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MANIFESTATIONS OF GENOCIDE PSYCHOTRAUMA IN ANDRANIK TSARUKYAN'S NOVELLA "PEOPLE WITHOUT CHILDHOOD"

Abstract

The present study examines the novella "People without Childhood" (1985) by renowned Diaspora Armenian writer, editor, and essayist Andranik Tsarukyan. His works have been translated into several languages, including French, Russian, English, Persian, and Arabic. The *aim* of the study is to analyze Tsarukyan's novellas from the perspective of the manifestations of psychological trauma caused by the Genocide. The research *objectives* are: a) to analyze the manifestations and psychotraumatic transformations of the national orphanhood syndrome; b) to interpret escape from reality, the psychosomatics of the situation, and psychotrauma as a coded marker for

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ethnic identification. The study also addresses the following issues: a) body as a socio-psychological object of traumatic experience; b) fear as a causality of reducing rationality. The *scientific novelty* of the research lies in the fact that Tsarukyan's novellas are analyzed for the first time in Armenian scholarship through the lens of genocide psychotrauma. The *actuality* of the study consists in its interdisciplinary nature. The analysis has been conducted within the context of interconnections and interrelations between Literary Studies, Psychology, Philosophy, and Ethnoculture through the application of appropriate methodologies. This approach also allows to examine Tsarukyan's text through the interpretation of subtexts reflecting literary symbolism. The findings of the study may be useful for orientalists, literary scholars, and researchers focusing on genocide-related issues in the Armenian Diaspora. They can also be used in academic programs within philological education.

Keywords: *Andranik Tsarukyan, genocide, orphans, orphanage, psychotrauma, fear, ethnopsychology.*

Introduction

The novella "People without Childhood" by Diaspora Armenian writer, editor, and public figure Andranik Tsarukyan was first published in Beirut in 1939.¹ The novella portrays the story of a generation that lived in Western Armenia in the Ottoman Empire and whose childhood was disrupted by the Armenian Genocide in 1915. That generation endured the massacres and deportation routes, lost their loved ones, and ended up in Arab (Eastern) orphanages. In an anti-pedagogical atmosphere and under harsh conditions, Armenian children who survived the genocide supported one another, lived without a true childhood, and matured prematurely. They were also forced to later struggle fiercely for survival. Andranik Tsarukyan's autobiographical novella is about that struggle.

The novellas "People without Childhood" and "Dreamy Aleppo"² by Andranik Tsarukyan, were published in Yerevan³ twice, in 1952 and 1985.

¹ Tsarukyan 1985.

² "Dreamy Aleppo" is the organic continuation of "People without Childhood".

³ Tsarukyan 1985. The book was highly praised in the Soviet Press, and the author was widely recognized.

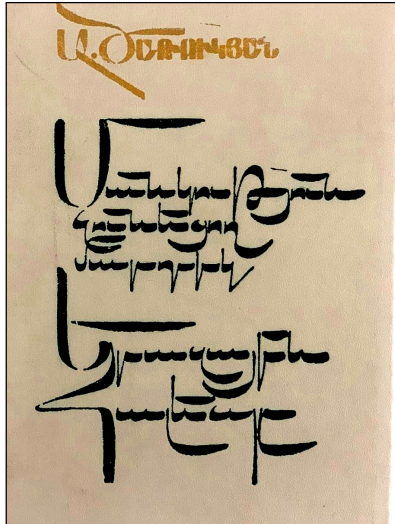


Figure 1: The cover of the Yerevan edition (1985) of the novellas "People without Childhood" and "Dreamy Aleppo" by Andranik Tsarukyan.

A. Tsarukyan wrote the autobiographical novella "People without Childhood" about thirty years after leaving the orphanage. The novella consists of a series of short narrations interconnected in a chain-like fashion, in which the author provides detailed descriptions of the years he and his friends, Onik, Khachik, Harutyun, Gegham, and Levon, spent in the Aleppo orphanage.

"People without Childhood" is Tsarukyan's most famous work, which is one of the most widely read books in Diaspora Armenian Literature.

The book opens with a semi-rhetorical question: "If, in the final moments of agony, you were told that one more day would be granted to you in this world, which day of your life would you wish to relive, Oh wise friend? Which beautiful day from your irretrievable days would you want to return from the depths of time? Would it be the first flutter of your first love? The crowning moment of your greatest triumph, when your glory was turned into a laurel wreath around your worthy forehead...? Which day would you want to return, Oh happy man? Rich in happy days when it is already sunset and the dark shadows are falling upon your horizon...?"⁴

In response to this question, the writer, who has experienced both the good and the evil of this world and grown wise, offers a semi-rhetorical answer: "If only it were given, oh, if only it were given to relive a day from your life, it wouldn't be that tender being with dream-colored eyes that I'd wish to find again, nor the euphoria of victory, nor the great moment of inspiration, nor my nights of pleasure and happiness, nor the evening of my sail, nor even the first cry of my firstborn... If it were granted, oh, if it were granted to live one more day before death, I would wish my childhood to return to me..."⁵ From the

⁴ Tsarukyan 1985, 8.

⁵ Ibid, 8.

distance of years, the writer humbly looks back at the "child lost in time." Here is what Antoine de Saint-Exupéry wrote: "I came from my childhood as if from a foreign country. I am not even sure I have lived since then."⁶

In "People without Childhood" the life in the orphanage and the feelings filled with unrealized dreams become recollections for the protagonist-narrator, because that is how he feels. Even in the harsh days of life, he never lost the bright side of his soul.

Manifestation of the National Orphanhood Syndrome

At the core of the novel are the orphans, and the orphanage-kindergarten – with its harsh mothers (caretakers), father (the director), and guards. When telling about the orphanage, the protagonist lives through the pain and misfortune of each of his friends, but also with a dream of the future: "We had no childhood because we were Armenian and we were orphans. Could our half-naked, bare-footed and miserable existence on the flagstones in the cold and rain be called childhood? Could deprivation, hunger, tears, strangers' indifference and relatives' cruelty be called childhood..?"⁷

Each of them later historicizes their past, creates a stable lifestyle and philosophy of life, and manages to integrate into society and economically control their material, emotional, and intellectual resources. They are also able to resist the challenges of the adult world and the falsities imposed by it, when they begin to build their own *moral and ethical* standards: "We were not only orphans. The orphanhood mask of sadness and deprivation was not on our faces. We did not feel a lack of kindness and care. We possessed a collective face - harsh, cruel, evil. We were filled with hatred toward people and toward each other. Lies, deceit, and fraud were our weapons. It was a common rule to beat the weak and to be beaten by the strong. We were ready to tear, stab, and bleed each other for merely a piece of bread the size of a palm. Love was a meaningless word; friendship was an unknown feeling to us. Bread was our friend, relative, and love."⁸

In the novel, the mental state of the children in the orphanage, or as the author calls it, the "kindergarten", is revealed through several decades by

⁶ De Saint-Exupéry 2001.

⁷ Tsarukyan 1985, 9.

⁸ Ibid, 10.

means of various stories conceived by the author and passed on to future generations, which complement each other in a narrative sequence.



Figure 2: Orphans during the First World War.

For him, the world gradually detaches from the confines of the orphanage and acquires a real embodiment. This circumstance is also reflected in the novella “Dreamy Aleppo,” where the hero is the same but more mature.

The author speaks about the genocide as an evil through the depiction of the orphanage-kindergarten. He manages to convey the fundamental problems created under the influence of this evil to the reader without resorting to explicit *psychoanalytic* or *psychopathological* solutions. Tsarukyan does not conceal these issues at all, unlike the survivals of the genocide.

Each child in the orphanage, within a symbolic domain, possesses their own perception of boundaries through a gender-based political and socio-cultural subjectivity that the reader immediately notices. However, in the historical timeframe of the story, as a starting point, none of the children, not even the author, who is also the protagonist and the narrator of the novella, perceive this. He goes through all the stages of adolescence, puberty, and youth, becoming mature by overcoming historically imposed realities as well as their psychopathological and socio-psychological consequences. The author is able to speak about these events only many years later: “They are orphans. Armenian

orphans. Those people among the people of the globe who hate their childhood..."⁹

During the 30–40 years following the genocide, Andranik Tsarukyan mentally developed the narratives included in the two novels. These are noteworthy for their psychopathological and socio-psychological subtexts.¹⁰ Prior to this, he addressed the childhood traumas¹¹ that were transformed and generated after the genocide on various occasions and in various formulations. In order for these not to continue as life prohibitions, the author articulates them through a fictional text by making aesthetic references and creating personal-authorial narrations.

When analyzing literary works such as Andranik Tsarukyan's "People without Childhood," it is essential to consider the circumstances¹² of the denial of the genocide, which has been accompanied by a *concentrated mourning* of its victims. These experiences have continuously transformed (transgenerated) within the political, economic, social, and cultural shifts of the 20th century.

Following the First World War and the Armenian Genocide, such transformations also reflect changes that took place in Armenian culture. They mark the logic of the evolution of human thought within complex and unstable subtexts of political, economic, and social demands, where the issue of genocide and the resulting syndrome of orphanhood deeply concerned all of humanity and was not perceived as a unique traumatic problem.

Psychotraumatic Transformations and their Manifestations

In Andranik Tsarukyan's novellas "People without Childhood" and "Dreamy Aleppo," psychoclinical and socio-cultural *traumatic* manifestations are neither partial nor individual. These are *recurring* patterns, reproduced in such circumstances where the individuals involved had no power to choose their situation, no space for self-reflection, nor any opportunity for protection. As Tsarukyan writes: "But I also know that there exists a forgotten multitude in the corners of the world, tens of thousands of sorrowful boys like me, who were, and will remain, the most unfortunate people on Earth, because they had no

⁹ Tsarukyan 1985, 12.

¹⁰ Cartwright 2024.

¹¹ Schaal, Elbert 2006.

¹² Curthoys, Docker 2008.

childhood. I know that our childhood was an unnamed courtyard, a hellish mixture of misery and suffering, the mere memory of which, even years later, keeps our hearts hardened and our souls scorched. We had no childhood because we were Armenian and we were orphans.”¹³

In the novella “People without Childhood”, traces of the author’s traumatic memory are present – traces that continue to resonate in “Dreamy Aleppo” as well. It was impossible to speak about those experiences at the moment they occurred, primarily because their bearers were children. Over time, however, as some of them matured, the trauma was transmitted from one generation to another, ensuring and expressing the *intergenerational transmission* of memory, not through the traditional parent-child dynamic, but that of author to reader. In Tsarukyan’s case, this transmission occurred through a *fictional text*.

The traces of *traumatic memory* often appear as utterly *mute* signs, because the children who had lost their parents and had been torn from their familiar environments were so deeply oppressed that even their intellectual capacities seemed numb and frozen. However, what is even more disturbing is that during the period between the actual events and the children’s arrival at the orphanage, the truth had been distorted by the perpetrators of the genocide.

Bearing the heavy burden of the post-genocide trauma, the children in orphanages inherit unfulfilled and unrealized familial and social expectations. These expectations are saturated with rigid ideas, beliefs, and modes of perception that are shaped into imposed demands: “My friends who had no childhood are everywhere. Among them are the wealthy, the poor, artists, the successful and the lost. Life holds no more secrets for them, the days carry no illusions, happiness has no charm because they had no childhood.”¹⁴

Escape from Reality as a Counteraction to Identity

As early as 1637, Descartes wrote that *identity is innate and unchangeable*.¹⁵

In 1968, however, Gilles Deleuze introduced the idea of the individual in a state of *absolute escape*¹⁶, proposing that identity is a constantly shifting,

¹³ Tsarukyan 1985, 12.

¹⁴ Tsarukyan 1985, 12.

¹⁵ Sepper 1996.

¹⁶ Deleuze 1994.

multiple object. Thus, the circumstances that operated during a person's past experience are, upon their return, perceived as a process of development located in time, since man is constantly moving forward, creating himself (moving toward self-perfection).

This modern approach leads to the understanding that the past and history are complex, even though they emerged as issues before a child or adolescent during the time of the Genocide. Therefore, the burden is doubly heavy on the adults who accompany, educate, and encourage adolescents on the ethical path toward creative adulthood, especially at the moment when young individuals begin to develop awareness of their ethnic identity. Andranik Tsarukyan is acutely aware of this. That is why, before transforming history into *narrative* and creating the narrativity of history, he organizes all episodes and commits to paper what he has mentally retold a thousand times, as a bitter experience of the past.

In the novella "People without Childhood," while creating the dramatic course of the events of 1915, while listening to familiar voices and conveying them to the reader precisely, the author gradually creates his own story and his own self, the recognition of his own identity. He confirms these through the history of what happened to him and his orphanage friends in the past: "We had no shoes. No socks, no hats. Our only possessions were tin tea cups and brass spoons. Every morning, tea would be shared. We would line up in rows before the washing pot, and the cook would pour tea with a ladle. Another woman would hand out bread. Those in the first rows were lucky. By the time the turn reached the back of the line, the tea would get cold. But the tea being cold was not a big problem. Few drank it. Sweetened with sugar, it had a completely different taste and an unpleasant smell. What mattered were the large baskets of bread placed beside the tea pot, on which all eyes would be fixed."¹⁷

This is, undoubtedly, a form of *escape* from reality, the counterpoint of which is the awareness of identity. Only through that awareness can the path toward the formation of the self begin, where each child may reflect from their own perspective and, in doing so, transform the surrounding world, narrate, and transmit their emotions, experiences, and sensations. The dominant emotions are *abandonment, lack of self-confidence, fear of loss, and mourning*. These

¹⁷ Tsarukyan 1985, 14.

transcend the boundaries of fear and become deeply embedded in their emotional sphere: "It was life that suddenly stood before me – harsh and cruel reality, in which one must live and grow, walk forward constantly, but always cautiously and attentively, like someone emerging from forests full of wild beasts and poisonous reptiles, always awaiting a treacherous attack that could come unexpectedly, at any moment and from any direction..."¹⁸ Each of these experiences is infused with a post-genocidal *psychotraumatic* state, and the orphanage boys had lost the chance to process it.¹⁹ This also applies to the antisocial behaviors expressed by orphanage children as part of their psychological adaptation, manifested through hatred, vengeance, and resentment. Within this context, and for the sake of maintaining ethical coherence, it is essential to emphasize the Armenian Genocide perpetrated by the Turkish government in the early 20th century, and its lasting consequences.

Psychosomatics of the Situation:

Psychotrauma as a Cipher of Ethnic Identification

The descriptions of the actions of orphanage children in Andranik Tsarukyan's novella "People without Childhood" can be perceived from a psychoanalytic perspective as a set of *signs* directed toward *the unconscious* – signs that, during the genocide and the following years, manifested as a lived *trauma* that impacted the children's identity and was later passed on to subsequent generations.

The children of the orphanage continue to live, carrying this unresolved issue within themselves, which in one form or another, comes back to life. It is a drama comparable only to an unacceptable death. Though the grief of the genocide in all its emotional intensity was suppressed in children due to their placement in the orphanage, the deep pain found neither space nor time for healing: "And so I go, every time the call of the sea, the sky and the distant horizons, rises within me, the torturing pressure of the surroundings, conditions and boredom becomes unbearable, I go alone, down the roads of the world, to search for my friends who had no childhood, who are everywhere, under every sky and across every meridian. And it happens that I find

¹⁸ Ibid, 146.

¹⁹ It should be noted that subsequent generations of the diaspora were forced to struggle for a long time to *preserve and restore their vitality*.

one of them - it always happens - and together we head toward the past, through the mist of opening and emptying bottles. We set out with sweet and tender words of remembrance, with nostalgic outpourings of recollection, until we reach the starting point, there, the frozen spot of our ineffable childhood, the days lived in the orphanage, ultimately to escape together from our broken childhoods, with sorrow and bitterness, with fury and curses ...”²⁰

Later, the emotional states of generations who experienced psychological trauma are transmitted to new generations, resulting in the seemingly healing psychosomatic experiences. Consequently, emotional and psychopathological traumatic manifestations become especially emphasized when national identity issues are discussed among different generations within the same trauma chain.

In Andranik Tsarukyan's novella “People without Childhood”, the children in the orphanage initially lack an understanding of intersubjectivity.²¹ However, through their complex processes of transformation and rediscovery of the self, the transmission of trauma begins to influence them as well. These intricate processes of transformation and rediscovery form a peculiar network, maintaining the absence of intersubjectivity among children within the orphanage environment.

In the novella, the complex process of transmission of intersubjective connection between the two friends Andranik and Khachik – can theoretically be examined within the domain of psychic development, particularly through the lens of *narcissistic* imagination and *reciprocal* friendship, which are further enriched by the flow of their impulses. These are enacted through *bodily* development²² and include an element of eroticism that distinguishes the choice of the object. This is also reflected in “Dreamy Aleppo,” in the episode where it appears that the photograph of the author's mother is with him, which prompts a significant conversation between the two friends. Notably, Tsarukyan evokes the intimate moment when Khachik asks Andranik to let him keep his mother's photo. This contributes to Khachik's erotic maturation – his erotogenization – emerging through the longing for his own mother. The orphanage is perceived

²⁰ Tsarukyan 1985, 148–149.

²¹ Freud 1914, 67–102.

²² Hjelle, Ziegler 1992.

as a spatial *locus* separated from the world, which, for a certain period, fulfills the basic *needs* of the children.

It should be noted that these *needs* are not met as a result of being evaluated and addressed through relevant measures, but rather the opposite – in a chaotic and unconditional environment. This is why all the children at the Aleppo orphanage from the very beginning are exposed to the cruelties of the adult world (the cruel mothers, the cruel father): “When the Father entered the courtyard, all games would stop. He would go straight to the Mother’s room. The Mothers and the guards would greet him respectfully. Even the terrifying Mother would start putting on airs, bowing, and her body seemed to become even smaller.”²³ Thus, the injustice, hypocrisy, and lack of freedom prevailing at the orphanage, within a specific spatial-temporal resonance, become harsh trials for children who had survived genocide and had not yet fully overcome their deep sense of insecurity: “When the Father was in the kindergarten, the Mother would turn into a puppet made of sweets soaked in honey and butter...”²⁴ This circumstance complicates the *reflective* processing of injustice or incites a strong sense of entitlement or, as a counter-reaction, hinders children’s creative thinking.

Therefore, when in real life - either during early childhood or later – an event occurs that forces only one option²⁵ of *phantasmatization*, a *clash*²⁶ takes place that makes it impossible for the child to undergo the necessary developmental or formative (repressive) process²⁷. And if the person is already an adult, then they fail the necessary process of the natural development of imagination (phantasmatization). In such situations, mental reactions are determined primarily by the emerged social reality (in this case, *the orphanage*),²⁸ rather than by the subject’s own desires. This is why, instead of developing their creative capacities and skills, orphanage children find themselves exclusively in the roles of either the *persecutor* or the *persecuted*.²⁹

²³ Tsarukyan 1985, 30.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Winnicott 1974, 103–107.

²⁶ Telescoping, Fr. Télescopage.

²⁷ The natural development of imagination.

²⁸ Non-familial.

²⁹ Harutyunyan 2011.

Thus, instead of adopting a revolutionary position in their search for ideals, the child becomes limited by an imposed powerless (infantile) environment. This, in turn, determines the later tendency to cling to familial standards and ideals (if any) and to seek guarantees of security.³⁰ As a result, in this state of complete unawareness, children in the orphanage fail to realize (not avoid) the need for the *psychological* work of creating their own personal program, which distinguishes them from the older individuals working at the orphanage.³¹ During the years spent in the orphanage, the older staff members became role models imposed by physical, psychological, moral, and ideological standards. Consequently, the worldview of the children in the orphanage was shaped by the behavior, thinking, and body language of these senior figures.

One day, a famous intellectual visits the orphanage, someone said to write amusing things, a "cheerful" man who could "make others laugh. Years later, the author expresses his feelings about this "cheerful" man in the following way: "I have now read all of his books. I acknowledge his work, his values, his art. I have also understood why he couldn't speak and just wept. What could a suffering Armenian writer, returning from Der Zor, say to the thousands of orphans of his tribe, whose parents, every spring, would be thrown out by the overflowing Euphrates onto the sand, bone by bone, before his eyes... Under the picture in the yearbook it was written: Yervand Otyan..."³²

Although the novella presents a sequence of images saturated with the dramatic tension of the past, these moments also give way to small joys, through which, the author sketches familiar faces: Hovhannes Aspet, Mushegh Ishkhan, Byuzand Topalyan, Oshakan, Charents.

The Body as a Socio-Psychological Object of Traumatic Experience

Speech, and its articulation as a *libidinal transformation* in the human unconscious, in general, is inseparably connected to the pleasure or suffering located in the body. When it concerns suffering, then it is *mute*. This defined the fate of those who were displaced from the Ottoman Empire and annihilated in the Arabian deserts. They were full of diverse experiences.

³⁰ *Conflict* between parents and grandparents, telescoping.

³¹ Tsarukyan 1985.

³² Tsarukyan 1985, 46.

Considering these characteristics of *traumatic memory*, the behavior of children in the orphanage also reveals traumatic repetitions, which were already present at the earliest psychic levels among genocide survivors. In this context, the body becomes part of the *subject's personal history* or *life experience*, as the central issue lies in the creation of *autobiographical memory*. And this memory is preserved within the body, through relevant senses.

Andranik Tsarukyan historicizes his childhood, and what the author includes in this process, all that he gives importance to: his parents, friends, grandparents, and lineage. While living in the present, he manages to detach from it and historicize the past in order not to avoid traumatic memories and stories, and not to devalue his personal memory and its collective restoration, as it takes place in *social situations obscured by silence*. Otherwise, denial and *complete repression* of those memories, as well as *endless recollections* and *re-experiences*, would become barren alternatives that would need to be avoided, just as in the case of moving towards the future in the collective memory.

Their repression reduces the ability to establish connections with the stories of the past devoid of emotions, and the absence of repression leads to the repetition of the same rational outline, which, in turn, hinders any potential development. This phenomenon occurs when a specific event remains unresolved and fails to become part of the past. In such cases, the individual's libidinal capital largely continues as a repetition of the same. This is mostly a consequence of emotional prejudices, rooted in the denial policy pursued by the Turkish government. Tradition combines the unique with the eternal.

Fear as a Causality of Diminished Rationality

Fear plays a central role in the psychology of people who became victims of the genocide. It often escalates into terror, leading to apathy or panic, and later transforms into aggression. This transformation occurs because both the perpetrators and the victims undergo psychological shifts that alter their attitudes – first toward themselves and then toward others.

Fear diminishes rational thought, compelling individuals to act on emotional impulses. The psychological trauma of genocide is transmitted across generations through genetic memory. One does not have to be a direct bearer of the trauma to feel its effects; It is enough to hear about it and contemplate.

The emotional information related to pain, loss, humiliation, and fear is sub-consciously passed on to future generations and is reflected through *genetic memory*.³³

Carl Jung argues that *ethnic memories* are not inherited as such; rather, what is inherited is the potential to re-experience certain types of experiences.³⁴ These are realized as predispositions that compel a person to react to the world in a particular way. Suppressed memories are connected to the hereditary genome³⁵ and become embedded in a person's brain through accumulated emotional experiences. Based on this theory, one can assume that a specific genocidal archetype has also developed among the Armenian people – a particular concept that simultaneously contains emotionally significant elements. These are the enduring residues of emotional experiences that repeat in the personal lives of different generations. The brutal massacres of Armenians, lacking a rational explanation and bearing elements of humiliation, evoke feelings of fear, anxiety, sadness, guilt, and unbearable emotional pain.

Fear is not only an essential component of human existence but also one of the most serious issues of the 20th century.³⁶ The syndrome of the genocide survivor manifests itself primarily through fear and is directed toward the preservation of one's ethnic identity.³⁷ This is why the child of the Armenian mother – both as a child and as an adult – has a constant nervous need for protection; he fears being left alone and abandoned.

In the orphanage in Aleppo, the attitude toward the children reminds the author of the relationship between a ruthless father and helpless children. Under such conditions, feelings of helplessness and rage gradually accumulated among the orphanage children, along with aggression, which was expressed either through attempts to escape from the establishment or through brutal fights among the children themselves.

The only safe and viable way to overcome this situation was to direct it towards the self, since any sign of rebellion would lead to even harsher

³³ **Marukyan** 2014.

³⁴ **Adolphs** 2013.

³⁵ **Crawford** 2018.

³⁶ According to Albert Camus - the century of fear. See: **Camus**, 1990.

³⁷ Numerous studies exist on the overprotectiveness of Armenian mothers toward their children, a continuous and persistent care from early childhood to adulthood, which is regarded as a sign of ethnic fear and anxiety.

punishment. These were the relationships specific to the Aleppo orphanage, and over time, they contributed to the formation of a passive-dependent³⁸ behavioral model among the children – one that provided a sense of apparent safety and protected them from more intense conflicts and punishments from the older staff members of the orphanage.

Another technique employed in the novella is the transformation of children's individual identities into a faceless collective mask³⁹ through group pressure, depriving them of the ability to express free will or make choices.

Death as a Factor in the Revaluation of Life's Meaning

One of the fundamental existential issues of human life is death – the awareness of life's finitude and limitation. In moments of crisis and in situations that threaten existence, a person inevitably turns to the issue of death, seeking to comprehend and reconstruct their attitude toward both life and death. Consequently, death, as a *psychotrauma*, influences a person's worldview and renders their cognitive framework significant in the process of overcoming grief.

The author of the novella "People without Childhood," who was himself one of the children in the orphanage, encountered the reality of death at a very young age. This early confrontation led to shifts in his worldview and raised questions related to it. The resolution of these questions is essential for overcoming grief and integrating the psychological trauma into his inner world, which, in turn, contributes to easing emotional pain and giving meaning to the trauma. These are existential inquiries that call for a reassessment of the author's beliefs related to the existential problem of life and death, faith, the idea of life after death, goals and values, and the perception of human relationships. By overcoming grief, a person forms beliefs that make them stronger and more resilient in the face of life's challenges.

This refers both to many deaths resulting from the genocide experienced during one's childhood, and to the author's personal struggle with the loss of his mother. The novella ends with the death of the author's mother. Having lost his mother, Tsarukyan reflects: "As long as people have a mother, no matter how old they are, they still keep a child's corner within their soul. The mother

³⁸ Kagan 1960.

³⁹ Mullen, Migdal & Rozell 2003.

leaves and the person becomes fully grown."⁴⁰ The mother's final wish, expressed in silence as she passed away in her son's arms, was to have a tree planted over her grave instead of a tombstone.

Alongside this, they carry a sense of *mistrust and hostility* toward the outside world, as well as a feeling of *helplessness* on both personal and collective levels - feelings that are closely linked to the denial of the genocide and the injustice of the world. Suchlike beliefs become particularly activated in situations that pose a threat to survival.

At the level of the ethnos, this dimension has a dual manifestation. On the one hand, it includes a tendency to return to the past and to overvalue past realities (including both persecution and victories); on the other hand, it reflects a *postponed life* complex, in which the future is given a primary value, and the present is seen merely as a prelude to a fuller life yet to come.

It is worth noting that Andranik Tsarukyan's novella "People without Childhood" has been republished several times both in Armenia and in various diaspora communities. The novella is one of Tsarukyan's best works and has been translated into several languages, including French,⁴¹ Russian,⁴² English, Persian, and Arabic.

⁴⁰ Tsarukyan 1985.

⁴¹ The publishing house "Les Éditions Français Réunis" published the novella "People without Childhood." In the book's brief biography section, Andranik Tsarukyan is presented as a writer and public figure, as well as the editor of the literary weekly "Nayiri." It is noted that many of his works, especially the publicistic book "Old Dreams, New Paths," serve as spiritual bridges cast between the homeland and the diaspora. Referring to "People without Childhood," the publisher writes: "This autobiographical work is a highly emotional piece written with deep sensitivity. Simple, clear, and easy to read, it is a passionate testimony to a stolen childhood - a childhood without tenderness, strict and cruel. The book tells about what happened to the children of those killed during the Armenian massacres of the First World War (1914–1918), who were left orphans, how they lived in the orphanages of Aleppo, Byblos, Greece, and how they were later dispersed around the world..." The French translation of "People without Childhood" was done by Sargis Poghosyan.

⁴² The book was also published in Russian by the "Progress" Publishing House in Moscow, translated by Bulat Okudzhava, and received high acclaim. On this occasion, a review by Dmitry Moldavsky appeared in the magazine "Zvezda" of Saint Petersburg: "This is a very passionate and straightforward book, masculine, with not a trace of sentimentality," the article reads, "And it is precisely the absence of sentimentality that makes the narrative truthful and authentic."

Conclusion

The book is an autobiography told in a simple, direct language and style, which immediately becomes dear to the reader. The foreword to the edition published in Yerevan in 1952 was written by Levon Hakhverdyan,⁴³ through which he gives the reader a comprehensive overview of Andranik Tsarukyan's life and work. Referring to the genocide as an experience of loss and a psychotraumatic event, it is worth noting that it influenced the Armenian national self-consciousness and worldview. The generations descended from genocide survivors carry the emotional memory of their ancestors, reproducing their parents' anger and sorrow, while bearing the heavy responsibility of preserving and transmitting that memory. In the context of ethno-psychological analysis, the most characteristic marker is the high cultural level. This manifests in the careful preservation of traditions, caution toward novelty and change, and the avoidance of radical transformations. The primary function of this strategy is to create an *illusion of protection*, which alleviates the anxiety, and the sense of uncertainty about the future. This form of life preservation should not be confused with a tendency to reject new achievements, as Armenians are creative by nature.

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ՆԱԻՐԱ ՀԱՄԲԱՐԶՈՒՄՅԱՆ

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ՅԵՂԱՍՊԱՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀՈԳԵՏՐԱՎՄԱՅԻ ԴՐՍԵՎՈՐՈՒՄՆԵՐԸ ԱՆԴՐԱՆԻԿ ԾԱՌՈՒԿՅԱՆԻ «ՄԱՆԿՈՒԹԻՒՆ ԶՈՒՆԵՑՈՂ ՄԱՐԴԻԿ» ՎԻՊԱԿՈՒՄ

Ամփոփում

Ուսումնասիրության մեջ քննարկվում են սփյուռքահայ հայտնի գրող, խմբագիր և հրապարակագիր Անդրանիկ Ծառուկյանի «Մանկություն չունեցող մարդիկ» (1985) և «Երազային Հալեպը» (1996) վիպակները: Դրանք թարգմանվել են տարբեր լեզուներով՝ ֆրանսերեն, ռուսերեն, անգլերեն, պարսկերեն ու արաբերեն: Ուսումնասիրության նպատակն է՝ Ա. Ծառուկյանի վիպակները վերլուծել ցեղասպանության հոգետրավմայի դրսևորումների տեսանկյունից: Ուսումնասիրության խնդիրներն են՝ ա. որբության ազգային համախտանիշի դրսևորման և հոգետրավմատիկ փոխակերպումների, դրանց դրսևորումների վերլուծություն, բ. իրականությունից փախուստի, իրավիճակի հոգետրավմատիկայի և հոգետրավմայի՝ որպես էթնիկ նույնականացման գաղտնագրի մեկնաբանություն: Քննվել են նաև հետևյալ հիմնախնդիրները՝ ա. մարմինը, որպես տրավմատիկ փորձառության սոցիալ-հոգեբանական օբյեկտ, բ. վախը, որպես ռացիոնալության նվազեցման պատճառականություն: Հետազոտության գիտական նորույթն այն է, որ հայ իրականության մեջ Անդրանիկ Ծառուկյանի վիպակները ցեղասպանության հոգետրավմայի դրսևորումների տեսանկյունից հետազոտվում են առաջին անգամ: Աշխատանքի արդիականությունը պայմանավորված է հետազոտվող նյութի միջգիտակարգայնությամբ: Նյութը վերլուծվել է գրականագի-

տության, հոգեբանության, փիլիսոփայության, ինչպես նաև էթնոմշակույթի փոխադարձ կապերի և առնչությունների համատեքստում՝ համապատասխան մեթոդների կիրառությամբ: Այս հանգամանքը օգնում է Ծառուկյանի տեքստը ուսումնասիրել նաև գրականության խորհրդանշայնությունն արտացոլող ենթատեքստերի մեկնության տեսանկյունից: Ուսումնասիրության արդյունքները կարող են օգտակար լինել արևելագետների, գրականագետների, հայկական սփյուռքում ցեղասպանության հարցերով զբաղվողների համար, ինչպես նաև օգտագործվել բանասիրական ֆակուլտետների կրթական ծրագրերի իրականացման նպատակով:

Բանալի բառեր՝ *Անդրանիկ Ծառուկյան, ցեղասպանություն, որբեր, որբանոց, հոգեպրավմա, վախ, էթնոհոգեբանություն:*