of God, a temple of prayer, and the true understanding of these words prevents us from belittling the holiness of the temple of God and of prayer with the ugliness of monetary transactions.

. . . The spiritual serviceman should not expect his compensation from the people every time he renders a service or performs a task. His whole attention should be concentrated on his service and duty, without the wanderings of his mind and heart. In order for him to be on safe ground, he should regularly receive his wage and be free of financial anxieties. . . .

If our people want to have a reformed church and a reformed staff, they should seriously be involved and aware of the importance of the role they play in these reforms, and accept the role voluntarily and play it consciously.

Conclusion

When any establishment closely associated with the life of people does not walk side-by-side with the people, that establishment loses many of its rights and its ability to reach its goals in the broadest sense of the word.

The church, as an establishment with its own life, is such an organism that is directly associated with the lives of the faithful . . . The church is the people. If you separate the church with its building and staff as an organization from the people, it loses its right to represent the people, or to present and express itself to the people.

The people cannot stand petrified amidst the flow of universal life. And the church, as an establishment of the people, cannot stand petrified where it is.

Christianity was a revelation, and is still a revelation, of new life; that is, a life capable of movement, progress, prosperity, perfection. . . .

Now, this dynamic and progressive life can be expressed through the people by their church. This is the concept of reformation. The church is always vivacious, active, and reformed when there is life in it, when it walks side-by-side with the times using firm and confident steps, when it does not fall behind its people, but leads them. In other words, when the church is alert and vigorous, and on top of its mission and role. . . .

Attention needs to be paid to the fact that our discussion of reform has been directly associated with our church and the needs of our innate life.

. . . Our church needs to be reformed within itself and not in conjunction with other churches. The issues discussed have been considered from within our church. . . .

Should someone ask which of the issues discussed can be implemented without argument, without meetings, without official acts, and especially without wasting time, we would say:

- a. First, the preparation of capable clergymen;
- b. The religious education of the faithful;
- c. A newly-translated version of the Holy Bible in Modern Armenian.

The State and The Church

The relationship between these two establishments, and particularly their separation from each other, has become a subject of discussion recently. This is a consequence of the World War which brought forth great and fundamental changes in the political and religious life of all peoples. The first and great stage of these historic changes—and also of revolutions, if you prefer—was Russia, which although a constitutional country, the heads of the state—the Tsars—personified in themselves the image of the highest authority of state and church, similar to that of Byzantine emperors.

And our newly established small Armenia, as a part of Russia, has been influenced by the Russian revolution to a great extent. The current reality in Armenia is a result of the Soviet system which recognizes no other authority—whether state or religious—except the rule of the working class.

Given these circumstances, the Armenian media, with all its segments and affiliations, is discussing the separation of state and church

Is the approach adopted towards the Armenian Church, under the guise of the separation of state and church, truly consistent with historical facts? . . .

Religion by its origin is not a phenomenon contingent only upon leading the souls of men. The crystallization of Christian mysteries requires that religion has exclusively spiritual character, and therefore should deal with souls alone . . . While in the minds of ancient societies religion was the totality of social and political life, all of which were governed by religion. This is what is called the theocratic system. Beginning with Moses, all those nations and peoples who have been educated according to the principles of the Holy Scripture, and have been governed by the Holy Scripture in their personal

and social life, possess religion in its theocratic sense and understand religion as the totality of social and political life.

It is with such an understanding that, based on the division of labor, when spiritual and lay works had their separate leaders, the leader of the corporeal domain always interceded in the works of the spiritual leader because the corporeal leader was the master of the arms. Although the corporeal leader kept the spiritual leader in his position, he appropriated to himself the supreme authority in spiritual and religious matters. . . .

The early church was free from the direct interference of political leaders. It conducted the election of its spiritual leaders freely. It is the state that wanted to appropriate the moral authority of the church and to use it broadly for its own benefits. . . .

The same historic conditions prevailed both in Armenia and Cilicia . . . the will and consent of the lay leader became necessary in ecclesiastic matters.

But when Armenians were deprived of their native leaders and fell under the political rule of diverse nations, the tables turned. The leaders of the Armenian Church became subject to the will and consent of foreign rulers. Things went on like this until the two segments of the Armenian people faced stable political conditions. First in Russia, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the Caucasus fell under the rule of the Tsars, and Etchmiadzin, the Mother See of the Armenian ecclesiastic hierarchy, became subject to the Russian Empire according to the provisions outlined in the *Polozheniya*. While in Turkey, again during a similar period, the ecclesiastic affairs of the Armenians in Turkey became subject to the arrangements of the Turkish State, according to the *National Constitution*. . . .

Neither the *Polozheniya* nor the *National Constitution* contained any designation . . . that may lead to the erroneous concept of state and church separation. . . .

Armenians throughout the centuries have been a people who lost political organization or statehood, and have been scattered throughout the world. They have long depended on their Mother Church, their language, and their alphabet as their bonds of unity. Therefore, when we talk about our times, we mention that when someone talks about separation of state and church, or politics and religion, this most of all is an appropriate discussion for the Moslems of Turkey, where the concept of the unity of state and religion—if not their sameness—has historical preference. The same historic explanation cannot be used in Russia because the Russian Church did not direct the state, despite the fact that the Russian Church belonged to the

state. It was the Russian state that interfered in the administrative affairs of the Russian Church and imposed upon the church.

Under such historic circumstances, it is wrong to address the concept of *State* and *Church* separation with regard to the Armenian Church. . . .

In history, the concept of *separation of Church and State* eludes to the destruction and elimination of the Papal state, and the seizure of its financial assets, based on its being a dangerous neighbor vis-à-vis lay states because of its rich moral and financial means.

The Armenian Church even in its most brilliant periods of history never possessed the dazzling light and dangerous might of ecclesiastic hegemony.

. . . Since the church has been subject to the severe constraints of Soviet principles and concepts due to the establishment of Soviet regime in Russia, and those countries subject to Russia, outside Soviet Russia those enthusiastic about the new regime began to justify the actions adopted against the church under the guise of *State and Church Separation*. . . .

Without making antihistoric statements, we must say that the Soviet regime denies religion and everything related to religion . . . The Soviet State is antireligious in principle, and therefore by its principle it is against everything that is connected to church and religion. In order to achieve its goal, it not only harasses the church through direct and indirect measures, but also educates the young generation with antireligious doctrine. . . .

Since, in its simplest form, this is the reality, it is useless to advocate the principle of church and state separation, in one way or another, in an attempt to mislead those who live outside Soviet countries that what happened in Soviet countries was the implementation of the principle of *state and church separation*. It is also useless to proclaim that the church is free in Soviet countries, that churches are open, and that those who wish attend it, and those who do not wish do not attend. This is the surface of reality. The essence differs totally. . . .

To make it easy for readers to understand the conclusions of our study, we will focus on to two great and mighty states. The first is England whose church is a state church, and the second is the United States of America where the state is separate from the church.

The Anglican Church or the Church of England is supported and strengthened by law ("The Church of England which is established by Law"). For this reason, the King of England should be a member of the state church and the defender of faith (these are the official titles of the King of England).

The decisions of the councils of state church derive their state power through the approval of the King, and the King approves those decisions through his Parliament.

The ecclesiastic councils, in case of need, appeal for revisions to the Privy Council of the King which is the highest court of the state.

The Privy Council cannot establish ecclesiastic laws, but can discuss them, to see if they do not contradict the law. The Parliament also cannot establish ecclesiastic laws, but it can examine whether they confer with the laws of the country, and it is after the approval of the Parliament that ecclesiastic canons are legitimized and are implemented as law. . . .

The Anglican Church, in its turn, has its members in the Parliament as follows: In the House of Lords the Church has twenty-four episcopal seats; five of these belong precisely to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Durham. The remaining nineteen seats are occupied by other Bishops according to rank.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is a member of the Trust that executes the role of the King as head of the state in the absence of the King.

The state and the church have no financial commitment to each other. Churches have their own sources of income . . . and their estates.

. . . England is the major architect of modern civilization; England is a religious country, and the British people are a religious people with numerous denominations, while the state is officially Christian, that is, a religious state. However, religion and church have never hampered the country's progress or the aura of the state power. And the Church has never been considered a state within the state, or a government within the government.

. . . We cannot predict what the distant future might bring, but the experience shows that the British state is fond of its governmental system, and this, in turn, indicates that religion in no way has prevented the people from progress or the state to prosper, either in England or in the colonies.

In the case of America, religion is absolutely free. Although the Federal Government of the United States has no connection with the church, the American state *should be Christian*; that is, America, as a state, cannot be without religion, nor can it be heteroreligious, *but only Christian*. . . .

Any given church in America must register with the government and be officially recognized as an organization in order to possess land.

. . . The government in America does not interfere in purely religious controversies, as long as they do not disturb public safety and peace; but it interferes in estate matters and controversies, because these are governed by the civil laws of the country. From the pulpits of American churches, gov-

ernment mistakes and shortcomings may be subject to harsh criticism, if deemed necessary. The American government secures absolute freedom of speech and writing, provided that it is not used against or to disturb the security and peace of the country.

. . . It follows that America, contrary to England, although not connected to any certain church, is Christian in spirit and Protestant in denomination, according to the most liberal designation of the word. And it is this free religious spirit that makes religion cherished by Americans. That timorous and pious spirit—kind and progressive—by which America characterizes itself and distinguishes itself among modern nations and states by its astonishing religiousness, its unbeatable industry, its practical education, and its never-ending wealth which, unfortunately, is not distributed among the lower classes of its people. . . .

The existence of numerous churches in America has not hampered the implementation of state projects. The State and the Church respect each other and do not interfere in each other's affairs.

It was desirable, very much desirable, that the American freedom of churches prevail also in *Soviet countries*, and as the church does not interfere with state affairs, likewise, in absolute neutrality, the state refrains from interfering with church affairs. . . .

However, one of the fundamental principles of Soviet countries is the disintegration of religion and religious establishments . . . If the Soviet regime continues to rule and maintain this doctrinal approach, the new generations living or born in Soviet countries will have no idea about God and Religion. As this catastrophe happens, then one of the great lessons of history will be learned—irreligious, atheist states will not persevere. They will be self-destroyed from within. We believe that the kingdom of Gospel is invincible, and even the gates of hell cannot conquer it.

It is the noble humanitarian principles of religion that produce altruism, social equality, and respect for law and order. The *Soviet regime* strengthens egoism—both individual and collective—and destroys the bonds of respect in family and society. . . .

With the establishment of the Soviet regime, we are witnessing the destructive interference of the state in church affairs. It would be correct to say *the state should not interfere in church affairs in any way, neither directly nor indirectly, neither obviously nor in silence*; instead, it should maintain absolute neutrality, preferably indifference. Or, by reversing the formula that is used incorrectly with regard to the Armenian Church, we should say *the state should be separated from the church*, as has happened in America.

The Published Works of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken Guleserian

1- *Cilicia*, a concise topographical and historic study, reproduced from *Luma* periodical, Tbilisi, 1896, 40 pp.

2- *Munajat*, a Turkish prayerbook printed in Armenian, with a textual addendum, Constantinople, first ed. 1899, second ed. 1904, third ed. 1913, xxiii+304 pp.

3- *The People's Calendar of Feasts*, a simplified knowledge about the *Book of Feasts and the Feasts*, Constantinople, 1901, 87 pp.

4- *Dzovk-Dlouk-Hromgla*, a historic and topographical study of the Catholicoi of the period of Bahlavounis, reproduced from *Hantes Amsorya* monthly, Vienna, 1904, viii+117 pp.

5- *Patriarch Golod Hovhannes*, historical-philological study, reproduced from *Hantes Amsorya* monthly, Vienna, 1904, xiv+227 pp.

6- *Sermons*, Volume I, a collection of 37 sermons delivered at the Holy Illuminator Church of Galatia, Constantinople, 1904, xv+388 pp.

7- *Yeghishé*, a comparative study, prepared as a thesis at the Seminary of Armash, reproduced from *Hantes Amsorya* monthly, Vienna, 1909, xxvii+463 pp.

8- *Memorial of Patriarch Krikor Basmajian*, a memoir-autobiography of the Patriarch Basmajian, reproduced from *Panaser* periodical, Paris, 1908, iv+149 pp.

9- *The Armenian Church in the Fifth Century*, abbreviated chapters from the study *Yeghishé*, with some additions, Constantinople, 1912, xv+104 pp.

10- *Vartan the Brave*, a popular story of the Battle of Vartanants, Boston, 1920, vi+160 pp.

11- *Biography of His Eminence Patriarch Yeghishé Tourian*, New York, 1929, 16 pp.

12- *The Armenian Church*, a lecture, reproduced from *Baïkar* daily, Boston, 1924, 62 pp.

13- *Islam in the Armenian Literature*, the work *Against the Saracens* by Krikor Datevatsi, reproduced from *Hantes Amsorya* monthly, Vienna, 1930, 240+3 pp.

14- *The Armenian Church*, studies about the reform of the Armenian

Church and related matters, reproduced from *Sion* monthly, Jerusalem, 1930, xii+355 pp.

15- *Christian*, a book prepared for the teachers and students of the Sunday Schools, first ed. 1932, Jerusalem; second ed. 1939, Antelias; third ed. 1948, Antelias, xivi+264 pp.

16- *Lessons from the Gospel*, First Series, studies from the Bible, prepared as sermons, reproduced from *Davros*, Antelias, 1934, viii+192 pp.

17- *Lessons from the Gospel*, Second Series, reproduced from *Sion*, Antelias, 1936, xi+448 pp.

18- *Armenian Cyprus*, topography and historic notes about the Armenian community in Cyprus and the monastery of St. Magar, Antelias, 1936, xvi+272 pp.

19- *L'église Arménienne* (The Armenian Church), prepared in French and Arabic, to introduce the Armenian Church to non-Armenians, Beirut, 1936, 54+55 pp.

Published Post-Mortem

20- *The Armenian Church*, the Armenian version of the above-mentioned *L'église Arménienne*, written in 1933, Antelias, 1939, iv+103 pp.

21- *History of the Catholicoi of Cilicia and the Catholicate of Cilicia*, Antelias, 1939, xiv+1446 columns.

22- *Sermons for the Great Lent*, reproduced from *Azk* daily of Boston, Antelias, 1940, 119 pp.

23- *Reform of the Armenian Church*, reproduced from *Hayasdani Gochmag* weekly of New York, Antelias, 1940, xi+164 pp.

24- *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Red Monasteries and Environment*, Antelias, 1957, xiii+1518 columns.

25- *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Armenian National Library of Galatia*, Antelias, 1961, viii+1494 columns.

A Partial List of Unpublished Works

1- *Armenian Angora*, topographical and historic study of Armenians in and around Ankara.

2- *The Celibate Priest in the Armenian Church*, a canonical study to be reproduced from *Loosy* periodical.

3- *Malachia Ormanian*, the life and works of Patriarch Ormanian, to be reproduced from *Davros* periodical.

4- *Ecclesiastical Calendarology*, a course.

5- *Nalian and Naregatsi*, to be reproduced from *Loosy* periodical.

6- *A History of Modern Armenian*, a course.

- 7- *An Introduction to the Pentateuch*, a course.
- 8- *The Theology of the Armenian Church*, a course.
- 9- *Canonology*, a course.
- 10- *Mentor for Pedotrophy*, for mothers.

Periodicals Edited by the Coadjutor Catholicos

- 1- *Loos*, religious-ecclesiastological weekly, Constantinople, 1905–1906.
- 2- *Davros*, an independent Armenian weekly (co-editor A. N. Nazar), Boston, 1918–1919.
- 3- *Sion*, monthly, the official publication of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, 1927–1930.
- 4- *Hasg*, monthly, the official publication of the Catholicate of Cilicia, 1932–1936.

His Legacy

Posthumous Testimonies

In Memory of Bishop Papken: Forty Years Later

Our first opportunity to make Bishop Papken's acquaintance occurred in the spring of 1927, when he visited our orphanage of Nazareth. . . .

Today, I do not recall his first sermon, except for his voice, which was high, strong, and brimming with self-confidence and trustworthiness . . . I remember his advice: "Yesterday, when I asked some of you, 'Son, what do you want to be when you grow up?' some of you said that you would become tailors, or carpenters, or shoemakers. These are all fine professions, but from now on, should someone ask you what you want to be when you grow up, you have to answer: 'I want to be a man.' 'What kind of a man?' he may then ask, and you must answer: 'An Armenian Christian man.'"

. . . When we enrolled in the Seminary [of Jerusalem] and Bishop Papken was our teacher, we then understood that whatever he had advised us in the homeland of the Nazarene, he himself had already accomplished. Indeed, Bishop Papken first was a man, a Christian Armenian man, and then a Vartabed, a bishop, and later a Coadjutor Catholicos. A sincere, diligent, dedicated, responsible, and trustworthy man . . . A man not exempt from human weaknesses . . . His sincerity, for example, at times could be mistaken for rudeness. His dedication and deep sense of responsibility could be interpreted as a desire to rule . . . His usual indifference towards formalities of politeness could be confused with megalomania. The truth, however, is that Bishop Papken was a man of independent and upright character.

He was a conscientious and consistent teacher. He was punctual, hardly ever absent. He taught us Classical Armenian. He demonstrated a special affection and care towards those of us who were lazy, weak, and harsh; just like a sculptor, who prefers to work with granite, rather than marble or soft-stones. . . .

Bishop Papken was one of the graduates of Armash who miraculously survived [the Genocide]. His survival, through providential predestination, proved to be useful. He played a vital and important role in the revival of the Armenians of the Diaspora. . . .

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken himself was the one who organized and put the wandering Cilician See back on a firm foundation after the deportation. . . .

Archbishop Shenorhk Kaloosdian
Patriarch of Constantinople

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken: The Impressions of a Teenager

In 1935, in the Monastery of St. James of Jerusalem, from the month of March until the end of July, we celebrated the fifteenth centennial of the translation of the Bible into Armenian. . . .

. . . We learned that Catholicos Sahag, holder of the Throne of the Great House of Cilicia, would visit Jerusalem, accompanied by his Coadjutor Catholicos Papken Guleserian.

During the two days prior to [their arrival], excerpts and paragraphs from Bishop Papken's writings played over and over in my mind. . . .

A rigorous instructor's stiff countenance transformed on the canvas of my imagination into that of an extremely patient teacher who knew how to open the mind of his students to deep truths expressed in simple formulas.

Here is how:

It should be admitted that at the center of the failures and mistakes of all Christian churches and peoples is the fact that they have not adapted to the Gospel, but have adapted the Gospel to their knowledge, their considerations, their interests, in a word, to their self-deceit.

. . . The fine samples of Armenian architecture reveal that our ancestors understood the spirit of religion. They successfully gave the church structure, not only the most appropriate forms and lines to expose the spirit, but also to express the Armenian soul and concept in the art of designing and constructing.

. . . He was chosen . . . Patriarch Tourian righteously said: "The complete trust he enjoys is justified by his over-scrupulous studies, his civilized journalistic achievement in *Loos* and *Davros* weeklies, and by his renowned zeal towards the authentic doctrine and traditions of the Armenian Church."

April 18 [1935], a date linked to His Eminence, will remain in my mind a beautiful memory . . . The two Catholicos were led to the hall. Catholicos Sahag, shouldering the burden of his eighty-six years and the grief of the sufferings of his flock, stood before the group like an ancient apostle, or perhaps like an oak. He was healthy in mind and spirit.

Then I turned my attention on the Coadjutor Catholicos, the younger of the two men. His eyes too reflected tiredness and sadness, but they were also full of wisdom and had a paternal look that was difficult to define. He

watched the students of the old monastery dressed in their uniforms, their hair cut short, and the longing for their homes on their faces. It was as if he was looking into their eyes for the countenances of his slaughtered colleagues and students, the phantoms of Armash. And perhaps he was comforted by the thought that the Armenian Church could remain long vivacious, growing, and unshakable.

Why, otherwise, when we kissed the anointed right hand of Catholicos Sahag and approached him to take his right hand, he hugged us one by one, asking us our names?

Later, in the school yard, Catholicos Sahag walked towards the flowers planted by the students under the shadow of the walls of Jerusalem. He lifted his head to measure the height of the cedar he had planted half a century ago. . . .

His Eminence Papken gathered the students around him. He had many things to tell them. His final words were both advice and encouragement: "Let the desire to learn be the ardor of your heart."

Archbishop Torkom Koushagian
Patriarch of Jerusalem

Catholicos Papken Guleserian as an Armenologist

Catholicos Papken of blessed memory, whom I knew intimately while he was in the United States . . . is a personality who brings honor to Armenian clergymen. He was both a chaste cleric of high moral character and a thoughtful and productive scholar.

. . . Catholicos Papken made the literature of our ancestors the special focus of his studies. He did not find satisfaction in shallow explanations and interpretations with regard to complicated issues of language and original texts; instead, he examined them carefully in order to arrive at as conclusive results as possible. The skillful historical and philological studies produced by him are testimony to his thoroughness.

He was only twenty-eight years old when—fully prepared for his clerical mission—he received his doctoral degree for his thesis *Yeghishé*. His work, an analytical study of the historian Yeghishé, won the Izmirlian Prize in 1898, and was published in 1909, by the Mekhitarist press in Vienna. Three years later, he published abridged chapters of the same study under the title *Yeghishé—The Armenian Church in the Fifth Century*.

Reverend Father Papken in this serious analytical study focused on uncovering the truth of what the historiographer of the Battle of Vartanants recorded, by comparing his account with the descriptions of the episode concerning Vartanants in Ghazar Parbetsi's work. This work consisted of scrupulous and thorough research that attracted the attention and the praise of many experts in the field. The author never claimed his remarks and thoughts definitive. His only goal was the interpretation and correction of the historic texts. . . .

A few years after graduating from the Seminary, Reverend Father Papken decided to study the history of the Armenian Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by looking at significant events and personalities who, according to him, had not been studied sufficiently. His work, *Dzovk* (Vienna, 1904) was the result of such research. It is a thorough study of the provinces of Dzovk-Dluk and Hromgla in Cilicia. This book is not merely a geographical description; it also contains sketches of famous historical figures.

In this same period, Reverend Father Papken published his second book in the series “Materials for Church History.” Titled *Golod Hovhannes Patriarch*, it was dedicated to the life of the great cleric and patriot. The book also covers the extraordinary work of Reverend Father Krikor, renowned as Sheghtayagir (Chain bearer), for the sake of the Armenian monastery in

Jerusalem. This was followed by the book, *The Colophon of the Basmadjian Krikor Patriarch*, reproduced from the *Panaser* periodical (Paris, 1908). The book discusses the biography of the tormented Patriarch of Constantinople, who aroused much publicity in the eighteenth century for his disloyalty to the Armenian Church.

Desiring to introduce to the general public the important significance of the Battle of Vartanants to the Armenian nation, he wrote *Vartan the Brave*, which appeared in Boston, in 1920. . . .

His study entitled *Islam in Armenian Classical Literature* (Vienna, 1930) was a unique and interesting work. It contained the arguments and refutations of Krikor Datevatsi (fourteenth century) against Moslem doctrine and laws. The author had before him a fine copy of the manuscript of "The Book of Questions."

And finally, one of the most valuable historical works of Catholicos Papken was his *History of the Catholicoi of Cilicia* . . . (Antelias, 1939).

Mihrtad Tiryakian, New York
Scholar, Middle Eastern Studies

The Philologist and the Historian

Papken Guleserian, besides accomplishing his clerical duties with dedication, made significant contributions in the fields of historical and philological studies. In doing so, he distinguished himself from all those graduates of Armash who studied under the spirits of Malachia Ormanian and Yeghishé Tourian.

. . . With his character and inclinations, Papken Guleserian . . . was neither a novelist, nor a poet—the translation of Lamartine’s *Josline* should be considered a youthful mistake, one which he himself excluded from his list of works. In fact, he never pursued the refinement of his language and style. He demonstrated the capability of an objective researcher beginning with the period of his study at Armash. . . .

It was upon his acceptance of a preacher’s position at the St. Gregory the Illuminator Church of Galatia that Guleserian found the broad opportunity to conduct his research. *Golod Hovhannes Patriarch* was the first monograph dedicated to one of the greatest Patriarchs of Constantinople. It stands as a one-of-a-kind study. He used to say that following the publication of that study he discovered new documents that would enable him to write an additional new volume on the subject; however, he was never able to realize this intention. It seems that he was particularly fascinated by the history of the Patriarchs of Constantinople. In 1908, *The Colophon of the Basmadjian Krikor Patriarch* was reprinted from the *Panaser* periodical of Paris. Unfortunately, his contemporary history of Patriarch Khoren Ashekian, which he had prepared for publication, was burnt during a fire. Only one copy was saved. . . .

Historical and philological, and even geographical and topographical studies rarely come to definitive conclusions. New sources (manuscripts, fragments of manuscripts, registrations, coins, colophons) and different interpretations of historical facts can partially or totally change the conclusions of former studies. The humanitarian sciences are not exact sciences, such are chemistry, physics, and mathematics. Therefore, the standard of knowledge at the time of the preparation of such works is the measure with which to evaluate studies in the field of humanitarian sciences.

In this regard, few things require correction in Guleserian’s works. . . .

Haig Berberian, Paris
Scholar, Armenologist

An Irreplaceable Catholicos

When I knew him, he was already one of the high-ranking clergymen of the Armenian Church. . . .

The horrendous crime of Genocide perpetrated against the Armenian people in 1915 claimed one-and-a-half million lives and subjected an additional one million or more Armenians to deportation, resulting in putting a heavy burden on the Armenians already established in the Diaspora and urging them to make unprecedented sacrifices.

The need was immense. Superhuman efforts were required to care for thousands of orphans, shelter widows, help the aged and handicapped, and give hope to those surviving to go on. . . .

Bishop Papken was in the United States during the post World War I period.

. . . Already a bishop, when he arrived in America in 1914, he stayed for eight years. His life in this country was productive, especially for a restless person like Bishop Papken, who considered rest synonymous with laziness. . . .

In 1916, when soul-stirring and heart-breaking news continued to darken the Armenian horizon, Bishop Papken advised, encouraged, and collaborated with a handful of Armenians to establish the Brotherhood of the Knights of Vartan. The founders, according to Rev. Haigaz Khazoyan, believed that “For a small-sized people like us, it was impossible to attain political independence, by financial means, an army, wealth, or through the benevolent support of Powers. Therefore, as a people, we had to rely on our own strength, our spiritual forces, and with them build the fate of our nation. . . .

We continue to have such spiritual forces, whom even our fiercest enemy, the Turk, cannot touch . . . our many thousand years of Traditions, our Home, our Church, and our language, literature, and culture that flourished under the protectorship of the Church. . . .”

It is through the spirit of Bishop Papken that Rev. Khazoyan spoke, because that high-ranking clergyman of the Armenian Church was the person who laid down the foundation of the Brotherhood with a covenant that revived the oath of Vartan and his followers. . . .

Dikran H. Boyadjian, Boston
Political activist and author

Coadjutor Catholicos Papken

In 1932, while I was the editor of *Arev* daily, Catholicos Papken visited Egypt. The purpose of his visit was to secure Garabed Melkonian's financial support for the Catholicate of Antelias and the Seminary. Melkonian left no provision for an allocation to the Catholicate of Sis. Nevertheless, Garabed Melkonian, the benefactor, allocated one thousand British pounds from his annual five thousand pound stipend to the Catholicate. . . .

Thanks to Coadjutor Catholicos Papken's efforts, Antelias, with its Seminary, entered a new organized and efficient era. . . .

Prior to the election of the Coadjutor Catholicos Papken, the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) had no legal permission to act in Syria and Lebanon; therefore, the committees of the Union encountered many obstacles, particularly with regard to their school projects. It was due to the appeals of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken that the French High Commissioner agreed to allow the AGBU to function in the countries under its jurisdiction. . . .

Hovhannes Boghosian, Paris
Political activist and editor

The Paternal Kiss: In Memory of Late Catholicos Papken

In the years 1916 through 1920, while studying in New York, I had the opportunity to know Bishop Papken in person. Driven by nostalgia and still very much a refugee teenager, I went to church every Sunday, as I had in my paternal village of Huseinig.

At the time, the priest of St. Illuminator Church of New York lacked the ability and the grace required to deliver a sermon . . . Fortunately for our faithful, the performance of sermons was entrusted to Bishop Papken . . .

During the Divine Liturgy, the Bishop read the Gospel—written in Classical Armenian—to the congregation, in Modern Armenian. The church was not that big, and it was packed with people every Sunday; some were young refugees, and a few were women and children.

Bishop Papken delivered his sermons in a clear and graceful Armenian . . . Just listening to them gave me spiritual satisfaction. His eloquence was like a sweet spring outpouring from a deep paternal wisdom and from the warm heart of a saint-like person. The subjects of the sermons were based on the Gospel. Their impression and linguistic beauty will be forever embedded in my memory.

In those days, I had the chance to talk to him only twice. The first time was at the christening of two of my relatives' children in New York. I was the godfather, and Bishop Papken performed the mystery. That day, gathered around a table blessed by him, we shared a delicious meal prepared in the style of Kharpert.

. . . My second and last meeting with His Eminence Papken of blessed memory took place in 1918 in Woonsocket, Rhode Island. I spent my summer vacation there and was working to cover some of my school expenses.

The small community of Woonsocket . . . was represented by two or three Armenian organizations. The AGBU membership was the largest. The AGBU, in those years, carried a heavy burden helping the thousands of orphans rescued from the Genocide, and providing for their education.

One Sunday, in early September, the AGBU organized a public meeting in support of the Armenian orphans. The hall was full of sad faces. It was as if the day was a day of mourning. Bishop Papken was the keynote speaker.

That day the Bishop spoke like a wise father about the social and educational needs of the thousands of surviving orphans. With a moving appeal, he asked the audience to join him in support of this blessed task.

Then it was my turn to speak.

. . . I delivered an appeal filled with a warm spirit, stating that the orphans themselves spoke through me, and as precious fragments of our martyred nation, they rightfully asked and demanded that we offer them, in addition to bread, water, and shelter, the nourishment of our alphabet. . . .

The audience gave considerable sums that Sunday.

Deeply moved, the Bishop blessed the people and the AGBU. Then he came to me. He hugged me, kissed my forehead like a father, and said:

– Be blessed, my son, and live long.

I feel that paternal kiss of the Bishop of blessed memory, with its accompanying blessing, stamped on my forehead and in my memory today.

Peniamin Noorigian, Spring Lake, N.J.

Writer and editor

Catholicos Papken I

. . . Reverend Father Papken Guleserian from the day of his graduation from the Seminary until the day of his premature death remained a patriotic, skilled, diligent, hard-working intellectual, and one of our most noble and esteemed ecclesiastic and national activists. As a dedicated servant of our national motherly church, in his youth he willingly accepted positions offered to him in the provincial regions of Asia Minor, and especially Turkish Armenia. As primate of Samson, then in service of the Armenian community of Angora, and later particularly as the Primate of Armenians of Daron and Abbot of the renowned Monastery of St. Garabed, he demonstrated the precious attributes of a scrupulous, capable, selfless, and patriotic spiritual leader. He combined the fire of a bleeding heart and the flight of an idealist soul with the ability of a methodical and serious laborer capable of completing projects, and making his efforts and the efforts of those surrounding him succeed. Wherever he went, his efforts resulted in positive and significant contributions. He was one of those, for whom the people say: He squeezes water out of stone.

His legacy was great and multifold, not only as an ecclesiastic leader, but also as a skilled preacher, a capable teacher, and a learned and studious philologist. . . .

We owe the Catholicate of Antelias, its Seminary, its official publication *Hasg*, and its distinguished role as a national center within the womb of the great Armenian community of Syria, mostly to the unlimited vigor and dedication of Catholicos Papken, and to his rare skills as an activist and leader.

. . . The man in Catholicos Papken was dainty and gentle, the leader vigorous and mighty. Those who have known him intimately, know how honest and warm he was towards his friends. . . .

Arshag Tchobanian
Writer, editor, political activist

His Holiness Papken Catholicos

. . . Catholicos Papken was the model of a monastic monk, who liked the isolation of his dark cell and sought the life of serious, punctilious, and scrupulous research. He took his love for philology and history as his spiritual heritage from his teacher, Patriarch Yeghishé Tourian. He remained faithful to this heritage to the end, and diligently sought to enrich it. His beautiful work, *Vartan the Brave*, reveals him as a man of enthusiastic, idealistic, and almost romantic patriotism that seems beyond imagination, especially upon knowing him and observing his reserved prudence towards the events of current life. As a historian, Catholicos Papken was full of idealistic patriotism, but as a leader to his community and as a politician, he sacrificed the vigor and enthusiasm of idealism to realism and prudence. His critical realism in his historical studies, such as *Vartan the Brave*, was in perfect harmony with his love and zeal of moral and spiritual values. In community affairs, he never turned his back to the solutions shaped by reality and wisdom.

As a historian and writer, he was daring and liberal, while as an ecclesiastic leader, he was conservative. . .

Hratch Yervant
Political activist and editor

The “Man”

. . . What kind of a man was Father Papken Guleserian?

1. He was a personality fueled by the desire to serve and labor, and a person who possessed a creative mind . . . He always kept himself busy pursuing an important project. During a conversation we had when he was in Boston, he advised me not to spend my time writing about common matters, instead, to write professional articles, based on a serious plan, for collection and inclusion in separate volumes of work in the future. This spirit of working in alignment with a scholarly and methodical patience was inspired in Bishop Papken by his teacher, Archbishop Malachia Ormanian. . . .

2. The willingness to serve and sacrifice himself before the altar of the nation and the church made Bishop Papken capable of heroic gestures, despite the fact that he was not a revolutionary in the narrow meaning of the word, nor did he ever belong to any political organization. When he was Primate of Mush, he courageously extended a supporting hand to General Antranig. . . .

3. He was a man in love with our national values. At least in my surrounding I have never met anyone else who has been so warmly in love with the immortal values of his nation. His knowledge of the great works of Armenian classical literature was deep and thorough. The relics of the Armenian Church, the Armenian scriptures, the manuscripts that were hidden in the monasteries, and church vessels have been the subject of his special attention. Their loss through the hands of Turkish thieves and executioners tormented his soul. In the aftermath of the Genocide, his personal library also was destroyed and its ashes were given to the wind by the Turks. The dedicated Armenian ecclesiastic mourned these losses and often shed tears while talking about them. He particularly deplored the deaths of Armenian intellectuals—clergymen, writers, teachers, and scholars. . . .

4. Rarely have I seen an Armenian with the spirit of a knight—whether clerical or lay—who put aside his personal interests, and defended the truth with the spirit of justice . . . He was an upright person. . . .

5. Catholicos Papken belonged to a group of few, who purposely keep themselves in the shade in order to focus on the work before them. . . .

6. His diligence knew no boundary. He worked so hard that witnesses found it amazing and even felt compassion for him, because he so extremely sacrificed his weak body for his nation. . . .

7. Catholicos Papken was not a cold-blooded ecclesiastic interested

merely in historical and philological studies. He was a man of administrative skills, similar to Patriarch Ormanian. One of the major aspects of his character was his ability to become enthusiastic. He often expressed his enthusiasm in his writings, sermons, and lectures. . . .

8. Cheerful by nature, he loved wit and joking; he laughed and made people laugh whenever he found the moment appropriate . . . I mention this, in order to dismiss some people's wrong impression that Bishop Papken was a frowning and austere clergyman. . . .

Prof. Kevork A. Sarafian
Educator and author

Catholikos Papken and the Armenian American Students Association

His Eminence Papken during the period of his study at the Seminary of Armash, and afterwards, as a high-ranking clergyman, always demonstrated an affection for Armenian students. I still remember one of his poems, published years ago in the *Loos* ecclesiastic periodical which addressed the Armenian students of Constantinople thus:

“Who are they?”

It was a poem full of paternal compassion that revealed his affection towards Armenian students.

This education-loving Armenian ecclesiastic played an instrumental role in the establishment of the Giligian College of Aintab. He believed in books and literature, and in schools and the splendor of the church. He was extremely ardent about the importance of all aspects of culture to flourish.

. . . He had a keen interest and devotion towards the Armenian American Students Association. Whenever we met each other either in Boston or in New York, the highly qualified Armenian clergyman always asked: “What is the condition of Armenian students? What kind of contribution will they bring to the enlightenment and strengthening of Armenian life?”

In the years 1915–1916, I was the president of the Central Board of the Armenian American Students Association. Bishop Papken and I lived in the large house of Armenag A. Nazar, together with the Bishop’s nephew, Kapriel Der Bedrossian. Our conversations often centered around what the Armenian students should do upon graduation. “What benefit do our tortured people get from students that do not serve the nation?” he asked over and over again.

When the Students Association decided to convene its assembly in New Haven, in one of the halls of Yale University, on June 21–23, 1916, I invited him to be present at the convention and I asked him to address the students . . . The theme of his speech was “What does our nation require from its students?” This fine speech was published in *Azk* daily in July, 1916.

That evening, the Bishop spoke to both the students and the prominent members of the Armenian community of New Haven invited to the celebration. After praising the rich Armenian language, he asked the audience to always speak Armenian. He said: “Even if some of you are Turkophones, you have to exert an effort to learn Armenian, to read Armenian newspapers and books, and to maintain the Armenian spirit always bright and immortal.”

I dare say that Bishop Papken's presence in America ignited the spirit of nationalism, and prepared the fertile ground for the preservation and progress of Armenian culture on these shores. . . .

Armenian Americans owe a lot to Bishop Papken Guleserian.

May his immortal memory be blessed.

Prof. Kevork A. Sarafian

Educator and author

The Laborer

. . . The fairly new tomb of Catholicos Papken is reason to bring to the passionate attention of generations a fundamental peculiarity, the common denominator by which are linked to each other the glorious thoughts of Patriarch Tourian and that humble teacher, who even in the breath of death found the time to bring his contribution to our mind. The common denominator is the total dedication, the almost fierce worship of labor.

* * *

And in very few people has the spirit of labor had the seriousness, the alienating, offensive, almost egoist characteristic, evident in the late Catholicos.

. . . There are people, for whom labor is an intellectual function, using the word in its physiological designation. [People] who, God knows by what predestined price, inherit their mind adorned, and appropriate to themselves and the impulses of their environment, in order to reproduce them in natural beauty, in total liberty. And always, without trouble, they fulfill their role and destiny, largely benefited from their gifts, and they make their extraordinary activity conceivable and bright.

* * *

Armash, Constantinople, Mush, America, Palestine, Syria—wherever the call of our needs drove him, Papken, a man who entered our church as a chorister and departed it as Catholicos, responded to these calls. This zeal to meet the needs of his countrymen—literally speaking, his passion of labor—was his ever current and omnipresent virtue. Throughout his service to our church, from the most humble position to the most sublime peaks of hierarchy, he made his way with laboring, unwary steps.

Moreover, he walked driven by a clear, concise, decisive vision.

His was a vision formulated by a simple and deep intuition, a universal inundation of the mystery of his people, as a centuries-old message combined with the harsh current reality. The Armenian Church in his mind was not only a cycle of successions, but more of an actual lesson and an invincible flag that has remained hanging above the calamities of our nation for centuries. This mode of thinking and perception of our church is similar to the very early conception of our church fathers.

It is under the impulse of that vision that he spoke, taught, led, and authored with equal ardor. He descended to the grave pen in hand. . . .

Hagop Oshagan
Writer and critic

An Intimate Portrait of Catholicos Papken (Personal Memoirs and Impressions)

The year 1930 was a very important milestone in the history of the Catholicate of Cilicia. The year realized the dreams and visions of Catholicos Sahag II who called himself “The Catholicos of Ruins.” In 1930 he brought to end the wandering life.

In the summer of the same year, the Armenians of Syria and Lebanon enjoyed a full period of enthusiasm. Every week, the Armenian media beamed the rays of the dawn of Armenian religion in the houses, bringing a new hope and a new light to the faithful. Armenian leaders supported the aged Catholicos. They helped him keep his tired and weakened arms up in order to continue his prayers, like Moses.

He prayed and prayed for a Joshua, so he may hold the stick and tend his scattered flock.

He retrospectively reviewed his years of youth, when he toured the places trodden by Christ and prayed in cites sanctified by miracles. He encountered an honorable clergyman who preached with an apostle-like spirit, and taught and acted. He found in that person the vigor of John the Baptist, the skill of the Apostle Paul, and the spirit of love of John the Evangelist. By pointing him out to all Armenians, he announced aloud: “Behold! Here is a vigorous shepherd in whom there is no deceit.” The words of the near-to-the-grave Catholicos echoed around the world, and the media replied that the man of whom he spoke was “worthy” of the office of Joshua.

A prophet-like person came down from “the sublime heights of Zion.” He was a modern disciple of Christ. He possessed the pure character of a visionary, holy and humble in his heart. He was a great teacher and organizer, who slowly went forward with his shepherd’s stick on the sands—listening to the harmony of the waves of the Mediterranean, watching the beauty of the evergreen mountains of Lebanon—and standing in front of a complex of buildings. He looked at the complex, sighed from the depths of his soul, and entered through an iron gate just as Joshua had entered into the land of promise.

He wandered in that desolate place for long. There were empty wooden pavilions and a few old and humble buildings soaked with the sweat of Armenian orphans.

The desolation of the place sent chills through him, but he recalled that the forerunner of Christ echoed a message from the desert which announced the greatness of what was to come.

He concentrated his thoughts, inspired himself, and visualized the solitude of Mount Tabor and the three dwellings suggested by Peter. Here they were, three dwellings larger than those that Peter wanted to erect. Each could host more than one prophet. The dwellings uncovered before him the transfiguration of Christ, and a ray of the heavenly light touched his soul. His body was tired of wandering, but his soul and his mind were energized. He isolated himself in a room, and before laying down on a bed, Bishop Papken wrote the following prophecy in his diary:

“We are under unfamiliar stars; the distance is immense between Cilicia and Antelias. The desolation of these buildings will breathe tomorrow with the dreams and visions of the students. The school is the nerve of the Catholicate, while the church is its soul. Both will become real tomorrow in this new and strange environment. . . .”

At that moment, the radiant sun, having exhausted the hours of its day-victory and glory, dropped powerless upon the opposite horizon, to extinguish itself in the waters of the Mediterranean. Darkness engulfed this desolation, and the chaste clergyman dreamt of erecting a fiery pillar in that desolate place. A pillar to spread warmth and light to the souls of the refugees of Cilicia.

Thus humbly and silently, but with bright sight and firmness, His Eminence Papken initiated the reconstruction of the new seat of the See of Cilicia.

The following day, the dream turned into reality. The desert became an inhabitable place. Reverend Father Shahé arrived from the remote shores of America with a suitcase in his hand. He entered through the same gate and was followed by workers, Armenians, and a crowd of interested people.

His Eminence Papken set his pen aside, explained to the master builders all the changes needed to be done with regard to the Catholicate and the Seminary, and supervised them. Sweat, anxiety, and nervousness plagued him, but he succeeded, supported by the strength of his will in his sacred undertaking.

* * *

Cilician Armenians, who suffered deportation many times, had already forgotten about the Seminary of Sis called *Zharankavorats Varzharan* (School for Beneficed Clergymen). To use the term *Tebrevank* in reference to the Seminary was a novelty. Every educated person recalled Armash under that designation. And the association was in place, for two skilled Armashtsis

were up to make it flourish, both born in Cilicia, both from the same city, both adding an honor to the Aintab name by their presence.

I recall it as if it were today. In the sunny September afternoon, after weeks of thought, I went to the old diocese of Lebanon to implement my decision. I climbed the stairs and found the Locum Tenens, Archbishop Yeghishé Garoyan, alone. He had known me since childhood. I spoke to him of my intention. He wrote on a visitation card a few lines for Reverend Father Shahé. I went downstairs. In the school yard, the tall and friendly Shahé Vartabed, with his innocent look, his small, sharp, white beard, and dressed in the uniform of an American clergyman, was preoccupied with the task of examining sixty students. After kissing his right hand, I gave him the card. He looked at it, then asked me to sit and wait.

With a tempestuous soul, thinking of the outcome, I waited until the examination was over. . . .

Following the examination, Reverend Father Shahé put the papers in his briefcase and turned to me: "My son, would you like to accompany me to the station?" I did not let him carry the briefcase. He, a Vartabed, and I, an inferior, set out for the station. Our conversation covered many issues. We used, one by one, Armenian, French, and English. As he was boarding the train to go to Antelias, he said: "My son, prepare your suitcase and come in a week; we will accept you." Only then I realized that I had completed my examination on the road stretching from St. Nishan Church to the train station.

A week later, I sat on the train which ran smoothly over the same rails. I entered through the same gate, and witnessed the same desolation. The Reverend Father had gone to the city. I noticed a few workers here and there. They told me that His Eminence was in the carpentry. I was surprised that he would deal with the carpentry, but I found the carpentry and saw the men building a stage before me. A venerable clergyman issued orders from the stage. As I approached, I recognized him from a picture I had seen in Teotig's yearbook of 1927. I kissed his right hand and introduced myself. He questioned me about my career and my intentions: "My son, do you know that you have chosen a difficult career by coming here?" I replied that I wanted to serve my people. "Very well, then," he said.

It seemed to me that they were building a theater. Therefore I asked:

- Your Holiness, what are you building here?
- We are building a church.
- Could a carpentry turn into a church?
- My son, Jesus himself was a carpenter.

His response was a cover that perfectly matched the well of my interest. There was no more room in the well either for questions to be brought out or for answers to be thrown in. We went out together, toured the facilities, talked, and then said our good-byes. I liked him from the first moment we met and he showed similar affection towards me.

Reverend Father Shahé returned that evening. Since I was twenty years old, he appointed me supervisor of the arriving students. He took me to a large hall at the center of the Antelias property and told me that the empty hall would become a classroom. Forty students were expected, but the hall was big enough for three hundred people. Then we went down the stairs to the basement. It was the same size of the hall, but with a lower ceiling. Forty humble beds were lined up next to each other in this place, more fit to be a storage area than a sleeping chamber. Outside, a branch of a rivulet from the spring of Nebi ran by the building to the sea. It was obvious that the noise of running water from the rivulet would disturb sleep at night and the lectures during the day.

Gradually, in the following days, groups of students arrived. I showed them to their quarters according to the instructions I was given. The students ranged in age from fifteen years old to older than me. The desolation of the place ceased being a desert. Instead, it was filled with noise, life, and the traffic of the students. The aged Catholicos Sahag watched us from his apartment and rejoiced. Sometimes he came down with his bent back, and approached the students. He asked them about their birthplaces, and once satisfied with their answers, he returned to his solitude, to give praise to God, for enabling him to see the revival of Sis.

Nothing was perfect. Moreover, everything looked primitive and poor. We looked like orphans who narrowly survived the Genocide. The facility resembled an inn stripped by thieves.

Sunday arrived. The church was not yet ready; it needed many more weeks for completion. Towards dawn, I gathered the students in a corner of the large hall, and we turned towards the mountains of Lebanon. The Reverend Father, dressed like a civilian, placed a cowl on his head and a phelonion on his back. Following the Lord's prayer, he began to chant with his impressive voice, "O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will declare your praise." We all felt a feeling pass through our veins that I can still feel today, but cannot find the words to explain it. All I know is that together at that moment we all felt that our demolished Catholicosal See and the thousands of our destroyed churches would be resurrected and revived by divine blessing, and that the souls of our martyred clergymen survived in us. Minutes

later, the students, in one voice, chanted our marvelous “Morning of Light,” condensing in it the spirit of St. Nersess Shnorhali, while the sun rose above the tops of the mountains of Lebanon.

The following morning we gathered in the classroom. The teachers were seated in a row. Reverend Father Shahé announced the Seminary officially inaugurated. As far as I recall, it was the second week of October. Then His Eminence Papken stood up. His appearance was impressive. Briefly he presented the history of the great works initiated by Sahag Catholicos and Mesrob Mashdots [in the fifth century], and how they, just like us, began with sixty students, out of whose efforts grew a work the glory from which our nation still benefits. Then he emphasized that after harassment, deportation, massacres, and plunders, a new era was about to begin for the Catholicate of Cilicia and its faithful. “You will grow up, develop, and become strong, filled with the Holy Spirit. You will go in different directions as missionaries. You will undertake schools and educate the young generation with faith, hope, and the Armenian spirit. You will reform the Armenian churches with your life, conduct, behavior, and clean organizational spirit. You will raise Armenian families and make them happy, preaching them straight national truths and the principles of the Gospels,” he said.

He spoke with great inspiration and faith. The words and the ideas came out of his mouth like a smooth spring. The former editor of *Sion*, whose writings had captured my mind, grew greater even in my sight until he became a giant as he expressed his deep affection for his church and nation. He was a great orator and visionary. He captured us with this first impression and thereupon became our idol.

At the Seminary, our first lesson was of the Armenian language. His Eminence Papken sat majestically on a humble chair, while we occupied the old desks that had been left behind from the orphanage. He changed eyeglasses, opened a page from the textbook, and chose a student to read. After a few lines were read, he asked another student to read. He tried a few more students, and then he stopped and chose the word “egg” from the text. He asked us how the word was formed and what it meant. None of the answers satisfied him. He understood the kind of education we had been offered at the schools. After a short remark full of funny expressions, he said: “Now I know what you know. Most of what you know is wrong. You will have to forget the past and learn new things. You will learn correct Armenian. You will study real Armenian history. You will absorb the true Christian spirit. And you will get ready for civil and ecclesiastical service with sincere decisiveness.”

. . . The students worked with zeal, but their enthusiasm did not last long. Soon they all suffered from malaria and the basement of the classroom turned into a hospital, instead of a bedroom. Only five people remained healthy and these five became health care providers. The rivulet running on the other side of the wall not only disturbed our sleep, but nurtured the mosquitoes that annoyed us and made us sick. Our faces were stained with red marks and our blood was poisoned. The physician of the monastery, Dr. M. Dakesian, ran from one bed to another for an entire night. The following day he signed a report demanding that the students be moved from the basement to the upper level. His Eminence Papken and Fr. Shahé agreed. The students forgot their illness and enthusiastically, as if they were saving items from a fire, moved their beds and closets to the upper level, where they received permission for a few days' rest. During that period of rest, the four rooms underneath the teachers' building were emptied . . . and cleaned. The desks were moved there. After two months experimentation, the students were divided into four classes—first, second, third, and special. I was admitted to the special class, together with those who were close to me in age and knowledge. This special class was assigned to study three years, but soon it was reduced to two. . . .

Life was normalized. The renovations in the carpentry ended and the hall was consecrated by His Eminence Papken as The Church of Holy Translators. The daily morning and evening services became orderly.

The Big Day soon arrived. Bishops from everywhere gathered in Antelias. His Eminence Papken participated in the meetings and Archbishop Torkom, the Primate of Egypt, filled in his place. Then the group left for Aleppo. A week later, we received the good news that His Eminence was ordained Coadjutor Catholicos with the unanimous approval of the National-Ecclesiastical Assembly. Our spiritual joy knew no boundary; we would have a Catholicos-teacher thereafter.

. . . His Eminence turned into His Holiness, but he did not change in person. He remained the same humble, yet meticulous, person. The only change was the responsibility of the Catholicosal position to which he selflessly dedicated himself.

He always came to class in a coat, dressed officially, but without the cowl. . . . The way he taught was pleasant. Despite his seriousness, he would try to make the period joyful. . . .

He was unsurpassable as a teacher. His explanation of the grammatical rules was excellent . . . and when we appreciated and praised his teaching skills, he said: "His Beatitude Tourian is better than me."

. . . One morning, as usual, he entered the classroom and after sitting on the chair, he said: "Since your period of study has been shortened, I think you should attend the evening classes of Classical Armenian from now on." We all readily consented. We looked forward to more class time with him. Afterwards, when other students went to bed, we climbed the stairs to his office. Hours passed quickly . . . Even though his physician urged him to work short hours and instructed him to be in bed by 10 p.m., he neglected the orders. There was work to be done. There was a need for teaching. There was a language near death to be revived. His Eminence Papken had made his decision not to let the Armenian language suffer any indignation while he was alive. Every time he saw the eyes of the students burdened with sleep, he would say: "It is apparent that you are asleep. Go to sleep, and dream in Classical Armenian."

It happened once that he provided us with extensive information about a certain period of literature. One of our classmates cunningly prepared an essay based on his lecture and sent it to one of the newspapers in Beirut. We saw the article published. We did not like what he did, but we said nothing to him. The following morning His Holiness came to class, took his place with his usual calmness, but instead of opening the textbook, he turned to the aforementioned student and said: "I read your article; it was very good. However, don't ever lie down under opinions that don't belong to you."

This was a great lesson without any reprehension. Afterwards, no one dared walk in similar shoes.

. . . Catholicos Papken was unquestionably a great teacher with a bright intellect. His theories were clear and simple. He was a teacher in the classroom, in the pulpit, in front of the desk, and during his conversations with people. He always had something to teach the person before him. His skull was an opulent granary. He did not need to think. His advice was ever ready and he was always articulate.

Catholicos Papken was also a great and brave preacher. He was able to preach for hours without repeating himself, always expressing new ideas. The subjects of his sermons were religious and national. Armenians, for him, were a religious people; he could not imagine an Armenian without a religious life. . . .

Once he delivered the keynote speech during the celebration of the anniversary of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) in Beirut. His ideas poured out like a fast-running river, and he could not refrain himself, saying: "Whoever is not a member of the AGBU, is not Armenian." His opponents took advantage of the situation and for months wrote articles

against him. The idea was totally different in His Holiness' mind. For him, the Armenian was charitable and there was no such Armenian who was not charitable; therefore, Armenians should gather around the AGBU.

He was a great apostle of love, although his opponents believed he sided himself with one group. He had a fragile heart which beat for God and for Armenians. This is a case familiar only to those who knew him intimately. Once, while delivering a sermon about love at the church of Holy Translators in Antelias, he went too far and cried: "I would say, love even the Turks, but my tongue cannot go ahead, for they destroyed our nation." This expression was a reflection of his pure heart.

. . . Catholicos Papken was accustomed to call prominent personalities by their titles, rather than their names, such as Illuminator, Shnorhali, Lampronatsi, etc. One day, while discussing this in the classroom, my late friend Yervant Vartanian interrupted him to tell him that we had designated a title for him.

"What title?" he asked, taking off his eyeglasses and eyeing us with a surprised look.

"Maksoud," my friend pointed at me, "calls you Mantagouni."

His Holiness turned to me:

"Why?"

"Your Holiness, recently, while reading the treatises of Hovhannes Mantagouni, you were so inspired, it was as if you had written the treatises yourself and you were he who liberated Etchmiadzin and entered there victorious. Mantagouni was a giant in the Armenian Church, and you are a worthy descendant of him."

It was obvious that he liked my explanation. He attached a big "OK" to it and continued the lesson.

. . . He lived an extremely modest life. . . . As if he were a simple soldier. He did not have a secretary, or an accountant. He did everything himself, especially that first year. Every day he wore a rugged dress and rugged shoes. When I was intimate with him, I asked him to explain his reasoning.

"We have little money, my son. Our income is Melkonian's annual allocation of thousand British pounds only," he said.

And he was right.

Inspired by his teacher Patriarch Ormanian, from whom he inherited many of his beliefs, Catholicos Papken was the greatest protector of the Armenian Church.

He defended his church with his word, pen, and work. We could call him the alert guard or the police of the Armenian Church. When a person

dared criticize the Armenian Church or look down upon it, he was there, armed with pen and word.

. . . Catholicos Papken of blessed memory was the . . . central personality of the monastery. The whole compound was under his auspices. Nothing moved without his knowledge. He ordered, explained, instructed, showed everybody everything. Each wall, stone, and plant in the monastery was familiar to him and he cared for all.

. . . One day, a young man came and told him that he was unemployed. The man argued that since the monastery belonged to the Armenian nation, and since the Catholicos and the students enjoyed its facilities and food for free, he too should be allowed his share as someone who belonged to the same nation. His Holiness listened to the man with seriousness, then he picked up a small stone from the ground and offered it to him. He said:

“You are right, my son, the monastery belongs to the nation, and if we distribute it among the sons of the nation, this would be your share. Take it and go.”

The young man felt shame. His Holiness said that the shame was for a young man to be lazy. He told him that he is only a guardian of the nation’s possessions, and that not a single person was fed for free on the grounds. Everybody worked for the spiritual, cultural, and moral needs of the nation. Then he ordered for the young man to be fed, and to be sent away with a few gold coins.

. . . My relationship with the Catholicos of blessed memory became stronger and more intimate thanks to the press. Eventually it took on aspects familiar to a father and son relationship.

Before I entered the Seminary, I was a typesetter and printer. The Catholicos knew of my training and was set on the goal of establishing a press.

In the middle of my first year, Dr. Theodore Elmer, our teacher, told me that the orphanage in Athens would close. He informed me that there was a press at the orphanage that could be transferred to us, if the Catholicos agreed. That same night I delivered news of the press to His Holiness. The following day, the Catholicos met with Dr. Elmer, and in June we received crates from Athens. Following our annual examination, we opened the crates in the presence of His Holiness. The students were happy that the monastery would finally have a press of its own. So was the Catholicos, who carefully examined the contents of the crates. But when the press was out of its box, we were both disappointed. Although sturdy, it was an old foot press. Nevertheless, His Holiness encouraged me:

“Don’t worry, we will begin small. It is sufficient for the time being.”

We immediately ordered Armenian fonts from Constantinople. They arrived in late August . . . Then we turned the basement of the apartment where Catholicos Sahag lived from a wood storage area into a printing shop.

Upon his first visit to the printing shop . . . Catholicos Papken ordered me to typeset and print the first three verses of the Confession. I immediately did as he requested. He took in his hands the first printed paper from the machine, read it, and with a smile of satisfaction, he took out his pencil and wrote, “First proof.”

He was very happy that the deported Catholicate would have a press, in order to publish its words and, in doing so, serve the Armenian nation.

. . . His Holiness Papken was a learned writer who wrote prolifically and proofread meticulously. Whenever I typeset his writings, the proofs would be returned to me in an unrecognizable form, all columns transformed. It was useless to look for typos, for the sentences were changed, either abbreviated or expanded. It was easier to typeset the whole thing anew than to correct the old text . . .

After graduation, I worked for two years at the National Aramian School of Junieh in Lebanon, as principal. Twice a week, on Saturdays and Sundays, I went to Antelias to help with the press. One day, Catholicos Papken asked me to relocate to Antelias. I did.

. . . One morning, when I went to his office, I found him busy writing. He put the pen down, lifted his head and said:

“It’s good that you have come; I have something important to tell you. We have to enlarge the press. We must order a diverse set of fonts from Constantinople. I want you to manage the expansion in a way that we are able to compete with Venice. We will establish many different series of publications, use diverse formats, and generate a great publishing tradition.”

“Your Holiness, will we be able to accomplish so much work?”

“My son, if you employ your time in publishing my works alone, it will take ten years.”

Indeed, every time I entered his office, the manuscripts of many large and small volumes lay before me, and I thought to myself whether I would have the time and opportunity to publish them. His Holiness had contributed hundreds of interesting studies to Armenian periodicals and year-books, as well as thousands of articles to Armenian newspapers discussing religious, national, social, and other issues. His articles always educated the reader and remained fresh.

. . . One morning, as usual, he called me to him and said:

"You have plenty of fonts; now it's time to begin to print one of my voluminous works."

He advised me to begin with the *Catalog of the Manuscripts of Angora*.

I argued that it would be better if we started with the *History of the Catholicoi*, and move on to the Catalog. I believed that numerous people would be interested in the history of the See.

"I agree on one condition: you complete the first volume, which comprises one thousand large-scale pages, in a year. Next year, I will go to America; I will take them with me, sell them, and purchase a good printing machine with the proceeds," he said.

I asked him why he was planning a trip to America.

"My son, I will go with the goal of raising one hundred thousand dollars. We can then purchase the land of the Catholicate, and also build one or two buildings which we will rent, in order to secure permanent income and rid ourselves of the constant need to ask for money like beggars."

Then he pulled out the manuscripts of *The History of the Catholicoi*. He instructed me to look at the manuscript to calculate the quantity of paper needing to be ordered. A portion of the manuscripts had been published in *Sion*. With great care he had kept their proofs and added new colophons and annotations. The rest was typed, including the chapter on Catholicos Kefsizian. He had also gathered materials on Catholicos Sahag, and he had edited the portion concerning his pre-catholicos life.

Catholicos Papken continued to say:

"I did not want to write about him while he was alive, because it seemed inappropriate. A chronologist should examine the life of a person after his death. So let us see what happens . . . For the second volume the section concerning Antelias needs to be completed. I will write it in detail upon my return."

. . . The day I started to typeset *The History of the Catholicoi*, His Holiness was very happy. The book represented the results of forty years of research and it was a one-of-a-kind publication.

. . . When I completed the second signature, I took the proof to him, so he could take a final look at.

In the morning he called me in and told me that he was not feeling well. He added that he could not read the proof the evening before. He instructed me to read it and print it, but I could not go ahead. Instead of printing it, I typeset new pages. . . .

His Holiness' health deteriorated. Expert physicians, despite their skills and knowledge, were unable to find a remedy. He was being poisoned by the

apses in his mouth. He began to lose consciousness. His Eminence Ardavazt Surmeyan offered him communion. He understood his situation. The bank book of the Catholicate was brought to him for his signature. He signed it. It was obvious that His Holiness was on the border of the two worlds, bidding adieu to one, and greeting the other. He began to make the movements of one performing the Divine Liturgy and the sign of cross . . . We felt that a bright sun was setting, and our tears fell to the ground. . . .

Archpriest Papken Maksoudian, Massachusetts

Two Clippings

Bishop of Galatia Here
Most Rev. Papken Guleserian Distinguished Guest

President of Armenian General Benevolent Association of America
Making Tour

A distinguished arrival in Portland is Most Reverend Papken Guleserian, Bishop of Galatia in Asia Minor, who is here in the interests of the Armenian General Benevolent Association of America, of which order he is president and head of the executive committee.

Dr. Guleserian is a guest at the home of Hagop Karagozian and is meeting the Armenian colonists in Portland, of which there are about 40.

It is for the purpose of founding a branch of the Benevolent Order of Armenians that Dr. Guleserian is visiting Portland. He came directly from Boston, stopping to visit the branches of the order in Chicago, St. Louis, and Seattle. In the latter city there is a colony of 100 Armenians.

Tomorrow, Dr. Guleserian leaves for Fresno, Cal., where is located the largest population of Armenians in the West.

"There are seventy thousand Armenians in the United States," says Dr. Guleserian, "and we are all mightily proud of the fact that over fifty thousand Armenian soldiers are fighting under the flags of the allies. The news of Turkey's imminent downfall is delightful news to me. Turkey must be absolutely abolished, she has no right to live. Turkey means barbarism, savagery.

"I know Mr. Morgenthau personally, and his letters in The Oregonian are illuminating and informing of the atrocities thrust on the Armenian people in Turkey."

In explanation of the benevolent order he represents, Dr. Guleserian says: "It was founded at Cairo, Egypt, twelve years ago. Its first aim was to establish a fund to prevent the emigration of poor Armenians from their native country. Now, after the destruction of Armenia, our mission is to restore the miserable remains and to help the orphans and the widows and wretched, ailing, and helpless Armenians. We now maintain two big orphanages, one at Bagdad and one in Jerusalem, and a camp at Port Said."

The Morning Oregonian, October 30, 1918

Armenian Bishop Speaks to Union Deals With Despotism of Turks, and Turks Versus Europe

Reverend Papken Guleserian, bishop of Galatia, Asia Minor, spoke yesterday morning before a meeting of the Ministerial Union on "Armenian Independence and Freedom in Sight." Bishop Guleserian recently came to Fresno in the interests of the Armenian Benevolent Society, of which he is president. He publishes *Taurus*, the well-known Armenian paper, in Boston.

The bishop's address follows:

The Armenian question has two sides. The first is intrinsic between the Armenians and Turkish despotism; the second is extrinsic as between Turkey and Europe. The former, which is vital, has not been understood by Europe sufficiently, because Europe has recognized the Armenian question chiefly through Armenian massacres which have always taken place through a secret understanding by the Turkish government. Of all these, the world's well-known massacres occurred in 1895-96 and in 1908 at Adana which were organized and executed officially by the Turkish government, but that those since 1915 occurred by the very co-operation of Germany is not a secret, because the same horrible and inhuman ways which were carried out in Belgium and Serbia by the German system were incomparably carried out in Armenia and Cilicia. The documents of these atrocities have been made public by Lord Bryce in a valuable volume which I believe you have read and you also have seen the recent statements made by Morgenthau in the American press which are before the public at the present time. In spite of these statements and publications which bear the highest character of authenticity, I know very well that the Armenian question is not sufficiently well known to those Europeans and Americans alike who have known the Armenians.

Let us consider now the extrinsic side of the Armenian question. For example those massacres and deportations which are unhidden, unforgivable, and irreparable by their whole horrible circumstances, the Turkish diplomacy knows how to mitigate if not justify, as in 1915 when the Turkish government started the deportation of Armenians from their native country which they tried to justify under the pretense of military necessity. We know very well what this military necessity meant. As a matter of fact we know military necessities meant massacres, deportations, plunders, devastations, forced conversions to Islamism, and when now the Allies' fleet is anchored at Constantinople harbor, we read in the newspapers the Turkish government has said that these Armenians will be returned to their places; and in

order to justify these criminal murders and plunders, Turkish diplomacy gives these kinds of explanation: "The Armenians were the cause of it and the Turkish mob did it for which we are sorry"; or "The government came to stop it, but it was too late"; or "The officials had misunderstood the government orders and for this reason these unfortunate occurrences took place, consequently the government throws the responsibility on the officers and has discharged them"; or "We guarantee that hereafter these things will not happen," etc., etc., a thousand kinds of Turkish formulas to deceive European diplomacy, and will these gentlemen's explanations be accepted as sufficient by the European and American diplomats to suspend the Armenian question?

But the real Armenian question is between the Armenians and the Turks, because the Armenians are the most civilized element in the East and the Turks, who are not natives, came from outside and usurp their rights. The Armenian ability, the Armenian Christianity, the Armenian industry and labor, and finally, the Armenian racial and mental superiority are the cause of all these atrocities and for these reasons the Armenians protested to the civilized nations of the world and I am glad that the civilized world understands the Armenian question and will definitely settle it and free the Armenian people from the Turkish yoke and establish an independent self-government.

I trust the union of ministers will endorse the liberation and freedom of the Armenian people to the Armenian government and I am sure President Wilson will give this question his best attention.

I wish to express my grateful thanks to this union for taking interest in this question of such vital importance to the Armenian people.

In the settlement of the Armenian question, according to the rights and wishes of the Armenian people, the role to be played by America will be of greatest importance. America entered into this world war in order to protect and preserve the rights of all nations. The war has been won and the brave Armenians fought under the flags of allied nations and America, in France, Mesopotamia and Palestine, and undoubtedly justice will be meted out to the Armenians. America has always helped the Armenians and helped relieve the distress during the recent martyrdom of the Armenians and she will play an important part in freeing these people from the Turkish yoke and restore their independence.

The Fresno Morning Republican, November 19, 1918

In  Addition

NOTE: The following is a reproduction of Coadjutor Catholicos Papken Guleserian's work, "The Armenian Church," which was translated by Terenig Vartabed Poladian. The reproduction is based on the second edition of 1939, New York.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

Preface

Christianity is a revelation of true light in its origin, in its aim, and in its effects.

All the great religions, in which an ennobling ethic and a healthy attitude prevail have for their aim the happiness of Mankind.

The history of Religions shows that Christianity has contributed the most to the realization of the happiness of mankind, and still continues to do so.

Christianity is not the Church.

Christianity does not denote a great nation or a group of famous personages.

Christianity is not theology.

Christianity is not the ecclesiastical organization.

Christianity, according to its origin and aim, is a mode of teaching and of education, a rule of life to follow, a manner of living according to the Divine rule; in sum, it is the complete life of man himself, or the perfect life, as the Lord said: "I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly" (John 10:10), "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." (Matthew 5: 48).

History shows to us that it is precisely Christianity which has given to Mankind the surest means to develop the civilization of today and consolidate it as a unity.

What, therefor, is the Christian Church? Who are this people who by their activity have contributed to the present day civilization and to the happiness of mankind?

If the divinity is light, what is that Christian church which succeeds in leading her people towards that light?

If the divinity is truth, what is that church which continues to educate with success her people in the spirit of truth?

If the divinity is peace, what is the church which has established and maintained peace, agreements, and solidarity between nations and peoples?

If God is love and if Jesus Christ is the concrete expression of that love in this world in his life and his Gospel, what is the church which became the

guardian of love, of solidarity, of fraternity, of devotion, of sacrifice, on which depends the personal happiness of Christians as well as that of the entire Christian community?

It is necessary to admit frankly that theological disputes, controversies, and quarrels which the Christian nations before have carried on between each other with more or less bitterness, have greatly impeded the expansion of the divine kingdom, and therefore they have prevented the full radiation of the divine light, the divine truth and the divine love in human society.

Those who have learned and been filled with the evangelical spirit, as it relates to men and social groups, do not take into account, at least among important questions, the theology which Christians have professed, or the opulence of the church to which they belonged, or the luxury and authority which the chiefs of the churches enjoyed. In fact, according to Jesus Christ, it is not those who call him “Lord Lord” who are the real Christians, but those who live like him, so as to establish the kingdom of heaven in the world (Matthew 7: 21-22 and Luke 6: 46, 13: 25).

Armenia is a small “plat-band”, according to the picturesque expression of the Armenian historian, Moses of Khoren, which has often been subjugated to great powers; but this small “plat-band” has accomplished deeds of great value—warlike exploits and works consecrated to the prosperity of the country, to religious progress, and to cultural achievements such as literature, painting, sculpture, architecture and lastly a Christian devotion admirable in spirit and practice.

One may observe, without forcing the truth, that the Armenian people is eminently a Christian people. Her customs, the philosophical views which are natural to her, her daily life and lastly her social ideals—all these are deeply impregnated with the Christian spirit. The Armenian Church has been the intrepid torch-bearer of the religion of Christ. She has lived this religion and has preached it, at the cost of her life, to the nations and peoples who surrounded her in the Near-East with a heterogeneous environment. This church is an apostolic heritage of the Armenian people. Naturally she has proceeded with the Armenian people through all the vicissitudes of their political life; she was exposed to internal and external agitations and shocks, her body was wounded and torn, but in spite of these trials she has maintained her national identity.

Political and dogmatic violences whether it came from Rome, Byzantium, or Ktesiphon, (The Nestorian Church which was so powerful under the Sassanides,) could not shake her. She remained firm as Mount Ararat, in spite of the thunders which were assailing her from all sides.

Fortunately the theological zeal of those who, depending on political force, formerly did not cease to intimidate the Armenian Church, has forsaken them forever. Serious thinkers as well as intelligent believers, look at the actions of past centuries with an understanding smile. They are more tolerant, more inclined to respect the religious conscience of other people—which is more humane and more conformable to the Christian spirit.

We have stressed this fact, and we believe we should insist upon it again.

The Christian churches should draw together and fill themselves with the spirit of cooperation and love, because the present danger threatens Christianity itself. It is not the churches of this or that denomination which are persecuted but religion itself is in peril. Formerly, states and governments protected the Church and used her for political and diplomatic purposes. Nowadays, governments, with some exceptions, ignore religion or persecute it openly.

All the Christian Churches, small or great, should form a single front against the common dangers which arise from indifference, from the neglect of religious teaching, from atheism, from the intolerance of one church towards another, etc. No separate church will be able to do anything without this one front. If the churches of diverse denominations continue to rise up one against another in open or secret struggle, if they continue using all means in order to encroach on other flocks, certainly none of these churches will be able to maintain its authority sheltered from these assaults.

This kind of behavior is contrary to what our Lord said: “For he that is not against you is for you.” (Luke 9: 50). It may be considered as a kind of conspiracy of the religions themselves against the Church. It serves only to ruin Christianity and helps the efforts that are made from without against religion.

Since the Great War, the Armenian Church has been passing through a critical stage. Soviet Armenia and republican Turkey have condemned her to sterility. In the Diaspora, she is in danger of decay.

One of the most important parts of the Armenian Church, victim of the Great War, is established in Lebanon and in Syria.

We are sure that these pages will strengthen the bonds which have been formed between the Armenian Church and other churches during the six years since the establishment of the seat of the Catholicosate of Cilicia in Lebanon. . . .

We hope that these pages will serve to assure to this already existing

bond a lasting stability by stimulating a new current of sympathy, created by an exact knowledge, towards the Church of Armenia.

PAPKEN I
Coadjutor Catholicos of Cilicia

The Church of Armenia

The Church of Armenia is one of the branches of the Christian Church. It was founded and organized in Armenia.

Armenia is a mountainous country between 37°–49° longitude and 37 1/2°–41 3/4° latitude north.

These are her historical boundaries, which were enlarged or narrowed according to the courage and power of her rulers.

The historic Armenia, HAYK, was divided into two principal parts: Greater Armenia in the east and Lesser Armenia in the west. The Taurus, Mesopotamia, the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea and Georgia formed her boundaries.

Mountains and plateaus are the characteristic features of Armenia. The highest mountain is Ararat, mentioned in the Bible (II Kings 19: 37, Isaiah 37: 38 and Jeremiah 51: 27).

The greatest river of Armenia is the Arax (Yeraskh), which before flowing into the Caspian Sea unites with the river Kour (Cyprus), which separates Armenia from Georgia; the Euphrates and Tigris have their sources in Armenia, cross Mesopotamia, and flow into the Persian Gulf.

Greater Armenia has always been exposed to the influence of Iranian civilization, and Lesser Armenia to that of Byzantine civilization; so that because of her geographical situation which put her between two great empires of the east and of the west, Armenia was prevented from developing an altogether independent civilization. She has had several national dynasties, and at a favorable moment, she rose to the height of her glory, and under the reign of Tigranes The Great, was able to dictate the fate of Western Asia.

Christianity penetrated into Armenia when she enjoyed a relative independence under the reign of her national kings of the Arsacide family.

Phrenological and particularly linguistic studies have proved that the Armenians belong to the Indo-European race. The Armenian language occupies a separate place among the Indo-European languages. According to the generally accepted opinion, the Armenians are a Phrygian colony which came to settle in Armenia.

The Armenians call their people HAY and their country HAYK, whence a national legend, preserved by Moses of Khoren has formed the eponym Hayk.

The pre-Christian religion of Armenia was paganism. Armenia had seven principal pagan sanctuaries, of which the most famous ones were in Yeriz (at present Yerzinga or Yezindjan) in the district of Akiliseh on the

banks of the Euphrates and in Daron, in the region of Moush.

The divinities Aramazd, Anahit, Astghik, Vahagn were famous for their magnificent temples, and their worship was popular all over the country.

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Dawn of Christianity in Armenia

The Armenians have beautiful traditions to explain the propagation of Christianity among them.

1. Among the pagans who wanted to meet Christ through Philip, there were some who were Armenians (John 12: 20-23). These verses of John are in harmony with the legend of Abgar. The Armenians considered the kings of Osroen (Edessa), who possessed a part of Southern Armenia, as having been also their kings, and claim by this fact to have known Christ, even before the dispersion of the apostles.

2. Tertulien, the famous father of the Latin Church, in his commentaries on the well known passage of the Acts of the Apostles (2: 8-11) believes that it is possible to insert the names of the Armenians among the names of the first proselytes.

This conjecture seems to us very probable, because in Armenia, as in all countries of the Near East, there had always been Jewish colonies who were scattered among the nations of the country.

In any case, pre-evangelical and pre-apostolic legends prove that Armenia, thanks to her geographical and political position, was well acquainted with the great events which were taking place in neighboring countries.

If Asia Minor and Mesopotamia had sent to Jerusalem Jewish pilgrims for the Passover, would not interested Jews or Armenians have been able to go to the city of David in order to attend the universally known feast?

3. The apostolic preaching.

Almost all of the Christian Churches by tradition claim to be founded by one or several apostles. The Armenian Church has also her traditions, which make her origins go back to the Apostles Thaddaeus and Bartholomew.

The apostle Thaddaeus has been identified with one of the characters of the legend of Abgar, particularly Addai. Contemporary criticism has debated the veracity of this legend.

No doubt philology has its rights. But, in fact, its criticism deals less with the worth of the tradition than with the literary form with which it is

clothed. A document such as the legend of Abgar may be without chronological and historical detail or composed in imitation of legends of the same sort, borrowing forms and literary methods. All of this need not make us surrender the genuine nucleus of the legend. So, H. Gelzer, an incontestable authority on the subject, is right in maintaining that traditions concerning Thaddaeus are quite evidently much more ancient than the legend.

The preaching of Thaddaeus is attested by the historian Faustus of Byzance, who wrote the History of Armenia of the fourth century.

In Armenia, the legend of Bartholomew is as old and popular as the legend of Thaddaeus. According to a tradition, the monastery of Ardaz is founded upon the tomb of Thaddaeus; it is called "The Seat of Thaddaeus"; whereas the foundation of the monastery of "Hokiatz" is attached to the name of Bartholomew.

We shall not speak of the other apostles who had been in Armenia and are mentioned by the Armenian writers of the Middle Ages.

4. Latin testimonies tell us of the existence of Martyrs called "Martyrs of Ararat" (Alishan, "Arshalouys" pp. 70-71).

5. Eusebius speaks about Mehruzanes, bishop of Armenians about 260, to whom St. Dionysius of Alexandria addressed a letter on penitence.

All these legendary and historical data prove that the Gospel of Christ was preached in Armenia from the time of the apostles, as our Lord instructed them: "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you." (Matthew 28: 19-20).



Official Recognition of Christianity in Armenia

History tells us that Christianity was severely persecuted in Palestine, its cradle, as well as in the rest of the Roman Empire.

The first victims were Jesus Christ himself, St. Stephen, and many others, as the Acts of Apostles attests.

Armenia also knew persecutions and had her martyrs. Princess Sandoukht, daughter of King Sanatrouk, first attained the crown of martyrs, with the apostles Thaddaeus who had converted her.

From this time on until the third century, in Armenia as in other places, Christianity continued its clandestine existence, always in danger of persecution.

When Constantine the Great officially recognized the new faith and proclaimed liberty of conscience, the light of the Gospel shone everywhere. Religion coming out of obscure corners, and the catacombs shone with all its brightness, and the brilliant sun of the Christian faith followed the dawn.

At this time, Tiridates II, of the Arsacide line, was reigning in Armenia. He had received a pagan and Roman education, but later he abandoned the faith of his ancestors and embraced that of Jesus Christ.

He has the honor to have been the first Christian king. St. Gregory the Illuminator, who was also of the Arsacide race, after converting King Tiridates, used the favor of his royal disciple in order to continue his apostolic mission. The organization of the Armenian Church is the work of St. Gregory the Illuminator.

By its conversion, Armenia entered into a new phase of civilization. The Armenian Church has the great merit of having preserved the national integrity, when after the loss of its political independence, Armenia was divided between the great empires which surrounded her.

It is the Armenian Church which gave the Armenian people the alphabet and the efficient instruments of civilization, which enabled the nation to cultivate the language and create an original literature.

St. Sahak, the great Catholicos, St. Mesrob, the eminent doctor, and Vramshabouh, the king of Armenia, are a distinguished triad whose harmony and foresight gave the Armenians that imperishable instrument, culture, for which literature stands.

In what manner and under what forms was Christian worship practiced in Armenia from the time of the Apostles Thaddaeus and Bartholomew until St. Gregory the Illuminator? We do not know. Perhaps prayers as well as psalms were taught by heart. But from the time of St. Gregory the Illuminator until the invention of the Armenian alphabet, according to historians the Greek and Syriac languages were used.

After the invention of the alphabet the chief works of the Syrian and Greek Fathers were translated into Armenian. The Bible is the masterpiece of these translations." In a short time a rich literature flourished.

The language of this literature is classical Armenian, called "grabar," meaning "written language," in order to distinguish it from vernacular Armenian or "Ashkharabar," the language of the people. Ancient Armenian was the literary language until the nineteenth century. At present it is used only in Church services and in the correspondence of the Armenian Patriarchate. In the nineteenth century from the common language, which has several dialects and a multitude of accents, a new literary language was

drawn up, based on the old one. Today, it has been perfected as an instrument of modern thought. Unfortunately the political conditions in Armenia, divided as it is between two empires, have produced a sad bifurcation in modern literary Armenian and have forced it to follow two lines of development, one in Constantinople and the other in the Caucasus. In this way, we possess two literary languages.

The language of our school books, newspapers, reviews and of everyday affairs is modern Armenian.

The Armenian alphabet is composed of thirty-six letters. All the written characters are pronounced.



The Doctrine of the Armenian Church

The Armenian Church confesses the doctrine which was approved and formulated by the first three ecumenical councils, and which is summed up in the Creed of Nicaea and Constantinople.

This creed of faith is publicly and solemnly recited every morning in the Armenian Church. Remaining united with the ecumenical church in the essential points of the same dogma, she is thus a member of the Apostolic, Universal and One Church of Jesus Christ, as are all other churches great or small, which hold the same creed.

In dogmatics, the Armenian Church has remained faithful to the ideas of the period of 325 to 432 when Christian peoples and nations had not given a national character to their churches, when equality of power and authority prevailed between patriarchal sees, when emperors and kings had not yet forced their claims too far and exercised over the episcopal sees which depended on them for their power and their personal prestige.

When the political authorities meddled unduly with religious questions, the principle of equality and Christian love came close to disappearing and all sorts of ambitions which supplanted it, nearly banished peace and honest thought from the Christian Church.

Bishops, relying on the states which protected them, began to claim ascendancy one upon another and vied for supremacy.

With this kind of aspiration is connected the tendency of this or that to reserve to itself competency in what concerns the doctrines and customs of the church. Above all it was the see of Rome which aspired in this matter to exclusive competency and authority. Thereby, The Church of Christ, One and Universal, while maintaining the unity of the faith and its universality,

fell administratively into pieces. Every people, every nation, communicated to its own church a nationalistic impress, whence resulted the local variations in the bosom of the same One and Universal Christian Church.

A differentiation of this sort seemed indeed altogether natural, and it would properly become more marked in the course of time under the influence of diverse conditions which create the geography, the language, the civilization and lastly the customs of each country.

Unfortunately it was not this proper and useful differentiation that developed; the rivalry between the episcopal sees was transformed into hatred after they attempted to pronounce on dogmatical questions and to impose with an unjustified pretention their interpretations upon those who did not share them. They even had the audacity to resort to the secular forearm, to take advantage of political powers for persecuting their adversaries, to the detriment of the unity and universality of the Church of Christ.

It is heart-rending for the Christians to see how the simplicity of the apostolic age, the harmonious life which prevailed in the time of the first three ecumenical councils, degenerated and gave way to hatred, to the passion for domination and for command. In consequence, Christian rose up against Christian armed with all that was unforgivable and anti-Christian as well in its essence as in its particular manifestations.

The Armenian Church was dragged into the struggle on the occasion of the Chalcedonian controversies which divided the Church in the fifth and sixth centuries. Whatever were the reasons for the abstention of the Armenians from the Council of Chalcedon, held in 451, they did not adopt the decisions of this council. At Chalcedon it was not a question of combating a heresy like those of Arius, Macedonius and Nestorius. The first three ecumenical Councils had discussed the controversies concerning God the Father, The Son, and The Holy Ghost, and had given a decisive solution in very precise formulas. The problem which was propounded in the council of Chalcedon had interest only for subtle theologians, who reconsidering the teaching of Nestorius, wanted to introduce more precision in the mystery of incarnation, namely in the mode of the union of two natures of Jesus Christ. Cyril of Alexandria, the adversary of Nestorius, had already decided the question by his famous formula: ONE NATURE UNITED OF THE INCARNATE WORD. Jesus Christ was perfect God and perfect man. The divinity and the humanity were united without confusion, forming one single nature in Jesus Christ.

The members of the council of Chalcedon were not satisfied with the Cyrilian formula which had been adopted and confirmed at the Council of

Ephesus. They opened the question of the two natures. May we not say that the opposition to Cyril disguised in fact the blow which they wanted to give to the prestige of the see of Alexandria? It was natural that Pope Leo (440–461), took advantage of the occasion to publish his Tome, his famous dogmatic letter, in which he rather dictated a decision by authority than discussed the question. The conception which the pope expounded of the union of the two natures, of which each one, according to him, maintained its proper faculties, and had its proper operation, appeared rather to support the thesis of Nestorius rather than that of Cyril.

Pope Leo triumphed at Chalcedon, but peace was not thereby established in the Church. The Chalcedonians decreed the formula of two natures against that of one nature, at a time when the latter was somewhat compromised by the teaching of Eutyches, who had tightened the union of natures up to the point of the absorption, after the incarnation, of one by the other, the human nature by the divine, resulting in a dissolution or confusion of the two natures, whereas with Cyril the union was conceived of as without confusion and without mingling.

So the Council of Chalcedon embattled Eutychianism, and not the christological doctrine of Cyril. For the patriarch of Alexandria nature indicates a separate and independent existence; therefore the conception of two natures involves the affirmation of two persons. So the Armenian Church, which holds firmly to the christology of Cyril, has not ceased to regard the two natures of Chalcedon as a kind of Nestorianism. The Chalcedonians, for their part, have often imputed Eutychianism to the Armenians, whether by ignorance or in a fit of polemics. In fact Eutyches has always been anathematized by the Armenians.

Some would like to consider the Armenian Church monophysite. She may be so regarded, but with the patriarch Cyril, and in the sense that the Christological teaching of this famous theologian is monophysite, because Armenian christology is based on the school of Alexandria.

In sketching briefly the dogmatic basis of the Armenian Church, we by no means intend to renew controversies which have no interest for the public and which have long since belonged to the domain of history. But this which is most significant in the past history of the Armenian Church, is an important fact which must be taken into consideration even in our days.

From the moment when the Armenian Church obtained her administrative independence, she elaborated her theology, her rites, her traditions. She has known how to defend herself against all attacks with a firmness and perseverance worthy of admiration. Byzantium caused her many injuries. Its

emperors often attacked her and persecuted her with an incomprehensible fanaticism. Later, from the time of the Crusades, it was Rome which took up the Byzantine policy and which has continued her efforts until our own days to restore “the lost sheep” of the Armenian Church into the fold of Catholicism. One need not hesitate to say that the question is less one of saving the souls rather than of submitting them to the authority of Rome. Is there any reason to destroy a church, which is one of the oldest churches, and one which has truly merited the cross of Jesus Christ through the blood of her martyrs, by a roll of martyrs unequaled in the annals of humanity? The doctrinal differences certainly are no reason for arming one church against another. Christian theology and the principles of the Christian faith are different things. The first, whatever form it takes, should not be an obstacle to a harmonious collaboration, based on the Christian faith. The Armenian Church in defending herself has never attacked the conscience of others. She has always preached tolerance for that which separates churches, love and agreement in that which unites them. Such was and is her motto. Why therefore ruin this small but glorious fortress of the Christian ideal?

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The Divine Office in the Armenian Church

In the Armenian Church the divine office is rich, not only in its contents, but in its form (rites and ceremonies).

The daily service is found prescribed in the “Zhamakirk” (book of hours), which contains a cycle of nine hours, divided into three groups:

- a. Night, dawn and morning service.
- b. Third, Sixth and Ninth Hour Service.
- c. Evening, Compline, and Requiem Service.

The services of the hours are devoted to the Holy Trinity or to one of the three persons, to the memory of Jesus Christ and to the mysteries of the faith.

The daily service of the Armenian Church is composed of psalms, canticles in imitation of psalms, chants and readings from the Holy Scriptures.

The division of nine hours is apparently a monastic system; the service of every hour is to be celebrated as its own proper hour. Later, they have been rearranged into three groups.

The service of each hour begins and ends with the Lord’s Prayer.

Mass

At present, in the Armenian Church, the Holy Communion is not celebrated every day either solemnly or by the priest alone.

Nowadays the custom is to celebrate Holy Communion in cities on Sundays, Holidays and as needed in particular circumstances such as marriages, funerals and requiems.

The Holy Communion cannot be celebrated twice in the same day. It is not allowed to celebrate it simultaneously on different altars in the same church. The priest can celebrate only one Mass per day.

For the Holy Communion, pure wine (without water) is used, and unleavened bread as in The Roman Church. The faithful receive the Eucharist in both kinds. The priest dips the Host in the chalice of wine and breaking it into pieces, puts a piece of it in the mouth of the communicant.

The holy Eucharist is kept in the church. The priests can carry it to communicate the sick, in cases of emergency.

The Baptism

Old tradition desired that infants should be baptized eight days after their birth; but there are exceptions to this rule in practice.

Immediately after baptism, confirmation is administered followed by Holy Communion, which consists of touching the lips with the Eucharist.

The Candidate must have a god-father.

The baptized is dressed in white.

Baptism, according to the old Armenian tradition, is conferred in Church, in fonts which are situated on the north side. But in case of need, baptism can also be conferred in houses, especially during time of emigration.

Extreme unction is given with the same Holy Oil as Confirmation.

Only the deceased clergymen receive extreme unction, on their foreheads and on their right hand.

Church Order

Ordination in the Church is performed by the Bishop.

The Armenian Church possesses all the orders known in other churches. The functions of the lower orders are often performed by young men aspiring to the priesthood.

Secular and regular clergy are distinguished from each other; the one is married, the other celibate.

The regular priest, the monk, is ordinarily called "Vartabed" (doctor).

The priest, the bishop, and the Catholicos receive unction after ordination.

The priest is ordained by the bishop, and the bishop by the Catholicos, assisted by two bishops.

The Catholicos is usually ordained by twelve bishops.

The patriarchs of Constantinople and of Jerusalem have neither ordination nor consecration. They are bishops and after their election to the patriarchal seat, they become archbishops ipso facto.

For reasons of solemnity, all the ordinations, from deacon to Catholicos take place during the Holy Communion.

In the ordination of a deacon and a priest it is the ordaining bishop himself who celebrates the mass, in the ordination of a bishop, it is the ordaining Catholicos, and in the ordination of the Catholicos, the Catholicos himself celebrates the mass.

The secular clergy are parish priests, deacons and sub-deacons, and are in charge of parishes.

The “Vartabeds” and the bishops are supported by the Church.

Some Further points

The officiant prepares himself to celebrate The Holy Communion by prayers, accompanied by fasting and vigil. Married priests must abstain from conjugal intercourse. In some regions, they had to stay fifteen days in the church.

The faithful must be fasting to receive Holy Communion. They are free to communicate whenever they wish, so long as they have confessed to the priest.

Generally the congregation communicates at five great feasts: Christmas, Easter, Transfiguration, Assumption, and Exaltation of The Cross. It is particularly at Christmas and Easter that the Armenian people communicate with great religious fervor.

A couple desiring to marry must receive Holy Communion.

Funeral ceremonies are held in houses, in churches and in cemeteries.

Armenians bury their dead. Nowadays, because of new conditions of life, especially in America and in Europe the rich people bury their dead in crypts or cremate them.

Days of Feast and of Abstinence

The feasts are divided in two groups:

a. Dominical feasts.

b. Feasts of Martyrs.

The dominical feasts are those which relate to the person of Jesus and to his memory, such as Christmas and Easter.

The feasts of the martyrs relate to saints.

The Armenian calendar distinguishes fixed and movable feasts. The fixed feasts are those whose date is determined and annexed to a day of a month. Their number is very limited.

a. The Nativity and Epiphany, 6th of January.

b. The Circumcision, 13th of January.

c. Candlemas, 14th of February.

d. The Annunciation, 7th of April.

These four feasts are ancient. The following three are relatively recent.

e. The Conception, 9th of December.

f. The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 5th of September.

g. The Purification, 21st of November.

All the other feasts are movable. They are arranged according to the weeks and divided among four days: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. They depend on the oscillation of Easter over thirty-five days.

The Assumption and The Exaltation of The Cross have fixed days: the 15th of August and the 14th of September. But in order to give them more solemnity they are transferred to the Sunday nearest these dates.

The feast of the Appearance of the Cross, formerly fixed at the 7th of March, has been transferred to the fifth week after Easter.

The Armenian Church has days and weeks of abstinence. The days are Wednesday and Friday. The weeks are those which precede the great feasts. In addition, she observes the great Lent.

It is not customary to commemorate the saints on the days of abstinence, except in certain weeks on the day which do not precede the great feasts and on the Saturdays of Lent.

The days of abstinence are assigned for penitence and have special services.

Wednesdays are particularly assigned for penitence, and Fridays to requiem and to the commemoration of the death.

The Armenian Church has 120–130 days in the year reserved for the commemoration of Saints, and 150–157 days for abstinence and penitence.

The feast of every Saint is celebrated alone, but sometimes certain feasts are celebrated together because of their moving.

Important Note

The list of saints adopted by the Armenian Church contains besides The Fathers of the first three universal councils more than 200 names which belong to the Christian Church of the second to sixth centuries, and a limited number of Armenian saints.

The fact that the Armenian Church has adopted so many saints who belong to the ancient church proves that she is an old member of the One Universal Church of Christ. St. Gregory the Illuminator, the organizer of the Armenian Church, is venerated by all the churches.

The saints of the Old Testament, and those who are contemporary with Christ, as well as the celestial powers are commemorated in the Armenian Church, under the name of saints OLD AND NEW, KNOWN AND UNKNOWN. She also venerates all the martyrs of the Universal Church whose names are inscribed in the Book of Life.

Finally, with a broad Christian spirit and with a true religious devotion, which is native to the Armenian Church, she prays every day for the conservation and prosperity of the Christian faith, and for the reign of peace over all the world.

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The Armenian Bible

Two famous fathers of the Armenian Church, the Catholicos Sahak, grandson of St. Gregory the Illuminator, and St. Mesrop, under the auspices of King Vramshabouh, succeeded in inventing the Armenian alphabet at the very beginning of the fifth century, and began to translate the Holy Scriptures.

In 432, after the council of Ephesus, those pupils of St. Sahak and St. Mesrop, who had been sent to Byzantium to perfect themselves in the Greek language in order to translate the works of the Church Fathers, returned with an excellent copy of the Septuagint. They corrected the translation made from the Septuagint and went on to translate all the rest; thus all was translated, from Genesis to the Book of Revelation and put in circulation.

The Bible and especially the New Testament, became the favorite books of the Armenian people.

The oldest copies of the Bible which have reached us do not go back beyond the twelfth century. The manuscripts of the gospels are more numerous and there are some that date from the ninth century. In order to form an idea of the biblical education of the old Armenians, it suffices to recall the

testimony of the historian Stephen Orpelian, Archbishop of Sunig (†1304), that in his diocese alone there were about 10,000 copies of the Holy Scriptures.

The Printed Bible

The invention of Gutenberg interested the Armenians very early. In 1512 they already had printed some works in Venice.

The first edition of the Bible in the Armenian language was published in Amsterdam in 1666, by the order of the Catholicos James and under the direction of Archbishop Oskan of Erivan.

This is a fine illustrated edition: some copies were printed on parchment, one of which is in Jerusalem in the library of the Armenian Monastery of Saint James.

We cannot consider this a careful edition although it was reprinted in 1705, in Constantinople. Abbot Mekhitar, the founder of the Mekhitarist order of Venice, published in 1733 a better edition. But the best edition is that of Father John Zohrabian's published in 1805. Then the Bible was published in Saint Petersburg in 1817, in Serampore in 1817, and in Venice in 1860. This last edition was carried out by Fr. Arsen Bagradouni of the Mekhitarist order, who is well known for his thorough knowledge of the Armenian language.

The Pentateuch was published separately in 1892, in Constantinople, at the expense of The American Bible Society. The same society published the whole Bible according to the Hebrew Canon in 1895, in Constantinople. In 1902, at Etchmiadzin, Armenia, they began to publish a critical edition, but political events prevented the continuance of publication.

Old and New Testaments in Modern Armenian and Turkish, the latter in Armenian characters, have been published several times since 1890 by American and English Bible Societies, in New York, Constantinople, and Smyrna.

The Armenians are very fond of reading the Bible. From the very beginning, almost at the same time as the translation of the Bible, commentaries on Holy Scriptures, such as the works of St. Ephraem and St. John Chrysostom, were translated. The doctors of the Armenian church have also composed works of the same type, some of which are very recent.

The Bible in the Service

The reading of the Bible is well arranged in the Armenian Church. Pericopes, the lessons for reading, are assigned for each day in the year; they

are divided into three groups: prophetic, apostolic and evangelic. On some days more than one lesson from the same group is read; sometimes the prophetic and apostolic lessons are omitted; but the gospel selections are always read.

All these lessons are brought together in a volume called “Djashotz”. It is so called because the passages which it contains are read generally during the hours of meals, except in some particular and solemn cases when they are read in the morning and in the evening.

We should also note that the lessons of the Holy Scriptures, designed to be read at baptism, marriage and at funerals, etc. from in like manner a ritual book which is called “Mashtotz”.

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Preaching in the Armenian Church

Preaching is held in high esteem by the Armenians; sermons are delivered in modern Armenian. The subject of the sermon is almost always taken from the Bible and it is constructed according to the model of the homilies of Saint John Chrysostom. A theme is selected from the Bible, explained and commented on.

The sermon generally follows the readings of the prophets and of the apostles. After the sermon the Gospel is read and then The Creed.

During the mass the sermon can be delivered directly before the Lord’s Prayer.

Not long ago sermons were delivered chiefly during Lent, on Sundays and Thursdays. The latter one was for women.

The dominical feasts and those of saints may furnish subjects for sermons.

The sermon at present is based upon a biblical theme, or upon a religious and moral subject adopted to the daily needs of the people.

The right of preaching is reserved to “Vartabeds”, who have the necessary competency and erudition for understanding the doctrine of the Church and for making it understood.

Religious Literature

The Fathers of the Armenian Church, before and after the complete translation of the Bible, or simultaneously, translated the religious works of the famous Fathers of the Greek and Syrian Churches, as well as their historical and philosophical works.

Thanks to these translations “The Synoptic” of St. Ephraim and “The Chronicle” of Eusebius have been preserved, the original texts being lost.

Beginning with the Fifth Century the following were translated into Armenian: Ephraem, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyprian, the two Cyrils, Aphraates (Persian Sage), Eusebius, Philop, etc., etc.

National Literature

The national literature of the Armenian people is no less rich. The historical and religious branches have been particularly cultivated.

Moses of Khoren is considered as the father of Armenian literature.

Armenian scholars, as well as European scholars interested in Armenian, have made the history of the Armenians known in Europe, either by translation of authors, by research, or laborious studies. French, English, German, Austrian, Russian and Armenian scholars have devoted themselves to Armenian research and have largely contributed to making the Armenian civilization known to the learned world.

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Denominations in the Armenian Church

Byzantium and Rome tried by all means to subdue The Armenian Church administratively and doctrinally.

The history of these struggles is sad reading.

The policy of Byzantium was not entirely sterile. Many Armenians accepted the doctrine of the Greek Church. They are called Hororn (Greek) Armenians; this means that in origin and language they are Armenians, but in confession of faith Greek. After the catastrophe of 1915, the number of the Armenians of this type diminished little by little. At present we know nothing of their condition or of their number.

The Church of Rome was not less persistent in its efforts to Romanize the Armenians. The means which she used were not less severe.

Armenian kings of Cilicia, at critical moments of the country's history, professed a desire to comply with the demands of Rome. Sometimes even the Armenian clergy, willing or unwilling, supported the opportunism of the Court. But this tendency, before being fully realized, disappeared with the hope of thus preventing the destruction of the Cilician Kingdom.

In the fourteenth century, under the auspices of Pope John XXII, Bartholomew of Bologna was sent to Persia charged with an apostolic mission. He was an energetic and skillful preacher; he learned Persian and

Armenian. He established a monastery and a school in Armenia. Young Armenian clergymen who sought after instruction gathered around him. Among these clergymen John of Kerny and James were fascinated by their master and multiplied the number of their adherents. From this time on dates the systematic penetration of Roman missionaries among the Armenians.

The movement known under the name of Uniates, which had for its purpose the Union of the Armenian Church with that of Rome, owes its origin to Bartholomew.

The fame of Rome, which played a great role in that time in European politics attracted many Armenians; among them were even high ecclesiastical dignitaries who entered into relations with the popes, and lavished promises to promote the cause of union, always in the hope of bettering the political situation in their country by the influence and protection of the popes.

The Armenians, being exposed to the dangers and menaces of the infidels, were ready to make every concession in order to assure their political existence.

This fact is proved by the report of Leonardo Abel, Archbishop of Sidon and legate of the pope, Gregory XII, who had sent him to Cilicia in 1583, in order to encourage the union between the Armenians and Rome.

Leonardo worked hard for the success of his mission. He held conversations with the Catholicoses Azaria and Khachadour of Cilicia as well as with Armenian courtiers. Finally, he realized that there was no chance of converting the Armenians before the pope had guaranteed the inviolability of their political and national life.

Leonardo wrote his report in Italian and sent it to Pope Sixtas V (†1590), successor to Gregory XII.

The French translation of this report appeared in *la revue de l'Orinet Chretien*, (1898 pp. 202–203 and 328–134). The answer of the Armenians is clear:

“Deliver us from the tyranny under which we live, then we shall become Latins (Catholic); you will be then the masters of our bodies and our souls and we shall do whatever you command”.

The papacy was not in condition to give satisfaction to Armenians; so the Armenian people rejected the approaches of the pope. Certainly, some individuals, of the laity as well as of the clergy adhered to Rome by reason of interest or in some cases perhaps through conviction.

It will not be superfluous to cite the observation made upon this sub-

ject by the eminent German scholar, H. Gelzer, who was at the same time a notable authority in the Armenian language and history and consequently a person entirely competent on the subject. "There have been some Armenians united with the Roman Church since the time of the Crusades and the Uniates, and also some from recent times, but they do not make much progress. Several patriarchs of Etchmiadzin and of Sis have had relations with Rome. The authenticity of their declaration of submission is not to be relied upon and its genuineness is certainly doubtful" (C. F. Armenian translation of P. Kalemkarian, National Library XXV, p. 71).

In any case, the Armenians of the Roman rite had to conceal their religious faith so as not to be exposed to the persecutions of the Turkish government as apostates or rebels to the spiritual authority. They were forced to leave Constantinople for the Asiatic provinces. Finally, the government of Sultan Mahmoud, because of the intervention of the European powers, recognized these converted Armenians as KATOLIK MILLET, (Catholic Nation) as a community independent of the Armenian Patriarchate, and they were placed under the authority of their own archbishop in 1830.

Another movement had begun a long time before the event that we have just related. The bishop of Aleppo, Abraham Arzivian had adhered to the Roman Church though he was the spiritual head of the Armenians in Aleppo.

In 1735–6, Arzivian and his adherents purchased the monastery of Mar George Avkar in Lebanon. They constituted a religious order according to the statute of the Maronite monks of Saint Anthony; in 1749, they occupied Zmmar and there established their seat.

On the 26th day of November, 1740, Abraham Arzivian was proclaimed patriarch. In 1742, he went to Rome, where he received the pallium, on the 8th of December, from pope Benedict XIV, with the title of Patriarch of Cilicia. The following year, on his return from Rome, Arzivian wanted to pass through Constantinople, but he was prevented by the Armenian patriarch. He died in 1749. His successors were James Hovsepian, Mishel Kasbarian, Basil Askadian, Gregory Kupelian and Gregory Djeranian, under the names of Peter I, II, III, IV, V, VI.

The patriarchs of Lebanon did not succeed in drawing under their authority the archbishopric of Constantinople whose first archbishop was Antony Nouridjian. His authority extended over all Asia Minor, except over the order of Zmmar.

In 1866 Antony Hassoun was called to the see of Constantinople. He was proclaimed patriarch and Pius IX, in 1867 confirmed it by his bull

REVERSURUS, giving him the title of Patriarch of Cilicia. Thus the Patriarchate of Zmmar was suppressed.

After the Great War, the seat of Patriarchate was by the order of the pope transferred to Beirut. Terzian, who was patriarch at the time, died. His successor is Monsignor Avetig Arpiarian, former patriarchal vicar.

Rome contributed much to the success of the Catholic Armenian patriarchate of Beirut and constructed at his expense an establishment for the patriarchate at Eshrefieh.

The Armenian Protestants

Beginning in 1838, the Union of Presbyterian Churches sent missionaries to Constantinople and to Smyrna, as well as to the interior of Turkey, in order to propagate Protestantism among The Moslems. But they could not succeed, and carried their activity amidst Armenians. This activity, at first, was marked by a series of good works, such as the publication of the Holy Scriptures in modern Armenian and in Turkish, the latter with Armenian characters, and also the foundation of schools and hospitals.

The population, being plunged in material and intellectual misery, appreciated the services which the American missionaries rendered. The lower classes, poor and unfortunate hastened voluntarily into their schools and their various establishments. The American good works served to entice the Armenians.

The Armenian patriarch of Constantinople, in order to defend his flock protested against the propaganda of the missionaries, as he had done formerly against the catholic missionaries. The Turkish government authorities favorably accepted the protestations of the Armenian patriarch. But, as always, the Turks finished by recognizing officially the Protestant Armenians as a separate community in 1850.

In this way, the activity of American missionaries was legalized, so, they resumed their task with more energy. Constantinople, Smyrna, Aintab, Kharpout, Marzouan, Marash were given colleges, hospitals, mixed schools and theological institutes.

By these means Protestantism penetrated and developed in the bosom of the Armenian people.

The Protestant Armenians are more numerous than the Armenian Catholics, despite the century-long efforts of Rome. That is to say, the American missionaries have rendered much more service to the Armenians in one century than the missionaries of Rome, whether Latin or Armenian, have been able to render in several centuries.

The Supreme Hierarchy of the Armenian Church

The Catholicos of All Armenians

The ranking person in all ecclesiastical hierarchy, the supreme head of the Church is the patriarch of Etchmiadzin, the Catholicos of all the Armenians.

The Catholicos of Etchmiadzin divides the supreme jurisdiction of the Church with the patriarchs of Constantinople and of Jerusalem and the Catholicos of Sis, without derogating from the primacy of the see of Etchmiadzin and in hierarchical unity of the Church.

The last three sees are of later origin and were created under the pressure of political and historical conditions in which Armenia and the Armenians found themselves.

The same political conditions necessitated frequently, the moving of the seat of the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin to Dvin, to Ani, to Roumkale, to Sis and again, finally to Etchmiadzin, in 1441.

After the fall of the Bagratid kingdom, the Armenians withdrew from before the floods of invasions and transferred their activities beyond the Euphrates, into the territory of Minor Armenia. They succeeded in establishing a new state in Cilicia which lasted until 1375. On account of these conditions the Catholicoses were installed in 1147 in Roumkale, and in 1293 in Sis, until 1441.

The advantage which had attracted the Catholicoses to Cilicia disappeared when the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia collapsed.

An assembly held in Etchmiadzin in 1441 decided to transfer the see from Sis to Etchmiadzin. The Catholicos Gregory Mouradpekian, who at this time was occupying the throne did not submit to the decision of the assembly and continued to reside at Sis. The assembly elected another Catholicos, Giragos of Virab. Thus the patriarchal seat was reinstalled in Etchmiadzin, where it is found until now.

The election of the Catholicos used to take place according to the constitution called Bolozhenia, published in 1836, and also according to the statute elaborated in 1843 by the Synod of Etchmiadzin and confirmed by the Tzar.

The Catholicos was elected in an assembly composed of two kinds of delegates of each eparchy, one ecclesiastic and the other a layman. Two candidates were elected in this Assembly and submitted to the Tzar who confirmed the election of one as the Catholicos.

Attached to the Catholicos there was a Synod whose members were appointed by the Tzar upon the recommendation of the Catholicos. A procurator at this Synod represented the government.

The Armenian Church in Russia comprises six eparchies placed under the authority of Archbishops. Each eparchy has a consistory for regulating the affairs under the presidency of the Archbishop himself.

The Catholicos of Cilicia

After the split of 1441, Gregory and his successors continued to reside in Sis, and in order not to cause confusion, they took the name “Catholicos of Cilicia”. The jurisdiction of the seat of Sis stretched over a vast territory; formerly it included even Jerusalem. Before 1915, it had sixteen dioceses in the boundaries of Adana, of Aleppo, of Sivas, of Angora and of Kharpout. Only the vilayet of Adana belonged entirely to the see of Sis; the others were only partly dependent. The island of Cyprus after some waverings between Sis and Jerusalem was placed among the dioceses of Sis.

Until 1871, the Catholicosate of Sis became hereditary in a family called Adjabahian. The intervention of the patriarch of Constantinople was necessary to put an end to this monopoly. An assembly composed of the laity and the clergy elected the archbishop of Angora, Meguerditch, a native of Marash, and had his election confirmed by the Sultan.

After the death of Meguerditch which happened on the 5th of November, 1894, it was impossible to elect a successor, and the see remained vacant, occupied by a locum tenens until 1902. The assembly summoned on the 12th of October in Adana elected as Catholicos the Archbishop Sahak, a member of the monastery of Saint James of Jerusalem born on the 25th day of March, 1849, in the village of Eghek near Kharpout.

The Patriarch of Constantinople

The patriarchate of Constantinople has existed since 1461, at the time when Sultan Mahomet II invited the archbishop of Broussa to transport his see into the new capital of the empire, and granted him the dignity of PATRIK (patriarch) with all the prerogatives that the Greek patriarch had. His official title is “Archbishop of Constantinople, patriarch of Armenians in Turkey”.

The jurisdiction of the patriarch included 45 dioceses in Turkey, and the Armenian colonies of Egypt, Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece.

The patriarch of Constantinople took a preponderant place in the administrative organization of the Armenian Church especially after 1860, when the right to administer affairs passed into the hands of the National Assembly. This was composed of deputies elected by public ballot, in compliance with prescriptions of the “National Statute of the Armenians” con-

firmed by the imperial IRADE and figured, as the law of the state, in the DESTOUR.

The General Assembly is composed of 120 members, clergy and laity, elected by the dioceses. This Assembly elects two councils: RELIGIOUS and CIVIL for the administration of religious and civil affairs. These two councils together form the Mixed Council, which creates sub-councils or offices to manage educational and judicial affairs.

It is the General Assembly which elects the patriarch.

The election of the patriarch was formerly confirmed by the “ferman” of the Sultan. The patriarch personally presented himself to the Sultan and received the decoration.

The government confirmed the councils.

The patriarch was recognized as an intermediary between the Armenians and the Sultan and his government.

The office of patriarch is not permanent; he can resign voluntarily, or be removed from his office by the vote of the General Assembly in compliance with the dispositions of the statute.

The resigned patriarch is but an ordinary bishop. He can be re-elected.

The General Assembly used to elect prelates for dioceses and the Sultan confirmed them by his edict. The diocesan prelates as such, were the members of the local IDARE (leading council). The prelates were not elected for life; they could be removed from their office or dismissed.

Each diocese elects its own Religious and Civil Councils, that are confirmed by the Patriarch.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem

The patriarch of Jerusalem for centuries has had the task of guarding in Palestine and chiefly in The Holy City, the special rights of the Armenian Church and also those rights which she shares with the Greek and Roman Churches.

The common rights of the three churches extend over the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, and the Church of the Blessed Virgin in Gethsemane. In addition, the patriarch superintends, conjointly with the Greek patriarch, the ruins of the Church of the Ascension on Mount of Olives, where divine service is held two times each year.

The seat of the patriarch is installed in the monastery of Saint James.

The monastery possesses a Seminary, and a valuable library, rich in Armenian manuscripts.

The patriarch of Jerusalem is elected by the General Council of Saint James and in former days was approved by the patriarch of Constantinople and confirmed by the Sultan. His spiritual power extends over Palestine.

After the occupation of Palestine, the English proclaimed the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem independent of that of Constantinople and decided that the election of the patriarch hereafter should be approved by the king of England.

The late Patriarch Yeghishé Tourian, as well as his successor, Patriarch Torkom, were approved by the king of England.

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The Present Condition

The serious events which took place during and after the Great War have had tragic repercussions on the lot of the Armenians and upset the organization of the Armenian Church.

The Russian empire collapsed, and the Soviet Regime after having decreed the separation of the State from the Church, took a distinctly hostile position toward all religions.

However, the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin was able to oppose its moral authority against the revolutionary tempest and save at least the dignity of the Armenian Church, with the spirit of tolerance which is characteristic of her through the centuries.

The see of the Catholicos of all the Armenians was stripped of all its possessions by the measures of secularization. Even the library of the Catholicosate was secularized.

The statute called BOLOZHENIA was abolished. The synod changed its name to Supreme Spiritual Council. The mode of election of the Catholicos has remained in effect.

It was according to the ancient statute that the General Assembly, composed of laity and clergy of diocesan delegates, raised to the patriarchal throne the locum tenens of the Catholicosate Archbishop Khoren Mouradbekian.

The PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE suffered a fate as cruel as irreparable. Its flock was exterminated or deported from its country. The new governmental system in Turkey declared itself in favor of the separation of Church and the State. On this pretext they stripped the Church of all her properties and of all her institutions. The secular privileges which she had obtained with difficulty, were abrogated. The educational establish-

ments, so admirably organized, disappeared. She was despoiled of all her possessions which were secularized. The little which remained as rights of a national minority was violated by the government. In brief, all that she had attained under a despotic regime was lost under a “democratic” regime.

Under these conditions the jurisdiction of the patriarchate was reduced to a narrow power in very confined limits. In spite of this the seat of Constantinople has maintained the high prestige and the great respect which she previously used to enjoy among the Armenian people.

The Assembly and the Councils continue to administer the affairs of the Church. The present patriarch, Archbishop Mesrob Naroyan, was elected by the National Assembly, but the government did not confirm him, in virtue of the new constitution of the State.

THE CATHOLICOSATE OF CILICIA was struck by the same misfortune. The Turkish barbarism shattered the beautiful Armenian Cilicia. Its Armenian population was deported during the Great War. As soon as peace was restored the survivors returned in search of their ruined homes. But hardly had these unfortunate people raised up their houses when a new disaster came upon them and forced them to quit their homes again. This story is well known and too sad for us to repeat it again.

The eminent spiritual head of this unfortunate population Catholicos Sahak, that noble old man, shared with his people all the adversities of deportation and of exile and came finally to look for a place of rest in Syria.

Lebanon particularly was ready to open her gates to a people escaped from their executions.

The patriarchal see of Sis, which was a heritage of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, had all that past glory could bequeath her; the moral influence, the material prosperity appropriate to her high position. The unjust fortune which bitterly struck the Armenian people, did not spare the seat of its spiritual head. Catholicos Sahak, bent under the weight of his years took his cross again to accompany his flock toward an uncertain refuge. He found it in Syria, where he breathed freely. The good welcome which the humane population of the country gave to the refugees, the friendliness which the native and French governments showed towards them proved a true comfort for them after so many misfortunes and sufferings.

The years 1915–1930 were very painful for the refugees who found themselves living in almost insurmountable difficulties. But because of their courage and tenacity they emerged from this period of misery.

The Catholicos endured his hardships courageously in spite of his age and situation. General Weygand, the High Commissioner, favorably dis-

posed toward the Catholicos, encouraged him to plan for the organization of the spiritual jurisdiction.

Never did the existence of the see of Cilicia so indispensable as now, for the good reason that the two centers of the supreme hierarchy, Etchmiadzin and Constantinople, are limited if not paralyzed in their action.

First of all it was indispensable to secure the necessary means and to call someone to assist the Catholicos because of his advanced age. The see of Jerusalem was the first to facilitate the task of the Catholicos by placing at his disposal some properties which it had in Syria and Lebanon in the cities of Aleppo, Damascus, Laodicea and Beirut. These cities had houses, and shops which had been given to the patriarchate of Jerusalem by pious persons. . . .

Catholicos Sahak conferred with Yeghishé Tourian, the Patriarch of Jerusalem who consented to yield to the Catholicosate not only his possessions but also the diocesan jurisdiction of Jerusalem over Damascus, Beirut and Laodicea.

After the transfer of properties the Catholicos moved from Aleppo to Beirut to establish his seat.

Beirut, the capital of the Lebanon Republic and the center of all spiritual jurisdictions was the city best qualified to become the seat of the Catholicos. In addition, the High Commissioner was of the same opinion. Fortunately the Catholicos selected Antelias, one of the suburbs of Beirut. The Orphanage of the Near East Relief, which had been constructed for the Armenian orphans and partly by themselves, was then vacant and attracted the attention of the Catholicos, who succeeded, thanks to the beneficence of the Near East Relief, in installing there the seat of the Catholicosate. It was necessary to make some repairs and some changes in order to adjust the buildings to their new use. A church was constructed, a seminary and a press were founded; a monthly magazine, "HASK", the official organ of the see, was published, thus enlivening the see and making it a luminous focus, a center of spiritual and national culture.

The contribution which the Near East Relief and some Armenians in the United States gave, enabled the opening of a Seminary even in the first year, under the direction of Bishop Shahe Kasparian.

If the see succeeded in a short time in completing its physical equipment and in getting to work, it is thanks to the generosity of Mr. Garabed Melkonian. This noble Armenian of Alexandria annually gives a thousand Egyptian gold pounds to provide for the needs of the see and its establishments. We want to point out this fine gesture of the great benefactor

Melkonian who by his remarkable generosity has deserved well at the hands of all our people.

After the installation of the see, the organization of dioceses was begun. The regions of great cities, such as Aleppo, Beirut, Damascus, Laodicea and the Isle of Cyprus formed dioceses. Their administration is based on the electoral right, confided to the people. . . .

Catholicos Sahak, because of his advanced age, did not feel able to finish this work of organization. So, at the very beginning he called to his help Bishop Papken, the former prelate of Angora, and the director of the Armenian Seminary founded by himself in Jerusalem.

The organization being completed, Catholicos Sahak wanted in his lifetime to provide a successor for his seat. He summoned an assembly of the representatives of the people, which approved his resolution and choice. Thus, Bishop Papken was solemnly consecrated Catholicos in the Church of the Forty Martyrs, in Aleppo, on 25th of April, 1931.

The see of Cilicia preserves from antiquity, among other relics, the right hand of St. Gregory the Illuminator, which is held in great veneration among the Armenian people.

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The Historic and True Name of Our Church

The Church of England means the Church of the English people. In like manner, our church is called THE CHURCH OF ARMENIA, or THE CHURCH OF ARMENIANS, or simply THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

The bodies separated from the Armenian Church are called:

- a) The Armenian (Roman) Catholic Church.
- b) The Armenian Protestant Church.

The appellations: Armenian Gregorian Church, Armenian Apostolic Church etc., are wrong.

We want the name ARMENIAN CHURCH to be respected because it is the historical and real name of our church.

Editor's note: The full official name of the Armenian Church currently in use is The Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church. The term "The Armenian Church" is accepted as the official short version of the aforementioned.

