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ARMENIAN REMINISCENCES IN THE BOOK “TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES OF THE REV. JOSEPH WOLFF”

Abstract

The present article concerns the final work of the British missionary of German-Jewish origin, *Joseph Wolff (1795–1862), Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff (1860–1861)*. As an autobiographical memoir and the culmination of his journeys from 1821 to 1845, it contains rich testimonies about the Armenians, both in their historical homeland and in various regions and countries, including the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and India. Wolff provided accounts of both ordinary Armenian inhabitants and prominent figures of the time. Possessing profound knowledge of Armenian history and culture, he often included historical digressions covering both distant and more recent epochs. Thus, his final travelogue-autobiography serves as a valuable source for studying the history, demography, and daily life of Armenians in the first half of the 19th century.

Keywords: *Joseph Wolff, travelogue, missionary, Armenians of Middle East, Jerusalem, Syria, Persia.*

Introduction

The British Messianic missionary of German-Jewish origin, Joseph Wolff (1795–1862), was one of the many Jewish converts who served as clergymen in the Anglican Church and became one of the most prominent figures of his time.

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Armenian Reminiscences in the Book “Travels and Adventures of the Rev. ...

He studied Near Eastern languages at the universities of Tübingen, Vienna, and Cambridge, and later pursued theology and missionary work at the Collegio Romano in Rome. However, due to his constant disagreements with the Catholic Church, he was excommunicated and expelled by the Inquisition for his heretical views.

A decisive moment in Wolff's time in Rome was his meeting with Henry Drummond (1786–1860), an English banker, politician, and writer, best known as one of the founders of the Catholic Apostolic Church or Irvingian Church. Drummond invited Wolff to join and collaborate with him. In 1819, Wolff traveled to England, where he converted to Anglicanism and began working for the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had been founded in 1804. He soon became known as the “Anglican missionary to the Jews.”

Two years later, he embarked on extensive missionary journeys. From 1821 to 1826, he traveled to Egypt, the Sinai Peninsula, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Mesopotamia, Persia, Georgia, and Crimea. His second journey to the East took place between 1828 and 1834, during which he visited the Ottoman Empire, Turkestan, Afghanistan, and India. His third journey along the same route occurred in 1836–1838, and during 1843–1845, while traveling in northern Iran and Turkestan, he set out in search of two missing British officers.

Starting in 1824 and continuing until the end of his life, Joseph Wolff published six extensive travelogues, some of which were translated into European languages.

This article focuses on Wolff's final book, “Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff,” published in two volumes (1860–1861),¹ just before his death. This work serves as both his autobiographical memoir and a summary of his travels. The book is written in the third person, as Wolff dictated it to his friends. Much of its content repeats information from his earlier volumes, and – like his previous travelogues – it is rich in references to Armenians.

Volume 1

The first Armenian reference in the book dates back to 1817, when Wolff was in Rome, studying at the College of Propaganda. On the Day of Epiphany, the students presented an event called “Academia in Forty-Two Languages,” during which each student publicly recited a speech. Wolff spoke in five

¹ See **Wolff** 1860, **Wolff** 1861.

languages and sang so powerfully that the entire hall resonated with his voice. At that moment, an Armenian bishop exclaimed: *"His voice goes up above the heavens."*²

Thus, Joseph Wolff became acquainted with representatives of the Armenian people even before traveling to their homeland and the East.

The next Armenian-related entry in his book refers to Egypt. In 1821, upon arriving in Egypt, Wolff remarked on Viceroy Muhammad Ali Pasha, noting: "His prime minister was an Armenian, Yussuf Boghos by name, i.e., Joseph, son of Paul; a man who spoke French, Italian, Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, with the utmost fluency."³ Wolff refers to Boghos Bey Yusufian (1775–1844), Egypt's Minister of Commerce and Foreign Affairs, who served as the secretary of Muhammad Ali.

From Egypt, Wolff set out for the Holy Land. While traveling from Cairo to Gaza, he was accompanied by Makarditsh (Mkrtich), whom Wolff described as "an Armenian gentleman, of high respectability" and "a most amiable man," who "came every evening to Wolff's tent, and related stories to him of the children of Hayk – namely, the Armenian nation."⁴ Makarditsh particularly told Wolff about King Abgar of Edessa and his connection with Jesus Christ. Wolff even quoted Abgar's letter to Jesus from Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History.⁵

Later, in his notes from 1822, Wolff tells about his meetings with an Armenian Catholic clergymen in Lebanon.⁶ However, here he mostly repeated the information from his first travelogue, including the text of Nerses Shnorhali's prayer "With Faith I Confess." Interestingly, Wolff also mentioned Nerses Shnorhali in the second volume of his book-first as a Biblical commentator⁷ and later among other Christian saints.⁸

² Wolff 1860, 93–94.

³ Wolff 1860, 196–197.

⁴ Wolff 1860, 217. From one of Wolff's earlier writings, we also learn that Makarditsh was a wealthy merchant living in Cairo (see The Washington Theological Repertory, and Churchman's Guide, 1822, 125).

⁵ See Wolff 1860, 218–219.

⁶ See Wolff 1860, 237–240.

⁷ See Wolff 1861, 108.

⁸ See Wolff 1861, 275.

On his way from Haifa to Jerusalem, he spent the night at the Armenian monastery in Ramla.⁹ Upon arriving in Jerusalem, Wolff was welcomed by the local Franciscan fathers and hosted in their Santa Terra (Holy Land) church. However, he preferred to move to the Armenian church the following day. "Wolff ever regrets having left that monastery the next day, and exchanged it for the Armenian. For, though the Armenians received Dr. Wolff with the greatest kindness, and gave him a beautiful room in the monastery, yet he insulted and hurt the feelings of the good Italian Friars by leaving them."¹⁰ In the Armenian monastery, Patriarch Gabriel (referring to Gabriel Nikomitatsi, the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1818 to 1840) welcomed Wolff with great delight and sent a live sheep to his room as a mark of respect, along with fine Jerusalem wine made by the Armenians. Soon Wolff's room was crowded by Jews, Armenians, Roman Catholics, and even Turks, to whom he proclaimed the Gospel of Christ in Italian, Hebrew, Arabic, German, and English. One of the guests observed that such an interesting sight had never been seen at Jerusalem before, and the Armenians themselves said the same thing, for there had never been so many persons of different nations assembled in their monastery.¹¹

In Jerusalem, Wolff was visited by his travel companion Makarditsh and an Armenian from Baghdad named Stepan. "Stephen was a mighty man, and a great traveller. He had with him a beautiful narghili (water-pipe), which he frequently offered to Wolff to smoke, and this was the first pipe which Wolff ever smoked in his life. Stephen had been in Calcutta, and was well acquainted with the English customs and manners there, as also with the operations of the missionaries in India. When Wolff waited on the Patriarch Gabriel, he urged him to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to Henry Drummond, a letter, expressing his desire to have a friendly intercourse with the Church of England; and the Patriarch had promised to do so, when Stephen interposed, to Wolff's great astonishment, and said to the Patriarch, "My lord Patriarch, be on your guard: the missionaries are only a small body of believers, but the English in general are atheists, followers of Voltaire, and of a man still worse than Voltaire, Martin Luther, who worshipped a cock. Another Armenian interposed and said, "It was not a cock but a swan; and, before Luther's time, there was a man who

⁹ See **Wolff** 1860, 241.

¹⁰ **Wolff** 1860, 243.

¹¹ See **Wolff** 1860, 245.

worshipped a goose.”¹² Wolff convinced Stepan that there were indeed many good Christians in England who despised Voltaire, did not follow Luther, and that Luther himself was not as bad as some believed.¹³ This section highlights the types of stories about eminent European historical figures that circulated among the Armenians of that period.

Wolff then noted that he had formed a strong friendship with two Armenian monks – Bishop Poghos and Boghos Tiutiungi. He interpreted the latter’s surname as *pipe maker* (actually – *tobacco grower* or *tobacconist*). Wolff also recalled that Tiutiungi had studied in Rome and spoke fluent Italian. Accompanied by these two clergymen, Wolff visited the Mount of Olives.¹⁴

Continuing his journey through the desert from Aleppo, Wolff witnesses an earthquake in the village of Juseea, on their way to Latakia. Hearing the exclamations of the Arabs and Bedouins, “This is from God,” he reflects on the Biblical truths, noting that in the East, people still explain everything by the will of the Overruler and are reminded that “the light has risen from the East.” “He thinks, too, that this future light is not to come only from the Jews, but also from the Greek, Armenian, and Jacobite Christians.”¹⁵

Visiting the city of Urfa, Wolff notes that Armenians (“descendants of Haik”) live there and call the city Edessa,¹⁶ also mentioning that the Armenians were formidable “in a fortified castle, near Orpha, called Roomkalah”¹⁷ – Hromkla in Armenian sources.

In Mardin, Wolff met two Armenian Catholic bishops named Abraham and Tasbas – the latter is Hovakim Tasbasyan Mardintsi (1753–1830), Archbishop of Mardin since 1788. Wolff left Mardin in a caravan of about 5000 people, including a number of Armenian and Syrian Christians.

¹² Wolff 1860, 246. Wolff explained that these interpretations were related to the names of those figures since *Luther* means *swan* in Czech, and before him, Jan Hus, who was supposedly a goose-worshiper, had a surname that also meant *goose* in Czech. It was said that as he was being led to the stake, Hus declared that a swan would come a hundred years after him, one that could neither be roasted nor boiled (see Wolff 1860, 247).

¹³ See Wolff 1860, 247.

¹⁴ See Wolff 1860, 247.

¹⁵ Wolff 1860, 276.

¹⁶ See Wolff 1860, 302.

¹⁷ Wolff 1860, 305.

Arriving in Bagdad, Wolff "was received in the splendid house of Agha Sarkis, an Armenian gentleman, who acted as a British agent, with the greatest hospitality"¹⁸ along with other British officers and a Scotch surgeon.

Recalling his activities in Iraq, Wolff also mentioned the establishment of a school in Bossora (Basra), "where, with the kind assistance of Colonel Taylor, he established a school, to which all the Armenian Christians subscribed."¹⁹ After several months' residence in Bossora, Wolff proceeded to Bushire (Bushehr, now in Iran). Here, with the assistance of the local British officials (Colonel Stannes, Captains Jervis, Mellard, Wilson, etc.) and Armenian gentlemen and ladies, he established another school. He refers to an interesting observation about the local Armenian women:

"At the opening of the school, the Armenian ladies came out of their hareem (referring to the secluded houses of women – A. B.), and took the arms of the British officers there, and went to church for the first time in their lives. Many of the young ladies said, I am ashamed." However, they went, and Wolff made a speech in the church in Persian after the service, in which he enlarged on the importance of Christian education.

Among the ladies was also Mrs. Lazar, the wife of an Armenian merchant of Bossora, who was sister to the wife of Colonel Taylor, and who is now Lady Congleton, and resides in London. Mrs. Colonel Taylor had given Wolff's letter to her, and told her that she should admit him to the hareem, where he could see all the Armenian beauties."²⁰

Here, Wolff provides interesting testimonies about aforementioned two notable Armenian ladies of the time – Mrs. Lazar and Mrs. Taylor. Their destiny is so unusual that we find it necessary to quote the entire passage about them in full:

"The lives of those two ladies were very extraordinary. Both of them were the daughters of an Armenian family of Sheeraz. The Prince of Sheeraz, when they were quite young, had ordered them to be brought to his hareem. But the

¹⁸ Wolff 1860, 325. This Agha Sarkis is also mentioned in the second volume. While Wolff was in Bukhara, a local Jew told him that he had seen him 12 years earlier in Baghdad, at the house of "British agent" Agha Sarkis, where he had been distributing Hebrew New Testaments (see Wolff 1861, 7).

¹⁹ Wolff 1860, 335.

²⁰ Wolff 1860, 336.

parents put them both in a basket, and by bribing some of the Persians got them brought to Bushire, where Mr. Bruce, the British Resident there at that time, got them respectably educated; and the one became the wife of Colonel Taylor, and the other married, the Armenian merchant, Lazar. Colonel Taylor had to go to Bombay, and told his wife to follow him. She took as her companion, an old Mussulman servant, and both were made slaves by the Arab pirates of the desert around Muscat, who were at that time at war with England.²¹ But Mrs. Taylor and her faithful servant, in the darkness of the night, made their escape in a boat of the Arabs, and drifted out to sea, where they were found very soon by an English ship and were taken in safety to Bombay.

Mr. and Mrs. Lazar, in the time of the plague, left Bushire, and took up their abode in Bagdad, at the time when Colonel Taylor was Resident there. There Lazar died, and Mrs. Lazar was left a widow. At that time four missionaries arrived in Bagdad, Mr. Groves, the dentist; Dr. Groning, a homeopathic doctor; Mr. Parnell, son of Sir Henry Parnell; and Frank Newman. Mr. Parnell succeeded in converting Mrs. Lazar to the tenets of the Plymouth Brethren, and then he married her; and Colonel and Mrs. Taylor, and Mr. and Mrs. Parnell came to England. Colonel Taylor died at Boulogne, but Mrs. Parnell is now Lady Congleton, her husband having succeeded to the title; and both sisters are living in London – ladies who are highly revered by Dr. Wolff.²²

The presented Armenian women were the daughters of Hovhannes Moskov (Mosco), a merchant from Shiraz. The elder one, Tsaghik (Rose or Rosa, 1797, Shiraz-1873, London), met Robert Taylor (1788–1852), a 20-year-old lieutenant of the East India Company's army, who had come to Bushehr to learn Persian when she was 12 years old. She eloped with him and they got married and had four children. In one of his previous books, Wolff mentioned Taylor as a remarkable man with astonishing education and an extraordinary polyglot, who knows more than 20 languages.²³ It is known that Robert Taylor was later appointed British consul in Baghdad. Tsaghik Moskov-Taylor provided material support for the construction of the Armenian church in Baghdad. In 1852, with her patronage and the initiative of Mesrop Bolsetsi, the first leader of the

²¹ In reality, this incident, which took place in 1808, happened at sea.

²² Wolff 1860, 336–337.

²³ See Wolff 1846, 322.

Baghdad Armenian diocese, the Holy Trinity Cathedral was built in the Shorja district of Baghdad (now in ruins). One of her daughter's, Harriet Sophia Lynch (1822–1886), was the mother of English traveler and author of a notable book on Armenia, Henry F.B. Lynch (1862–1913).²⁴ Another grandchild of Tsaghik-Rosa Taylor was Countess Alice Harriet von Kessler (née Blosse Lynch, 1844–1919), an Anglo-Irish aristocrat, singer, and socialite, who was rumored to have been the mistress of German Emperor Wilhelm I.

Tsaghik's younger sister, Khatun Moskov, was married to Yusuf Konstantin Lazar (most likely Joseph Konstantin Ghazaryan), with whom she had two children: Joseph Konstantin (1824–1866) and Miriam (1829–1853). After her husband's death on May 21, 1833, she remarried the aforementioned missionary John Vesey Parnell (1805–1883), 2nd Baron Congleton, son of Irish writer and politician Henry Parnell, 1st Baron Congleton. Following Khatun's death on May 30, 1865, John Parnell married for a third time.

After having preached in the Armenian church of Bushehr, Wolff proceeded on his way to Shiraz, "the most scientific and poetic town in Persia."²⁵ His travel mates were Dr. Eiach and Lieutenant Strong as well as the Armenian Arootyoon (Harutyun), who had given £200 to the school and prepared delicious meal for everyone.²⁶ In January 1825, he arrived in Shiraz, and among his meetings with the local Armenians, he recalled how he reconciled two Armenian enemies, Shanassar and David Mkrtchyan. The Armenians later shared this reconciliation story with their compatriots in Calcutta. Some local Armenians also accompanied Wolff to the Jewish quarter, greatly assisting him in speaking Persian.²⁷

The 12th chapter of the presented volume is titled "Ispahan, Teheran, Tabreez, Abbas Mirza, Tiflis, Erivan, Armenia...".²⁸ In Isfahan, Wolff stayed in the New Julfa district, located on the outskirts of the city. He mentions that this area was entirely in the hands of Armenians and their descendants, whom Shah Abbas the Great had brought to Isfahan centuries earlier from the Old Julfa in the Ottoman Empire, with the goal of introducing agriculture and industry to his

²⁴ About this family see: **Markarian** 2024.

²⁵ **Wolff** 1860, 337.

²⁶ See **Wolff** 1860, 337.

²⁷ See **Wolff** 1860, 348–350.

²⁸ **Wolff** 1860, 351.

empire. At one time, there had been over 60,000 Armenians in Julfa, who had built a beautiful monastery (where Wolff stayed) and palace-like houses. However, at the time, the area was largely desolate due to the oppressive rule of the Persian government.²⁹ Wolff stayed in New Julfa for a month, holding meetings and discussions with the local Armenians and Jews, before returning to Tehran.

On his way from Tabriz to Tiflis, Wolff stopped in Erivan/Yerevan, which was still under Persian rule at the time. He writes that the Persians believed that the Russians would never take Yerevan, as it was protected by a talisman, but the Russians convinced them that they could break the spell of the talisman, for they became the city's rulers in 1826, when General Paskevich captured it.³⁰ He then recalls Etchmiadzin (interpreted as "descended from the One") and Nakhchivan, providing the etymology of the latter. He also mentions the discovery of a relic from Noah's Ark by St. Jacob of Mtsbin and its delivery to Etchmiadzin.³¹ Here Wolff demonstrates his further good knowledge of Armenian history, mentioning the legend how "Grigor Lusavoritsh [Gregory the Enlightener] preached in Etchmiadzin; and 124,000 Armenians were converted and baptized in the river Euphrates."³² However, he displays some inaccuracy mentioning that "Gregory sent many of the Armenian youths for study to Athens. Two of them, Mesrop and Isaac, gave new characters to the Armenian language; and Mesrop translated the Bible into Armenian."³³ Actually, it was not Grigor who sent Mesrop Mashtots and Sahak Partev to study in Athens and Mesrop was not the sole translator of the Bible into Armenian.

When Wolff arrived in Etchmiadzin, the Patriarch Ephraim (he refers to Catholicos of All Armenians Ephrem I Dzorageghsi, 1748–1835) was absent, and "he wrote to him several letters, thanking him for the high interest he took in the Armenian nation, and expressed a great desire that Wolff should exert himself in England, that they might establish colleges in England in the place where he was dwelling, which they proposed doing at their own expense."³⁴

²⁹ See Wolff 1860, 353–354.

³⁰ See Wolff 1860, 362.

³¹ See Wolff 1860, 362–363.

³² Wolff 1860, 363.

³³ Wolff 1860, 363.

³⁴ Wolff 1860, 363.

In this chapter, Wolff mentioned that he planned to visit Count Zarembo from the "Basel Evangelical Society" "at the station Shushie, in the province of Carabagh, in Armenia Major."³⁵ It is noteworthy, that the Jewish-British author, without mentioning the Armenian name of Carabagh – Artsakh, correctly places it in Armenia Major. As for the Count he mentioned – Felician Martin Zarembo-Kalinowski (1794/5–1874) – he was a prominent Russian diplomat, philosopher, and Protestant missionary of Polish origin. After joining the Basel Evangelical Mission, he was sent to Astrakhan to preach Christianity among Muslims and later moved to Shushi, where the Basel Mission purchased a house, established a printing press, and printed religious books. He remained active in Shushi until the 1830s, when the tsarist government shut down the Basel Mission's operations. Wolff traveled to Shushi specifically to meet Zarembo, spent ten days with him, and noted that Armenian children studied at the school he had established, along with a small number of "Tatars and Muhammadans."³⁶ Interestingly, Wolff distinguished between Tatars and Muslims, likely referring to Kurds.

Resuming his travels in the Ottoman Empire, Wolff arrived in Constantinople, where he once again stayed with the local Armenians, from whom he also learned Turkish.³⁷ As he continued his travels through the Ottoman Empire, Wolff frequently recalled the Armenians. In Ramlah he spent another night at the Armenian monastery.³⁸ Writing about the Turkish-speaking Greek Christians of Buldur, he noted: "It is a remarkable fact – and it must not be concealed – that except the Armenians of Etsh-Miazin (Echmiatsin – A. B.), Persia, and Russia, and their enlightened brethren in Hindostan, the native Christians of Anatolia and the Turkish Empire in general, where Roman Catholic missionaries have not penetrated, are illiterate, rude, and uncouth, like buffaloes."³⁹ In Broosa an Armenian advanced him money on his bills in Constantinople.⁴⁰ Upon Wolff's arrival in Constantinople, Sir Robert Gordon received him. The British missionary secured firmans (royal mandates or

³⁵ Wolff 1860, 364.

³⁶ Wolff 1860, 365.

³⁷ See Wolff 1860, 371.

³⁸ See Wolff 1860, 419.

³⁹ Wolff 1860, 443.

⁴⁰ See Wolff 1860, 444.

decrees issued by a sovereign in an Islamic state) and other letters from the Sultan, as well as from Christians and Muslims. The Armenian Patriarch in Constantinople, along with other Armenians, asked him to inform them whenever he settled in England, so that they could establish colleges for their nation and schools for their youth, overseen by Armenians, in order to benefit from the light of European civilization.⁴¹ This idea of establishing an Armenian college in London, as well as his desire to bring the Armenian Church closer to the Church of England rather than the Catholic Church, is frequently mentioned in all of Wolff's travelogues. Wolff himself also states that he "has for long held a desire to see the Armenian Church brought into closer relationship with the Church of England."⁴²

Wolff's next mention of the Armenians refers to the historical fact that Turco-Mongol conqueror Tamerlane marched against Sivas, with 900,000 soldiers; took the city, and killed Togrool, the favorite son of Bayaseed, and buried alive 18,000 Armenian Christians.⁴³

Wolff's next stop was Angora (present-day Ankara), where "Armenian archbishop and the Greek and Armenian Catholic bishops were living in greater harmony than is generally the case among the different denominations of the churches of the East. The Armenian archbishop made Wolff a present of an Angora shawl, wrought out of the famous Angora goats' hair, with the request that he would send it to his wife. He also desired Wolff to write to the ambassador in Constantinople, to tell him that the Governor tyrannized over them. Wolff was happy to do it for two reasons. In the first place, he was able to bear witness to the truth of the complaint, for the Governor was a thorough brute; and, secondly, the ambassador had particularly desired Wolff to give him an account of those Governors who tyrannized over the Christians."⁴⁴ The final part demonstrates Wolff's Christian solidarity and his readiness to assist oppressed people.

Continuing his trip, Wolff stopped in Tokat. Without providing details, Wolff mentioned that there he lodged "in the house of a very covetous

⁴¹ See **Wolff** 1860, 444.

⁴² **Wolff** 1860, 445.

⁴³ See **Wolff** 1860, 446.

⁴⁴ **Wolff** 1860, 448.

Armenian."⁴⁵ Likely accustomed to warm hospitality from Armenians, Wolff did not consider it necessary to elaborate on the Armenian host's covetousness. In Tokat he visited the grave of the English missionary Henry Martyn, who had passed away in that city in 1812, recalling that he was buried with full honors by an Armenian bishop.⁴⁶

From Tokat Wolff went to Trabzon and after a few days, "went across Mount Ararat to the capital of Armenia, Erz-Room; the proper meaning of which is "The land belonging to the Roman Empire. From Erz-Room to Tabreez there is only one story to tell, viz.: that the whole country was deserted, because, in 1828, all the Armenian inhabitants (about 90,000 families in number) emigrated to the Russian dominions with General Paskewitch."⁴⁷

The second volume

In the second volume of his travelogue, Wolff summarized his 1832 journey to Orient. Again, writing about the Armenians of Kabul, he referred to them as the descendants of those Armenians who had come to Afghanistan along with Nadir Shah's army. The Armenians of Kabul asked Wolff to inform their fellow countrymen in Calcutta about the poor conditions they were in. This he also did readily.⁴⁸ Later, Wolff met Armenians in Lahore, which at that time was part of the Sikh Empire (now in Pakistan). Unfortunately, he did not provide detailed information about this lesser-known Armenian community, only noting that he visited the Armenians in Lahore and distributed pamphlets in the streets urging the population to accept Christianity.⁴⁹

He also recalled his speech in Calcutta before an audience of twenty English ladies and the Armenian bilingual community, where he discussed how Hovhannes Avdal, "one of the principal men in the estimation of the whole Armenian nation," had asked him to convey a message to the Armenians. Avdal

⁴⁵ Wolff 1860, 418–419. "Wolff was taken very ill while at Tokat; but at last left it, with his Tatar, and passed many ruins, which had once been buildings belonging to the Republic of Genoa. Wolff asked the Tatar, "Why these buildings were not restored?" The Tatar gave a most emphatic reply, which he did not expect from a Turk: "The people of Islaam never rebuild; the people of Islaam always destroy!" (449–450).

⁴⁶ See Wolff 1860, 448.

⁴⁷ Wolff 1860, 450.

⁴⁸ See Wolff 1861, 48.

⁴⁹ See Wolff 1861, 68.

urged that, if possible, they should send their children to England for education, so they could return to Armenia and serve as enlighteners of the Armenian Church.⁵⁰ He again referred to the books translated by Armenians and the Armenian school in Calcutta, founded by Aratoon Kaloos (Harutioon Galust).⁵¹ Additionally, he spoke at Bombay City Hall, where Armenians were among the various national groups in attendance.⁵²

From Bombay, Wolff set sail to the Arabian Peninsula, where he visited Ethiopia's coastal areas on the Red Sea. He likely encountered Armenians there, although he did not provide specific details. However, he did recount hearing from many Ethiopians and Armenians that near Narea in the southern region of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), there lived people with long tails who were allegedly able to use them to bring horses down.⁵³ Accounts of tail-bearing people in Ethiopia also appear in other sources, which were part of the myths circulating among Europeans about the still-primitive and unknown Africa.

In Chapter 9, summarizing his travels to the East, Wolff noted, among other things, that in Constantinople and Adrianople, he had converted several hundred Jews to Christianity, who were baptized by Armenians,⁵⁴ and that he was the first to give insights into the condition of Christian churches from Alexandria to Anatolia, Armenia, and Persia.⁵⁵

On October 29, 1843, in Athens, Wolff was received by the King and Queen of Greece. The King, among other questions, inquired about which peoples Wolff had visited. The missionary shared some insights with them about the Armenian and Chaldean churches.⁵⁶

He then continued to write about his journey through the Ottoman Empire in November-December, mentioning the Armenians of Trabzon,⁵⁷ and referring to his meeting with the Armenian bishop of Gümüşhane. This time, he referred to him as Archbishop, without naming him; yet in his previous travelogues, Archbishop Grigor is mentioned. There he stayed in the home of a hospitable

⁵⁰ See **Wolff** 1861, 167.

⁵¹ See **Wolff** 1861, 168.

⁵² See **Wolff** 1861, 237.

⁵³ See **Wolff** 1861, 237.

⁵⁴ See **Wolff** 1861, 252.

⁵⁵ See **Wolff** 1861, 253.

⁵⁶ See **Wolff** 1861, 336.

⁵⁷ See **Wolff** 1861, 344.

Armenian, and the archbishop came to dine with him. "The Archbishop was a well-informed gentleman, and he said to Wolff, "Welcome! welcome! Youssuff Wolff, of whom I have heard so much, and who is known in the Church of Armenia as well as in the Church of England."⁵⁸ He mentioned again that the Armenian Archbishop expressed a great wish that Wolff might soon be enabled to give facilities to the Armenian Church for the establishment of schools in England, "but the Archbishop himself was very poor, for his whole income amounted to £ 8 per annum."⁵⁹ While traveling through the Ottoman territories, Wolff mentioned various Armenian settlements, including the city of Bayboot (Baberd), the village of Kob (Koghb), and others, but he did not provide specific details about them.

On December 30, 1843, in Delhi Baba village, he again stayed at an Armenian's house.⁶⁰ Most of the Armenians were gone on horseback to a neighboring village, to fetch a bride, whom they accompanied with musical instruments and clapping of hands, to their own village.⁶¹ On January 1, 1844, he reached the Armenian-populated village of Mollah Soleiman (Mullah Soleeman), which had been converted to Catholicism 200 years earlier by a missionary named Soleiman. The local priest, an educated man, had been ordained by Wolff's acquaintance, Archbishop Abraham of Mardin. On January 4, Wolff arrived in Kara-Khleesa (Armenian Bagrevand), mentioning that the Apostle Thaddeus had founded a church there.⁶² The author refers to the village of Qarakilise in Chaldran and the Monastery of Saint Thaddeus (currently located 60 kilometers along the Tehran-Bazargan road). He then continued his journey to Etchmiadzin, where he repeated the information about the baptism of 124,000 Armenians by Gregory the Illuminator.⁶³ He was warmly welcomed by the monks, who remembered his 1831 visit.

Wolff's last mention of Armenians concerns his educational activities. Writing about his meeting with the respectable W. E. Gladstone, Wolff mentioned that he had established hostels in Cambridge for Armenian, Greek,

⁵⁸ Wolff, 1861, 346.

⁵⁹ Wolff 1861, 347.

⁶⁰ See Wolff 1861, 357.

⁶¹ See Wolff 1861, 357.

⁶² See Wolff 1861, 357–358.

⁶³ See Wolff 1861, 358.

Assyrian, Russian, Coptic, and Ethiopian youth.⁶⁴ And finally he concludes: "Now the last event Wolff will mention in his Life is, that he has undertaken, with the kind assistance and most powerful co-operation of his old friend, the Rev. George Williams, Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, to fulfil the promise made by him many years ago to the Armenian and Greek Patriarchs, of helping them to establish hostels in Cambridge and Oxford. And Williams has just made a journey to St. Petersburg on this business, and the plan hastens forward to its realization, for Williams has received the highest encouragement from the holy senate of the Russian Church, both at St. Petersburg and Moscow, and also from the Armenians in Tiflis."⁶⁵ There is no further information about these endeavors, which, however, remained unfulfilled.

Conclusion

"Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff," like the author's previous travelogues, offers rich insights into the past and present of Armenians, not only in their homeland but also in various regions and countries (Ottoman Empire, Persia, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, India, etc.). Over the years, he frequently visited Armenian monasteries and stayed in Armenian homes, which expanded his knowledge about the people. The missionary author provided detailed information on both ordinary Armenian inhabitants in the places he visited and notable individuals, both clergy and secular. With a deep understanding of Armenian history and culture, he occasionally delved into historical excursions, covering both distant and recent time periods.

Joseph Wolff's final travel account remains a valuable source for studying the history and everyday life of Armenians in the first half of the 19th century, as well as the activities of Western missionaries among Armenians.

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⁶⁴ See **Wolff** 1861, 445.

⁶⁵ **Wolff** 1861, 454-455.

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ԱՐԿԱԾՆԵՐԸ» ԳՐՔՈՒՄ**

Ամփոփում

Գերմանա-հրեական ծագումով բրիտանացի միսիոներ Զոլեֆ Վոլֆը (1795–1862) Արևելք կատարած իր ուղևորություններն ամփոփել է վեց հատորներում, որոնցում առատ տեղեկություններ է տալիս հայության մասին:

Սույն հոդվածը ներկայացնում է նրա վերջին հատորը՝ «Պատվելի Զոլեֆ Վոլֆի ճանապարհորդությունները և արկածները» (1860–1861), որը, կազմելով նրա ինքնակենսագրական հուշերը և 1821–1845 թթ. ուղևորությունների հանրագումարը՝ նույնպես հարուստ է հայոց մասին վկայություններով: Դրանք վերաբերում են հայերին ոչ միայն իրենց հայրենիքում, այլև տարբեր տարածաշրջաններում ու երկրներում (Օսմանյան կայսրություն, Պարսկաստան, Լիբանան, Սիրիա, Իրաք, Աֆղանստան, Հնդկաստան և այլն): Իր ուղևորությունների ընթացքում Վոլֆը հաճախ է հյուրընկալվել հայկական վանքերում, հիմնականում իջևանել է հայերի տներում, ինչն ընդլայնել է նրա գիտելիքները հայոց մասին: Միսիոներ հեղինակը տեղեկություններ է հաղորդել թե՛ իր հանդիպած սովորական հայ բնակիչների, թե՛ ժամանակի աչքի ընկնող մի քանի հայերի մասին՝ հոգևոր թե աշխարհիկ: Հայոց պատմության և մշակույթի իր քաջիմացությամբ նա երբեմն պատմական անդրադարձներ է կատարել՝ հեռավոր և մոտ ժամանակաշրջանների վերաբերյալ:

Bakhchinyan A.

Ջոզեֆ Վոլֆի վերջին ուղեգրություն-ինքնակենսագրությունն արժեքավոր աղբյուր է՝ XIX դարի առաջին կեսի հայերի պատմության և ամենօրյա կյանքի, ինչպես նաև հայերի մեջ արևմտյան միսիոներների գործունեության ուսումնասիրման համար:

Քանակի բառեր՝ *Ջոզեֆ Վոլֆ, ուղեգրություն, միսիոներ, Մերձավոր Արևելքի հայեր, Երուսաղեմ, Սիրիա, Պարսկաստան:*