

Կիրիկեան արքայական թագերուն վրայ հայ արուեստի ազդեցութեան հարցը քիչ մը կնճռոտ է, նկատի ունենալով որ առաջին թագերը ստացուած են որպէս նուէր Հռոմէն եւ Բիւզանդիոնէն, ուր չէին կրնար նկատի առած ըլլալ հայկական ոսկերչութեան աւանդութիւնները: Հակառակ այս քոլորին՝ մենք թագերուն վրայ կը տեսնենք մարգարտի շարաններու առատ օգտագործում, ինչպէս նաեւ ոսկեայ միալար սրբաններ, որոնք հայկական ոսկերչական աւանդութիւններէն սերած տարրեր են:

Կարելի չէ աւելի հայկականութիւն ակնկալել տուեալ դարաշրջանի ոսկերչութեան այս քնադաւառէն, որ սերտորէն կ'առնչուի քաղաքական մանուածապատ հաշիւներու, արեւմտեան եւ արեւելեան կայսրութիւններու հետ Կիրիկիոյ յարաբերութիւններուն մէջ: Պէտք է միշտ նկատի ունենալ որ Ռուբինեանք մեծ ակնկալութիւններ ունէին Արեւմուտքէն:

ՀԱՅԿ ՏԵՐ ՂԵՒՈՆԴԵԱՆ

Résumé

LES COURONNES ROYALES DE L'ARMENO - CILICIE DU XII^e AU XIV^e SIECLE

HAYK TER GHEVONDIAN

La première couronne employée par un roi arménien de Cilicie fut celle de Léon I (1199-1219) qui la reçut du fils de Barberousse, Henri VI. Léon reçut aussi une deuxième couronne de l'empereur de Byzance Alexis III Ange. Se basant sur des témoignages textuels et les monnaies arméniennes de l'époque, l'auteur cherche à reconstituer l'histoire et la forme des couronnes royales de Léon I et de ses successeurs, Het'oum I (1226-1269), Léon II (1269-1289), Léon III (1301-1307), Léon V (1374-1375). La même recherche est menée aussi sur les couronnes, mentionnées dans l'histoire, des reines Zepel (née 1215 †1253), Keřan († 1285), Mariwn († 1352), et de Marguerite de Soisson, femme de Léon V.

Des influences byzantines et surtout occidentales sont assez remarquables dans cette succession de couronnes, dûes sans doute aux multiples relations de l'Arméno-Cilicie avec l'Occident et aussi au fait que les premières couronnes de Léon I étaient de fabrication étrangère.

THE MELIKS OF EASTERN ARMENIA VI * THE HOUSE OF AĬAMALEANC' MELIKS OF EREVAN **

Of all the meliks outside of Karabagh, the best known were those of the House of AĬamaleanc', Meliks of Erevan in the last century and a half of Persian rule¹. A distinguished family, recognized as princely², the AĬamaleans were remarkably favored during the governorship of Hosein Qoli Khan Qajar, last Persian Khan of Erevan (1807-1828)³, and their matrimonial alliances in this period were, as we shall see, among the most brilliant Armenian marriages of the age.

Although we are no nearer to a solution to the problem of the origin of the House of Melik'-AĬamalean, than we were when I first addressed this question in 1972⁴, the publication of re-

*) «The Meliks of Eastern Armenia», I, II, III and IV appeared in REA IX, X, XI and XIV; Meliks V (without that number) in «Hask» (N.S.), Beirut 1981-82, under the title *The Armenian Noble Families of the Russian Empire*.

**) This article is respectfully dedicated to the memory of the late princess Elenko Aghamalian of Washington, D.C. (1911-1983).

1. GEORGE K. BOURNOUTIAN, *Eastern Armenia in the Last Decades of Persian Rule 1807-1828*, Malibu, California, 1982.
2. AUGUST VON HAXTHAUSEN, *Transcaucasia, Sketches of the Nations and Races between the Black Sea and the Caspian*, London, 1854, p. 215.
3. BOURNOUTIAN, pp. 91-92.
4. ROBERT H. HEWSEN, *The Meliks of Eastern Armenia II*, REA, X, Paris, 1973-74, pp. 296-97.

According to Adontz, himself a native of Siwnik', the AĬamaleans were a branch of one of the melik dynasties of Karabagh but of which one he did not know (quoted by Toumanoff in a private communication from a conversation between them in the late 1930's). When we consider that Maria (1808-1882), a daughter of Isaac II AĬamalean, the last melik, married Alexander, Prince-Royal of Georgia, son of the last Georgian sovereign George XIII (1798-1800), and also

cent epigraphic materials⁵ has at least clarified its genealogy and has enabled us to trace it back almost as far as the Peace of 1649, which ended the last Turko-Persian Wars. The epigraphic (and textual) evidence regarding the descent of this house have been combined in the accompanying genealogical chart. It is only necessary to add the following remarks by way of commentary to it.

1) Melik Gilan, who died in 1653⁶ and who is cited again in the funerary inscription of his daughter Nana (d. 1654), is not specifically referred to as an Ałamalid or even styled a Melik «of Erevan». Nor can he be linked by any tangible evidence to the Melik Catur who follows him on the chart and who, we know, was of the house in question. Still, given the fact that he is buried in the cemetery in the quarter of Kond in Erevan with the other Ałamalids, the importance of the family, and the mention of him twice as «Melik» Gilan without further qualification, makes it difficult to doubt that he was an ancestor of the Ałamalid Meliks of Erevan.

2) Melik' Ałamal (d. 1716), if the first of that name, must have given his name to the house, the given name (and surname)

that her sister Salome married George, Prince T'umanišvili (d. 1857), a member of one of the most important houses in Georgia, it would seem clear, contrary to my earlier view, that the princely ancestry of this house must be taken almost for granted.

Although the earliest member of this house known to us for certain was not Melik' Ałamal (d. 1716), Toumanoff notes that in the House of Avanian, Meliks of Dizak, there was a Melik' Ałam in 1566, who was the father of Melik' Pašik, and whose floruit precedes that of the earliest known Ałamalid by nearly one hundred years (private communication). Toumanoff thus suggests that the House of Ałamalan was descended from a younger son of Melik' Ałam. While this is possible, at present, of course, it remains impossible to prove. Certainly, having recognized the autonomous status of the melik houses to begin with, it would not be unnatural for the Persians to have appointed a scion of one of these houses to be ethnarch over an important Armenian community which otherwise had no qualified local representative through whom to make itself heard before the local Khan (or *Sardar* as the Persian governor was also known). Unfortunately this proposed connection between the Ałamalids and the Avanids cannot yet be proved.

5. KARO ŁAFADAREAN, Երևանի միջնադարեան յուշարձանները, Erevan, 1975.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 189, inscription 189(82).

being unattested in the family before his time. The fact that his wife is called *Mariam* in one inscription and *Perixan* in another suggests that the many Armenian women called by Persian names during the period of Persian rule, probably had Christian baptismal names as well. This was probably also the case with Armenian men, who bore islamic names.

3) Melik' Yacob-ĵan (Hakob-ĵan), who died in 1759⁷, is the Yacob-ĵan (Melik' Jakobĵan) cited by Abraham of Crete⁸ as having attended the coronation of Nadir Shah in the Plain of Mułan in 1736, together with a host of other Armenian and Persian dignitaries: The Melik'-ĵan and Melik' Mkrtum also cited by Abraham as «Meliks of Erevan»⁹, suggesting a collegial holding of the office, were probably not of Erevan city (as was Melik' Yacob-ĵan), but meliks from two of the other fifteen *mahal*-s (districts) of the Erevan Khanate most of which, we know, had their own melik houses¹⁰.

4) The piecing together of this stemma was complicated by the fact that several meliks are buried in Kond who would appear to have been ruling simultaneously with those of the Ałamalean House. These, too, however, like Melik'-ĵan and Melik' Mkrtum, were almost certainly meliks of other *mahal*-s in the Erevan Khanate who preferred to live in the capital rather than

7. *Ibid.*, p. 187, inscription 180(73).

8. ABRAHAM KRETAC'I, Պատմութիւն, ed. and Russ. transl. N. K. Łor-tanean, Erevan, 1973, chapt. XXXIII. There appears to be some confusion in the text of Abraham as it has come down to us, however, for he cites in this passage, first, as the K'alant'ar of Erevan, a certain Melik'-ĵan, then Melik' Yakobĵan and Melik' Mkrtum, and finally Melik Eken of Duzak (*sic*, i.e. Dizak). Since elsewhere (Ch. XXXIII, p. 110), Abraham speaks of the Melik of Erevan «as our K'alant'ar and Melik'», it is clear that the Persian title *Kalantar* for a hereditary ethnarch was equivalent to the title *melik'*. For this reason, since we know from inscriptions that Melik' Yakobĵan was Melik of Erevan, the Kalantar Melik'-ĵan and the Melik' Yakobĵan cited immediately after him, must have been confused. That there was a Melik' Ĵan at this time is certain (Łafadarean, 180, inscrip. 134(27), but being a son of Melik Manuĉ'ar, he appears to have been of the Manuĉ'arid house which held the Melikdom of Dalułardaš in Gełark'unik' (HEWSEN, *Meliks III*, REA, XI, Paris: 1975-76, p. 237).

9. *Ibid.*

10. T'. V. HAKOBEAN, Հայկական պատմական աշխարհագրութիւն, 2nd ed., Erevan, 1968, p. 386.

in the rusticity of their native villages. Thus, for example, Harut'iwn, the brother of Melik' Sarkis-ĵan (d. 1769)¹¹, is described as being of *Dalitartaš*, which must be the *Dalutardaš* in Geġark'unik' cited by Barxudarean¹². It is possible that Melik' Sarkis-ĵan belonged to the Geġamean House, which shared in some way the governing of the Armenians of Erevan with the Aġamaleans¹³.

5) The Melik' Aġamal, son of Melik' Mkrtiċ' of Karbi, must represent the line of the Meliks of Karbi. The naming pattern, however, Aġamal son of Mkrtiċ' son of Aġamal, strongly suggests that these meliks were of Aġamalid origin, the last named perhaps being a grandson of Melik' Aġamal of Erevan, though possibly only in the female line.

6) The epitaph of Stephen, son of Melik Peter, who died in India in 1805¹⁴, is our only source for this melik but there is a very definite break in the epigraphic evidence for our stemma at this point so that there could have been a Melik Peter between Melik Naz II¹⁵ (d. 1790) and Melik Isaac I (d. before 1805)¹⁶. Although there is no room for three generations of meliks between Yacob-ĵan (d. 1759) and Abraham (d. 1811), it is possible for Peter to have been a brother of either Naz II or of Isaac I.

7) The *Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia* states that Melik Abraham died in 1811¹⁷. The tombstone of Melik Abraham, son of Melik John (Ohanes), in the cemetery at Kond, however, is dated 1827¹⁸. The same source¹⁹ has Melik Isaac II die in 1834 while his tombstone states that he «*Լիբանտի վերջապես*» ("was transported on high") † 1835²⁰. Obviously, the Melik Abraham, son of Melik John who died in 1827, cannot be the same person as Melik Abraham son of Isaac, who died in 1811. The former (d. 1827)

11. HEWSEN, «Meliks II», *ibid.*

12. S. BARXUDAREAN, Գեղարքունիքի մեղիքներն ու տաճարները ըստ Տաթևի վանքի մի վաստաբարի, «*Banber Matenadarani*», 8 (1967), pp. 203-204.

13. T. X. HAKOBEAN, Երևանի պատմությունը, (Vol. 4) 1879-1917, Erevan, 1969.

14. MESROB J. SETH, *The Armenians of India*, Calcutta 1937, p. 129.

15. LAFADAREAN, 188, inscrip., 182(75).

16. *Ibid.*, 187, inscrip. 181(74).

17. *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* (HSH), VIII, 386.

18. LAFADAREAN, *ibid.*

19. HSH, *ibid.*

20. LAFADAREAN, 190, inscrip. 193(86).

must again be of another melikal family from one of the other *mahal*-s of the Erevan Khanate, who happened to reside in the capital.

8) As hereditary nobles, the Meliks of Erevan had a high position in the community, lived in a sumptuous mansion in the quarter of Kond and were among the most important, influential, and respected individuals in the Khanate²¹. The German traveller Baron von Haxthausen has left us a description of Isaac II, the last melik of this house, who served under the last *sardar* of Erevan²².

During his residence at Dorpat, my friend Abovian had compiled a volume of reminiscences of his youth, which contained many highly interesting particulars respecting his native country; this volume he placed at my disposal, and I will here select from it a passage, describing the person of Sahak Agamaljan, the last Melik of Erivan. Abovian was related to his Melik, and when young had frequently lived with him for many months together.

Sahak was a man of a strikingly handsome and noble figure: his face wore an expression of intelligence and gentleness, and all movements were marked with dignity and grace. When he appeared in the dress of a Persian of rank (which he was the only Armenian privileged to wear); in the purple robe, with narrow sleeves, and rows of gold-laced buttons on his breast, mounted upon a beautiful Daghestan charger, and surrounded by his attendants, the Armenians all looked up to him as their prince. Sahak had rendered important services to the Persians, and the Shah regarded him as one of his most faithful subjects: his influence was consequently considerable, and in Erivan he was only second in importance to the Sirdar: even Persians of rank frequently requested his intercession and assistance. From the extent of his jurisdiction, he had opportunities of benefiting in various ways a great number of persons, which he did without regard to person or creed; and even the Mohammedans and the poor uncivilized mountaineers loved and esteemed him highly. For his own nation he felt the most devoted attachment, and his fellow-believers clung to him with the strongest fidelity. His residence was beautifully situated in a garden by the river Sange, built and arranged like that of a grand Tatar Khan. A hall, enclosed on three sides and open to the river, was covered with the most costly oriental carpets; and here, at daybreak, people

21. T. X. HAKOBEAN, *ibid.*, 215 quoting Haxthausen's article in the Tiflis monthly Կոռմկ Հայոց աշխարհիմ, 1862, p. 26.

22. IDEM, Երևանի պատմությունը, III 1801-1879, Erevan, 1959, p. 214.

of every class and creed assembled. Soon the Melik made his appearance, usually in a plain dress, but always with a numerous suite of attendants; and as he passed up the saloon, the throng fell back respectfully on either side, and showered upon him a flood of Oriental complimentary ejaculations: — «Thou art our sun!» exclaimed the Armenians: «O powerful lord and master, we are dust before thee! Thy command we prize above the light of our eyes!» Whilst the Mohammedans would exclaim, «Allah guard thy path!»

At the further end of the hall was a raised dais, upon which Sahak reclined on cushions. The Khans and Begg, his visitors, together with some of the citizens and merchants of distinction, seated themselves around him, their legs crossed under them; while the mountaineers and others remained standing respectfully at the lower end of the hall, mingling with the attendants. The *galjon* (pipe) and and sherbet were now handed about, and the most important affairs of the city and country were discussed, the opinion of the Melik invariably deciding every question. The sitting of the court then opened; plaintiffs and defendants appeared, and Sahak in all cases pronounced judgement with firmness and decision: he was intimately acquainted with every person, and punished the guilty severely. His influence was so great, that when Abbas Mirza entered Erivan, his first inquiry was for Sahak; the Sirdar introduced the Melik to the Prince, who, laying his hand upon his shoulder, rode thus into the fortress, conversing familiarly with him, extolling his merits, and mentioning the favourable opinion of him entertained by his father the Shah. Such condescension excited the amazement of the Persian grandees, as this was a mark of favour only shown to persons of the highest station, and, in the provinces, only to the Governor. When Erivan was taken by the Russians, all Persians of rank placed themselves under his protection, which he readily and successfully granted.

The Armenian Melik possessed great power and authority with the Persians, as well as among his own countrymen. Not only did persons who were dissatisfied with the decision of the village elder appeal to him, but all important affairs, especially of a criminal nature, were laid immediately before him. He had power to arrest, imprison, and punish, except in cases of capital offences, upon which the Persian Sirdar could alone decide. All proceedings in court were oral. Toward the close of the Persian dominion the Melik's jurisdiction was limited: the Khans appointed by the Sirdar arrogated to themselves many of his privileges, and especially the appeal from the decision of the village elder. Since the Russian dominion, the district judges have superseded the Khans, and the Government has appointed natives exclusively to the post of these judges and their assessors. All the villages had to pay taxes to the Melik of Erivan: Kanakir, for instance, raised annually thirty roubles.

The Meliks AĀmalean, owned, by law, the villages of Arzak'yand (Arzakan), Alveran, Jag, Dalular, Badōis and Gyumeš, as well as a part of Ēlar in Kērxbulā district²³. Their influence extended not only over the city and the villages which they owned outright but over the Armenian inhabitants of all the surrounding villages. Although the meliks possessed no serfs²⁴, as we have just seen, each of the Armenian villages of the Erevan Khanate paid a special tax to the melik who had judicial rights over the local Armenians up to the imposition of every penalty except that of death, which only the Sardar could impose²⁵. The Melik'AĀmaleans also commanded the local Armenian infantry troops under Persian rule²⁶. Apart from their villages, the meliks owned numerous vineyards around Erevan, and with their extensive cellars they, together with a few other rich families, were alone in a position to store vintage wines²⁷.

9) After the Russians occupied Persian Armenia in 1828, the Melikdom of Erevan was terminated but Melik Isaac II was welcomed as a member of the regional administration with the title «assessor»²⁸. After 1829 the former melik restored the ruined seventeenth-century chapel near Erevan in which the noted vardapet Melik'set' of Erevan, and the Catholicos Moses III of Siwnik' were buried, the latter in 1632. There he, himself, was laid to rest in 1834, where the inscription on his tomb may still be read: «Աստ հանգչի մարմինն Մելիք Երեւանայ Հայոց Սահակա Մելիք Աղամալեանց որ վերականգնաւ ի 1835»³⁰.

10) The identity of Melik Isaac II's wife is not known for certain. To manoff calls her a Pitošvili³¹, with a question mark. It is probably, however, that she was a member of the Abovian family, descended from the Melik of Giwlistan and hereditary

23. HSH, I, 386.

24. M. SARKISIAN, *A Modern History of Transcaucasian Armenia*, Nagpur, India, 1974, p. 60.

25. HAKOBEAN, *ibid.*, 215 quoting Haxthausen's *Zkavskii Krai*, I, and E. SAHAZIZ, Հիմ երևամ, pp. 67-68.

26. HSH, *ibid.*

27. HAKOBEAN, *ibid.*, p. 507.

28. SARKISIAN, p. 67.

29. ĀFADAREAN, 190, inscrip. 193(6).

30. *Ibid.*, inscrip. 193(86).

31. C. TOUMANOFF, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucasic chrétienne*, Rome, 1976, p. 261.

tanuter-s of K'anak'er, probably a sister of *Tanuter* Harut'iwn. She would thus have been an aunt of the writer and educator Xač'atur Abovian, whose mother visited the Ałamaleans regularly³², and who himself was on intimate terms of Melik Isaac II's daughter Maria when both were living in St. Petersburg³³.

11) Melik Isaac II had four daughters and two sons. Both of the sons appear to have left progeny in the Russian Empire but one of them had a son who settled in the Ottoman Empire. From this branch sprang a certain George Melik'-Ałamalean, who died in 1915 fleeing the Turks, but whose family settled in America. Here, most of them now use the surname «Melik» but still cherish the memory of their «Queen Mariam»³⁴.

From one or the other (or both) of Melik Isaac II's two sons, Karaman and Thaddeus, were descended the Ałamalians who settled in Russia (Agamalov) as well as the George who migrated to the Ottoman Empire. The Melik Aghamalian (*sic*) Family of India must be descended from the Stephen, son of Melik Peter, who died at Agra in 1805³⁵.

12) The high regard with which the Ałamaleanc' family was held in the early nineteenth century, and in particular Sahak Ała, the last melik, himself, is demonstrated by the marriages which he was able to arrange for three of his four daughters. Sophia, for example, married an Armenian nobleman and general in the Russian army, Eznik Kamsarakan, of the family which held the melikship of Surmalu west of the Arax³⁶. Salome was married to Pr. George T'umanšvili (Toumanoff) of the well-known and highly important Georgian family of Armenian origin descended from the ancient and illustrious House of Mamikonean³⁷.

32. R. H. HEWSEN, *The Meliks of Eastern Armenia IV, the Siwnid Origins of Xač'atur Abovian*, REA, XIV, Paris, 1980, p. 464, quoting a letter of Levon Eric'ean to the author dated 21.12.1976. For the institution of *tanutēr* see Hewsen, «Meliks III», pp. 241-42.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Conversations with members of the Melik-Aghamalian family in Washington, D. C. 1960, 1968.

35. Seth, *ibid.*

36. The Meliks of Surmalu (Surb Mariam, Surmari) claimed descent from the ancient Armenian princely House of Kamsarakan (C. TOUMANOFF *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, Washington, D. C., 1963, 208 n. 236). The Catholicos of the Armenian Church Nerses V (1843-1857) was of the melikal House of Surmalu.

37. TOUMANOFF, *Manuel...*, 155, 261.

Finally, Maria (Mariam, 12. viii, 1808 - 7. x. 1882) was married to Alexander Bagrationi, Prince royal of Georgia (1771-1844), son and heir of George XIII, last King of Georgia³⁸. Of the fourth daughter nothing is known.

The arrangements preceding the marriage of Maria Ałamalean and Prince Alexander are preserved in three documents contained in Folio le of the Persian Mss. Series held in the Mate-nadaran in Erevan³⁹, and are interesting to read.

The first of these documents (No. 680) is a letter from 'Abbas Mirza, heir apparent to the Persian throne, dated 1818. It is addressed to Ephraim, Supreme Katholikos of the Armenian Church (1809-1831) asking him to arrange the marriage between the daughter of Isaac II, the last Melik of Erevan, and Prince Alexander of Georgia (1771-1844), the pretender to the Georgian throne, who, after the Russian annexation of his father's kingdom upon the latter's death in 1801, had taken refuge abroad, and who, at the time the letter of 'Abbas Mirza was written, was living in Persia.

The second document (No. 682), also from 'Abbas Mirza to Katholikos Ephraim, is a letter dated 1819 thanking him on behalf of himself and Prince Alexander for his services in arranging the marriage in question, adding that he, 'Abbas Mirza, would contribute to the expenses of the wedding, and asking that this information be passed on to Melik Isaac.

The third document (No. 687), also dated 1819, is a letter from the *Sardar* of Erevan, Hosayn Qoli Khan, to Katholikos Ephraim, assuring the Pontiff that he would do all in his power to assist in the forthcoming wedding. Apparently, the heir had been in touch with the Khan on this matter but the correspondence between them has not come down to us⁴⁰.

It is clear from all this that the Persian government considered the marriage of the daughter of the most prominent Armenian in the Erevan Khanate to the prince whom it recognized as legitimate and actual sovereign of Georgia to be not only a worthy match but a matter of some diplomatic importance. As Bournoutian has shown⁴¹, the administration of the last

38. *Ibid.*

39. Communicated to me by Dr. George A. Bournoutian in a letter dated December 10, 1976.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Eastern Armenia*, *passim*.

Khan of Erevan was characterized by considerable «fence-mending» in Persian Armenia, and this marriage may have been part of a broader scheme to enlist the support of the Armenians against further Russian encroachments in Caucasia.

Since Maria Ałamalean was but a child of ten when the negotiations for her marriage began, we should not be surprised to learn that the actual wedding took place only in 1825 at which time she was sixteen. The groom was fifty-four. The refusal of the Persians, Turks and Georgians to recognize the legality of the Russian annexation of the Kingdom of Georgia (K'art'li-Kaxet'i) for a long period led to Prince Alexander's use of the title "King" with Maria, naturally being styled, his "Queen". As a result of this, and the fact that the last true Queen of Georgia, consort of Heraclius (1798-1891), was also named Maria (née Mariam C'ic'išvili), the Ałamalean family tradition remembered Maria Ałamalean as "Queen Mariam", wife of King Heraclius⁴². Maria Ałamalean's tombstone in the Armenian Cathedral in Tiflis supports this confusion by referring to her as *Tsarevna* (princess) in the Russian inscription, but as *T'aguhi* (queen) in the Armenian epitaph below it⁴³.

Two accounts survive of the little Armenian princess wed to the heir to the Georgian throne. The first by the French traveller Dubois de Monpereux⁴⁴ runs as follows in English translation:

Prince Alexander, son of George, last King of Georgia, and grandson of Heraclius II, never would recognize the Russian domination of his country as legitimate in spite of his elder's testament. Withdrawing now to the Persians, now to the Turks according to whichever of the two was at war with Russia, he invited the enemies of Russia, insofar as he could, to reconquer his country for him. The Russian court offered him a pension and protection if he would keep still but he paid no attention.

While he was in Erevan he married the daughter of Melik Saat (*sic*, i. e. Sahak = Isaac), chief of the Armenians of the Sar-

42. Conversations, *supra*, n. 27.

43. Photograph taken by Archbishop Ghevont Tourian shown to me by a member of the family in Washington. The Russian inscription begins «Tsarevna Mariya Isaakovna Gruzinskaya 12 Aug. 1808 - 7 Okt. 1882». The Armenian and Georgian inscriptions are only partly legible in the photograph but the Armenian word *t'aguhi* «queen» is clear.

44. FREDERIC DUBOIS DE MONTPEREUX, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, I, Paris, 1859, pp. 254-57.

darate of Erevan. After the conquest of Armenia and during the war with Turkey of 1829-1830, with which he was also involved, his wife and his son remained in Erevan with her parents. After the war, he claimed them from the government. Field Marshall Paskievich, not seeing how a *Tzarevich* and *Tzarina* were of any further value to Russia ordered they be sent to him.

But the wife of Alexander, either through timidity, or fear of the journey, being still so young, or perhaps also because the instability of the fortune of Alexander delayed their reunion, did so well that the Field Marshall left his post without her having departed. Moreover, it is very likely that her father and mother had much to do with this having such pain at being separated from their daughter.

At this point Baron Rosen was named Governor-General of the Caucasus. A year passed, then a fresh appeal from the pretender that his wife, whom he already thought had left a long time before, be sent to him. The Baron made inquiries and found that she was, in fact, in Erevan. The Baron, who lacked the power of the Field Marshall and could not say «go on, we are not afraid of you» found himself in great embarrassment. He then wrote of this to St. Petersburg asking what to do. They replied «you have the Tzarina and the heir presumptive of the Georgia crown in your hands and you want to send them to the Turks? Let them be sent to St. Petersburg as quickly as possible».

It was a fact, the child was the true and direct heir of the Georgian crown. The order was given at once to General Prince Bebutov, Governor of Armenia, to ask the Tzarina to prepare herself for the journey to St. Petersburg.

The despair of this young and pretty woman was extreme, accustomed to the life of the *harem*⁴⁵, to family intimacy, always under the eyes of her mother, modestly dressed and even a little careless in her grooming, to the idea of taking herself to the court of a great emperor and even playing a role there. What tears flowed on one side and the other! Her mother had absolutely no wish to consent to her departure. Several times the general was obliged to visit her to talk her into making a decision with goodwill. It was necessary to tell her that if she did not consent willingly, force would be used to make her because her daughter would be taken away in spite of herself. At last, after many delays and much wailing, the old Melik Saat, who was more reasonable, decided the mother and above all the daughter who did not wish to hear the project mentioned, and amidst tears they prepared the Tzarina's trousseau.

45. The term *harem* is here used figuratively, for Armenians possessed no such institution. The French writer refers to the fact that unmarried upper class Armenian ladies lived sheltered lives seldom leaving home except for family visits or to attend church.

The beautiful Tzarina was quite embarrassed at Tiflis where of course she was rendered every honor, which did not suit the Baroness who could not exchange a word with her for her highness knew nothing but Georgian, Armenian and perhaps Persian. But in spite of all these little annoyances, she was soon made suited to her new position and found that there was after all some pleasure in playing the role of a Tzarina especially when one is attractive. She who, before leaving Erevan, had never seen a man face to face, except for her father and her husband, became accustomed quite soon to appearing with her face uncovered. She left for St. Petersburg where she is said to be happy. The government has assigned her an income suitable for her position, and her son will be raised at state expense.

The second account by the German traveller Wagner⁴⁶ is obviously based on that of Dubois, but, while briefer, adds a few more details.

During the administration of Baron Rosen, the salons of Tiflis were graced with the presence of the wife of the legitimate heir to the throne of Georgia, Prince Alexander, son of the last King George. This lady, who was reckoned one of the first beauties in the country, was the daughter of a noble Armenian of Erivan, and fell into the hands of the Russians in the last Persian war. The Georgian Pretender, who would never consent to resign his right to the throne, and who wandered about from Persia to Turkey, stirring up those states to declare war against Muscovy, claimed his bride, after the conclusion of peace. Field Marshal Paskiewitsch did not oppose the claim, and gave permission to the lady to depart; but she lingered at Erevan, perhaps being loathe to leave her parents, and share the fugitive life of her husband, and relying on the pledged word of the Russian authorities, that she was at liberty to go whenever she pleased.

Meanwhile, Paskiewitsch was succeeded by Baron Rosen, who, on a renewal of the claims on the part of the Prince, applied to St. Petersburg for further instructions. The Supreme Government, which was not cognizant of her presence in Georgia, did not think itself bound by the word of Prince Paskiewitsch, and ordered the lady to be sent to St. Petersburg. The dismay and indignation of the Princess, on receiving this intelligence, were indescribable. She had hitherto lived a secluded life in the harem; and, supported by the tears and complaints of her mother, she at first refused to submit. But, when the Russian authorities threatened violence, she yielded, came to Tiflis, and was gradually and gently initiated into European ways by

46. M. WAGNER, *Travels in Persia, Georgia, and Koordistan*, London, 1856, p. 158.

Baroness Rosen. The flatteries and attention she received were not lost upon her.

By degrees, she became accustomed to European manners, and appeared with unveiled face, in the company of men. Nor was the sacrifice painful, as it soothed her vanity, by securing general admiration. After a prolonged residence at Tiflis, she started for St. Petersburg; and it is reported, that she passes her time so pleasantly at the Imperial Court, that she feels no inclination to return to Trans-caucasia.

13) Had it not been for the Russian occupation Melik Isaac would have been succeeded as Melik by his eldest son Karaman (Gahraman AĀa Melik'eanc' AĀamaleanc', d. 1884), who, after his father's death, was not only the richest man in Erevan but one of the richest in the Russian Empire⁴⁷.

14) The musician AĀamal Melik' AĀamaleanc' (1830-1906)⁴⁸, son of Simon, was probably the nephew of Melik Isaac, son of his brother Simon-Sultan. The music profession was held in high esteem among Armenians, particularly in the nineteenth century, and was regarded as a not unsuitable one for members of good families.

15) AĀamal Melik' AĀamaleanc', son of Karaman, was Mayor of Erevan in the 1880's and a prominent figure in the city's life for over thirty years prior to the First World War⁴⁹.

16) Nina Agamalova, great granddaughter of Isaac II the last Melik, was married to actor Aršavir Šahxatuni⁵⁰, of a distinguished family of the village of Šahriar (now Nalbandean)⁵¹, on the slopes of Mt. Aragac⁵².

47. H. S. EP'RIKEAN, *Բնաշխարհիկ բանաստեղծություններ*, I, Venice, 1902.

48. HSH, VII, p. 386.

49. L. VILLARI, *Fire and Sword in the Caucasus*, London, 1906, 270.

50. JACQUES KAYALOFF, *The Battle of Sardarabad*, The Hague, 1973, p. 49, n. 1.

51. HSH, VIII, 153, s.n. «Nalbandean».

52. Other members of the Šahxat'uni family who achieved distinction include the noted geographer, Bsp. John, son of George Šahxat'uni, of the Ejmiacin Congregation (1799-1849), who was born and who died in Šahrar; Avetik Šahxat'uni, important member of the Dašnak political party (for both see H. ACĒMEAN, *Տէր Ներսէս Արքեպիսկոպոս Միլիթ-Թանգեան*, Venice, 1926, p. 8; VaĀaršak Šahxat'uncanc', father of Aršavir, and himself a noted actor in Erevan (HAKOBEAN, *Երևանի...*, IV, 632); and Elizabeth, daughter of Avet Šahxat'uni (1911-) the Erevan

17) Other Ałamalids survive in Iran. Some of them were certainly of the House of Melik'-Ałamalean. With others, calling themselves «Ałamalean» *tout court*, we are not always certain ⁵³.

18) In 1945 there was a Russian General named Agamalov, who had a son, Alexander, and a brother who was a (Roman Catholic?) Bishop Aghamalian in Hungary. Nothing more is known of this branch of the family ⁵⁴.

aeronautical engineer (*HSH*, VIII, 425). The Sahxat'unis, although an important and well-to-do family, do not appear to have been of princely or melikal origin. Rather they would seem to have been of the landowning gentry or *azat* class, i.e. untitled landed nobility.

53. JOHN CARSWELL, *New Julfa the Armenian Churches and other Buildings*, London, 1968, p. 9. In 1975 I entered into correspondence with a certain Varoujan Aghamalian of Teheran, Iran (b. 1924) whose grandfather Khosrov Aghamalian (1847-1934), had led the defence of Lilahan, a village whose 3000 inhabitants sent him a detachment of 42 volunteers, asking him in a letter to protect their village from Muslim attacks. The letter, of which Mr. Aghamalian sent me a copy, was dated May (?) 28, 1918 but does not say what province of Iran the village of Lilahan was located. Although this Aghamalian family preserved no memory of a melikal origin, the fact that the village of Lilahan asked a man of seventy-one to take the lead in its defense suggests that he held a certain precedence among the Armenians of that district.

54. Conversation, *supra*, n. 34.

55. Other Ałamaleans perhaps members of the Melik'-Ałamalean family, perhaps not, include: 1) Artemi, son of Paul (Bołos) Ałamalean, Jan. 15, 1882 - Feb. 9, 1963, born in Č'ayk'aduz village now Sargsašēn in the district of Šuša, a Soviet government official; 2) Suk'ias Ałamalyanc' (Dec. 11, 1738 - Mar. 18, 1889), born in the village of Šořot' in Ernjak, Siwnik', a mathematician of the Venetian order of Mekhitarists; Gregory, son of Tarxan Ałamalean (Grigori Tarkhanov Agamalian), first tsarist administrator of Ejmiacin after the Russian occupation (died 1835); Catherine Melik'-Ałamalean, a teacher at Erevan in 1888-89 (T'. X. HAKOBEAN (ed.), *Razvitie Erevana posle prisoeđineniya vostochnoi Armenii K Rossii, Sbornik Dok., 1801-1197*, Erevan, 1978), the Erevan School Inspector Tigran Ałamalean (fl. 1908); Mkrtič' Ałamalean (the poet Sarhat), who fought in the Armeno-Tatar clashes in 1905 (*T'ēodik*, Constantinople, 1914, 378); etc., etc.

The name Ałamal, of course, might well be used by families having nothing to do with the Meliks of Erevan. Since *ała* (*agha*, *ağa*) means "lord" in Turkish, and is used with the same meaning in colloquial Armenian, while *mal* is Armenian for "sheep" it would not be unexpected to find any holder of large flocks giving the name Ałamal "sheep lord" to his son and heir. Thus, in the *Great Soviet*

The role of the Melik'-Ałamalean family in the affairs of Persian (and Russian) Armenia deserves to be further studied. Whether they were hereditary chiefs of the Armenians of the Erevan Khanate, or distinguished and influential citizens of tsarist Armenia, such an investigation can not but shed valuable light upon the mechanics whereby the rulers of Eastern Armenia dealt with their Armenian subjects, and those through which the Armenians dealt with them ⁵⁵.

ROBERT H. HEWSEN

Encyclopedia (Bolshaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya, I, p. 174), we find an Azerbaidzhani named Samu Aga Agamali Ogly (1867-1930), a name which sounds like a Turkish translation of Melik'-Ałamalean (*aga* = melik'; *Agamali Ogly* — son of Ałamal, i.e. Ałamalean) (although Samuel Aga was born in Kyrakh-Kesemen in Azerbaidzhan not in Erevan). As early as the eighteenth century Joseph Emin (1726-1809) refers to Turkhan, son of Aghamal, the latter having been a friend of his father in Persia (Joseph Emin, *Life and Adventures* (2nd ed.) Calcutta: 1918, p. 150).

N.B. The Ałamalean villages were granted to the Family by the Persians as *tuyul* (conditional grants) in return for community, and remained in the Family's possession after the Russian annexation.

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ԵՐԵՎԱՆԻ ԱՂԱՄԱԼԵԱՆՑ ՄԵԼԻՔՆԵՐՈՒ ԳԵՐԴԱՍՏԱՆԸ

ԹՈԳԵՐԹ ՀԻՒՍԸՆ

Հեղինակը, որ երկար տարիներէ ի վեր կը պրպտէ արեւելեան Հայաստանի մելիքներու պատմութիւնը եւ տոհմադրութիւնը, ներկայ յօդուածով կը ներկայացնէ Երեւանի մելիքներ՝ Աղամալեանց զերդաստանը: Ծագումը ժ.հ. դարու առաջին կէտին երկարող այս զերդաստանը՝ իր ամէնէն բարդաւած շրջանը կ'ապրի ժ.հ. դարու առաջին կէտին: Առաւելաբար տոհմադրական բնոյթ կրող իր այս յօդուածը հեղինակը կ'աւարտէ շեշտելով կարեւորութիւնը Աղամալեանց մասին անդրադոյն պատմական ուսումնասիրութիւններու, որոնք մեծ լոյս կ'ընան սփռել նաեւ արեւելեան Հայաստանի եւ անոր օտար փոխողներուն փոխյարաբերութիւններուն վրայ:

THE HOUSE OF AĻAMALEANC' / MELIKS OF EREVAN



