

## JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY FOR ARMENIAN STUDIES

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JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY FOR ARMENIAN STUDIES

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# Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies

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## **Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies**

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# Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies

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## A message from the President of the Society for Armenian Studies

In 1974, a group of scholars spearheaded the project to establish a Society for Armenian Studies: Richard G. Hovannisian, Dickran Kouymjian, Nina Garsoïan, Avedis Sanjian, and Robert Thomson. Considered as the pillars of Armenian Studies, the main objective of this group was the development of Armenian Studies as an academic discipline. Since then the aims of the Society have been to disseminate Armenian culture and society, including history, language, literature, and social, political, and economic questions; to facilitate the exchange of scholarly information pertaining to Armenian studies around the world; and to sponsor panels and conferences on Armenian studies. With access to very limited resources, this group of scholars was able to establish the foundations of a Society that would play a dominant role in developing Armenian Studies in North America and beyond. From a handful of chairs and programs that supported the initiative at the time, today Armenian Studies as a discipline has flourished in the United States with more than thirteen Chairs and Programs providing their unconditional support to the Society.

Ten years after its establishment, the Society published its first academic journal under the title of the *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* (JSAS). In 1984 the first volume appeared under the editorship of Prof. Avedis K. Sanjian (1921–1995). Since then, it has served as the foremost journal for scholarship in the field of Armenian studies in the Western Hemisphere. The purpose of the Journal, according to the inaugural editor, was “the dissemination of the best original scholarship in Armenian studies and closely related fields, without any chronological limitations.”

Since 2018 the Society has embarked on several major projects in order to disseminate knowledge of the field and make it relevant to a 21st century audience. One of the most important projects was to publish the journal through a prestigious and professional publishing house. After thorough research, the Society agreed unanimously that Brill would be the desired place for publishing JSAS. The Society for Armenian Studies (SAS) is thrilled about this new partnership with Brill. There is no doubt that the Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies (JSAS) will become a leading journal in the field of Armenian Studies with a new editor, advisory and editorial boards as well as book review editors.

We look forward to a fruitful collaboration with Brill with the aim of transforming the Journal into a global hub of disseminating knowledge about Armenian Studies. With its first female editor, Dr. Tamar M. Boyadjian, and a highly qualified scholars on the advisory and editorial boards, JSAS will open new horizons for developing as a cross-cultural and interdisciplinary field. Through Brill we are looking forward to achieving high strides in the field of Armenian Studies. I have no doubt that JSAS will soon become a prestigious journal attracting scholars from all around the globe.

*Bedross Der Matossian, Ph.D.*

President of the Society for Armenian Studies (SAS)

## Message from the Former Editor-in-Chief, Dr. Sergio La Porta

It has been an honor for me to serve as the Editor-in-Chief of the *JSAS* from 2011–2019, and I would like to thank all those without whom it would not have been possible to produce the journal. In particular, I would like to thank the contributors, reviewers, and readers with whom I have worked. I would also like to thank Prof. Barlow Der Mugrdechian for all his help with the lay-out, his support, and advice. I would also like to thank the Editorial Advisory Committees and Boards of Academic Advisors with whom I have collaborated, as well as both past and present Executive Committees of the *SAS* who placed their confidence in me. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Dolores Zohrab Liebmann Fund, which has generously supported the *JSAS* over the years. Thanks in large part to the diligence of *SAS* President, Dr. Bedross Der Matossian, our efforts with *BRILL* succeeded and the *JSAS* begins a new era in its history. I was also extremely pleased in the decision of the *SAS* Executive Committee to appoint Dr. Tamar Boyadjian as the new editor of the Journal. Dr. Boyadjian brings the enthusiasm, scholarly acumen, and fresh perspectives that the editing of the journal requires. I'm confident that the *JSAS* will achieve significant milestones under her guidance. This issue truly marks an exciting new beginning for the Journal and for Armenian Studies in general.

Since the last issue of *JSAS* appeared, we have lost two valuable scholars of Armenian Studies and personal friends, Professors Robert Hewsen and Robert Thomson. The immense scholarly contributions of both are well known, but I feel fortunate to be among those who also had the opportunity to know them personally. Both men were intellectually inspiring and represented what was best about academia. Their presence is deeply missed.

When I started Armenian Studies some two and a half decades ago, it was a bit of a lonely field, especially for a younger person. It has been invigorating to see how interest in Armenian Studies and the number of students of Armenian Studies has markedly increased since then. I hope, encourage, and expect that many of these younger scholars will be contributing to the pages of the *JSAS* in its new incarnation. Nevertheless, the academic environment today remains a challenging one, and these scholars will need our support. I would

like to end this brief note with an appeal to our readers to provide our new generation of Armenian Studies scholars as much support and encouragement as possible. Thank you and please join me in celebrating the future of *JSAS* and of Armenian Studies.

*Sergio La Porta*

## From the Editor-in-Chief

Dear Readers,

I accept the position of Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* (JSAS) with great honor and sincere enthusiasm, and thank the Society for Armenian Studies for entrusting me with this task. This volume presents the first under my editorship, and our first volume published through the prestigious Brill, with whom we will be publishing both our online and print issues moving forward.

The launch of the JSAS with Brill marks a strategic and symbolic expansion. Propagating the goals of the journal's inaugural members, the journal will continue to facilitate scholarly exchanges, and through rigorous scholarship advance the field of Armenian Studies internationally.

As Editor-in-Chief, I am committed to upholding the journal to the highest of standards. I see editing as the extension of an ethical responsibility to service scholarly advancements in Armenian Studies, and to reconcile the field with developing global, transcultural, and interdisciplinary conversations. I see my role as a facilitator of voices, a mediator of information, and a promoter of texts and bodies that have not seen much scholarly attention in the past.

I serve my colleagues and readership as a translator; I see that ascription as also an obligation to keeping the field active and healthy. For this, I am dedicated to articles on subjects which broaden our understanding of the development of "Armenian Studies" as a field, that inform us of new discoveries, that break new theoretical ground, as well as those that extend beyond the temporal, geographic, and historical categories that traditionally defined Armenian Studies in the past.

As the first female Editor-in-Chief of the JSAS, I imagine my service as editor as one that also carries the legacy of foremothers, that considers the work of women as an integral part of its success and sustainability, and one that strives to consistently acknowledge how cultural and genealogical implications of gender formation intersect with research and scholarship.

I am thrilled to be working closely with a group of brilliant Review Editors, and with an Advisory and Editorial Board of pioneering colleagues. I am grateful for their input and dedication as generators of impactful direction, as they help me shape the journal for its long-term and international tenability. I also

thank the authors who have contributed to this volume, as well as you, the readers, who have kept the journal alive for almost half a century.

Let us continue together as we keep the legacy of the *JSAs* alive. Collectively, we establish here, a distinguished venue, where we respectfully engage in scholarly dialogues that spark the discovery of new research avenues, that build and invite a community of interested scholars both in and outside the field, and that engage with cutting-edge research, as we continue to uphold the *JSAs* to the standards set by its predecessors and us.

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# Creedal Controversies among Armenians in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire

*Eremia Č'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrčean's Polemical Writing against Suk'ias Prusac'i*

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## Abstract

In the late seventeenth century along the lines of European confession-building and Ottoman sunnitization, the Armenian Apostolic Church initiated the reshaping of its orthodoxy in the face of growing Tridentine Catholicism. Through the contextualization of the polemical writing attributed to the famed Constantinopolitan Armenian erudite Eremia Č'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrčean, this article discusses the ways of detecting “bad innovations” in the doctrine and practice of Armenian communities in the Ottoman realms, and the doctrinal instruments used for enforcing “pure faith” towards social disciplining of the Apostolic Armenians.

## Keywords

Eremia Č'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrčean – anathema – Armenian Church – Armenian Theology – Roman Catholic and Armenian Church relations – Tridentine Catholicism – bad innovation – confessionalization – catechism – ‘ilm-i hāl – Nicene Creed – orthopraxy – polemics – sunnitization

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

In the age of “mutually exclusive and restrictive infallible churchdoms” as Ernst Troeltsch claims, the seventeenth-century Constantinople-based Armenian author Eremia Č'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrčean (1637–1695) stood as “a man who rescued his century.”<sup>2</sup> Eremia's extensive historiographic heritage has not only documented the socio-historical sweep of the Armenian communal life in the Ottoman Empire, but has also represented the Armenian viewpoint regarding major religious and political developments across the Empire and, in particular, within the Empire's Armenian communities.

Ute Lotz-Heumann argues that early modern confession-building processes noticeably affected literary genres, works, and their authors across Europe and beyond its boundaries.<sup>3</sup> Such an impact made polemical, catechetical, liturgical and spiritual writings from the period extremely valuable for better understanding the entangled social processes of the premodern world. In this regard, Eremia Č'ēlēpi's polemical writings are considered as important as his historical oeuvre. Largely recognized as a historiographer, Eremia Č'ēlēpi has not been recognized as either a polemicist or a catechist. His polemical treatises, however, contain rich material for the study of the confession-building dynamics within the Armenian communities in the early modern Ottoman society.

This article seeks to explore Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean's polemical writing against Suk'ias, the Armenian prelate of Bursa. Through the polemical encounter of these two men, this article seeks to disclose creedal controversies among the Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire in the confessional age. The article attempts to reconstruct Suk'ias's life and relations with Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean as well as the politico-confessional context in the scope of which their debate transpired.

1 I am grateful to Tijana Krstić and Sebouh David Aslanian for their helpful suggestions on this article. This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 648498).

2 Ernst Troeltsch, “Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der Modernen Welt,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 97, no. 1 (1906): 29. For a critical edition on Eremia Č'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrčean, see Gayane Ayvazyan, “Eremia Ch'elepi K'yomyurchyani patmakan žarangut'yunē” [The Historical Heritage of Eremia Č'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrčean], (PhD diss., Institute of History, NASRA, 2014). For a complete bibliography of Eremia's works, see Gayane Ayvazyan, “Eremia K'yomurchyani dzeragrakan zharangut'yunē” [The Manuscript Heritage of Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean], *Banber Matenadarani* 20, (2014): 349–398. Yakob Siruni, *Pōlis ev ir derē* [Constantinople and its Role], vol. 1, (Beirut: Mesrop Press, 1965), 606.

3 Ute Lotz-Heumann, Matthias Pohlig, “Confessionalization and Literature in the Empire, 1555–1700,” *Central European History* 40, no. 1, (2007): 35–61.

## 2 Armenian Confession-Building within a Multi-Confessional Ottoman Framework

The paradigm of confessionalization or confession-building (*Konfessionsbildung*) was put forward by German historian Ernst Walter Zeeden in search for common models of confessional, social, political development and the means of promoting the confessional identity during the period of the rise of Reformation and Counter Reformation.<sup>4</sup> Zeeden's views were developed by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling in the early 1980s.<sup>5</sup> They argued that the building of the Lutheran, Catholic, and Reformed confessions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had deeper social and political implications beyond theology, including the processes of early modern state building. Although Reinhard's and Schilling's theories have been vociferously criticized and modified since their formulation, the confessionalization paradigm "still addresses discord, disagreement and plurality within and between the various confessional spheres," hence, remains ongoing.<sup>6</sup>

In recent years scholars of the Ottoman Empire have begun to embrace paradigm's heuristic potential for understanding intra- and inter-communal dynamics among Ottoman Christians and Muslims. Tijana Krtić and Derin Terzioğlu studied a parallel process to confessionalization in the Ottoman Empire by coining it "sunnitization."<sup>7</sup> The process of "sunnitization" aimed at Sunni identity formation and the reshaping of Sunni orthodoxy through indoctrination of the Muslim population in the face of both Safavid Shi'i challenge and the polyphony of Sunni practice. Interestingly, the Ottoman Christians as well experienced the impact of the confessional trends of the age. A multitude of patterns of confession-building processes in Greek, Slavic and Syriac

4 Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Konfessionsbildung: Studien zur Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985).

5 Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State. A Reassessment," *Catholic Historical Review* 75, no. 3 (July 1989): 383–404. Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization: Historical and Scholarly Perspective of a Comparative and Interdisciplinary Paradigm," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1550–1700*, ed. John M. Headley, et. al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 21–36.

6 For a summary of critical works, see Ute Lotz-Heuman, "The Concept of 'Confessionalization': a Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute," *Memoria y Civilización* 4 (2001): 93–114; and "Forum" *German History* 32, no. 4 (2014): 579–598. See the discussion in "Forum," *German History*, 586.

7 On the processes of Sunnitization, and recent engagement with Sunnitization in the Ottoman context, both Muslim and Christian, see Tijana Krtić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011); Derin Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion," *Turcica* 44 (2012–13): 301–38.

Christian Churches, reveals an important case of entangled histories in the early modern era.<sup>8</sup>

One should exercise caution when engaging with the theory of confession-alization as formulated by Reinhard and Schilling and its implications for the Armenian communities living in very different conditions in the Ottoman and Safavid realms. One can speak of the processes of confession-building or re-articulation of doctrine and practice, especially among the Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire. However, Armenians never underwent confessional processes like Europe, particularly with the emergence of Protestantism in the sixteenth century. Armenian confessional developments fail to fit in the timeline of the confessional age—the late 1540s–1700 and 1520s–1731/32, as suggested by Reinhard and Schilling.<sup>9</sup> Before the schism in the Armenian community of Lvov (1625–1630), relatively peaceful cohabitation with Tridentine missionaries prevailed in both Ottoman and Safavid parts of Armenia. As demonstrated by John Flenner and Christian Windler, the relationship between the Armenian clergy and missionary orders in Safavid Persia perfectly fit in the frames of “good correspondence.”<sup>10</sup> The vector of Armenian confession-building was internal rather than external, directed against the “inner confessional enemy”—the Catholic Armenians. The confessional consciousness of Armenian Apostolic clergy was triggered in the face of conversions to Catholicism.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, it seems that confession-building processes in Armenian communities began in the early seventeenth century and lasted till the second half of the eighteenth century. Given that the Armenian Apostolic Church strove to reaffirm and reshape its miaphysite (or non-Chalcedonic) faith through the preservation of traditions rather than to build

8 For recent scholarship, see Ovidiu Olari, “Io se puotesse reformare la mia chiesa, lo farei molto volentieri...” Kyrillos Loukaris and the Confessionalization of the Orthodox Church (1620–1638); John-Paul Ghobrial, “The Conversion to Catholicism of the Christians of Mosul in the Seventeenth century,” papers presented at *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on Community and Confession-Building Initiatives in the Ottoman Empire, 15th-18th Centuries*, Budapest, June 1–3, 2018 (Gorgias Press, 2020, forthcoming).

9 Lotz-Heuman, “The Concept,” 101–102.

10 Christian Windler, “Ambiguous Belonging: How Catholic Missionaries in Persia and the Roman Curia dealt with *Communicatio in Sacris*,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018), 205–234; John Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and Beyond (1602–1747)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 111–147.

11 The term “Apostolic” has come into regular use in later centuries. For this period *Lusavorč’adawan* from the insiders’ perspective and *Gregorian* from the outsiders’ perspective was a common use. However, here I circulate “Apostolic” to distinguish between miaphysite and Catholic Armenians.

a new confession, the term “soft confessionalization” may be more suitable for the Armenian context. The same term is applicable to the *sui juris* Armenian Catholic Church, which, like the Chaldean Syrian Church, accommodated ancient Armenian Apostolic traditions with some exceptions in doctrine and practice, such as mixed chalice in the Communion and the doctrine of *Filioque* (i.e. the doctrine of procession of the Holy Spirit also from the Son).<sup>12</sup>

The mechanisms of European confessionalization contributed to the sunnitization processes in the Ottoman Empire, and included the following: the (re)formulation of “pure faith” through creeds and confessions of faith; the distribution of “pure faith”; and its enforcement and internalization towards social disciplining. Among other instruments of internalization—such as the installment of the *namazcı* office and empowerment of mosque preachers—the *İlm-i hāl* (“state of faith”) literature, that is the Islamic equivalent of Catholic catechisms and Protestant *pater familias* literature, composed in the vernacular, became instrumental for training all Muslims in the vein of “correct Sunni faith and conduct.”<sup>13</sup> In constant contact and dialogue with both Western Christian and Muslim communities, Eastern Christians too, increasingly paid more attention to various formulas and definitions of faith and strove to define the limits of orthodoxy. In an attempt to redefine and enforce the “pure faith,” the Armenian Apostolic Church gravitated toward appropriation of confessionalization mechanisms by resorting to the confessions of faith, creeds and catechisms.<sup>14</sup> In this regard, Eremia K’eōmiwrčean’s polemics with Suk’ias Prusac’i shines light on the employment of confessional literature for social disciplining of the Armenian communities in the Ottoman lands.

12 More on the doctrine of *Filioque*, see A. Edward Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

13 On the use of catechisms by Sunni Muslims, see Derin Terzioğlu, “Where *İlm-i Hāl* Meets Catechism: Islamic Manuals of Religious Instruction in the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Confessionalization,” *Past and Present* 220, no. 1 (2013): 79–114; Tijana Krstić, “From *Shahāda* to ‘*Aqīda*: Confession to Islam, Catechization and Sunnitization in Sixteenth-century Ottoman Rumeli,” in *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock, (Edinburgh: University Press, 2017), 296–314.

14 For a more elaborate discussion on confessionalization for the early modern Armenian world, see Sebouh D. Aslanian, *Early Modernity and Mobility: Port Cities and Printers Across the Armenian Diaspora, 1512–1800*, chap. 3 (Yale University Press, forthcoming). I thank the author for kindly sharing the manuscript of the book with me.

### 3 Eremia Č'elēpi's Polemical Heritage

Eremia Č'elēpi was born to a wealthy and renowned priestly family in Constantinople who contributed to the city's most significant developments. Well-educated and ambitious, he had never wished for a career as a cleric. His father Martiros K'ēōmiwrčean was the priest of Saint Sargis Armenian Apostolic Church of Langa. In 1652, during his visit to the city, Catholicos P'ilipos Afbakec'i (1633–1655) appointed Martiros his *vekil* (“deputy”) and treasurer of the alms-box of Ejmiats'in in Constantinople. Years later, Eremia would assume this obligation unofficially replacing Mahtesi Ambakum—Eremia's uncle on his mother's side, a descendent of a royal family, to whom the Catholicos had entrusted the alms-box after Martiros's death. Holding the offices of patriarchal secretary and counselor, and active in the high society of Constantinople, Eremia Č'elēpi fully integrated into the ecclesiastical, administrative, and economic life of the Armenian communities of the Empire. Running a bakery shop in the city market, where he spent most of his time, Eremia acted as an observer or *t'emasha* (“city-watcher”), which enhanced his knowledge of the social fabric of the city.<sup>15</sup> Eremia took his first steps as a historiographer when he was still twelve years of age. His *Ōragrut' iwn* or *Diary*, illustrates the intra-, inter- and trans-communal history of the Ottoman Empire. In 1939, Mesrop Nshanian published the *Diary* along with some of his epistles, hymns, and laments. His *Jewish Poems*, containing polemical remarks about the followers of Šabbetay Ševi, have been published and partly translated as well.<sup>16</sup> His major polemical writings against the Jews, Greeks, Armenian Catholics, and crypto-Protestants have heretofore remained unstudied.

Notwithstanding his early literary achievements as a historiographer, Eremia Č'elēpi first voiced his objections against confessional “others” only in 1656 when he engaged himself in polemics with the Greeks in reaction to the rivalry over disputed sacred sites in the Holy Land. The Greeks in Jerusalem had been in fierce dispute with the Armenians since their deviation on the

15 The intense engagement of Armenians in urban life through city-watching people watching, promenading and exchanging information in *maydans* was an inseparable part of daily life for an average inhabitant of Constantinople. See Polina Ivanova, “Armenians in Urban Order and Disorder of Seventeenth-Century Istanbul,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 4, no. 2 (2017): 239–260.

16 Paolo Lucca, “Šabbetay Šewi and the Messianic Temptations of Ottoman Jews in the Seventeenth Century According to Christian Armenian Sources,” in *Contacts and Controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*, ed. Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2010), 197–206.

date of Easter, referred to as *çrazatik* (“curved Easter”).<sup>17</sup> At that time the confessional quarrels over the “curved Easter” reached their climax, giving rise to a number of anecdotes among the Armenians and Greeks.<sup>18</sup> In fact, the litigations between the Greeks and Armenians were for the domination over the sites of the Copts, Ethiopians, and Syriac Orthodox in Jerusalem, which were under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Church. Years later, in 1656, with the help of their Constantinopolitan allies, the Greeks succeeded in obtaining a permission from grand vizier Boynuyaralı Mehmed Pasha for the appropriation of an Ethiopian church of Abba Abraham that used to be under Armenian jurisdiction.

The Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem Astuacatur Taronc’i (1645–1664; 1668–1670) arrived in Constantinople to seek the assistance of wealthy Armenians in settling the issue. Being aware of the wealth and influential role of *vardapet* Eliazar Aynt’apēc’i, the patriarch promised the position of *vekil* in return for his support. Given that Eliazar had found himself in the middle of a severe competition for the patriarch’s office in Constantinople with the deposed patriarch Yovhannēs Mułnec’i (1652–1655), he agreed to negotiate with Boynuyaralı Mehmed Pasha to return the Ethiopian Church to the Armenians.<sup>19</sup> Eliazar succeeded in his effort with the help of Xoĵa Ruhiĵan, a wealthy Armenian with excellent connections to the Ottoman elite. As promised, he was appointed the patriarchal *vekil* in Jerusalem, where he headed at the beginning of October, 1656. When Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (1656–1661) assumed the office of grand vizier, Patriarch Paiseus of Jerusalem (1645–1660) negotiated on behalf of the Greeks to obtain a *firman*, allowing the Greek Church to usurp not only the

17 For more details on the deviation of the date of Easter, see Pavel Kuzenkov, “Corrections of the Easter Computus: Heresy or Necessity? Fourteenth Century Byzantine Forerunners of the Gregorian Reform,” in *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Byzantium: The Definition and the Notion of Orthodoxy and Some Other Studies on the Heresies and the Non-Christian Religions*, ed. Antonio Rigo, Pavel Ermilov (Roma: Università degli Studi di Roma “Tor Vergata,” 2010), 147–158.

18 For Greek sources about these events, see Pavel Kuzenkov, Konstantin Panchenko, “Krivye Paskhi i Blagodatniy Ogon’ v Istoricheskoy Retrospektive” [“Curved Easters and the Holy Fire’ in the Historical Retrospective”], *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta* 13, no. 4, (2006): 3–29. It seems that Dositheos 11 of Jerusalem and later historiographers have simply seconded the famous narrative about the *Ascent of the Holy Fire*, circulating in the early modern Orthodox folklore.

19 The real intention of Eliazar was to diminish the influence of Ejmiacin over the Armenians under Ottoman jurisdiction. Therefore, the newly elected Catholicos Yakob J’ulayec’i (1655–1680) took the side of Yovhannēs Mułnec’i. For this reason, the monks in Constantinople refused to mention Yakob J’ulayec’i’s name during the Divine Liturgy for some time. Eremia Č’elēpi K’ēōmiwrčean, *Ōragrut’iwn* [Diary], ed. Mesrop Nshanian, (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1939), 209.

Ethiopian dominions in Jerusalem, but also the Armenian Convent of Saints James.<sup>20</sup> Eliazar Aynt'apēc'i was accused of disobedience and persecuted during this process, escaping to Aleppo. Afterwards, he was further detained by the ruler of Damascus, Teyar Oğlu, then transferred to Bursa, from where he escaped but was apprehended again and brought to face Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. He was finally released thanks to the intervention of Xoĵa Ruhiĵan and Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean. It was not until 1659, through the mediation of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's *kahya* ("chamberlain"), that Eliazar resumed the rights of the Armenians to the Saints James Convent.<sup>21</sup>

In light of the aforementioned events in 1656, Eremia Č'ēlēpi composed his *Vičabanut'iwñ Yunac'. J'atagovut'iwñ Haykakan Ekelec'woy* (*Polemics with the Greeks or Vindication of the Armenian Church*) known also as the *Apology of the Rites of the Armenian Church*—a work that has remained hitherto unpublished.<sup>22</sup> We know little about Eremia's polemical treatise: he mentions once his piece "on the Greeks," but he might probably be referring to his *Vipasanut'iwñ Arman Surb Gēorg Ekelec'woy* (*Narrative on the Takeover of Saint Gēorg Church from the Greeks*) penned in 1677.<sup>23</sup>

20 According to a well-known anecdote this convent was granted to the Armenians in Jerusalem by the prophet Muhammad. See Samuēl Anec'i, *Hawak'munk' igroc' patmagrac'* [Compilation from the Writings of Historiographers], ed. Arshak Tēr-Mik'elian, (Vagharshapat: St. Ejmiatsin Press, 1893), 80; Mxit'ar Anec'i, *Patmut'iwñ* [History], ed. Kerovbe Patkanian (Saint-Petersburg: 1879), 47; Babken Kiwleserian, *Islamē hay mat-enagrutyan mej* [Islam in Armenian Literature], (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1930), 122.

21 For details, see K'ēōmiwrčean, *Ōragrut'iwñ*, 206, 225–226, et. cetera. Mik'ael Č'amč'ian describes these events based solely on Eremia's *Diary* and *Chronicle* [Taregrut'yiwn], see Mik'ael Č'amč'ian, *Hayoc' patmut'iwñ* [History of Armenia], vol. 3, (Venice: St. Lazzaro, 1786), 671–687.

22 The manuscript is preserved in Mekhitarist Library of Venice, V621. For details see Ayvazyan, "Eremia K'yomurchyani," 362. There is an uncatalogued polemical writing against the Jews (old cat. no. V1155), which is not to be confused with Eremia's *Jewish Poems* on Šabbateans. Henceforth Armenian manuscripts are cited according to Bernard Coulie's system in *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits arméniens. Liste des utilisés pour désigner les manuscrits*, (Accociation Internationale des Études Arméniennes, edition revue: 2002), <https://sites.uclouvain.be/aiea/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Sigles.pdf>

23 «...իսկ Երեսիայի Զմաճարացն, և Զգանտիոյն, Զսուտ քրիստոսիսն, և Զսուլթան մէհմէտիսն, Զօսմանցոցն Դ հատորս և Զլանկ թամուրիսն, Զխալիֆէիցն պաղտատայ և Զպարսկացն, Զհօսմայեցոց և Զյունաց, Զնոր նահատակացն և Զհրկիզութիւն ստամպօլոյ, Զամէրիզային և Զառնաւուտիսն, Զհամառօտ օսմանցոն, Զբազրատունեացն և Զկիլիկեցոցն համառօտ, Զմովսիսին համառօտ և Զչուառութիւն հայոց, և Զժամանակագիրս և Զաշխարհացոյց և Արարողութիւնք ոմանց ազգաց, և այլ բազումք ըստ օրում և սոյն մատենաս մասնաւորապէս...» (... and Eremia's on the Hungarians, and Crete, False Christ and

Eremia Č'ēlēpi's reproachful stance towards the Greek Orthodox Church was expressed early on, versus his balanced attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church—specifically Catholic Armenians. Eremia compiled an Armenian Catholic catechism in 1681, titled *Girk' harc'manc'* ("Book of Questions").<sup>24</sup> It was commissioned by an Armenian Catholic priest T'adēos Hamazaspean Isfahanc'i (Erevanc'i), who along with the Julfan Armenian merchant residing in Venice Xoja Gaspar Sarhadean, established a printing press in Venice and published a *Xorhrdatetr* ("Missal") and *Čašoc'* ("Lectionary") in 1686.<sup>25</sup> T'adēos's confessional identity seems to be rather ambiguous; in 1691 the Roman Curia

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Sultan Mehmed, four volumes on Ottomans and Tamerlane, Caliphate of Baghdad and Persians, on the Romans and Greeks, on New martyrs and the Fire of Istanbul, on America and Albanian [baker], Brief on Ottomans, on Bagratide dynasty and Brief on Cilicians [i.e. Rubenid and Hetumid dynasties], Brief on Moses, and the Flight of Armenians, on the Chroniclers and Geography and Traditions of some nations, and many other things and this codex in particular...), NOJ498, f.77r. *Editio princeps* published by Yartut'iwn K'iwrtian, "Vipasanut'iwn aīman Surb Gēorg ekelec'woy, or i Makēdoniay i P'ilipupolis i jerac' azgin Yunac'" [The Narrative on the Takeover of Saint Gevorg Church that is in Macedonia in Philippopolis from the Hands of the Greeks], *Bazmavep* 84, no. 8–9, (1927), 237–239. For the bibliographical details, see Ayvazyan, "Eremia K'yomurchyani," 354–355, 385–386, n. 454–457.

- 24 Eremia's *Book of Questions* is preserved in two copies: one in New Julfa (NOJ498), and an incomplete version at the Matenadaran (M72; f.123r–179v). Its full caption is [H]arc' ew patasxank' usumnasirac' xndrolac', or uni ink'ean parunakeal i masanc' astuacabanut'eanc' ew p'ilisop'ayut'eanc' ew žamanakagrut'eanc' ew kerpic' adōt'ic' aīreal i latinac'woc', yunac' ew hayoc', [Question and Answers of the Seeker Philomaths, that Contain Excerpts from Theology and Philosophy and Chronicles and Kinds of Prayers Taken from Latins, Greeks and Armenians].

- 25 «...Եւ սոյն մատենան մասնաւորապէս ժողովեալ ի խնդրոյ թաթնոս երիցու իսպահանցոյ շատ թախանձանօք» (...And this codex was especially compiled at the behest of the priest T'adēos Isfahanc'i with much solicitation), NOJ498, f.77r–v. For T'adēos Hamazaspean's autobiography, see [Grigor Galemk'erian], "T'adēi ericu patmakan mēk gorcē" [An Historical Writing of Priest T'adēos], *Handēs Amsōrey* 1, no. 11 (1887): 168–173, no 12: 194–197. For T'adēos's letter to Eliazar Aynt'apēc'i, see *Čashoc'* [Lectionary], (Venice: St. Lazzaro, 1686), 2–3. The fact that in Istanbul T'adēos Hamazaspean commissioned Eremia K'ēdōmiwrčēan to compile an Armenian-Catholic catechism as his pocketbook has remained hitherto unknown. However, Sahak Djemjemian talks about Hamazaspean's visit to Istanbul with Salomon de Leon, Oskan Erevanc'i's nephew and fellow printer. For the details see his *Hay tpagrut'iwnē ev Hrom. ZHĒ dar* [Armenian Typography and Rome: xvii century], (Venice: St. Lazzaro, 1989), 151–155. Apart from the *Missal* and *Lectionary* in 1687, Xoja Gaspar and T'adēos published *Xokumn K'ristonēakan* [Christian Meditation] translated by Catholic Armenian author Yovhannēs Holov or Yakob Kostandnupolsets'i (1635–1691). Presumably, the print was carried out by Giacomo Moretti's printing house or was under its nominal jurisdiction, as the book has his name on the title page. After 1688 Gaspar quit the printing enterprise. For more details see Raymond H. Kévorkian, *Catalogue des "incunables" arméniens (1511/1695) ou chronique de l'imprimerie arménienne*.

labeled the missal he printed in Venice as “heretical,” because the text followed the Armenian Apostolic tradition.<sup>26</sup> However, the *Book of Questions* that Eremia tailored for T’adēos might be considered the first Armenian-Catholic catechism *per se*.<sup>27</sup> The very existence of such a catechism proves that—if solicited and probably commissioned—Eremia would have written equally for both the Apostolic and Catholic Armenians.

After 1691—when Eremia wrote against the Armenian Catholics and Lutherans—he explained the social causes of such tolerance towards Catholicism.<sup>28</sup> Criticizing the wealthy youth of Constantinople as being keen on “prestigious European” confessions, Eremia claims:

Եւ զի տեղեկացեալ էի ի նոցունց, զի զաղքատաց, այսինքն զհայոց և զյունաց վկայութիւնս ոչ ընկալան որպէս զի աստեցին և զհարուստս սիրեցին: Բարիոք է զի և ինձ ուսուսցին սիրել զվեճատունս զսիրելիս իւրեանց

And as I have been informed of them [the wealthy], that they do not accept the attestations [of faith] of the poor, that is, of Armenians and Greeks, for they loathed [the latter] and loved the rich [Catholics and Protestants]. Fair enough, for I too was taught to love the wealthy—their favorites [MS V317, f.1r].<sup>29</sup>

It seems that in the past Eremia K’ēōmiwrčean somewhat tolerated pro-Catholic affinities among Armenians. It is important here to acknowledge that Eremia’s attitude towards pro-Catholic Armenians changed after 1692, when

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Préface de Jean-Pierre Mahé, (Geneve: P. Cramer, 1986), 106–107. I owe this information to Sebouh D. Aslanian.

26 Djemdjemian assumes that in the *Missal* printed around that time, T’adēos attempted to steer clear of deviations from the Apostolic tradition in spite of his being a Catholic. Eremia played not the last role in keeping the *Missal* in line with the Armenian Church tradition as we see him put his seal on a certificate in 1682 attesting that he was involved in making corrections with Hamazaspean on the *Missal*: Djemdjemian, *Hay tpagrut’iwnē*, 154–155 and 173–179.

27 The first part of the *Book of Questions* is an excerpt from the *Christian Doctrine* published by Oskan Erevanc’i in Amsterdam in 1667 (imprimatur by Brieven van Theodorus Petraeus), which corresponded to the “needs of the Armenians” more than that of Belarmin’s *Dottrina Christiana*. See *Dottrina Christiana: Armenice, in Latinum versa* (Amstelodami: Imp. auctoris, et typis Armeniorum, 1667).

28 Bernard Heyberger, “Le Catholicisme Tridentin au Levant (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles),” *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 101–102, no. 2, (1989): 902.

29 Unless otherwise indicated translations of these original texts are my own.

he penned his two major vindications of Armenian Apostolic faith against the “Frankish” practice. What exactly provoked this kind of switch in his attitude?

After the death of his three children—Yovsēp’ in 1680, Sołomē in 1690 and his elder son *vardapet* Grigor in 1692, of whom he had great expectations—Eremia got isolated from the outer world by “sacrificing himself to the books.”<sup>30</sup> This period coincided with the surge in the activity of Catholic Armenian priests educated in *Collegium Urbanum* (a college established in 1627 by *de Propaganda Fide* in Rome to train Catholic missionaries from the East), who continued to occupy offices in Armenian churches and enjoy the liberty of preaching Tridentine Catholicism from their pulpits.<sup>31</sup> In a letter to his friend and mentor Eliazar Aynt’apēc’i, Eremia Č’ēlēpi describes the heated intra-communal debates on orthodoxy and orthopraxy initiated by *vardapet* Sargis T’ok’at’ec’i or Sargis Šahētc’i Gasporean in 1690, who publicly differentiated the Armenians into “Catholics and schismatics, Frank and Armenian.”<sup>32</sup>

It is widely known that the Catholic strategy of infiltration into Eastern and Oriental Christian Churches turned out to be very productive. The access of Catholic Armenian priests into the Armenian churches through *communicatio in sacris* (here: participation of the Catholics in liturgical practices and sacraments like baptism, marriages and funerals with the Armenian Apostolics), and their printing activities under the protectorate of Charles de Ferriol (1691–1711)—Luis XIV’s Ambassador to Constantinople and the Levant—provide the context in which the work and life of Eremia K’ēōmiwrčēan can be better understood.<sup>33</sup> The relatively patient attitude of the Ottomans towards European

30 K’ēōmiwrčēan, *Ōragrut’iwn*, 66 and Appendix, 578–579.

31 Tridentine Catholicism represents Catholic doctrine and practice, in the celebration of the mass, following the reforms of the Council of Trent (1545–1563). It was a reaction to and against Protestantism. After the Council of Trent its decrees became imposed on Catholics of all orders in an attempt to synchronize the faith.

32 Sargis was the bishop of Bethlehem from 1684–1690. Ordained a *vardapet* by Minas Hamt’ec’i, he traveled to Jerusalem. He was consecrated a bishop by Eliazar Aynt’apēc’i in 1676. For more details, see Grigor Galemk’erian, *Kensagrut’iwnner erku hay patriark’neru ev tasn episkoposneru ev zhamanakin kat’oghikēayk’* [Biographies of Two Armenian Patriarchs and Ten Bishops and the Catholics of the Time], (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1915), 64–99; Eremia Č’ēlēpi K’ēōmiwrčēan, *Patmut’iwn Stampōlay* [History of Istanbul], ed. Vahan Torgomian, (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1913), 176.

33 Although *communicatio in sacris* was generally prohibited by the Holy Office in 1729, it continued to be exercised under certain conditions even after the prohibition. For an overview, see Cesare Santus, *Trasgressioni Necessarie. Communicatio in Sacris, Coesistenza e Conflitti tra le Comunità Cristiane Orientali (Levante e Impero Ottomano, XVII–XVIII secolo)*, (Rome: Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises de Rome et d’Athènes, 2019), 309–376. Idem, “La communicatio in sacris con gli ‘scismatici’ orientali in età moderna” in *Les Mélanges de l’École française de Rome*, 2014, (<https://>

presence in the Empire had changed after the Venetian occupation of Chios between 1694–1695. The occupation resulted in the Sultan's *Hatt-ı Şerif* ("edict") in May 1695, proscribing the proselytizing activity of Catholic missionaries.<sup>34</sup> At the time of this historical backdrop, Eremia Č'elēpi decided to exercise his talent as a polemicist and compose two works between 1692–1695:

- (a) *J'atagovut'ıwn Hayastaneayc' Eketec'woy* (*Apology of the Armenian Church*) composed as a refutation of diverse accusations against the practice of the Armenian Church coming from various confessions, mainly from crypto-Catholic and crypto-Protestant contexts.<sup>35</sup>
- (b) *Patasxani Astucov ev vasn Astucoy, or Argileac' 'Zisk ork' asenn,' zor Asac'eal en i Verjn Hawatamk'in* (*Response with God's help and concerning God to the Person, who Disallowed the Recitation of "As for those who say" at the end of the Creed*), a brief treatise aimed at defending the practice of the Armenian Church against "precarious novelties."<sup>36</sup>

Historian Gayane Ayvazyan considers the two writings as a single treatise, and places them under the *Apology of the Armenian Church*—despite the fact that Eremia's biographer Nersēs Akinian, followed by a historian of Constantinople Yakob Siruni, considered them separate texts.<sup>37</sup> Presumably, the two works

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journals.openedition.org/mefrim/1790#tocto1n2); Mardiros Abagian, "La Questionne della 'communicatio in sacris' nel secolo XVIII e la formazione del Patriarcato Armeno Cattolico" [The question of *Communicatio in Sacris* in the Eighteenth Century and the Formation of the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate], *Bazmavep* 139, no. 1–2 (1981): 129–184; 141, no. 1–4 (1983): 215–234; 146, no. 1–4 (1988): 155–174; 147, no. 1–4 (1989): 244–258; 148, no. 1–2 (1990): 146–162; no. 3–4 (1990): 413–419; 149, no. 1–2 (1990): 461–476; 150, no. 1–4 (1992): 202–216; Guillaume Aral, *Les Arméniens Catholiques: Étude historique, juridique et institutionnelle XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle; suivi Les Mythes de la Christianisation de l'Arménie*, (Nice: Les Édition de Nichéphore, 2017), 104–112. On the common practice with Apostolic Armenians in New Julfa in the seventeenth century, see Windler, "Ambiguous Belonging," 205–234.

34 According to the *Hatt-ı Şerif*, Catholics were perceived as "not only Agents of the Roman Pope, but Spies in [Ottoman] Empire," thereby, the engagement of Armenians, Greeks and Syrians with any Frank was punishable by the law. See A. de la Motraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia and into Part of Africa*, vol. 1, (London, 1723), 159, and 393–394. For a thorough treatment of the subject, see Santus, *Trasgressioni necessarie*, 316–320, and 320–358.

35 Yakob Siruni places the *Apology* under the caption *Responses to Those who Slander against Armenian Church*; Siruni, *Pōlis*, 630. I am thankful to Archbishop Boghos Levon Zekiyan for his assistance in getting access to this manuscript at the Library of Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice. I am currently working on preparing a critical edition of the *Apology*.

36 Yakob Siruni mentions the Franks under the caption *Response with God's help and Concerning God*. Siruni, *Pōlis*, 630.

37 Ayvazyan, "Eremia K'yomurchyani," 360 and 390, n. 74.

were written simultaneously or shortly after each other as they contain similar textual passages:

... և թէ Նեստոր այսպէս բարբանջեաց վասն Զրիստոսի, Արիոս այսպէս բաջաղեց վասն Զրիստոսի, ֆիլան քեօփէկ այսպէս կարծեց վասն Զրիստոսի և հաչեց:...Քանզի փիրք նոցուն գիտունք, բայց ամբարտաւանութեամբ հակառակեցան սրբուիւոյ եկեղեցւոյ, որպէս Արիոս թիւր լի մի բարբանջելով, և Մակեդոն թավուր մի բաջաղելով և Նեստոր այլ իմն ղօղանջելով և նմանք նոցուն:

... and [telling] that Nestorius trifled in such-and-such manner about Christ, and Arius prattled so-and-so about Christ, and the such-and-such dog assumed so-and-so about Christ and barked [MS BNF Arm.334].... For their [Protestants] sages are knowledgeable, but they contradicted the Holy Church with haughtiness, likewise Arius trifling a lot of blunder and Macedon prattling something arrogant and Nestorius talking idly something else, and the likes of them [MS V317].

Both writings reflect primarily on issues of orthopraxy within the Armenian Church. *The Apology* is the first document in Armenian officially testifying the existence of crypto-Protestant Armenians in Constantinople in the late seventeenth century.<sup>38</sup> It is also a set of questions and answers on the “true faith” collected by Eremia from the representatives of various religious groups. In contrast, *Response with God’s help* is a set of rhetorical questions and arguments, which Eremia himself addressed to Suk’ias, the prelate of Bursa, accusing him of planting “precarious” novelties into the minds of the Apostolic faithful. Suk’ias—Eliazar Aynt’apēc’i’s disciple and loyal assistant—was advocating against the recital of the *Nicene Anathema* (incipit: “As for those who say”) during the Divine Liturgy, which was the ancient custom of the Armenian Church. It provoked Eremia to rebuke Suk’ias for a “bad innovation” aimed at ruining the liturgical traditions and the reputation of the Apostolic Church.

<sup>38</sup> It is worth noting that the scholarship on Protestants and Armenians has focused on the work of nineteenth-century missionaries, and this earlier phase is in need of further research.

#### 4 Suk'ias Prusac'i, the Author of "Bad Innovation"

Little is known of Suk'ias (Hesychius, Gr. Ἡσύχιος), the Armenian prelate of Bursa, and his relations with Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean.<sup>39</sup> Maghak'ia Ōrmanian refers to Suk'ias as to a prominent archpriest, whose name has remained unknown in history.<sup>40</sup> To reconstruct his life, one has to delve into the small details scattered in manuscript colophons. The manuscript catalogues have preserved three *vardapets* by the name of Suk'ias who lived in the period in question, namely Suk'ias of Bursa (Prusac'i), Suk'ias of Van (Vanec'i) and Suk'ias of Tokat (T'ok'at'ec'i).

Careful examination of manuscripts demonstrates these three individuals to be the same person. Two arguments support this assumption. First is the poem dedicated to the Holy Virgin (incipit: *Iskuhi Astuacacin, Surb Koys*) preserved in the collection attributed to Suk'ias Vanec'i, which also appears under the name of Suk'ias Prusac'i, and Suk'ias T'ok'at'ec'i.<sup>41</sup> Second, is the unique dating system used in the poems and colophons found under the name of either Suk'ias Prusac'i, Vanec'i or T'ok'at'ec'i. He writes the date, for instance, as ՄԹԱԺԼ (1+1000+1+100+20+30=1152 +551=1703), which was not the common pattern of indicating a date according to the Armenian Era—otherwise it would be ՌՃԾԲ (1152+551=1703). This numbering is unique across the three figures, and therefore this particular system supports the assumption that under all three names, the same Suk'ias is arguably to be recognized as the same scribe.

A theologian and a poet, *vardapet* Suk'ias was also a masterful scribe, commissioner, owner, donator and dedicatee of a multitude of manuscripts copied in Jerusalem, Bursa, Tigranakert and elsewhere affixed with his personal seal with the inscription "Suk'ias theologian vardapet."<sup>42</sup> In the colophon to a manuscript copied in 1674 in Jerusalem and sealed by Suk'ias, the latter calls himself T'ok'at'ec'i and mentions his father's and grandfather's names—Sargis

39 The copyist of a *Girk' harc'otac'* [Book of Questioners] (J619) reports in 1721 that he has copied it from the sample of Suk'ias, the archbishop of Bursa. In fact, Suk'ias is rarely called a bishop or an archbishop in the manuscripts, but rather "a theologian vardapet" or "a philosopher vardapet" that underlines him to be famous for his education and theological knowledge.

40 Maghak'ia Ormanian, *Azgapatum* [Narratives of the Nation], vol. 2, (repr. Ejmiatsin, 2001), 3142.

41 M1635, f. 7v–8r; M1430, f. 68r–69v; BNF Arm. 85, f. 170

42 For instance National Library of Armenians in Galata (ITT) 84, ITT 92, ITT 114; J623, J930, J940, J1741, J1587, J1926, J2827, J3202, J3328, Karmir vank' (ANKK) 124.

and T'oros T'ok'at'ec'i, a proof that he came from Tokat (Eudokia).<sup>43</sup> In most of the manuscripts he is called “theologian vardapet Suk'ias,” whereas in his *tats* (“poems”) and colophons he frequently refers to himself as “worthless and sinful Suk'ias.”<sup>44</sup> He was confusingly called Suk'ias Vanec'i because in two of his poems he mentions the city of Van in “Kurdistan” as the locus for some of his poems, which reveals him having spent some time in Eastern provinces of the Empire. The scribe of a *Maštoc* (“Ritual Book”) informs us that the nickname of Suk'ias Prusac'i was *Karčahasak*, meaning “of short height.” Here his fame of being “a vardapet of vardapets” is also noted.<sup>45</sup>

*Vardapet* Suk'ias is said to have been born in 1636. At the end of a poem which dates from 1702, he mentions that he is sixty-six years old.<sup>46</sup> He was Eliazar Ayn't'apēc'i's student and protégé, who frequently accompanied him during his travels. In his *Diary*, Eremia remembers him as “*vekil* [deputy] of *vardapet* Eliazar” only once while describing the trip to Galata and Balat in 1653.<sup>47</sup> After his release and dispatch to Jerusalem in 1659—to assume the office of the Patriarch's *vekil* as well as to receive Saints James Convent back from the Greeks—Eliazar Ayn't'apēc'i conceived and carefully executed a plan to establish an anti-Catholicosate of Jerusalem. His aim was to detach the Armenian prelacies in Ottoman provinces from the pontifical seat of Ejmiacin, then under the control of his arch-rival, Catholicos of all Armenians Yakob ԻՎ Եւայեցի (1655–1680).<sup>48</sup> To this end, in 1663 Eliazar won the trust of Catholicos of Sis Xač'atur Mintērči (1657–1674) to perform a service of consecration with holy myrrh by calling for the preservation of the Catholicosate of Cilicia. To justify his rivalry against Catholicos Yakob Եւայեցի, Eliazar had collected the

43 ITT 92, f. 742; see in *Ts'uts'ak azgayin matenadaranin hayoc' i Ghalat'ia, Kostandnupōlis* [Catalogue of Manuscripts in Armenian National Library in Galata, Constantinople], ed. Babken Coadjutor Catholicos, (Lebanon: Antelias, 1961), 594.

44 Some of his poems were published in *Ush mijnadari hay banasteghtsut'yuně (XVI–XVII dd.)* [The Armenian Poetry of Late Middle Ages (xvi–xvii Centuries)], ed. Hasmik Sahakyan, (Yerevan: Haykakan Gitut'yunneri Akademiayi Hratarakchut'yun, 1975), 392–443.

45 J2298, f. 326r; *Mayr Ts'uts'ak dzeragrats' Srbots' Yakobeants'* [Grand Catalogue of Manuscripts of Saints James Convent], ed. Norayr Pogharian, (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1974), vol. 7, 492. See also, Bishop Tsovakan (= Norayr Pogharian), “Gavazanagirk' vardapetats” [List of Vardapets], *Hask* 22, no. 6–7 (1953): 171–172.

46 «Է վաթսուն եւ վեց տառապելոյս, // ՄԻՋԻԴ Է (1702) թիւըն զայս բան զըրելոյս...», M1635, f. 40v.

47 K'ēōmiwrēan, *Ōragrut'iwn*, 47–48.

48 For the overview, see Avetis Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 104–109. See, Hakob Anasyan's seminal *XVII dari azatagrakan sharzhunnerē Arevmtyan Hayastanum* [Liberation Movements During the xvii Century in Western Armenia] (Yerevan: Haykakan Gitut'yunneri Akademiayi Hratarakchut'yun, 1961), 241–272.

complaints about the vicious behavior of the Yakob J'ulayec'i's *nviraks* ("legates") in Ottoman lands. The legates started to sell the myrrh to the Western prelacies and provoked mistrust among the Armenians of the Empire. In 1664, with the efforts of Apro Č'ēlēpi—Eremia's relative and the banker (*setanawor*) of grand vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (1661–1676)—Eliazar received the vizier's permission by having him assured that the detachment of Western prelacies from Ejmiacin in Persian lands would prevent the flow of Safavid spies to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>49</sup>

In 1664 Eliazar Aynt'apēc'i was consecrated by Xhač'atur Mintērči in Aleppo and became the Catholicos of Jerusalem. This evoked the wrath of Catholicos Yakob J'ulayec'i.<sup>50</sup> Receiving the news from vardapet Martiros Kafac'i in 1665, he immediately summoned a council in Ejmiacin to launch a campaign against Eliazar and sent encyclicals everywhere warning of Eliazar's uncanonical course.<sup>51</sup> As a consequence, Eliazar had to roam around for a while, reaching Bursa, Edirne, and Constantinople while waiting for a *firman* from the grand vizier affirming his appointment as a Catholicos of Western Armenians and allowing him to take the throne of Jerusalem. Eventually, with bribery and the backing of Apro Č'ēlēpi, he arrived in Jerusalem in 1667 as a "patriarch and Catholicos."<sup>52</sup> At the end of the same year, however, Catholicos Yakob J'ulayec'i's trustee Martiros Kafac'i armed with Sultan Mehmed IV's *firman* landed in Jerusalem and deposed Eliazar for a short period. In 1670 Eliazar recovered his rights to the seat, again resorting to bribery. The copyist of a *Tōnapatčar* ("Festal Homiliary"), priest Sahak reports in his colophon that in 1677 once again Martiros Kafac'i and in 1680 Yovhannēs Amasiac'i Topal

49 Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, 2962–2965.

50 Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, 2965.

51 For Catholicos Yakob's encyclical letter, see Yarut'iwn K'iwrtnian, "Yakob Kat'olikos J'ulayec'i noragiwt xist karevor vaverat'ught' mē" [Newly Discovered Extremely Important Document attributed to Catholicos Yakob J'ulayec'i], *Sion* 43, no. 3–4 (1969): 126–133. Another letter to Eliazar from Eremia's father priest Martiros explicitly demonstrates the ardent willingness of the westerners to see Eliazar on the throne of Jerusalem as the Catholicos of the Western provinces. See "Martiros k'ahanay K'ēōmiwrčean K. Pōlsēn ar Eliazar Aynt'apēc'i i Bera" [Priest Martiros K'ēōmiwrčean from Constantinople to Eliazar Aynt'apēc'i in Aleppo], *Sion* 6, no. 9 (1932): 278–280.

52 When in 1667 Eliazar eventually settled in Jerusalem keeping the title *catholicos*, Apro went so far as to call him "the Catholicos of all Armenians"—a title reserved exceptionally for the Catholicos on the pontifical throne in Ejmiacin, see "Apro Č'ēlēpi ar Eliazar kat'olikos" [Apro Č'ēlēpi to Catholicos Eliazar], *Sion* 15, no. 1–2 (1941): 40.

usurped the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem while Eliazar “was silently sitting [somewhere] in Jerusalem.”<sup>53</sup>

Eliazar’s loyal disciple *vardapet* Suk’ias was his patron’s inseparable companion throughout his intriguing career. Suk’ias was by his side during the clashes between the Greeks and the Armenians in Jerusalem, 1656–1657.<sup>54</sup> In 1660 he was in Constantinople, in Üsküdar dispatched to settle fiscal issues on Eliazar’s behalf. Later in the same year he was in Jerusalem at his patron’s feet.<sup>55</sup> Suk’ias followed Eliazar Aynt’apēc’i all the way from Aleppo (1664–1667), where the latter was ordained a catholicos, up to his final settlement in Jerusalem in 1667.<sup>56</sup> We do not know much about the Jerusalemian period of his life. Minas Hamt’ec’i’s *Ōragrut’iwn* (*Diary*) may contain valuable information about the years spent in Jerusalem, but having its manuscript at hand, we have yet to examine it thoroughly.<sup>57</sup> Piecing together various manuscript colophons, we do find Suk’ias in Jerusalem in 1668. In a manuscript colophon he claims to have found that manuscript in the city of Tigranakert. Years later he commissioned priest Tumas to copy it. Apparently, Suk’ias traveled to Tigranakert with his patron in 1652, where Eliazar used to be the prior of the monastery of the *Barjahayec’ Surb Astuacacin* (“Exalted Mother of God”).<sup>58</sup>

In 1674–75, Suk’ias was in Jerusalem with Eliazar, where he commissioned priest Eremia (known as a poet) to copy a collection of patristic works.<sup>59</sup> In 1677, when Martiros Kafac’i usurped the patriarchal throne in Jerusalem for the second time, Suk’ias was in Bursa, where he commissioned deacon Nikolayos to copy a collection of theological writings as a gift for Nahapet Edesac’i.<sup>60</sup> In

53 J120, f 919–921. See the colophon of the scribe Sahak in *Tōnapatčar*, Polarian, *Mayr C’uc’ak*, vol. 1, 336–337.

54 “Martiros vardapet Kafac’i Rotost’oyēn ar Eliazar vardapet Aynt’apēc’i yErusalēm” [Vartapet Martiros from Rodosto to Vardapet Eliazar Aynt’apēc’i in Jerusalem], *Sion* 4, no. 12 (1930): 384–385.

55 “Martiros Kafac’i patriark’ K.Polsoy ar Eliazar K. Polis” [Patriarch of Constantinople Martiros Kafac’i to Eliazar in Constantinople], *Sion* 6, no. 8 (1932): 252.

56 We see Suk’ias in Aleppo attempting to dissuade Eliazar from reading out the letter of ignominy sent by Martiros Kafac’i right after Eliazar’s consecration. See Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, 2972.

57 Mesrop Nshanian has selectively published passages relating to Eremia from Minas Hamt’ec’i’s *Ōragrut’iwn* (J1316) in his edition of Eremia’s *Diary*. See K’ēōmiwrčēan, *Ōragrut’iwn. Introducion*, 136–144. Other brief passages might be found in, Polarian, *Mayr C’uc’ak*, vol. 4, 564–566.

58 ITT114, f. 91, see in Babken Catholicos, *C’uc’ak*, 297–299 and 728–730.

59 Not to be confused with Eremia K’ēōmiwrčēan. ITT84, f. 480, 591; ITT92, f. 138, 206, 502, 742; Babken Catholicos, *Ts’uts’ak*, 560–562 and 593–594.

60 J820, f. 551v, also Pogharian, *Mayr C’uc’ak*, vol. 3, 293. Later Minas Hamt’ec’i took this codex to Saints James Convent in Jerusalem.

1680, Suk'ias was again in Jerusalem: his name appears in the list of the monks of Saints James, along with Nahapet Edesac'i, deacon Nersēs and many others.<sup>61</sup> A number of manuscripts found in the library of Saints James Convent include his seal, suggesting that Suk'ias engaged himself in commissioning, copying and collecting the writings of church fathers and notable theologians, such as Philo of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nisa, pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite and others. Suk'ias was respected by many famous clerics, such as Yovhannēs Mułnec'i, Martiros Kafac'i, Sargis T'ek'irtalec'i, who sent their respect and brotherly love to him through letters to Eliazar, while he was in Aleppo and Jerusalem.<sup>62</sup> In the letters his name appears right next to Eliazar's name proving him to be the *eresp'oxan* ("deputy") at Saints James Convent.

Suk'ias had a great deal of influence on his patron Eliazar. In 1667 Apro Č'ēlēpi wrote a secret letter to Suk'ias in Aleppo threatening to block allow the interference of the established peace, otherwise it "would not be good" for him, for "kurb-i sultan ateṣ-i suzan" ("being close to the sultan is being close to the fire").<sup>63</sup> Apparently, Apro alluded to the long awaited truce of 1667 between Martiros Kafac'i and Eliazar. The latter was invited to Constantinople or to Bursa—whichever city he preferred—to confirm and strengthen the reconciliation of the sides.<sup>64</sup> According to the content of Apro's letter, Suk'ias was the one to persuade Eliazar to embark on this journey—further evidence of the influence Suk'ias had over his patron and power he possessed in the eyes of others.

When Catholicos Yakob J'ūlayec'i passed away in 1680, the ecclesiastical council decided to invite Eliazar to assume the pontifical throne in Ejmiacin, and thus to put an end to the schism of the Armenian Church. Eliazar accepted the offer, headed to Constantinople and from there to Ejmiacin in 1682. We find Suk'ias together with the chronicler Minas Hamt'ec'i (later Patriarch in Jerusalem), Nahapet Edesac'i (later Catholicos) and *vardapet* Nikolayos accompanying Eliazar on his journey.<sup>65</sup> As Minas Hamt'ec'i reports in his *Diary*, Suk'ias wandered about the monasteries of Eastern Armenia and went to view

61 For the entire list, see J120, f. 919-921; Polarian, *Mayr C'uc'ak*, vol. 1, 336.

62 See various letters by the Armenian notables mentioning Suk'ias's name in *Sion* 4, no 12 (1930): 384; 6, no. 8 (1932): 254; no. 9 (1932): 280; 7, no. 1 (1933): 24; no. 4 (1933): 121; 14, no. 5-6 (1940): 156; 15, no. 1 (1941): 40; no. 3-4 (1941): 85, et cetera.

63 "Apron Suk'ias vardapetin xstut'eamb" [From Apro to vardapet Suk'ias with Austerity], *Sion* 15, no. 5 (1941): 126.

64 "Yovhan episkopos yAdrianupolsēn aṛ Eliazar episkopos i Halēp" [Bishop Yovhannēs from Edirne to bishop Eliazar in Aleppo], *Sion* 15, no. 11-12 (1941): 308-310.

65 K'ēōmiwrčean, *Ōragrut'iwn, Introduction*, 99. See also, "Le Prétendu Masque de Fer Arménien ou Autobiographie du vardabied Avédik, de Thokhat, déposé du Patriarcat de Constantinople de de l'emploi de supérieur de Jérusalem," *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale*

Salmosavank.<sup>66</sup> In 1689, two years before Catholicos Eliazar's death, Suk'ias was in the city of Van, where he suffered persecution by the nobles of "the foreign land" of Kurdistan and a six-month-long detention. Apparently, he fell victim to a hoax for the debts that he was ignorant of and was bailed out after he payed to *vardapets* Məxik and Margar.<sup>67</sup> This might contradict the rumor spread in Eremia's times that Suk'ias was at Eliazar's deathbed in August, 1691. In his piece against Suk'ias, Eremia reproaches him for spreading deceitful rumors, that he was near Catholicos Eliazar while the latter was at his last breath, at which time he received instructions on doctrinal and disciplinary matters. Eremia was certain that Suk'ias was not in Ejmiacin when the Catholicos passed away. His opinion was based on the testimonies of his elder son, *vardapet* Grigor, who was pursuing his education in Ejmiacin, under the guidance of the Catholicos. Grigor received the news of Eliazar's passing while traveling to Constantinople early in August, hence he had no solid proof of Suk'ias's deception.

The date of Suk'ias's consecration as bishop and prelate of Bursa has not been established. Most probably it was after 1682. What we know for certain is that he was already holding this office from 1691–1695, when Eremia composed polemical writing against him. He was the very archbishop of Bursa who buried the body of a neo-martyr named Nikolayos Prusac'i, executed by the Ottomans in 1694 upon the sham accusation of apostasy.<sup>68</sup> Importantly, in the martyrology of Nikolayos, Suk'ias acts as the impresario of the martyr-to-be. He is the one who sent off a certain priest to jail to encourage Nikolayos to take the "crown of martyrdom."<sup>69</sup>

When exactly Suk'ias Prusac'i had grown into a pro-Catholic agent is murky. He was still the prelate of Bursa in 1704, when Eremia's brother Komitas

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*des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, ed. Marie-Félicité Brosset, 20 (Saint-Petersbourg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale de sciences, 1875): 5.

66 Manuscript in the Library of Saints James Convent, J1316, f. 21r.

67 «Վեց ամիս ի բանտ արգելիւ ընդ զայս ծանրը բերն բարձ, // Զորստան երկրի պարոնաց, // Ոչ գիտեմ զինչ արարի... // Մինչ զի և մեք տուգանած, // Մըխիկ և Մարգար սև զիւաց, // Ոչ գիտեմ զինչ արարի», M1635, f. 25v–26v.

68 *Hayots' nor vkanerē (1155–1843)* [Armenian Neo-Martyrs (1155–1843)], ed. Hrachya Acharyan and Hakob Manandyan, (Vagharshapat: St. Ejmiatsin Press, 1903), 532–534.

69 Ačaryan, *Hayots' nor vkanerē*, 533. For more on impresarios, see Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, 121–132. Another testimony about Suk'ias being the bishop of the city is the colophon dated to 1695; ANKK 124, f. 546; see in *C'uc'ak jeṛagrac' Ankiwroy Karmir Vanuc' ev šrjakayic'* [Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Monastery Karmir Vank in Ankyra and its Neighboring Monasteries], ed. Babken Coadjutor Catholicos, (Lebanon: Antelias, 1957), 617.

K'ēōmiwrčean<sup>70</sup> composed his scandalous writing against the then patriarch of Constantinople Awetik' Evdokiak'i (1657–1711), who, enjoying the patronage of Sheykh-ul-islam Feyzullah Efendi, waged “a holy war” against all the Catholic Armenians.<sup>71</sup> According to Komitas, Awetik' solicited money from the aged prelate of Bursa, “theologian *vardapet* Suk'ias... the disciple of Catholicos Eliazar...”<sup>72</sup> under the threat of being accused of Catholicism and detention. Komitas testifies that “Suk'ias being feeble in his body and grown old... expecting his death any minute” was not able to pay; instead he temporarily won the patriarch over by sending him small gifts.<sup>73</sup> It was deemed that Suk'ias eventually was confined in jail and could redeem himself only by paying.<sup>74</sup> Our main source Komitas makes no mention of Suk'ias's imprisonment.<sup>75</sup>

Importantly, in 1707 we find Komitas harbored by Suk'ias in his house in Bursa a couple of weeks before the former's martyrdom, suggesting that at this point Suk'ias was still the prelate of Bursa.<sup>76</sup> Echoing Mik'aēl Č'amč'ian, Maghak'ia Ōrmanian considers Suk'ias not to have been guilty of what he was accused of, whereas Eremia's polemical writing against him seems to prove his pro-Catholic sympathies. Suk'ias's confessional affiliation remains ambiguous in his actions: in 1702–1703, still persecuted by Awetik', Suk'ias copied for his personal use, a voluminous collection consisting of the writings of Nersēs Šnorhali (d.1173) and Nersēs Lambronac'i (d. 1198), theologians of the Apostolic Church in the Cilician period, both of whom were famous in Catholic circles for their alleged efforts towards formal union with Byzantine, and then Latin

70 According to Minas Hamt'ec'i's *Diary* Komitas was in Jerusalem till 1701. Minas does not record the date of his return to Constantinople. Based on Minas's account Mesrop Nshanian disproves Father Meserianc's assumption that Komitas was persecuted by Awetik' as a crypto-Catholic and found refuge in Jerusalem. Komitas was very attached to Minas Hamt'ec'i and accompanied him in his trip to Jerusalem. K'ēōmiwrčean, *Ōragrut'ivn, Introduction*, 84, n. 1.

71 For the most recent research on Awetik's controversy with Armenian Catholics, see Cesare Santus, “The *Şeyhülislam*, the Patriarch and the Ambassador: A Case of Entangled Confessionalization (1692–1703),” paper presented at *Entangled Confessionalizations*, Budapest, June 1–3, 2018.

72 BnF Arm. 334, f. 44v.

73 BnF Arm. 334, f. 44v.

74 Č'amč'ian has couple of sentences on Suk'ias's imprisonment. Č'amč'ian, *Hayots' patmut'ivn*, vol. 3, 735. Following Č'amč'ian, Henry Riondel writes: “Sous Avédik, il avait connu la prison d'où il n'était sorti qu'en déboursant force piastres,” in Henry Riondel, *Une Page Tragique de l'Histoire Religieuse du Levant: le Bienheureux Gomidas de Constantinople Prêtre Arménien et Martyr*, (Paris: Beauchesne 1929), 130.

75 Č'amč'ian wrote this paragraph majorly grasping from Komitas K'ēōmiwrčean's accounts without mentioning his source, while Maghak'ia Ōrmanian just quotes Č'amč'ian's text.

76 Riondel, *Une Page Tragique*, 130.

Churches on the grounds of preservation of the doctrine and the rite of the Armenian Church.<sup>77</sup> Suk'ias's collection included also homilies on the refutation of mixed chalice and purgatory, which testifies to his orthodoxy from the point of view of the Armenian Apostolic Church. In one of his theological poems Suk'ias transmitted the doctrine of the Armenian Church into versed form. In fact, it is "the canon of the orthodox faith" in rhythm and metrics, without any trace of "schism."<sup>78</sup> Speaking on the procession of the Holy Spirit, Suk'ias puts forth a formula acceptable to both the Apostolic and Catholic Armenians: "Is not teeming as created, but [is] processing // Holy Spirit moved from the Father (in)to the Son unchanging."<sup>79</sup> The poem is an acrostic dedicated to his "beloved Ġendi Zade Nimetullah Çelebi" (Ġēntizatē Neymēt'ulah Č'elepī)—a nobleman in Aleppo.<sup>80</sup>

And again, Suk'ias's friendship with converted Komitas K'ēōmiwrčean and Minas Hamt'ec'i, who were suspected of holding pro-Catholic views, suggests his being quite open to Catholicism. On the other hand, his close connections to such conservative clerics and laics as Eliazar and Eremia, and his commissioning of non-Chalcedonic theological codices, prove his support of the non-Chalcedonic faith. Even though Eliazar, like both his predecessor on pontifical throne Yakob J'ulayec'i and successor Nahapet Edesac'i, were at times accused of dubious attitude towards Catholics, it was rather a political choice rather than personal disposition. Since these choices never affected the doctrine and practice of the Armenian Church, Eremia rejects the tiniest possibility of Suk'ias's "bad innovation" to be inherited from Eliazar.<sup>81</sup>

77 See J936 in Polarian Mayr *C'uc'ak*, vol. 3, 472–479. This notion of Nersēs Šnorhali and Lambronac'i being active agents for the unity with Chalcedonic Churches is ensued by the Teatine missionary to Armenia Clemente Galano (1611–1666), who attempted to prove that Armenian Apostolic Church has been one with the Roman Catholic Church. Since it fell into a schism in different historical periods Armenian "orthodox" high-ranking clergy, such as Šnorhali and Lambronac'i, attempted to reconcile it with Rome. Galano's treatise became a yardstick against which the "orthodoxy" of the Armenians was being tested among the Catholics. See, Clemente Galano, *Consiliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana*, t. 1-2, (Romae: Typis de Propaganda Fide, 1650, 1658, 1690).

78 M1635, f. 57v–69r.

79 «Էաբղնապէս ոչ ծըննի ալ կայ բըղիսման // Տօրէ Հոգին շարժեալ յնրդին առկայական», M1635, f. 58r. Such a formulation could not be defined as the doctrine of *Filioque*; it rather resembles the ancient doctrine of *Perikhoresis* (περιχώρησις; *circumincension*)—the eternal relationship of the persons of the Holy Trinity.

80 It seems that Nimetullah, whose personality is yet to be identified, played a significant role in internal life of the Armenian community in Ottoman realms. Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean, with whom Nimetullah was in touch, calls him "İzzetli ve üریفetli efendim" [My honorable and reverend master]. See, K'ēōmiwrčean, *Öragrut'ıwn*, 517–519.

81 BNF Arm. 334, f. 147r–v.

Eremia's relationship with Suk'ias Prusac'i has never been fully studied. Eremia had intimate acquaintance with Suk'ias as he used to be Eliazar's student and frequently spent time with both of them in Constantinople, Bursa, Jerusalem and elsewhere.<sup>82</sup> Apparently, like Eliazar, Suk'ias was welcomed in the house of the K'ēōmiwrčean family, for Martiros and Komitas K'ēōmiwrčeans were closely related to him. However, their ostensibly amicable relations did not hinder Eremia from rebuking Suk'ias for the prohibition of the *Nicene Anathema*, which he considered a transgression against the Apostolic rite.

The date of Suk'ias's death remains obscure. Two manuscript colophons copied in 1721–1734 from his personal codices mention neither his life nor death. The only hint is found in the collection of his poems, where the last—a poem of penitence, death and its desperation—is dated to 1707.<sup>83</sup> One of the most learned and influential agents of the Armenian Church in the confessional age found himself in deep depression towards the end of his life. Upon Suk'ias's passing his memory fell into oblivion overshadowed by the fame of his patron Eliazar Ayn't'apēc'i. If not for Eremia Č'ēlēpi's polemic piece, we would likely never learn much about him or be able to detect confessional ambiguity behind his exterior orthodoxy. Moreover, Suk'ias's attempts to infuse a “novelty” into the practice of the Armenian Church would have remained totally unknown. Before turning to the analysis of the arguments that Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean set forth against the “novelty” imposed by Suk'ias, it is important to trace the causes that prompted Eremia to insist on the recitation of the *Nicene Anathema*.

## 5 Creedal Controversies among Armenians: The Causes Analyzed

In his letter to the friends in T'ekirdaġ (Rodosto) written in 1692, shortly after he visited there with his son *vardapet* Grigor, Eremia Č'ēlēpi recalls a party in the house of an Armenian named Pōlos, where a discussion over religious topics took place.<sup>84</sup> It seems that a certain Xoġa Malxas, who, according to Eremia, used vulgar language and was totally ignorant of theological matters, started a discussion on the decrees adopted during the Seventh Ecumenical Council.<sup>85</sup>

82 On Sunday, November 6 in 1653 Eremia and his family took *vekil* Suk'ias and Małak'ia Č'ēlēpi, the son of Xoġa Eremia Hamt'ec'i to Galata and from there to Balat to perform the ceremony of matrimony in an Armenian church. K'ēōmiwrčean, *Ōragrut'wn*, 47–48.

83 «Incipit: Իրաւմամբք մատնեալ ես եմ մեղաւոր, // Յատենի մեծին ես եմ պարտաւոր...», M1635, f. 52v–53v.

84 K'ēōmiwrčean, *Ōragrut'wn*. *Appendix*, 543–549.

85 The Seventh Ecumenical Council, known as Second Council of Nicaea, summoned in 787 has never been recognized by the Armenian Church.

Supposedly Xoġa Malxas opened a discussion about the “valid” confession of faith. Eremia, who was trying to evade provocative questions and to keep the peace between the arguing parties, suddenly stepped in claiming that true belief had already been formulated in the *Nicene Creed*, and anything else is considered dubious:

ՏՈՒԱԼ ՍԱԽԻՄԱՆ ՍՈՒՐԲ ԿԱԼԱՏՈՅԻՆ,  
Ի ՄԵԾ ԺՈՂՈՎՆ ՍՈՒՐԲ ՆԻԿԻՒՅԻՆ,  
ՆԱԼԱՏԱՄԲ Ի ՄԻ ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾ ՂՈՅԻՆ,  
ԸՆԴԻՊԱՆՈՒՐ ԱԳՈՐ ԸՆԴՈՒՆԵԼՈՅԻՆ

[The] definition to holy faith was given,  
In the great holy Council of Nicaea,  
The same “We believe in One God”  
Accepted by all the nations.<sup>86</sup>

Eremia reproaches his friends in Rodosto for not having paid decent heed to his son *vardapet* Grigoris’s preachings, instead every illiterate laic imagined himself a theologian. Eremia even humors Xoġa Malxas for his name (“makas”—scissors in Turkish), for his vulgarity and ignorance and expresses his preoccupation about the growing attention to Malxas being an attack on the real teachers of the faith. This incident in Rodosto reveals that by 1692 debates on confessional topics had gradually become part of everyday life. Society had become more sensitive to the issues related to “true” confession of faith and more and more laymen, in particular, the *xoġas*, had become integrated into theological discourse. Such intense discussions brought about acute creedal controversies among diverse clusters of society, such as how Eremia begins his letter to Rodostians with the quote from the Gospel of Matthew “blessed are the peacemakers” (Mat. 5:9).<sup>87</sup>

Creedal controversies within Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire were intensified due to the abundance of diverse creeds and confessions of faith circulating among Armenians in this period that were generated

86 K’ēōmiwrčean, *Ōragrut’iwn*. Appendix, 548. Here and elsewhere in the text the word “nation” signifies “religious community” (millet).

87 The biblical verse from Matthew will later become an epigram for many polemical writings composed against Catholics and vice versa in the early eighteenth century such as Gēorg Mxlayim’s *Xatatarar meknut’iwn ekelec’woy* [Peacemaking Interpretation of the Church], M1464, and Stepanos Daštec’i’s *Koč’nak čšmartut’ean* [Clapper of Truth], M781.

both in the Apostolic and Catholic milieu.<sup>88</sup> The first Armenian codex entitled *Confession of Faith* was published in 1688, with the blessing of the then Catholicos Eliazar Aynt'apēc'i. It was rather a polemical book narrated by Yovhannēs Mrk'uz J'ulayec'i (1643–1715) in the form of a catechism.<sup>89</sup> Its second edition was published in 1713–14 during the tenure of Catholicos Alek'sandr J'ulayec'i (1707–1714). The new publication was informed by the fierce confrontation of the Armenian Apostolic faction with the Catholic Armenians in Constantinople. In contrast, the Catholic confessions such as the *Dawanut' iwn Čšmarit ev Utlap'ar Hawatoy vasn Arneloy Ekelec'n Yarevelic'* (*Confession of the True and Orthodox Faith to be Accepted in the Church of East*) were abundantly circulating in the Catholic Armenian intellectual circles. Among the first published after the Council of Trent, was a bilingual *Professio Orthodoxae fidei* published in 1596 by the order of Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605) for the Armenian converts.<sup>90</sup> A later and more extended edition was published in 1642 during the tenure of Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644), bringing it in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent.<sup>91</sup> The 1678 edition, published the *Dawanut' iwn Utlap'ari Hawatoy i Yamenic' Hayoc' Arneloy* (*Profession of Orthodox Faith to be Accepted among All Armenians*) which greatly differs from that of 1642 in that the text's technical terms translated from Latin resulted in a new vocabulary, closer to the one used in the 1670s.<sup>92</sup>

88 For definitions and distinction between the creeds and the confessions of faith, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Credo: Historical and Theological Guide to Creed and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition* (New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 1–5 and 35–36. For the use of catechism in Europe, see Stefan Ehrenpreis, "Teaching Religion in Early Modern Europe: Catechisms, Emblems and Local Traditions," in *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, eds. Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 256–273.

89 See *Girk' hamarōt vasn iskapēs ew čšmarit Hawatoy* [A Brief Book on the True and Veracious Faith] (New Julfa: Surb P'rkic' Print, 1688).

90 For the confession of faith, see *Brevis Orthodoxae fidei professio, quae ex praescripto Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae ab Orientalibus ad Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae unitatem venientibus facienda proponitur*, (Romae: Typographia Vaticana, 1596). On the causes of Councils of Trent and Tridentine terminology, see John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

91 *Professio Orthodoxae fidei ab Orientalibus facienda* (Romae: Typis de Propaganda Fide, 1642), 20–21.

92 *Professio Orthodoxae fidei ab Orientalibus facienda* (Romae: Typis de Propaganda Fide, 1678). The change in translated theological terms might be seen when juxtaposing the versions of *Professio Fidei* from 1642 and 1678, for instance «ի հայրն ամենակալ» vs «ի հայրն ամենակարող», «արարիչն... երևելեաց և աներևութից» vs «յարարիչն... տեսանելեաց ամենեցուն և անտեսանելեաց»:

During this period, various types of medieval confessions and creeds were circulating within the Armenian theological community. Apart from the most authoritative liturgical version of the *Nicene Creed*, there was a confession of faith formulated in the thirteenth century by Vardan Arewelc'i (d. 1271) upon the request of Catholicos Konstandin Barjrberec'i (1221–1267) against Byzantine duophysites. However, this confession never gained so much popularity so as to be recited in the churches.<sup>93</sup> Since the fourteenth century the Armenian Church has favored a creed attributed to Grigor Tat'ewac'i (1346–1409)—the pinnacle of Armenian scholastic thought—structured in a way so as to oppose the Dominican Unitor Friars and Muslims in Eastern Armenia. It incorporated the *Nicene Creed* with the important amendments emphasizing the doctrines of the Trinity against the Seljuk Muslims.<sup>94</sup> Grigor Tat'ewac'i's creed also included: the procession of the Holy Spirit solely from the Father against the *Filioque* (procession also from the Son); the one nature of Christ against the duophysites; His real body “from the blood of Holy Mother of God” against the phantasists; his immaculate and virgin birth; his perfect Deity and perfect Humanity; and the Harrowing of Hell and the eternal punishment of the sinful. In a fifteenth-century manuscript, the scribe calls this particular creed “the true confession of faith of the Armenian Church,” while its articles are described as “the gradations of faith through which we ascend to God with one footstep.”<sup>95</sup>

The variants of Grigor's creed became extremely popular in the age of confessionalization. Due to its popularity it was included in collections such as the confessions of faith assembled by Marquise de Nointel, where there is an

93 The profession of faith attributed to Vardan Arewelc'i is structured in a way so that each rubric of it starts with “We believe” (*Credimus*). It touches upon all debatable confessional issues. Arewelc'i's confession of faith was not popularized or read aloud in the churches. See Vardan Arewelc'i, “Dawanut'iwn hawatoy ułłap'arut'eamb srboy vardapet Vardanay i xndroy srbazan kat'olikosin hayoc' Kostandey” [Confession of Orthodox Faith by Saint *vardapet* Vardan upon the Request of Armenian Catholicos Konstandin], *Gandzasar Theological Review* 7, (2002): 371–384.

94 For Armenian-Muslim interactions in the Middle Ages, see Sergio La Porta, “Conflicted Coexistence: Christian-Muslim Interaction and its Representation in Medieval Armenia” in *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*, ed. J. C. Frakes (Palgrave: McMillan, 2011), 103–123; and “Gregory of Tat'ew” in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume Five (1350–1500 CE)*, ed. David Thomas, Alexander Mallett, et. al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 229–238. Current scholarship on the polemics of Grigor Tat'ewac'i's with the Muslim world can be found in Seta Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World: Paradigms of Interactions Seventh to Fourteenth Centuries* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2014), 187–221.

95 W791, f. 184v–185r; «...զի աստիճանքն այս են հաւատոյ, որով ելանենք առ աստուած մի ոտնաքայլութեամբ».

attestation of faith obtained via Ambroise de Tiger, French Consul to Egypt and signed in 1671 by Gaspar, the prelate of the Armenian Church in Cairo.<sup>96</sup> In contrast to all other attestations collected from high-ranking officials of the Armenian Church, the confession provided by Gaspar stands out. Drawing entirely on Grigor Tat'ewac'i's creed, it includes the addition of major counterpoints against the Protestants in the vernacular—that is the veneration of saints and the Virgin, iconolatry, perception of the Seven Sacraments and Eucharistic transubstantiation.<sup>97</sup>

A few years later in 1676 the English Consul to Izmir, Sir Paul Rycaut wrote the following about the confession of faith of the Armenians:

96 For the English translation of Tat'ewac'i's Creed, see Dadžad Tsaturyan, "The Creed of Armenian Apostolic Church According to Saint Grigor of Tat'ev," *Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne* 28, no. 4 (2015): 103–104. For the confession of faith provided by Gaspar see BNF Arm. 145, f. 30 and BNF Arabe 227.

97 Interestingly called "confession articulated by saint Grigor our Lusaworič": «Դաւանութիւն հասարակաց, որ ասացեալ է սրբոյն Գրիգորի մեր Լոյսալվորչին». Apparently, there was a confusion of the names of Grigor Tat'ewac'i and Grigor Lusaworič'. The text does not use the Armenian word «գոյափոխութիւն» (*goyap'oxut'ivn*) for transubstantiation but replaces it with the sentence "We believe [that] body and blood of Christ in the hands of priest are visible bread and wine, when the priest performs the sacrament, at the very moment it turns into the body and blood of Christ" («Տօտաւմբ մարմինն և յարունըն քրիստոսի ի ձեռն քահանայի յերևելի հաց զինի է, յերբոր քահանան զկարքն կատարէ նէշ նոյն ժամու մարմին և յարունն քրիստոսի կու դառնայ»); see BNF Arm. 145, f. 30. The Latin translation of Gaspar's attestation of faith does not use *transubstantiatio*, either; instead there stands *transmutantur in Corpus et Sanguinem Jesu Christi*: see BNF Arabe 227. Other attestations of faith collected by Marquis de Nointel following the textual pattern partly designed by Hilarion Kigalas (1624-1682) and almost identical with the Greek professions of faith in de Nointel's collection, do not employ the Armenian word «գոյափոխութիւն» (*goyap'oxut'ivn*) for transubstantiation. It reads, «Եւ թէ նոյն քրիստոսի մարմինն, որ խաչեալ է, որ համբարձաւ յերկինս և նստաւ յաջմէ հօր է ներկա իրապէս, թէպէտ աներևութաբար ի հաղորդութեան ի ներքոյ տեսակաց արտաբնոց և երևութեաց հացին և զինոյն միայն, քանզի հացն և զինին այնպէս փոխարկին ի ճշմարիտ քրիստոսի մարմին և յարինն, որպէս զի գոյացութիւն հացին և զինոյն ոչ ևս մնացեն, այլ միայն պատահմունք. եւ վասն այնորիկ երկիր պազանեմք քրիստոսի ընդ հաղորդութեան»: see BNF Arm. 145, f. 7. The French translation also refrains from the use of *transubstantiatio*: "Lequel Corps a été crucifié, est monte au Ciel où il est assis à la droite du père, et qu'il est réellement presence quoique invisiblement dans l'Eucharistie sous les espèces et les apparences extérieures du pain et du vin parce que le pain et le vin sont changés au Corps et au Sang de Jésus Christ de façon qu'il ne reste plus de substance du pain et du vin, mais seulement les accidents. C'est pourquoi Nous adorons Jésus Christ dans L'Eucharistie": see BNF Arm. 145, f. 9.

They allow and accept the Articles of Faith according to the Council of Nicaea, and are also acquainted with that which we call the Apostles Creed, which likewise they have in use... I have thought fit to represent that which they call their *Tavananck*, or *Symbolum*, different from the *Apostles* and *Nicene* Creed... Now the words of their Creed are Verbatim as followeth...<sup>98</sup>

Sir Rycaut's reference here is to a variant of Grigor Tat'ewac'i's creed with the addition of the clause on *postpartum* virginity of the Holy Mother of God. To highlight the popularity of this creed among Armenians, Sir Rycaut states that *Armenians repeated the Creed*, "in the same manner as our *Apostles Creed* is in our Divine Service."<sup>99</sup> This version has one essential difference: instead of collective "We believe" (*Credimus*), here the Western "I believe" (*Credo*), apparently in accordance with the Western creedal fashion of the confessional age and the emphasis on the personal interiorization of faith, makes an appearance.<sup>100</sup> Yovsēp Gat'ērčian reckoned Sir Rycaut to be misled by his cleric companion, who, instead of the *Nicene Creed* presented Grigor's creed as the accepted confession of faith of the Armenians.<sup>101</sup> Perhaps, in some monasteries in Safavid Armenia the recital of this creed might have been preferred over the liturgical version of the *Nicene Creed*, as there are sources alluding to its inculcation into the Armenian Liturgy by the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>102</sup>

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, new ecclesiastical policy attempted to oust all the creeds but the *Nicene* one, which was implemented in order to stem the creedal polyphony and preserve the integrity of Armenian

98 Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (London: Printed for John Starkey, 1679, reprint. New York: ARM Press, 1970), 409–411. Yovsēp Gat'ērčian gives the Armenian version of this variant in, *Hanganak hawatoy orov vari Hayastaneayts' ekelec'i. K'nnut'wn hanganakin cagman, helinakin ev žamanakin veray* [The Creed that the Armenian Church Follows: Research on the Origins, Author and Time of the Creed] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1891), 40–41.

99 Rycaut, *The Present State*, 415. The text of the confession is on pages 411–414. Paul Rycaut compares the Christological passages of this creed relating to the real body of Christ with the passage in the *Anatolian Confession* promulgated by Greek patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos II in 1672 to prove that the Armenian Church has never been monophysite, but rather miaphysite.

100 On the topic, see Pelikan, *Credo*, 35–36.

101 Gat'ērčian, *Hanganak hawatoy*, 40.

102 A very brief version of Tat'ewac'i's creed summarized in the fourteen articles as "gradations of faith" and starting with "I believe" is found in an eighteenth-century manuscript at the Matenadaran M8444, f. 377r–v. Nowadays, Tat'ewac'i's creed is chanted only at the Sacrament of the Holy Orders both in the Armenian Apostolic and Catholic Churches.

orthodoxy. Church authorities conformed to the old Armenian liturgical version of the *Nicene Creed*, that had been recited in the Armenian Church for ages. This creed was proclaimed as the only true formula of faith by appealing to its pre-Chalcedonic origin and to the uninterrupted tradition of its recital during the Divine Liturgy. Consequently, Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean strove to single out the *Nicene Creed* as the only formula of Armenian faith to counterpoise the multitude of the variants of Grigor's creed as well as to resist against the spread of the Armenian version of the Tridentine and Apostles' Creeds.<sup>103</sup> A later author, Gēorg Mxlayim Ōli (d. 1758), was a fervent advocate of such mono-creedal policy; polemicizing with the Jesuits, he highlighted that the sole credo to which the Armenians had adhered through the centuries was the *Nicene Creed* in its ancient liturgical version.<sup>104</sup> This prompts several questions: What was the Armenian liturgical version of the *Nicene Creed*? Why did it become a matter of dispute in the confessional age? And why would Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean insist on its exclusive credibility?

## 6 Multiple Facets of the Symbol of Faith: the Nicene Creed under the Magnifying Glass

Creeds, as the rule of prayer, have always been the integral part of the Divine Liturgy as the rule of faith in accordance with the formula *lex orandi lex credendi* (the law of prayer is the law of belief).<sup>105</sup> The liturgical versions of the creeds actually recited or chanted during the Divine Liturgy differ from the officially promulgated formulas of faith, such as the variants of the *Nicene Creed* in the Psalters and Massora of the Syriac Churches, be it in Western Syriac Church or in the Church of East (Nestorian).<sup>106</sup>

The liturgical version of the *Nicene Creed* of the Armenian Church or the so-called *Faith of the YṒĀ (318) Fathers*, is an “enlarged” version of the *Nicene Creed* promulgated at the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea in 325. The original *Nicene Creed* was followed by the *Nicene Anathema* against the fourth-century heresiarch Arius and his teaching on the Holy Trinity, that is:

103 For a version of the Tridentine Creed in Armenian with additions and marginal notes, see manuscript in the Library of Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna, W1595, f. 1–4.

104 See Matenadaran manuscript M1464, f. 97r–98v.

105 Pelikan, *Credo*, 178–184.

106 William Emery Barnes, “The ‘Nicene’ Creed in the Syriac Psalter,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 7, no. 27 (1906): 441–449; Willem Baars, “The ‘Nicene’ Creed in the Manuscripts of Syriac Massora,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 13, no. 2 (1962): 336–339.

Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ‘ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν’ καὶ ‘πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν’ καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας, φάσκοντας εἶναι ἢ τρεπτόν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἀγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

And those who say ‘there once was when he was not,’ and “before he was begotten he was not,” and ‘that he came to be from things that were not,’ or “from another hypostasis or substance,” affirming that the Son of God is subject to change or alteration—these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.<sup>107</sup>

The *Nicene Creed* was reaffirmed at the Second Ecumenical Council summoned in Constantinople in 381 with the addition of the third article on the divinity of the Holy Spirit and exclusion of the *Nicene Anathema*. In fact, the creed promulgated in Constantinople had little to do with the original *Nicene Creed*. According to scholarly opinions, it used to be a baptismal creed already in use among the Christians of Jerusalem, and was elaborated during the Council. Its working title is *Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed* professed by the Orthodox, Catholic and some Protestant Churches.<sup>108</sup>

Although the Armenians accepted the decrees of the first three Ecumenical Councils, the *Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed* has never been incorporated into the liturgical tradition of the Armenian Church. Instead, an “enlarged” version of the original *Nicene Creed* became common. The testimonies to the usage of this version by the Armenians could be traced back to the early sixth century.<sup>109</sup> The *Creed* is based on the section appearing in the 119th chapter of *Ancoratus* by Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315–403), known to the specialists as the second creed of Epiphanius.<sup>110</sup> He composed it in 374 and placed right after the *Nicene Creed* as its enlarged explanatory variant with the anti-Apolinarian

107 Original and translation cited here as they appear in *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Valerie R. Hotchkiss, vol. 1 (New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 158–159.

108 J. N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (Continuum, 1972), 311. *Creeds and Confessions*, 100. Catholic Church professes a *Western Recension of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed* with addition of the *Filioque*.

109 Gat’ērcian, *Hanganak hawatoy*, 2–4.

110 For a critical edition of *Ancoratus*, see *Epiphanius: Ancoratus und Panarion*, ed. K. Holl (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1915), 1–149. For the English translation, see Richard Kim Young, *Saint Epiphanius of Cyprus: Ancoratus*, in *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 128 (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 51–227. For the original see Holl, *Epiphanius*, 148–149.

and anti-Macedonian additions. Like the original *Nicene Creed*, Epiphanius's second creed ends with an *Anathema*:<sup>111</sup>

Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ὅτι ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱὸς ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα το ἅγιον, ἢ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι (ἢ) τρεπτόν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία, ἡ μήτηρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν. καὶ πάλιν ἀναθεματίζομεν τοὺς μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ πάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις τὰς μὴ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως οὔσας.<sup>112</sup>

And those who say that there was a time when the Son was not, or when the Holy Ghost was not, or that either was made of that which previously had no being, or that he is of a different nature or substance, and affirm that the Son of God and the Holy Spirit are subject to change and mutation; all such, the catholic and apostolic church, the mother both of you and of us, anathematizes. And further we anathematize such as do not confess the resurrection of the dead, as well as all heresies which are not in accord with the true faith.<sup>113</sup>

The Armenian liturgical version of the *Nicene Creed*, though not identical, largely follows Epiphanius's enlarged variant. It retains the *Anathema* and adds to it a doxology attributed to Grigor Lusaworič' (Gregory the Illuminator). In the age of confessionalization this version was frequently called the Creed of Lusaworič'—an allusion to the narrative, according to which Grigor Lusaworič's son Aristakes brought its Greek original from Nicaea, while Grigor Lusaworič' rendered it into Armenian. According to the narrative he also translated the *Nicene Anathema*, which is as follows:

111 The Greek original preserved a text almost identical to the *Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed*. Scholars agree that it was a later insertion in Epiphanius's text and that Epiphanius most probably quoted the *Nicene Creed* rather than *Niceno-Constantinopolitan*: see Kelly, *Early Christian*, 318–320; also *Creeeds and Confessions*, 100. Athanasius of Alexandria's letters to bishop Serapion arguably served as a source for Epiphanius's second creed. On this basis Yovsēp Gat'ērčian assumes the Armenian liturgical version to be Niceno-Athanasian (not to confuse with the *Athanasian or pseudo-Athanasian Creed*): see Gat'ērčian, *Hanganak hawatoy*, 34–37.

112 Holl, *Epiphanius*, 149.

113 The most recent translation is prepared by Young in *Saint Epiphanius*, 227. I rely on Philipp Schaff's translation which is closer to the Armenian variant in its archaic wording: see Philipp Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, Series II, vol. 14 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 165.

Իսկ որք ասեն՝ էր երբեմն, յորժամ ոչ էր Որդին, կամ էր երբեմն, յորժամ ոչ էր Սուրբ Հոգին, կամ թէ՛ յոչէից եղեն, կամ յայլմէ էութենէ ասեն լինել զՈրդին Աստուծոյ եւ կամ զՍուրբ Հոգին, եւ թէ փոփոխելիք են կամ այլայլելիք, զայնպիսիսն նզովէ կաթողիկէ եւ առաքելական սուրբ եկեղեցի:

As for those who say “there was a time when the Son was not”, or “there was a time when the Holy Spirit was not”, or that “they came into being out of nothing”; or who say that “the Son of God or the Holy Spirit are of a different substance” and that “they are changeable or alterable,” such do the catholic and apostolic holy Church anathematize:

Doxology by Grigor Lusaworič:

Իսկ մեք փառաւորեսցուք, որ յառաջ քան զյաւիտեանս, երկիրպագանելով Սրբոյ Երրորդութեանն եւ միոյ Աստուածութեանն Հօր եւ Որդւոյ եւ Հոգւոյն Սրբոյ, այժմ եւ միշտ եւ յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից, ամէն:

As for us, we shall glorify him who was before the ages, worshipping the Holy Trinity and the one Godhead, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages. Amen.<sup>114</sup>

Another anecdotal narrative circulating in the Armenian Catholic circles up to the nineteenth century suggests that all the amendments to the Armenian liturgical version of the *Nicene Creed*, including the addition of the third article on the Holy Spirit promulgated at the Council of Constantinople, were made later by the Armenian Catholicos Nersēs.<sup>115</sup> Adding “novelties” to the *Creed* was not unprecedented in the Armenian ecclesiastical tradition, thereby justifying supplementation of the *Fillioque* to the *Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed* decreed at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439).<sup>116</sup> In his reply to an unknown addressee upon the request to explain the origin of the Armenian liturgical version of the Creed, a Constantinopolitan Armenian Catholic priest writes:

114 *The Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church: English Translation, Transliteration, Musical Notation, Introduction and Notes*, ed. Daniel Findikyan (New York, 2005), 19.

115 It is not clear which Catholicos Nersēs the narrative refers to.

116 For the short-lived Bull of Union with the Armenians of the Council of Florence, see *Creeks and Confessions*, 755–765.

Ու ինչպէս մեծն Ներսէս աւելցուց այն առաջի հանգանակին վրայ Կոստանդնուպօլսոյ սուրբ ժողովոյն բացատրութիւնները, նոյնպէս ալ պետք է որ աւելցուի նոյն հանգանակին վրայ Փլորենտիոյ սուրբ ժողովոյն ըրած բացատրութիւնը հոգին սուրբի վրայ՝ և որդւոյն բխի:

And as Great Nerses amended that first Creed, with the explanations of the Holy Council of Constantinople, the same way the explanations on the Holy Spirit of the Council of Florence, that is *Filioque*, should be added to the same Creed [MS W111, f. 75].

Interestingly, the *Bull of Union with the Armenians* promulgated at the Council of Ferrara-Florence imposed upon the Armenians the *Western Recension of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed* as the rule of prayer to be sung or recited during the Divine Liturgy in Armenian churches, and the *Faith of St. Athanasius* or *pseudo-Athanasian Latin Creed* as the rule of faith to be professed as the official declaration of Christian doctrine.<sup>117</sup> The Council's choice to make the *Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed* incumbent on the Armenians testifies to the disuse of this specific creed during the Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church up to the fifteenth century. Driven by the necessity to refute various accusations of being Eutychean-minded monophysites, the Armenians employed Epiphanius's enlarged variant of the *Nicene Creed*—penned seven years prior to that of the *Niceno-Constantinopolitan*—by incorporating passages against the “heresies” of which the Armenian Church was historically accused.

In his aforementioned letter to his friends in Rodosto, Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean undoubtedly speaks of the Armenian liturgical version of the *Nicene Creed*. Later he includes this version in his catechism compiled for an Armenian Catholic priest T'adēōs Hamazaspean by having changed the archaic wording “նոյն ինքն ի բնութենէ հոր” (“of the same nature of the Father”) that stood for the Greek term *homousion* (ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί), to “նոյն ինքն համագոյակից հոր” (“consubstantial with the Father”), as well as adding “որ ի հօրէ և յորդոյ բղխի” (“*ex Patre Filioque*”) in due place.<sup>118</sup> Apparently Eremia was driven by interest in preservation of the “Armenianness” of the Catholic Armenians along with their confessional affiliation. Therefore, he capitalizes on the *Nicene Creed* to prove ethnic identity to be more important

<sup>117</sup> *Credo and Confessions*, 675–677, 757, 762, 764–765.

<sup>118</sup> Museum of the All Savior Monastery in New Julfa, NOJ498, f. 12v–14r

than a confessional one. Eremia retained the *Anathema* and *Lusaworič*'s doxology at the end of the *Creed* for the use of the Catholic Armenians as a marker of their "Armenianness."

Eremia did not establish this creedal pattern, but rather followed the text in the missals printed for the Armenian converts to Catholicism. He arguably had access to the missals issued by *De Propaganda Fide*.<sup>119</sup> A close examination of the missals printed by the Catholic Church "for the Armenian nation" reveals them to accommodate the Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Most of them preserved the Armenian liturgical version of the *Nicene Creed* with the insertion of "consubstantial with the Father" and *ex Patre Filioque*. The missal from 1677 and the one translated by Yovhannēs Holov into Italian in 1690 contain the Armenian variant of the *Nicene Creed*, the *Anathema* and the doxology.<sup>120</sup> However, the earliest printed missal from 1646 inserts the *Western Recension of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed* instead, excludes the *Anathema*, but retains *Lusaworič*'s doxology.<sup>121</sup>

The *Nicene Anathema* initially composed against the fourth-century Arians and Macedonians was the key element of the Armenian Divine Liturgy—"the seal of Nicene Faith," as it was called. Inherited through the enlarged variant of Epiphanius' creed, it became an inseparable part of public prayer of the faithful implicitly designating the ethno-confessional identity of the Armenians. The recitation of the *Nicene Anathema* was the main indicator of confessional affiliation on the one hand and orthodoxy on the other. For instance, there is a famous story related to the renowned Dominican missionary to Safavid Armenia Paolo Piromalli, preserved in the *Chronicle* of Grigor Daranałc'i (d. 1643). The chronicler describes the inquisition of Piromalli, when he arrived in Constantinople in 1636 after being expelled from Ejmiacin by Catholicos P'ilipos Ałbakec'i (1633–1655). Piromalli lodged in the Galata district. Having dressed as an Armenian *vardapet*, he started proselytizing among the Armenian priests of the Surb Astuacacin ("Holy Mother of God") church gaining the favor of monks Xoja Davit and Kirakos J'ulayec'i. Therefore, the *vardapets* of Constantinople, with Daranałc'i in charge, sent the priest Łazar off to examine

119 For instance, see *Liturgica Armena* (Romae: Typis Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1677), 8.

120 *La Dichiaratione della Liturgia Armena* (Venetia: Apresso Michiel' Angelo Barboni, 1690), 18–20. Importantly, the Armenian Catholic translator Yovhannes Holov omits the line "and that they are changeable or alterable."

121 *Ordo Divinae Missa Armeniaorum*, (Romae: Typis Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1646), 46–49. This *Missal* was proofread and edited by Vincentius Riccardus in 1636. Its Armenian translation was licensed to print by Giovanni Molino (Yovhannēs Ankiwrac'i), the translator of *de Propaganda Fide*.

Piromalli's faith. According to Daranałc'i the only way to unmask Piromalli was to make him recite the *Nicene Creed*. Reaching the *Anathema*, Piromalli's refusal to recite "As for those who say" was considered apostasy from the perspective of the Armenian ecclesiastical traditions. Piromalli was expelled and banned from preaching in Armenian churches.<sup>122</sup> It seems that the recital of the *Nicene Anathema* was not considered challenging for Armenian-Catholics, partly because of its inclusion into missals and catechisms, and partly because of their intimate familiarity with the rule of prayer of the Armenian Church. That said, in his letter from 1751 the Catholic Armenian priest from Mekhitarist order Gēorg Aynt'apc'i (d. 1794) informed his flock in Engür (Ankara), that before he arrived in Rome he thought that "apart from the anathema there are no schismatic rites in our nation."<sup>123</sup> In Rome he learned about other "schismatic" elements of the Armenian Apostolic rite, hence, exhorted his flock to give up *communicatio in sacris* with Apostolics.<sup>124</sup>

In the eyes of Eremia Č'ēlēpi, the banning of the recitation of the *Nicene Anathema* was not a matter of orthodoxy, but rather of orthopraxy. The 1690s were the years when Catholic Armenian priests would abstain from officiating in Catholic churches. They had to undergo the *communicatio in sacris* with the Armenian Apostolics, while clandestinely preaching and propagating Catholic ideas to the Apostolic faithful. On these grounds, Eremia Č'ēlēpi assumed that the preacher, be he a crypto-Catholic or an Apostolic, should follow the rule of prayer of the Armenian Church if he preaches from its pulpits. From Eremia's point of view the recital of the *Nicene Anathema* was absolutely necessary for it was not only a yardstick for "Armenianness," but also the proof of the ancient roots of the Armenian liturgical tradition, and the mark of the continuity in its practice. The prohibition of *Nicene Anathema* by Suk'ias Prusac'i triggered Eremia Č'ēlēpi's vocal criticism. He started a campaign against the "bad innovations."

The concept of religious "innovation" resonated across confessional boundaries in the Ottoman context at this time, as Muslims themselves, particularly in Constantinople, repeatedly clashed (sometimes violently) over the definition of "tradition" and accused each other of *bid'a*, meaning harmful "innovation,"

122 Grigor Daranałc'i, *Žamanakagrut'awn* [Chronicle], ed. Mesrop Nšanian, (Jerusalem: Saints James Press, 1915), 587; see also Henry Shapiro, "Grigor Daranałts'i: An Ottoman-Armenian Priest in the Age of Confessionalization." Paper presented at *Entangled Confessionalizations*, Budapest, June 1–3, 2018.

123 «Հէմ տախի տէմիշ իսիմ շօլ քիթապտա՝ քի նգովքտան գայրը էօք տուր պիզիմ միլլէթտէ հերձուածողլուք արարողութիւնու տէլի». See W1514, f. 4r.

124 W1514, f. 3r–4r.

especially in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>125</sup> The ideology of Ottoman “puritanism” modeled by Mehmed Birgivi (1523–1573) in his prominent book *The Path of Muhammad*, grew into active social and political movement in the seventeenth century by preacher Kadizade Mehmed b. Mustafa (1582–1635).<sup>126</sup> The clashes between the “puritan” followers of Kadizade Mehmed and various other Muslims, often with affinities for Sufi rituals and beliefs, incited Katib Č’elēpi (1609–1657), a renowned Ottoman scholar, to reproach the Kadizadeli for the “spread of the extremist notions and provoking the people”—labelling the attempts to uproot established innovations in the community as stupidity.<sup>127</sup> Along the lines of the “purification” movement of Ottoman Sunnis that found its expression in refutation of “bad innovations” (*bid’a*), the reshaping of tradition in line with “pure doctrine” and “correct conduct” grew into a common discourse in the Ottoman Christian milieu. As Eugenia Kermeli argues, “the Greek Orthodox scholars committed to the spirit of Renewal (*ανακαίνιση*), and challenged by Reformation and Catholicism, endeavored to redefine orthodox tradition in a sectarian manner, distinct from the Protestants and Catholics.”<sup>128</sup> Redefining of the tradition was not accepted by conservative Orthodox theologians and was labeled as “bad innovation” (*καινοτομία*). Eremia’s exploration of “bad innovation” (*bid’a*) in polemics with Suk’ias acquires great importance as it explicitly reveals deep engagement of Armenians with common processes in the Ottoman Empire.

The term “innovation” was more common for early modern Armenian theological vocabulary. Medieval Armenian authors, especially Eastern theologians, would opt for other words to point to the deviations from “orthodox” doctrine and practice. For instance, the twelfth-century polemicist Połōs Tarōnac’i uses the word *batbanjank’* (“idle talk”) when he criticizes the Latin

125 Madeline C. Zilfi, “The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism in the Seventeenth-Century Istanbul,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45, no. 4 (1986): 251–269. See also Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Post Classical Age* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), 129–182.

126 Imam Birgivi, *The Path of Muhammad: A Book on Islamic Morals & Ethics*, trans. Tosun Bayrak (World Wisdom, Inc., 2005). On the social and political aspects of the movement, see Marinos Sariyannis, “The Kadizadeli movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: the Rise of a Mercantile Ethic?” in *Political Initiatives from the Bottom-Up in the Ottoman Empire (Halcyon Days in Crete VII, A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 9–11 January 2009)*, ed. A. Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press 2012), 263–289.

127 Katib Čelebi, *The Balance of Truth*, trans. G. L. Lewis (London: Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1957), 89–91.

128 Eugenia Kermeli, “Kyrillos Loukaris’ Legacy: Reformation as a catalyst in the 17th century Ottoman Society,” *The Muslim World* 107, no. (2017): 748.

doctrine of *Filioque*.<sup>129</sup> Likewise, Grigor Tat'ewac'i (1346–1409), who lived on the relative verge of early modern era, utilized the word *molorut'iwn* ("error") for *Filioque* and for other "heretical" doctrines.<sup>130</sup> Tat'ewac'i lists not only the "errors" of the Latins and Byzantines, but also of Muslims.<sup>131</sup>

The Armenian word *norajevut'iwn* ("innovation") appears in the *Mistagogy* of the Cilician theologian Nersēs Lambronac'i (1153–1198). He applies it to the rigorist, conservative conduct of Eastern Armenian *vardapets*, branding such rigorism as "neopraxy" ("novelty in practice").<sup>132</sup> The term acquires new connotation in the Ottoman context, where *norajevut'iwn* ("bad innovation") was first explored by the Patriarch of Constantinople Grigor Kesarac'i. In his letter from 1630, addressed to the monks in Ejmiacin, he warns them against the Roman Catholic faith by calling it *norajev banic'n ev nor atandoy*n ("novel words and new heresy") and by considering it the revival of "the same Byzantine duophysit heresy."<sup>133</sup> From the seventeenth century onwards "bad innovation" becomes closely connected with the concept of *bid'a*, denoting not only a schismatic doctrine, but also an incorrect conduct and transgression against canonical practice.

129 Polōs Tarōnac'i, *T'utt' anddem T'ēop'isteay ho'om p'ilisop'ayin* [The Epistle against the Byzantine Philosopher Theopistus] (Constantinople: Č'nč'in Yovhannes Print, 1752), 84–86.

130 Grigor Tat'ewac'i, *Girk' harc'manc'* [Book of Questions] (Constantinople: Astuacatur Kostandnupolsec'i Print, 1729), 61–62. For the Latin "list of errors," see Tia M. Kolbaba, *Inventing Latin Heretics: Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century*, (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008). For a similar list for Byzantines, see Valentina Covaci, "Contested Orthodoxy: Latins and Greeks in Late Medieval Jerusalem," *N.E.C. Ștefan Odobleja Program Yearbook*, 2018–2019, 53–78.

131 For the "errors" of Muslims, see Grigor Tat'ewac'i's *Against Tajiks* in Babken Kyuleserian, *Islamē hay matenagrut'ean mēj* [Islam in Armenian Literature], (Vienna: Mkhitarist Press, 1930); Seta Dadoian, "Islam and Armenian Polemical Strategies at the End of an Era: Matt'ēos Ĵulayec'i and Grigor Tat'ewac'i," *Le Muséon*, 114, no. 3–4 (2001), 305–326.

132 Nersēs Lambronac'i, "I xndroy hayc'manc' eric'akic' elbarc' k'nnut'iwn kargac' ekelec'woy ew bac'atrapēs orošumn artak'ust mteal i sa norajevut'eanc' srboyn Nersēsi Lambronac'woy Tarsoni episkoposi." *Xorhrdacut'iwnk' i kargs ekelec'woy ev meknut'iwn xorhrdoy patarak'in* [Mystagogy on the Rites of the Church and Commentary on the Sacrament of the Divine Liturgy by Saint Nersēs of Lambron Bishop of Tarsus] (Venice: St. Lazzaro, 1847), 21–41.

133 See Arshak Alpoyajian, *Grigor Kesarats'i patirark' ev ir zhamanakē* [Patriarch Gregory of Caesarea and his Time] (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1936), 158.

## 7 Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean's Arguments against Suk'ias Prusac'i

In banning the recitation of the *Nicene Anathema*, Suk'ias Prusac'i might have been affected by the Jesuit propaganda in Bursa, which provoked immediate reaction in Armenian ecclesiastical circles, given that from 1612–1613 onwards, the prelate of Bursa had become an influential center of Anatolia, housing a vast Armenian population.<sup>134</sup> As a catechist, Eremia was perfectly aware that the *Nicene Anathema* was an essential part of practice, even in Armenian Catholic missals. Thus, the abolition of its recital by Suk'ias could pose a real threat to the orthopraxy of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Against Suk'ias's "precarious novelty," Eremia polemicized in forty-one clauses. His polemic was informed by both social and confessional realities of his day, reflecting a view of the secular Armenian community. Eremia imparts first-hand information about the nuances of confessional switches, and the ambiguities and ignorance of confessional matters among his fellow Armenians. His main preoccupation seems to be the reputation of the Armenian Church. Eremia feared that the discontinuation of the recitation of the *Anathema* would call ridicule and outrage upon the Armenians, exposing the Armenian Church tradition on the whole as erroneous.<sup>135</sup> For Eremia, the "pure doctrine" was rooted in the teachings of the Universal Church Fathers and decrees of the first Ecumenical Council that the Armenian Church had uninterruptedly preserved. Everything outside of these theological parameters was considered *norajevut'wn* ("bad innovation"), and was *i č'arēn* ("from evil").<sup>136</sup>

Eremia defined "bad innovation" as not something to be found exceptionally in doctrinal deviations from "true faith." For him, "bad innovation" referred to the disciplinary aspects of communal life. Eremia condemned Eliazar Aynt'apēc'i for the discord in the Armenian Church he brought about by having attempted to establish anti-Catholicosate driven solely by his egoistic ambitions. Above all, Eremia was concerned about the chain-reaction in the diffusion of "innovation": if it infected the community in Bursa, it would soon reach Constantinople, Edirne and other cities. His trepidation was hiding far behind his anticipation of the possible discord in the community. The unpleasant memories of the great turmoil in times of Eliazar Aynt'apēc'i were still fresh, and a new discord would shake the very grounds of ecclesiastical

134 Arshak Alpayajian, "Kpōlsoy patriark'ut'iwnn u Prusayi, Ētirnei ev Rotost'oyi aṛajnordut'iwnnērē" [Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Prelacies of Edirne, Bursa and Rodosto], in *T'ēodik's Amēnun taretsoyts'ē* [The Annuary of Everything], (Constantinople: Vahram ev Hrach'ya Der-Nersesyan, 1909), 209–214.

135 BNF Arm. 334, f. 146v.

136 BNF Arm. 334, f. 145r–v.

life of the Armenians, should Suk'ias's teachings against *Anathema* be diffused. In view of this, Eremia recalled the turmoil in Jerusalem, hence, reproaching Suk'ias for imitating his patron's controversial behavior, and appealing to him to disseminate peace instead of discord.

According to Eremia, Suk'ias's position was even at odds with "pure" Roman Catholics—as they too agreed on the Armenian custom of reciting the *Anathema* to be useful in terms of definition of the "heresy." His arguments were saturated with Catholic sources, in particular, with passages from the treatise of Teatine missionary to Armenia Clemente Galano (d. 1666), whose words Eremia quotes to demonstrate the wide acceptance of the recital of the *Anathema*. In his two-volume bilingual edition about the history and doctrine of the Armenian Church, Galano attempts to prove that the Armenian and Latin Churches were united from Christianity's inception, but afterwards Armenians deviated from "true faith." In his attempt to correct the "errors" that the Armenian Church was accused of in a Medieval anti-Armenian source, Galano singled out the recitation of the *Nicene Anathema* to be a useful tradition to oppose the Arian heresy.<sup>137</sup> Eremia likened the *Nicene Anathema* to one of the most important hymns or *šarakan's* of the period "O, marvelous patriarchs" dedicated to the 318 Fathers of the First Nicene Council. Originally at the end of this hymn the fourth- and fifth-centuries heresiarchs like Arius and Nestorius are anathematized. In the confessional age the Council of Chalcedon, the Tome of Pope Leo I and the Catholic doctrine of *Filioque* were added to the text of anathema, the samples of which are preserved in many printed *Hymnaries* from the period.<sup>138</sup>

137 The Medieval source Clemente quoted is the Epistle of Pseudo-Isahak. This famous anti-Armenian piece attributed to an unknown Armenian chalcedonic author was quoted by a number of Byzantine historiographers and polemits, such as Euthymius Zigabenus (d. 1118), Niketas Choniates (d. 1217), Nikephoros Ksanphopulos (Kallistos) (d. 1340) et. al., while composing chapters against the "Armenian heretics." For the originals, see *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 132, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, (Paris, 1864), 1154-1266. See also, Gérard Gartite, *La Narratio de Rebus Armeniae: Edition Critique et Commentaire*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 132, Subsidia 4 (Louvain: Durbecq, 1967). See also Galano, *Consiliationis*, t. 2, pars 1, 36.

138 The passage reads "Christ's martyr Saint Dioscoros disapproving of the unlawful Council (i.e. Chalcedon) anathematized Leo and his obscene Tome" «Վրկայն Քրիստոսի սուրբըն Դիոսկորոսը ոչ հաւանեալ անօրէն ժողովոյն նըզովեաց ըզլևոն և գտովմարն իւր պիղծ». The Tome of the Pope Leo I to the bishop of Constantinople Flavianus about Eutyches became the basis for dyophysite Christological formula adopted in the Council of Chalcedon, and has been continually rejected by the Armenian Church. See for instance, *Šarakanoc'* [Hymnary] (Amsterdam: Surb Ejmiacin and Surb Zōravar print, 1669–1680), 372–373, *Šarakanoc'* [Hymnary], (Constantinople: Astuacatur

Eremia further argues that the recitation of the *Anathema* “As for those who say” should not be prohibited on the grounds that it was compiled in the fourth century and had lost its relevance. He pointed to the pan-Christian liturgical elements, contemporary with the *Nicene Anathema*, such as the renunciation of devil during the Baptism, the dismissal of catechumens before the Eucharist, and the doxology “Glory in the Highest” established in the first centuries of Christianity’s history.<sup>139</sup> Eremia was practical in his arguments: if those three ancient elements of Divine Office were complied with within the churches of all confessions, then the *Nicene Anathema* had the right to be recited in the Armenian Church, as the ancient unchangeable rule of prayer protected throughout centuries being the marker of confessional identity. According to Eremia, all the Catholicoi, including Suk’ias’s patron Eġiazar Aynt’apec’i, had been reciting the *Anathema*.<sup>140</sup>

Eremia’s polemics against Suk’ias succinctly illustrates the confessional dynamics of the Armenian communities of the late seventeenth century. He describes the populace as ignorant of doctrinal matters, hence, the social disciplining was possible mainly through practice and ritual. At the behest of his son *vardapet* Grigor, Eremia attempted a popularization of certain sermons by rendering them into Armeno-Turkish. Since 1679 he had rendered sermons about Transfiguration, Passion of Christ, the Virgin Mary, Holy Communion, et cetera. These sermons attempted to achieve fuller integration of the commoners into the doctrinal nuances preached from the stages of churches.<sup>141</sup>

According to Eremia, the populace would perceive whatever was preached by priests from the *bemas* of churches as the ultimate truth and could easily be led astray from the orthodox practice. The recitation of the creedal *Anathema* was an irreplaceable means for social disciplining; the commoners were periodically repeating the formula of the orthodoxy and listening to the refutation of the heresy even if they did not exactly understand its meaning. Armenian confession-building went hand in hand not only with Christian confessionalization, but also with Muslim “sunnitization” policies. In Christian milieu priests and pastors became powerful figures in internalization of the “true faith.” Similarly, mosque preachers acquired great authority in Ottoman

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Konstandnupölsec’i Print, 1703), 447; *Šaraknoc’* [Hymnary], (Constantinople: Sargis Dpir Print, 1710–1711), 510.

139 BNF Arm. 334, f. 144r. It seems that the first two ritual components once actually compiled with in all Christian Churches were out of use in Catholic Church during the confessional age, while the doxology “Gloria” was sung only during the Tridentine Solemn Mass.

140 BNF Arm. 334, f. 146r.

141 See W408. Grigor K’ēōmiwrčean is the scribe of the manuscript.

Muslim society as an instrument of the internalization of Sunni doctrine and practice formulated on the pages of *‘ilm-i hāls* (“state of faith”).<sup>142</sup>

Although *‘ilm-i hāls* had been designed to avert both doctrinal and behavioral deviations from the “pure path,” the “heresy” could more likely be detected in practice. Likewise, from Eremia’s point of view, the “heresy” on a demotic level, could occur only in practice: it might be found in the altered order of hymns, or in the altered position of hands (with arms spread or raised), in the way doxology was chanted (concordant or voice by voice), in covered or uncovered head.<sup>143</sup> Practice was a touchstone for conversion; the severity of the Lent and the length of the Liturgy in the Armenian Church could steer the faithful toward more tolerable Roman Catholic rites. Eremia complains that in the minds of commoners the orthodoxy was measured per wealth and authority of a respective church. Thus, the Roman Catholic Church seemed more orthodox to wealthy Armenians: “Does not credibility of Easter belong to them, who possess so many kingdoms and wisdom?”<sup>144</sup> With all his innate aptitude to peaceful cohabitation Eremia’s approach was explicitly confessionalized: equalization to the “confessional others” through the facilitation of the rites was an unacceptable course for the Apostolic Church. The dividing line with other Christian confessions had to be drawn through the upholding of odd elements in traditions, such as *Nicene Anathema*.

It is unclear whether Eremia’s arguments affected Suk’ias’s further course of action. The absence of sources does not allow us to trace their future contact. All we know is that Eremia passed away shortly after composing his polemical piece, while a decade later Suk’ias sheltered Eremia’s martyr-to-be brother Komitas K’ēōmiwrčean—a persecuted convert to Catholicism.

## 8 In Lieu of a Conclusion

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marked the summit of the confessional age for the Armenians in the Ottoman and Safavid realms while Europe was long integrated into the process of confession-building stimulated by the emergence of Reformation and, consequently, counter-Reformation. Toward the end of the seventeenth century in the face of the rising influence of Tridentine Catholicism on the one hand and Protestantism on the other, the Armenian communities in Ottoman territories underwent confessional

142 See Terzioğlu, “Where *‘Ilm-i hāls* Meet Catechisms,” 79–114.

143 BNF Arm. 334, f. 146v.

144 BNF Arm. 334, f. 147r.

indoctrination. The time, when the mutually accepted practice of “good correspondence” shaped the relations between the Armenians and Catholics had ended. Now, the relationship within and between confessions was driven by the need to delineate the doctrinal borders of a respective Church. In the early 1600s, when Discalced Carmelites, Capuchins, Dominican Friars and Augustinian missionaries from Goa were preaching among Armenians of Safavid Persia, the cases of *communicatio in sacris* were allowed for both sides as the evidences of irenic acts and the articulation of Christians’ unity in God. Decades later, however, with the intensification of Jesuit propaganda resulting in growing conversion of the Armenians to Catholicism, the incidents involving *communicatio in sacris* with the converts incited outrageous intra-communal debates in Constantinople. To address the issue, the Armenian Church authorities had to make attempts to redefine the boundaries of the Armenian orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

The political and territorial constraints became decisive factors in tackling the issue: having the spiritual center and head of the church—the Catholicos of All Armenians—in the territory of rival Safavid Persia, in Ejmiacin, the prelates in Ottoman lands found themselves in a complicated situation when it came to the elaboration of new ecclesiastic policy. Though autonomous under the rule of Sultans, they formally depended on Ejmiacin’s decisions not only in doctrinal matters, but also in Armenian Church politics, specifically with European countries and Roman Curia. The Catholicos had to continuously dispatch their legates to the Ottoman Empire where their presence and demeanor had become the cause of constant discontent of Constantinople’s social elite. The plan to establish an anti-Catholicosate or, more precisely, a new Catholicosate for the Western prelates of the Armenian Church carried out by Eliazar Aynt’apēc’i, was fueled with the desire to gain independence from Ejmiacin in decision-making and in acting accordingly with the Ottoman Empire’s religious politics for its Christian subjects. On the other hand, it would jeopardize the integrity of the Armenian Apostolic Church and might lead to confessional assimilation, should Western prelates happen to actually acknowledge the primacy of Rome. Therefore, when Eliazar Aynt’apēc’i was elected the Catholicos of All Armenians in Ejmiacin, he still made attempts to keep a close watch on the doctrinal and behavioral deviations in the Constantinople community with the assistance of such go-betweens as Eremia and Suk’ias.

In fact, Eremia was the one reacting to the growing influence of Catholicism on the Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire. With his late polemical pieces, he signaled the strong need in taking more explicit measures toward

the redefinition of doctrinal boundaries of the Armenian Church and the enforcement of reshaped confessional norms. In contrast to the successful catechization of the Catholic and Protestant population in Europe and elsewhere, the Armenian Apostolic believers never became accustomed to catechisms, because of the absence of mechanisms for making them incumbent, and simply because of the insufficiency of the catechisms *per se*. The various “books of questions,” produced in this period in both classical and colloquial languages, contained random questions and answers on variety of doctrinal, spiritual and moral topics, and could hardly be considered well-structured catechisms.<sup>145</sup> Despite the strong tendency towards the appropriation of the new patterns of catechetical literature of the period, it would be a gross exaggeration to say that Armenians underwent intensified catechization in the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire. The main channel for conveying the knowledge on “true faith” to the Apostolic flock remained sermons and rituals—where the Divine Liturgy, attended by the faithful every Sunday, occupied central place. Any actions at odds with ritual conformity, particularly the deviations from the canon of Divine Liturgy, were to be branded as “schismatic.”

In the course of history, the non-Chalcedonic Armenian Church found itself in constant debates on orthodoxy with Chalcedonic Churches, propelling it to distinguish what it *believed in* from what it *did not believe in*.<sup>146</sup> This in turn resulted in employment of both doctrinal affirmations and denunciations, that shaped the “true faith” of the Armenian Church, while their preservation grew into the integral part of the confession-building. The refashioning of the confessions could not be carried out through obliteration of the old elements of practice as a means of aligning with the confessional fashion of the period. Not only Eremia K'ēōmiwrčēan, but also posterior apologists of the Armenian ecclesiastical tradition, saw the reshaping of the Apostolic faith from an “apocatastatic” perspective—that is to say from the point of view of the restoration to the original, early Christian doctrine, and the preservation of the Armenian Church practice in the very condition, which was inherited into the confessional age.

145 The catechetical material of the period is hitherto unexamined. I am working on the catechization paradigms that might have been applied to the Armenian communities in both Ottoman and Safavid Empires, but the outcome is still forthcoming.

146 For the role of anathema and renunciation in the creedal and baptismal formulas, see Pelikan, *Credo*, 189–195.

## Appendix

### Manuscripts used:

Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean's polemical writing against Suk'ias Prusac'i survived in two manuscript copies—BNF Arm. 334 and W779. The scribe of W779 made calculations on the margins of his copy to detect the exact date of the writing. In his seminal book on Eremia K'ēōmiwrčean's biography Nersēs Akinian assumed it to be written in 1692.<sup>147</sup>

BNF Arm. 334, ff. 142r–148v

Collection. Date: 1697–1760. Place: Constantinople, church and college of Balat (ff. 113 and 148v); copyists: Komitas K'ēōmiwrčean (ff. 1–49) and anonymous scribes (1773, 1793, 1817); material: European paper; size: 16x20.5 cm; lines: 21/27; folios: 184; script: notrgir.<sup>148</sup>

W779, ff. 1r–4v<sup>149</sup>

Collection. Date: 19th century. Place: unknown; copyist: unknown; material: paper; size: 27x20cm; lines: 33; folios: 335; script: notrgir.<sup>150</sup>

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|142ա| Պատասխանի Աստուծով և վասն Աստուծոյ,<sup>151</sup> որ արգիլեաց<sup>152</sup> «զիսկ որք ասենն», զոր ասացեալ են ի վերջն Հաւատամքին: Ի նուաստ յԵրեմիայէ:

Նախ՝ միթէ եզիտ նա ի զիրս պատմութեանց, եթէ այրն այն, որ ասացեալ է «իսկ որք ասենն», խոտան իցէ՝ լեալ չարագործութեամբ, որ վասն այնորիկ արգիլէ զասացեալն նորա: Այլ ես ասեմ՝ ահա բանքն Սողոմոնի ընթեռնանի յեկեղեցիս, և թուեալ ի շարս աստուածաշունչ Գրոց Սրբոց:

147 Nersēs Akinian, *Eremia Č'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrčean: keank'n u matenagrakan gortsunēut'ownē* [Eremia Ch'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrčean: the Life and Literary Activity], (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1933), 127.

148 For detailed description, see *Manuscripts arméniens de la Bibliothèque nationale de France: Catalogue*, 943–947.

149 I am thankful to Fathers Poghos Kodjanian and Simon Bayan of Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna for their kind support in receiving the digital copy of this manuscript.

150 For detailed description, see *Ts'uts'ak hayerēn dzeragrats' matenadranin Mkhitarants' i Vienna* [Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts in Mekhitarist Library in Vienna], ed. Hamazasp Oskian, vol. 2, (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1963), 329–330.

151 A = BnF 334, ff. 142r–148v; B = W 779, ff. 1r–4v.

152 B արգիլեաց

Երկրորդ՝ թե՛ ով որ իցէ սահմանօղն աղօթից ժամակարգութեանց, զսա ևս նոքա են սահմանեալ: Արդ՝ եթէ չհաւանի աղօթից նոցա, հարկի արգիլել զամենայն ասացեալսն նոցա և ինքն նոր նոր աղօթքներ սահմանել:

Երրորդ՝ եթէ ընդունի զասացեալ աղօթս նոցա, որք Հոգւով<sup>153</sup> Սրբով ասացին, արդ պարտ է և «գիսկ որք ասենն» ևս ընդունիլ:

Չորրորդ՝ եթէ իւրեան տէրտէրն փէյտա\*<sup>154</sup> արար զայս, պարտի և ինքն ևս ընդունիլ, իսկ եթէ ոչ ընդունիցի, ահա յայտնի եղև հակառակ իւր տէրտէրին և ուսուցչին և ծնողին:

Ե.Երրորդ<sup>155</sup> Յակօբ և Փիլիպպոս և Մովսէս կաթողիկոսունք, թողումք զհին վարդապետսն, որք ընկալեալ ի ժամանակս իւրեանց ասէին զայս: Եւ արդ սա մեծ է քան զնոսա իմաստութեամբ և գիտութեամբ, որ արգիլէ. զպատճառն ոչ գիտեմք:

[142բ] Ձ.Երրորդ՝ մեծամեծ վարդապետք քարոզութեամբ և մեկնութեամբ և ասացուածօք և ձառիւք փայլեցան, որպէս Մայրագումեցին<sup>156</sup> և Մանդակունին, և յօճաղն\* Մագիստրոսի՝ Վկայասէրն և Գրիգորիսն և Շնորհալին և Լամբրօնացին: Այլ յառաջ Նարեկացին, զորոյ աղօթսն պաշտեմք, և Մեսրօպն փիր\* վարդապետութեան: Սոքա և նմանքն, որք մեկնիչք և թարգմանիչք էին, և առաջի իշխանաց և թագաւորաց պատասխանատուք էին, և ընկալեալ են զայս: Արդ՝ սորա արգիլելոյ զպատճառն<sup>157</sup> ոչ գիտեմ որպէս զձեզ:

Է.Երրորդ՝ միթէ՞ սինհոդոսի եղև խափանումն դորին, զի դա համարձակեցաւ յայտնել զայն ի մէջ քաղաքիս: Մեք զայն սինհոդոսն ոչ լուաք: Եւ զպատճառն ոչ ցուցանէ ժողովրդեանն, թէ՛ վասն այսմ պատճառի արժան չէ ասել «Իսկ որք ասենն»:

Ը.Երրորդ՝ և զի հինգ հարիւր սևազուլիք կան ի մէջ ազգիս, ով որ իցէ, որ համակամեցաւ դորա բանիւք, կամ թէ թղթերք<sup>158</sup> գրեցին դորա ի խափանել. զայն ցուցցէ մեզ:

Թ.Երրորդ՝ և զի մինչև ցայսօր ինքն ասէր՝ ուսեալ և լուեալ այնպէս, արդ այժմիկ ով ազդեաց դմա՝ մի՛ ասել: Միթէ՞ ի տեսլեան հրեշտակ ամենակալի<sup>159</sup> ազդ արար, կամ յօդս յափշտակեցաւ և լուաւ զհրեշտակաց բարբառ<sup>160</sup>, կամ թէ ուսոյց պատգամաւոր նոր փէղամպար\*<sup>161</sup>:

153 A հոգով

154 For words marked with asterisks, see *Glossary*.

155 B հինգերրորդ

156 B մայրագումեցին

157 B պատճառն

158 B թղթեր

159 B ամենակալի

160 B բարբառ

161 B փէղամպար

[143ա] Ժ.Երրորդ՝ յԷջմիածին և յԵրուսաղէմ և յամենայն վանորայս մինչև ցայժմ պաշտի, և ոչ որ մտաբերեաց զայս ի խափանել: Ապա ուրեմն յայտ է, թէ մասն է հպարտութեան նորաձևութիւն, այսինքն՝ քան զամենայնսն գիտուն և իմաստուն համարեցաւ զինքն յաչս իւր:

ԺԱ.Երրորդ՝ եթէ որ, որք ընթեռնուլ կամիցին, ամենեքեան գրովք մակացութեան իմաստնանան: Եթէ պարծիլ կամիցի դա յաչս ռամկաց, թէ շատ է կարդացեր քան զամենեսեան, բայց սակայն նախ հաստատել պարտի զմիտս ամենայն ժողովրդեանն<sup>162</sup> վկայիւք գրոց և ապա վստահացի խափանել ինչ ի ժամակարգութեանց, զի այս հասարակաց բան է և եկեղեցական:

ԺԲ.Երրորդ՝ եթէ կաթողիկոս որ խափանել կամիցէր զայս, կարօղ էին ասել ազգ հայոց առ նա՝ բեր ցոյց զգիրքն զայն, զոր ընթերցար դու, թէ խոտան և անպատճաշ է ասել զայս յեկեղեցիս, և զպատճառն ծանո՞մեզ: Իսկ դա զիրովին որպէս համարձակի:

ԺԳ.Երրորդ՝ բացարձակ պատասխան այս է՝ որ վասն Արիոսի և նմանեաց նորին մոլութեանց ասացեալ են զայս: Վասն որոյ և մինչև ցայսօր սուրբ եկեղեցին նզովէ զայնպիսիսն: Իսկ եթէ որ չընդունի, թէ՛ թո՞ղ չասուի «իսկ<sup>163</sup> որք ասենն», նա յինչ կու դառնայ:

ԺԴ.Երրորդ՝ զՀաւատամքն զոր ասացին ՅԺԸ սուրբ հարքն հանգամանք էր կարճառօտ զխաւորեալ [143բ] զսահման հաւատոյն: Եւ ի վերջն եղին և զայս կնիք ի մերայնոց, թէ՛ իսկ որք ասեն այսպէս և այնպէս, ոչ ընդունի եկեղեցի զայնպիսիսն, այլ խոտան է և արտաքս անկեալ ի մօրէ՝ սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ, ոչ թէ խորթ որդի, այլ օտար: Թէպէտ ծնունդ ասէ զինքն սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ, այլ հերձուածօղ և հակառակ է սուրբ աւետարանին, զի էակից չասէ ընդ Հօր զՈրդի, և զՀոգի, զի համագոյ չասէ զՀոգի և զՈրդի ընդ Հօր, քանզի ինքն Տէր մեր Բանն Աստուած երևեալ մարմնովն առեցելով զինքն և զՀոգին սուրբ համահաւասար էակից, գոյակից ասաց, ի Հօրէ բնութենէ և յեղութենէ ասաց զինքն, այսինքն՝ գնացէք մկրտեցէք զհեթանոսս յանուն Հօր և Որդւոյ և Հոգւոյն սրբոյ (հմմտ. Մատթ. ԻԸ 19): Ահա յայտ է, թէ այլայլելի և փոփոխելի մարդիք թէ գտանին՝ որք ասեն «էր երբեմն այսպէս և այնպէս», չարափառք են, ամբարիշտք են, արիոսեանք են, վասն որոյ և նզովին ի սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ մարմնով և հոգւով, որպէս հողմ, որ զփռչի հոսէ ի վերայ երեսաց երկրի:

ԺԵ.Երրորդ՝ եթէ պատճառեսցէ ասելով, թէ՛ այժմ արիոսեան ոչ գոյ, այլ ի նոյն ժամանակին, որ վասն Արիոսի և համախոհիցն ասացեալ են, վասն որոյ պարտ չէ ասել: Այլ ես ասեմ, թէ իրաւ է բանդ, որ մեր հարքն կնքեցին և փակեցին, որպէս Հաւատամքն յանձնառակա[144ա]նաւ կատարել ասացուածօք դաւանութեան կատարել ի նոյնն: Վասն որոյ և ի վերայ երկուցն յանձնառականին և հրաժարականին գեղեցիկ իմն եղ կնիք սուրբ Լուսաւորիչն մեր, թէ՛ «և մեք իսկ

<sup>162</sup> Բ ժողովրդեան

<sup>163</sup> Բ իրկ [ իսկ

փառաւորեցոյք, որ յառաջն է քան զյաւիտեանս՝ երկիր պագանելով Տօր և Որդւոյ և Հոգւոյն Սրբոյ յաւիտեանս», ևն:

ԺԶ.երրորդ՝ եթէ բառնալ պարտ է հրաժարական պատւիրանացն, որ վասն զգուշութեան եղեալ են, հարկ է արդ և բառնալ «զհրաժարիմքն ի սատանայէ»: Բարձրէ «զմի որ յերեխայիցն» և զնմանս սոցին, բարձրէ զյաճախագոյն «փառք ի բարձունսն», քանզի ի նոյն ժամանակն ասացին, բարձրէ զաւետարանն, զի վասն անհաւատից գրեցան, բարձրէ զմարգարէականսն, որ վասն Քրիստոսի գրեցան և կատարեցան: Որպէս լաւ արարեալ են ֆռանկք իւրենաց ժողովրդեանն՝ ոչ առակք, ոչ մարգարէականք, ոչ Պօղոս, ոչ աւետարան և ոչ Հաւատամք, այլ միայն աղօթք ինչ համառօտեն ի սուրբ Պատարագին, զի փութով արձակիցին: ԺԷ.երրորդ՝ զխստագոյնն ցուցանեմ՝ «Ով հրաշալի» ինչ է, որ կու երգեն, ա՛յ մարդիկ, «իսկ որք ասենին» սուղն ինչ է:

ԺԸ.երրորդ՝ եթէ պատճառեցէ, թէ՛ ֆռանկն և հռոմն չունին, որ ի մէջ ամենայն ազգաց քրիստոնեայք են մեծամեծ և առաջին հաւատացեալ քրիստոնեայք են նոքա: Բարւո՛ք է, ահա վերնագոյն ասացի, թէ զոր նոքա չունին և դու ու|144թ|նիս, բարձ ի վեր զունեցեալն քո, որ չունետրացն հետ հաւասար լինիցիս:

ԺԹ.երրորդ՝ յայլ տեղի զնոսա հերձուածօղ և յայսմ տեղի զնոսա վկայ բերէ. այս այլ չեղև:

Ի.երրորդ՝ ես քեզ բերեմ հռոմ և ֆռանկ, զի ասիցեն, թէ՛ լաւ բան է «իսկ որք ասենն», քանզի հաստատէ զբան Հաւատամքին, և բնաւին բառնայ զկարծիս արիոսեան՝ հրաժարելով և նզովելով զայնպիսիսն:

ԻԱ.երրորդ՝ ասեմ ձեզ զպատճառն. զայդպիսի նորաձևութիւն<sup>164</sup> արարողութեան առնօղ մարդոյն կամքն այն է, թէ՛ փորձեմ տեսնեմ զժողովուրդն, թէ նոր բանի մի հնազանդին և ընդունին նա, վաղիւն այլ ևս ուրիշ բան չինեն և խաղամ: Յայտ է, թէ վասն փառամոլութեան իւրոյ խորամանկի և վրդովեցուցանէ, խոտորեցուցանէ, խռովեցուցանէ, պատճառ աւերման և զայթակողութեան. թահգիզ\* թահգիզ, էլպէթ\* էլպէթ:

ԻԲ.երրորդ՝ զի թէ զՊուրսայ տառապեցոյց պէսպէս իրօք, ապա թէ Իստամպօլ<sup>165</sup> չհնազանդի նա. ահա եղև այլայլութիւն: Թէ զՊալատ հնազանդեցոյց և զէտրէնէ ոչ կարիցէ. ահա եղև վրդովում: Թէ զԻսկիտար զապտեց և զԹօխաթ կարիցէ ոչ. ահա եղև պղտորում: Ապա թէ կարիցէ երկոտասան առաքեալս և ՀԲ աշակերտս ստանալ և առաքել զ|145ա|նոսա ընդ որ հայք սփռեալ և տարածեալ են, զի քարոզեցեն նոքա զոր ինչ կամիցի դա՛ դնել նորս և բառնալ զհինսն յեկեղեցւոյ, ապա հարկի, որ արուեստիւք հրաշից և սքանչելեաց զօրութեամբ լինի, եթէ ոչ՝ ալվի խարապ,\* ալվի\* վրդովում. ախ՛ըր խռովութիւն:

ԻԳ.երրորդ՝ վասն յերուսաղէմ կաթողիկոս նստելոյ այսքան զայթակողութիւն եղև ի մէջ ազգիս, որ բազում ընչաւետք չքացան, ոմանք ի բանտի մեռան,

<sup>164</sup> Բնորաձևութեան

<sup>165</sup> Բիստամպօլ [Իստամպօլ]

փախուստ, գան և տուգան, թէրսանէ\* և բանտ, թլֆանք\*<sup>166</sup> և կորուստ մալին Երուսաղէմի, և փախուստ միաբանիցն էջմիածնի, և փակելոյ դրան տաճարին, և խայտառակութիւն ի մէջ ամենայն ազգաց: Եւ այս ամենայն եղև վասն փառամոլութեան նորաձևութեան: Արդ՝ յայտ է, թէ հարազատն իցէ զաւակ այնմ գայթակղեցուցչի. ասեմ և ոչ ամաչեմ:

ԻՒ.Երրորդ՝ եթէ ըռզըն\* Բրիստոսի սիանէթ\* անէ, զի ժողովուրդն մի լսիցէ զհաշմունս հերձուածողաց, այլ պատասխան տամ այսմ, թէ այսքան ժամանակ ասէին զայդ և ոչ որ յազգէս վասն յայդմ իրի թորքացան, այլ ի զարշոյթեան ոմանց գայթակղեալ՝ ի հաւատոց ելին: Անմտութիւն է այս առ լսողս<sup>167</sup> և խորամանկութիւն յիր<sup>168</sup> բարս:

ԻԵ.Երրորդ՝ վասն «իսկ որք ասենին» ոչ որ երկբայեցաւ մինչև ցայսօր, այլ զՀաւատամք ասողսն<sup>169</sup> ևս առաւել հաստատեն, զի նզովեն գայլայլելիսն և զփոփոխելիսն, բայց վասն գործոց զարշոյթեան երկբային, խոտորին և ա|145բ|նունն Աստուծոյ հայիոյի ի մէջ ազգաց:

ԻԶ.Երրորդ՝ բարութ է, թէ՛ նոյն խորհրդով իցէր զըռզն\* Բրիստոսի պահել, ապա ի դատաստանէ իւրմէ դատապարտեալ է նա, քանզի լսեմ, թէ ի մէջ քարոզին անձն և անձն յիշելով, բնութիւն և բնութիւն յեղեղելով, և թէ Նեստոր այսպէս բարբառեցեաց վասն Բրիստոսի, Արիոս այսպէս բաջաղեց վասն Բրիստոսի, ֆիլան\* քեօփէկ\* այսպէս կարծեց վասն Բրիստոսի և հաչեց: Որ այսպիսի չար համբաւքս, որ ի չարեացն յամբարտաւան ախտիցն յառաջ եկին. ժողովուրդքն ամենեւին խապար\* չունին, և գայթակղութիւն է պարզամտաց: Ապա ուրեմն չգիտէ պահել զըռզն\* Բրիստոսի ըստ ինքեան անիմաստն այն, այլ վասն «իսկ որք ասենին», որ եղև վրէժխնդիր՝ բառնալ, վասն Բրիստոսի ըռզին\* պահելոյ չէ, այլ արհեստ իմաստութեան կամի ցուցանել ժողովրդեան, և ոչ գիտէ, թէ ոչ ծածկէ իմաստութիւն զյայտնի թիրեալն և զմոլեալն յախտ սովորութեան:

ԻԷ.Երրորդ՝ եթէ բան մի և իր մի, որ խաղաղութեամբ չլինի կատարածն, ահա կատարի բանն Բրիստոսի, թէ՛ աւելին ի չարէն է (Մատթ. Ե 37), քանզի ոչ ի շինութիւն ժողովրդեանն<sup>170</sup> եղև, այլ ի վրդովումն: Եւ խորհեցաւ խորհուրդ, զոր ոչ կարաց հաստատել, և սկսաւ շինել և ոչ կարաց կատարել, և եղև ծաղր տեսողաց, և գտաւ տեղի բամբասանաց ի մէջ պառաւանց. այս ինչպէս իմաս|146ա|տութիւն, քան թէ անմտութիւն յոյժ յոյժ:

ԻԸ.Երրորդ՝ անմտութիւն է առն, որ զամենեսեան անմիտ կարծէ, և միայն զինքն գիտուն: Եւ ոչ մտածեաց զայս, որ այսօր ինքն խափանեաց և եթող գնաց, և վաղիւն ես զամ յեկեղեցի, բարձր ձայնիւ ասեմ «Իսկ որք ասենն»:

166 B + (այսինքն՝ թելիֆութիւն)

167 B լսողս

168 A նախ՝ իւր, ապա սրբգ.՝ յիւր

169 B ասողսն

170 B ժողովրդեան

ԻԹ.երրորդ՝ զեղիագարն գովէ ի մէջ քարոզին և հեկեկելով լայ զաղալն\* թիթալ\*՝ թէրևս լացուցանել կարիցէ զպարզամիտ տխմարս, զի այն լինիցի մխիթարութիւն անյազ սրտի իւրոյ, այսինքն՝ եթէ տակաւին խաբին ժողովուրդը յարհեստ խորամանկութեան իւրոյ: Նա՝ Եղիագար մինչ յօրն ի մահուն ասէր «զիսկ որք ասենն»: Ապա ուրեմն այնու հակառակ եղև իւրոյ գովաբանութեանն, զի իմաստունն գովաբանէ զանմիտն և զանիմաստն:

Լ.երրորդ՝ եթէ իրաւ և արժան իցէ գովաբանութեանն, որ վասն Եղիագարու. ահա այնու ախմախ\* ինքն գտաւ, զի հակառակեցաւ իմաստնոյն. և զիւր գովաբանութիւնն ստեաց, զի խոտորնակ եղև նմա, քանզի նա ասէր «զիսկ որք ասենն»:

ԼԱ.երրորդ՝ ի մանկութեան մերում լսէաք յերկու ճրագալոյցսն ի սուրբ Պատարագսն, առաջի մեծամեծ վարդապետաց հանդիպողաց «զիսկ որք ասենն» ձայնի նուագէին:

[146բ] ԼԲ.երրորդ՝ ծաղեր և նախատանաց պատճառ գտաւ, զի ասել կարիցեն այլ ազգ քրիստոնեայք, թէ հայք յայսմ ամի իմանալով զանգիտութիւն մոլորութեան իւրեանց ի ձեռն Սիւքիաս ումեմն հռետորի և աստուածաբանութեան վարդապետի բարձին ի Տաւատամբէն «զիսկ որք ասենն», զոր ասէին մինչև ցայսօր ժամանակի: Կարեն ասել այժմիկ այլ ազգ քրիստոնեայք, թէ ուրեմն հաւաստի հաստատի ի մէջ հայոց գոլ շատ մոլորութիւնք, զորս ինքեանք ծածկեն, և ոմանք անգիտաբար հետևին, որպէս այժմիկ ահա ծանեաւ Սուրբիանս ամէնիմաստ<sup>171</sup> և եբարձ «զիսկ որք ասենն»:

ԼԳ.երրորդ՝ ասելի է, թէ այդպիսիքդ այլայլելի կամօք և փոփոխելի խորհրդովք են, զի որ մերձ է ի չարիս, նա արագ է ի կարծիս, այսինքն՝ զնգովքն զայն լսելով՝ երկնչին հանգչիլ ի վերայ ինքեանց, վասն որոյ խափանել կամիցին զայն:

ԼԴ.երրորդ՝ այլայլելին այն է, որ զոմանս շարականս փոխել կամ վեր բառնալ, կամ յայլ տեղի դնել: Այլայլելին այն է՝ զփոխս և զքարոզս փոխել յետ և յառաջ, այլայլելին այն է՝ ի պատարագին՝ այս պիտի և այն չպիտի<sup>172</sup> ասել, կամ ձեռնամաժ, կամ բազկատարած, կամ «Փառք ի բարձունս»՝ համաձայն կամ դաս առ դաս, կամ ծածուկ գլխով կամ գլխի բաց:<sup>173</sup> Այսպիսիքն ամենայն այլայլութիւնք են և պղտոլ<sup>147</sup>ալումն: Վասն որոյ ի մոլորութիւն նորաձևութիւն ախտին հպարտութեան զնգովսն արգիլէ, զի մի՛ հանգչիցի ի վերայ ինքեան:

Այլայլելին այն է, որ ի մերումս ժամանակի ոմանք ասեն՝ այս ինչ ծանր է հայոց պահք, և ձկտին ի հոռոմս, թէ՛ միթէ նոքա քրիստոնեայ չեն:

Այլայլելին այն է, թէ՛ այս ինչ շատ ժամակարգութիւն է հայոց չորս հինգ սահաթ,\* և ձգին ի ֆռանկս՝ միթէ նոքա քրիստոնեայ չեն:

171 Բ ամենիմաստ

172 Բ չիպիտի

173 Բ գլխիբաց [ գլխի բաց

Այլալուծություն է, թե՛ մարտի քսանևհինգ և ի Ծաղկազարդն հոռոմն ձուկն ուտե՛ միթե՛ նոքա քրիստոնեայ չեն:

Փոփոխին ի ֆռանկս ասելով՝ միթե՛ ստուգություն Ձատկին նոցա չէ, որ այսքան թագաւորութիւն և իմաստութիւն ունին: Ահա տունկ փոփոխական արմատ ո՛չ առնու, և ո՛չ գտաւ միտն հաստատուն այնորիկ, զի ի հայոց ելնու, ի հոռոմն չմնայ և ի ֆռանկս ո՛չ պատուաստի: Եւ իջաւ հիմն ի վերայ աւագի անվաւեր և կործանումն է նորա (հմմտ. Դուկ. Զ 49):

Արդ՝ պարտ էր զայսոսիկ և զայսպիսիս հաստատել ի միաբանութիւն, հարկ էր զայսպիսեացն թերամտութեան զամբոխումն խաղաղացուցանել, պատշաճ էր ստուգել զբան երանելի թարգմանչաց և մեկնչաց նախնեաց մերոց:

ԼԵ.երրորդ՝ եթէ ասիցէ որ, թե՛ Եղիազար ուրիշ մ[147բ]տօք ասէր կեղծաւորաբար ի լսելիս ժողովրդեանն և ի ժամ մահուն կտակ է արարեալ սորա՝ չասել «իսկ որք ասենն»: Տամբ պատասխան թե՛ սա յԷջմիածին չէր ի ժամ մահուանն Եղիազարու: Իսկ թէ ասիցէ որ՝ Եղիազար թուղթ գրեաց սորա ի ժամ մահուն վասն այսմ, զայն ո՛չ գիտեմք: Յուցանել պարտի՛ գթութիւն զայն:

ԼԶ.երրորդ՝ Նորագոյն բան հանելով էարկ կարծիս ի միտս ռամկաց, ձգեաց ի լեզուս պարզամտաց, թե՛ միթե՛ խոտան բան է լեալ «իսկ որք ասենն», զոր ասէին անգիտաբար ազգս մեր:

ԼԷ.երրորդ, թե՛ անիմաստք էին նախնիքն այնոքիկ, որք զդա գրեցին յաւանդ մեզ, և նա զանիմաստիցն գիրս ընթերցար, և յանիմաստէս նա յարհեստ նոցա արհեստիւքն իւրեանց:

ԼԸ.երրորդ, թե՛ իմաստունք են նոքա և արժանաւոր յիշատակելոյ ի Պատարագն, զտօն նոցա առնելոյ, զճառնն ընթեռնելոյ, զնոսա բարեխօս կարողալոյ: Սա, ասեմ, անարժան է զանուանս նոցա ի բերան առնելոյ<sup>174</sup>, զի զուխտադրութիւն նոցա քամահէ, զյիշատակսն աղարտէ, զբանսն արհամարհէ, զշինեալսն քակէ, զարձանսն կործանէ, և զգրեալսն եղծանէ, այսինքն՝ ցանկապատառութիւն, որ տրտնջանաց և երկպառակութեան լինի պատճառ, և հայի կատարածն ի խռովութիւն. յաւելին<sup>175</sup> ի չա[148ա]րէն է (Մատ. Ե 37), խռովարարն սատանայ է: ԼԹ.երրորդ, Մեկնութիւն է, այսինքն՝ եզրակացութիւն Տաւաթամբին և վկայ հաստատուն որովհետև Տայր և Որդի և Սուրբ Տոգին էակից և համագոյակից դաւանեցաւ Դառնայ անդրադարձ բանն և վկայէ հաստատութեամբ, թե՛ իսկ որք գտանին բաց ի սմանէ ասօղք այսպէս և այնպէս, արտաքսեալ է, հեռացեալ է, որոշեալ է, նզովեալ է ի սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ:

Խ.երրորդ, Կլէմէսն որ այսքան չարախոսեալ է զմեզ, զովաբանութիւն իմն վասն ուղղափառաց մերոց ասէ ի գիրքն իւր յայսպէս՝ «և զկնի հաւատամբին դաւանին ընդդէմ Արիոսի գէութիւն Աստուծոյ Բանին անփոփոխելի և անայլալելի՝ երգելով զնիկիական վերաբերութիւնն, որ ասէ «իսկ որք ասենն», ևն:

<sup>174</sup> Բառնոյ

<sup>175</sup> Բաւելին

ԽԱՆՐՈՐՈՂ, Զայս բան գիրք սուրբ հաստատեն, որպէս Մովսէս յՕրէնսն Աստուծոյ օրհնութիւն և անէծս գրեաց, և որպէս Յովհաննէս Մկրտիչ ասէ՝ որ հաւատայ յՈրդի, ընդունի զկեանս յաւիտենականս, և որ ոչն հնազանդի Որդւոյ, ոչ տեսցէ զկեանս, այլ բարկութիւն Աստուծոյ մնայ ի վերայ նորա (Յովհ. Գ 36): Եւ որպէս Տէրն հրամայէ՝ որոց բարիս գործեալ իցէ ի յարութիւն կենաց, և որոց զչար արարեալ ի յարութիւն դատաստանից (Յովհ. Ե 29): Եւ դարձեալ հրամայէ՝ ասացի ձեզ, թէ ի մեղս ձեր մեռանիցիք, զի թէ ոչ հաւատայցէք, թէ ես եմ՝ մեռանիցիք ի մեղս ձեր (Յովհ. Ը 24): Եւ [148բ] դարձեալ հրամայէ՝ ի դատաստան եկի յաշխարհս այս, զի որք ոչն տեսանեն՝ տեսցեն, և որք տեսանեն՝ կուրասցին (Յովհ. Թ 39): Եւ դարձեալ թէ՝ եկայք օրհնեալք հօր իմոյ (Մատթ. ԻԵ 34), և թէ՝ երթայք անիծեալք ի հուրն յաւիտենական (Մատթ. ԻԵ 41), և այլ բազում զոյ Գրոց Սրբոց աշակերտաց և ճշմարտասիրաց:

Այս բաւական լսողաց, թէ մին մին լաւ տեղեկացեալ մտադրութեամբ ընթերձցին<sup>176</sup> և լուիցեն և զգուշացին յայնպիսեաց:

Գրեցաւ օրինակմամբ յամի տեառն 1793, և ի ՌՄԽԲ (=1242) թուին հայոց, մարտի Բ, և ի ԿՎԵ-սէ Շապան ամսոյ մէկին, ի մանկատան սրբոյն Յակոբոյ Մծբնայ հայրապետի, ի Պալատ:

• • •

[The] response with God's help and concerning God [to the person] who disallowed [the recital of the anathema] "As for those who say"<sup>177</sup> that is recited at the end of the *Creed*. [Narrated] by unworthy Eremia [K'ēōmiwrčean].

First, is it that he [i.e. Suk'ias Prusac'i] found in historical books, that the man, who established "As for those who say" is a useless person full of villainy, and because of that he [Suk'ias] disallows his words? But I say, behold the words of Solomon recited in churches and accepted among the Holy Scriptures.<sup>178</sup>

Second, those who established the prayers of [Liturgy of] Hours<sup>179</sup> also established this [Anathema]. Thus, if he [Suk'ias] does not approve of their prayers, he is obliged to forbid all their sayings, and constitute new prayers of his own.

Third, if he accepts the prayers articulated by them through the Holy Spirit, hence, he is obliged to accept "As for those who say" as well.

176 Ա նախ.՝ ընթերձցին, ապա սրբ.՝ ընթերցցին Բ ընթերցցին

177 The incipit of the *Nicene Anathema* recited in the Armenian Church.

178 Eremia draws a parallel with the story of King Solomon, who turned to the pagan gods (1 Kings 11) towards the end of his life. His writings have remained canonical and recited in all Christian churches.

179 The Armenian text reads «Ժամակարգութիւն» (*žamakargut'wn*), *lit.* order of Hours meaning the Divine Office of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Fourth, if his patron<sup>180</sup> acknowledged<sup>181</sup> this [Anathema], then he is obliged to accept it as well. But if he does not accept it, behold, he is revealed as opposing his patron and teacher and [spiritual] parent.

Fifth, the Catholicoi Yakob<sup>182</sup> and P'ilipos<sup>183</sup> and Movsēs,<sup>184</sup> let alone the old *vardapets*,<sup>185</sup> who accepted [it] at their times [and] had been reciting it. And now, is he greater than them in his wisdom and knowledge, to forbid [its recital]? I am unaware of the cause!

180 The Armenian text reads «տէրստէր» (*tērtēr*), *lit.* a priest. Here it means a patron hierarch or a teacher. This is a reference to Eliazar Aynt'apēc'i, whose protégé was Suk'ias. The reference here is to his own father, Martiros K'ēōmiwrčēan as to "my տէրստէր (*tērtēr*)," *lit.* my priest. See K'ēōmiwrčēan, *Ōragrut'awn*, 192.

181 Armenian text reads «փէյտա արար» (*p'eyta arar*). See *Glossary*.

182 Yakob IV J'ulayec'i (1598–1680) occupied the office of Catholicos in Ejmiacin from 1655 to 1680. He put a lot of effort to find support in Europe for the liberation of the Armenians from Persian rule. Eremia K'ēōmiwrčēan was supporting Yakob J'ulayec'i's liberationist policy.

183 P'ilipos I Albakec'i (1593–1655) was Catholicos in Ejmiacin from 1633 to 1655. Eremia K'ēōmiwrčēan had personal acquaintance with this Catholicos. They first met in Constantinople, when Eremia was fifteen years old. Eremia's family too had an intimate acquaintance with Catholicos P'ilipos Albakec'i and accompanied him while he was in Constantinople between 1652–1653. P'ilipos appointed Eremia's father Martiros, a vicar of Holy Ejmiacin in Constantinople. Eremia admired the educational pursuits P'ilipos Albakec'i had engaged with, and devoted sentences to praise the latter in his *Lament*.

184 Movsēs III Tat'ewac'i (1578–1632) was Catholicos in Ejmiacin from 1629 to 1632. A student of a prominent *vardapet* Srapion Urhayec'i, Movsēs managed to obtain a *firman* from Shah Abbas I for the renovation of the buildings in Ejmiacin two years prior to his official consecration as a Catholicos.

185 Armenian word «վարդապետ» (*vardapet*) stands for a celibate priest and is rendered as a teacher or doctor of theology.

Sixth, such tremendous teachers as Mayragomec'i,<sup>186</sup> and Mandakuni,<sup>187</sup> and the heir<sup>188</sup> of Magistros<sup>189</sup>—Vkayasēr,<sup>190</sup> and Grigor,<sup>191</sup> and Šnorhali,<sup>192</sup> and Lambronac'i,<sup>193</sup> radiated through their sermons and commentaries, and sayings, and homilies. But first

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- 186 Yovhan Mayragomec'i, also known as Mayrivanec'i (570/5-652), is an Armenian theologian and the prior of the monastery of Dvin. Yovhan spoke against the unity of the Byzantine and Armenian Churches, hence was accused of phantasmism and was exiled during the tenure of pro-Chalcedonic Catholicos Nersēs Tayec'i. Excerpts from his theological writings have survived in the key florilegium of the Armenian Church *Knik' hawato* ("Seal of Faith").
- 187 Yovhan Mandakuni, who was an Armenian Catholicos, a canonist and hymnologist in the second half of the fifth century, who established a new group of ecclesiastical canons enclosed in the *Book of Canons* of the Armenian Church. The majority of important canons refer to the observance of fasts and the Great Lent.
- 188 The Armenian text reads «յօճաւոյ» (*yocal*). See *Glossary*.
- 189 Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni (ca. 990-1058) is the Duke of Mesopotamia, the governor of Edessa, a laymen scholar, who descended from the princely Pahlavuni family. Magistros is famous for his letters written to various high-rank ecclesiastical figures on different doctrinal and disciplinary issues, which challenged both the Armenian and Syrian Orthodox Churches.
- 190 Grigor Vkayasēr (Gregory Martyrofile) d. 1105, the son of Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni, occupied the office of the Catholicos in Hromkla (Rumkale) between 1066-1085 during the Armenian Cilician period. He is also the founder of the Armenian Pahlavuni dynasty of Catholicoi and earned the sobriquet Martyrofile for commissioning translations of martyrdoms and lives of saints from Greek into Armenian.
- 191 Grigor III Pahlavuni (d. 1166) was elected as Armenian Catholicos at the age of twenty. During his tenure, the Catholicosate was relocated to Cop'k', later to Hromkla (Rumkale). He was the first Catholicos to start a dialogue with the Latin Church on doctrinal differences. Grigor Pahlavuni was known for penning a number of hymns, canticles, poems, and translating martyrdoms.
- 192 Nersēs IV Šnorhali (d. 1173) Armenian Catholicos in Hromkla (Rumkale). The great-grandchild of Grigor Magistros and the brother of Catholicos Grigor Vkayasēr. Šnorhali was engaged in the discourse for the union of the Byzantine and Armenian Churches initiated by the Greek Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1118-1180). The negotiations were interrupted with the death of the Emperor. Both the Armenian Apostolics and Armenian Catholics referred to Nersēs Šnorhali as to an "orthodox." Clemente Galano, who translated Šnorhali's conversations with the Greek philosopher Theorianus into Latin and Armenian—illustrates Nersēs Šnorhali as an admirer of the Chalcedon formulas. Šnorhali's book *Jesus the Son*, printed in underground Catholic printing press in Constantinople, was banned by *vekil* Yovhannes Izmirc'i in 1703.
- 193 Nersēs Lambronac'i (d. 1198) is a theologian, translator and a courtier descending from the Hetumid and Pahlavuni royal dynasties in Cilicia. Lambronac'i was accused by Eastern *vardapets* of adhering to the doctrine of the Latin Church.

of all [come] Narekac'i,<sup>194</sup> whose prayers we admire and Mesrop,<sup>195</sup> the pinnacle<sup>196</sup> of the doctrine. They and their equals—the commentators and interpreters [of the faith], who took the responsibility before the princes and kings, accepted it. Hence, just like you, I am also unaware of his judgment to forbid [its recital].

Seventh, is it that through a Synod, the abolition of this [Anathema] occurred, so that he dared proclaim it in the city? We have not heard of that Synod! And he does not reveal the cause to the public, [to prove], that due to this very reason, it is not of consequence to recite "As for those who say."

Eighth, and there are five hundred clerics<sup>197</sup> among our nation. Which one of them accorded with him in their words? Or perhaps they scribbled letters to him to abolish [recitation]? Let him show it to us!

Ninth, and he has been hitherto reciting it himself as he learned and heard in this manner. So, now who influenced him not to recite [this]? Is it possible, that the angel of the Almighty manifested through a vision,<sup>198</sup> or perhaps he ascended to the havens and heard the angelic tongues,<sup>199</sup> or perhaps a messenger [and] new prophet<sup>200</sup> taught [it to him]?

Tenth, it has been observed in Ejmiacin and Jerusalem and all the monasteries to this day, and no one has made up his mind to abolish it. Hence, it is obvious that [this] innovation is part of [his] arrogance, that is to say, he imagined himself more knowledgeable and wiser than all others.

Eleventh, that the ones, who are willing to read [it]; they all become wise [by means of] all writings of erudition. If he desires to boast to the peasants that he has read more than the others, first he has to prove it in public with the testimonies from the writings, and then take the confidence to abolish anything from the Hours,<sup>201</sup> since that is a public matter, as well as ecclesiastical.

194 Grigor Narekac'i (d. 1003) is an author of paramount importance: a monk, a mystical poet, a theologian and a Universal doctor of the Church famous for his renowned *Book of Lamentation*, which has been translated into many languages.

195 Mesrop Maštoc' (ca. 362-440) is a theologian, translator, author of numerous hymns and the inventor of the Armenian alphabet. He collaborated with Armenian Catholicos Sahak Ի Part'ew (348-439) and king Vramšapuh (Bahram-Shapuh) (ca. 389/400-414) in promoting Armenian Christian identity and the appropriation of Christian culture across Armenia.

196 The Armenian text reads «փիր» (*p'ir*). See *Glossary*.

197 The Armenian text reads «սևազուխք» (*sevagluxk'*), *lit.* blackheads, a calque from Turkish *karabaş*. This name was applied to the Armenian Apostolic monks because of their black hoods worn together with black cassocks.

198 Allusion to the visions in the Old Testament.

199 Allusion to Paul's vision in 2 Corinthians 12:1-7.

200 Allusion to the vision of Muhammad in Islamic tradition.

201 The Armenian text reads «ժամակարգութիւն» (*žamakargut'iwñ*).

Twelfth, if any Catholicos would wish to abolish this, the Armenian people could tell him, “Bring and show [us] the book you read, [which says] that reciting this in the church is useless and improper! Also acquaint us with the cause!” So, how dares he [abolish it] himself?

Thirteenth, the perfect answer is that it has been articulated in consequence of the vice of Arius and his equals. Therefore, the Holy Church anathematizes them hitherto. And if one does not accept it [by saying], “Let “As for those who say” not be recited,” then who will he turn into?

Fourteenth, the *Creed*,<sup>202</sup> articulated by 318 Holy Fathers,<sup>203</sup> was a way to succinctly enclose the definition of faith. And at the end of it [the *Creed*] they put this seal of ours, so that those who say so and so, are not accepted by the Church, and that he [Arius] is worthless and external to the mother, [that is the] Holy Church—not [as] a stepson, but an alien. Although he [Arius] claims himself to be begotten of the Church, he is a heretic and adversary of the Holy Gospel, since he does not confess the Son and the Holy Spirit [to be] of the very same nature with the Father, and does not confess the Spirit and the Son consubstantial<sup>204</sup> with the Father. For our Lord Word of God, while revealing himself incarnated, proclaimed himself coequal, consubstantial, [and] co-essential with the Holy Spirit, proclaimed himself of the very nature and the very essence with the Father, that is “Go, baptize all the nations in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit” (cf. Math. 28:19). Thus, it makes clear, that if there appear alterable and mutable people, who say “There was a time”<sup>205</sup> and so forth; they will be [considered] heretics,<sup>206</sup> infidels, Arians. Hence, [the like of them] are anathematized with body and soul, by the Holy Church, resembling the wind that disperses the dust on the surface of the world.

Fifteenth, if he [Suk’ias] argues that there are no Arians nowadays, but [since] this was articulated against Arius and his partisans at one time, therefore it is of no consequence to recite [it any more]. Yet I say, your word[s] are true indeed, that our Fathers sealed [this] up, and confined [it] to be observed the same way as the *Creed* is observed

202 The Armenian text reads «Հաւատարմք» (*Hawatamk’*), *lit.* we confess.

203 The reference here is to the 318 hierarchs participating in the Council of Nicaea in 325 that constituted the *Nicene Creed*.

204 The Armenian text reads «հաւագոյն ընդ Հօր» (*hamagoy and Hōr*), a calque from Greek *ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί*. In the Armenian Liturgical version of the *Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed*, the term «հաւագոյն» (*hamagoy*), which is Greek *ὁμοούσιος* and Latin *consubstantialis*, is not used. Instead, there stands «նոյն ինքն ի բնութենէ Հօր» (*noyn ink’n i bnut’enē Hōr*), meaning “of the very same nature of the Father” or “of one essence with the Father.”

205 A reference to the text of the *Nicene Anathema*.

206 The Armenian text reads «չարափառք» (*č’arap’ark’*), a calque from Greek *κακόδοξοι*, meaning “the ones having wrong doctrine.”

through affirmation of the words of faith. Because of that, our Saint Lusaworič<sup>207</sup> put a beautiful seal upon both the affirmation and renunciation, that is “As for us, we shall glorify Him who was before the ages, worshipping ... the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages” and so forth.

Sixteenth, if the renunciations, which were established for the good of the cautious, are to be abolished, then the “We renounce Satan”<sup>208</sup> is to be abolished as well. Let “Let none of the catechumens”<sup>209</sup> and suchlike be abolished; let the frequent “Glory in the Highest”<sup>210</sup> be abolished, as it was composed in the same period; let the Gospels be abolished, as they were composed for infidels, let the Prophets be abolished, that were

207 Grigor Lusaworič (Gregory the Illuminator) is the founder of the Armenian Church as an institution in the early fourth century.

208 Renunciation of the devil is an ancient baptismal practice of the Church, first witnessed by Tertullian. See Jaroslav Pelikan, *Credo*, 191. In the Armenian Church it reads as follows: “We renounce Satan and his every deceit, his wiles, his deliberations, his course, his evil will, his evil angels, his evil ministers, his evil agents, and his every power renouncing, we renounce.” See Frederic C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 86-108; Mesrob Tashjian, “The Sacrament of Holy Baptism in the Armenian Apostolic Church” in *Baptism Today: Understanding, Practice, Ecumenical Implications*, ed. Thomas F. Best, (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2008), 17. All Christian churches preserved the renunciation of the devil one way or another: the variant of this formula occurs in the office of catechumens in the Eastern Orthodox Church (“Do you renounce Satan and all his works and all his worship and all his angels and all his pomp?”), but not in baptismal rite. Its usage appears in the old *Gallican Rite* of the Western Church (“Do you renounce Satan, the pomps of the world and its pleasures?”). Renunciation of the devil is accepted also in the Roman Catholic, Syriac Orthodox, Coptic and Ethiopic rites. See Henry A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama*, (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2004), 104; Walter Caspari, “Renunciation of the Devil in Baptismal Rite,” in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*, ed. Samuel M. Jackson et al., vol. 9, (New York and London, 1911), 488-489.

209 The dismissal of catechumens was and still remains though nominally, part of the Divine Liturgy in Christian churches. It made an appearance in the forth-fifth centuries in John Chrysostom's *Liturgy*, when the catechumens were ordered to leave the nave after the Liturgy of the Word and to not approach the Holy Communion. The first part of the Divine Liturgy is also called the Liturgy of Catechumens. In the Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church it is pronounced as follows: “Let none of the catechumens, none of little faith and none of the penitents or the unclean draw near this divine mystery!” See *The Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church*, 23.

210 “Glory in the Highest” (Gloria in Excelsis) is part of the Divine Office for all Christian churches established from the forth century on. Its variants had been chanted during Matins in the Armenian Apostolic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, as well as the Assyrian Church of East. It is chanted in the Roman Catholic Church during the Tridentine Holy Solemn Mass after *Kyrie Eleison* (Κύριε, ἐλέησον) and during evening prayer (Hosanna in the Highest) in the Syriac Orthodox Church, it is chanted during the Coptic Liturgy of Saint Basil within the Prayer of Reconciliation. See Conybeare, 134, 385, 456.

written and fulfilled for Christ. How commodious Franks<sup>211</sup> made it for their people—no Proverbs, no Prophets, no Paul,<sup>212</sup> no Gospels, no Creed: only some brief prayers during the Holy Mass in order to dismiss [people] rapidly.<sup>213</sup>

Seventeenth, I strictly declare: Oh, people! What is “O, marvelous!”<sup>214</sup> that is sung [during the Liturgy]? [And] what is the deficiency of “As for those who say” [so that not to be recited]?

Eighteenth, that he [Suk’ias] argues that the Franks and the Greeks, who are the greatest, and the first Christians among all nations, do not have this [Anathema]. That is correct. Behold, like I said earlier, if they do not have it and you do, should you abolish what you have to become equal with those who do not?

Nineteenth, on other occasions he refers to them [Franks and Greeks] as schismatics, whereas here he refers to them as testifiers. This will not do either!

Twentieth, I can show you Greek[s] and Frank[s], who will say that “As for those who say” is a good thing, since it affirms the words in the *Creed* and effaces entirely the Arian conjectures by renouncing and anathematizing the likes [of Arius].

Twenty-first, I tell you the cause. The will of a man putting into practice such an innovation is to test people to see if they obey and accept it, [then] tomorrow I will invent something else and execute. It is obvious, that for the sake of his vanity, he dissembles and disquiets, misleads and perplexes people, [becomes] the cause of destruction and dismay; that’s for sure;<sup>215</sup> that’s for certain.<sup>216</sup>

Twenty-second, for if he managed to torment Bursa<sup>217</sup> with various things, but Istanbul would not obey him—behold, there will be distortion. If he managed to

211 The Armenian text reads «Ֆրանկք» (*frankk’*), meaning Roman Catholics, at times French or Europeans in general.

212 A reference to the Epistles of Paul.

213 Apparently Eremia’s words refer to the Roman Catholic Low Mass.

214 One of the hymns in the *Canon of Holy Patriarchs* in the Armenian Hymnal (*Šaraknoč*). “O, marvelous patriarchs” refers to 318 Church Fathers partaking in Nicene Council of 325, which contains an anathema against Arius.

215 The Armenian text reads «թահզիզ թահզիզ» (*t’ahgig-t’ahgig*). See *Glossary*.

216 The Armenian text reads «էլպէթ էլպէթ» (*ēlpēt-ēlpēt*). See *Glossary*.

217 Bursa or Prusa, a city in the northwestern Turkey, used to be an Ottoman capital in the fourteenth century. Before the Armenian Genocide of 1915, there were more than seventeen Armenian churches in Bursa and neighborhood, the most famous of which were the churches of the Holy Mother of God (*Surb Astuacacin*) and the Holy Archangels (*Surb Hreštakapetac’*).

subjugate Balat,<sup>218</sup> but could not [succeed in] Edirne<sup>219</sup>—behold, there will be disorder. If he managed to habituate Üsküdar,<sup>220</sup> but could not [succeed in] Tokat—behold, there will be disturbance. Then, if he is capable of acquiring twelve apostles along with seventy-two disciples and forwarding them to where the Armenians are scattered and spread, for they will preach whatever he desires—establishing new and abolishing the old [customs] of the Church, then it is to happen through the thaumaturgy and the power of wonderworking. If not, [then there will be] more destruction, [there will be] more disquietude. But is that not a turmoil!?

Twenty-third, there was such a grand scandal among our nation because of [the establishment of] Catholicosial throne in Jerusalem.<sup>221</sup> A number of opulent [people] eliminated, some died in prison. Escape, torment and indemnity, galley<sup>222</sup> and jail, fatigue and loss of the animals of Jerusalem, and escape of the monks of Ejmiacin, and closure of the door of the monastery,<sup>223</sup> and disgrace among all the nations [occurred].

218 Balat or Palat is a quarter in Constantinople, on the western bank of Golden Horn. Traveling to Constantinople in 1608, Siméon Lehač'i described Saint Nikolayos (*Surb Nikotayos*) church of Balat, shared by the Armenians and Franks, where each served their own service in "love and peace." Balat also housed the Holy Archangels Armenian church. According to the seventeenth-century Armenian chronicler Grigor Daranalc'i, the Holy Archangels was an abandoned Greek church in the Jewish neighborhood of Balat. Thanks to Aristakēs Xarberdc'i, the Armenians obtained a *firman* from Topal Recep Pasha (d. 1632) to attain the church.

219 Edirne, a city in northwestern Turkey, was the third Ottoman capital before Constantinople. Before the Armenian Genocide of 1915, it housed three Armenian churches—Saint Gregory the Illuminator (*Surb Grigor Lusaworič'*), Saint Toros (*Surb T'oros*) and Saint Karapet (*Surb Karapet*).

220 Üsküdar or Scutari, a district of Constantinople on the shore of Bosphorus is one of the three districts outside the city walls during the Ottoman period. The Holy Cross (*Surb Xac'*) Armenian church is in Üsküdar.

221 Eremia refers to the turmoil in Jerusalem instigated by Eliazar Aynt'apec'i when he established an anti-Catholicosate there.

222 The Armenian text reads «թէրսաւիւ» (*t'ērsanē*). See *Glossary*.

223 Eremia alludes to the closure of the doors of the Saints James Convent in Jerusalem. In 1656, the tensions between the Greeks and Armenians over the sites in the Holy Land reached their peak. When the Greeks managed to obtain a *firman* from grand vizier allowing them to appropriate the Saints James Convent of Armenians. Eliazar, then the deputy of the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, appealed to the ruler of Damascus Teyar Oğlu to tackle the issue. Having already been bribed by the Greeks, the ruler promised to find a solution commanding Eliazar to hand in the keys of the Convent to him until the problem was solved. In the face of his apprehension, Eliazar entrusted the keys to Teyar Oğlu, who kept the Convent doors locked and sealed till 1657, when the Greeks took it over. The Convent was returned to the Armenians in 1659.

And all these on behalf of the vanity of innovation. Thus, it is obvious, that he [Suk'ias] is the genuine child of that scandalous man.<sup>224</sup> I claim [this] and I am not ashamed!

Twenty-fourth, if he wants to defend<sup>225</sup> the honor<sup>226</sup> of Christ in order for people to refrain from hearing the bark of the heretics, then I reply to this—for such a long time it has been recited and no one from our nation turned Turk,<sup>227</sup> but rather they betrayed their faith tempted by the abhorrence of certain people. This is *bêtise* for the listeners and artifice in his course.

Twenty-fifth, to this day no one was misled because of “As for those who say.” Moreover, those, who recite the *Creed*, rather affirm that they anathematize mutable and changeable ones. But because of the deeds of abhorrence, they got perplexed and were led astray, and the name of the God is blasphemed among the nations.

Twenty-sixth, it is good, if with the very same intention, the honor<sup>228</sup> of Christ was defended; yet he is condemned with his own judgment, for I hear him recalling the person and person<sup>229</sup> during the sermon and reiterating nature and nature,<sup>230</sup> and [telling] that Nestorius trifled in such-and-such manner about Christ, and Arius prattled so-and-so about Christ, and the such-and-such<sup>231</sup> dog<sup>232</sup> assumed so-and-so about Christ and barked. People are entirely ignorant,<sup>233</sup> that this kind of wicked reputation had emerged from malicious and haughty disease; hence, that is a temptation for the simple-minded. Therefore, he himself is ignorant of the defence of the honor<sup>234</sup> of Christ. And it is not for the defence of the honor<sup>235</sup> of Christ that he wishes to abolish “As for those who say,” but rather desires to demonstrate to people the art of [his] wisdom. And he is not aware that wisdom never conceals the visible errors and insanity of those, [driven] into the disease of wont.

Twenty-seventh, if a word and a thing is not carried out in peace, behold, the word of Christ fulfils, that “anything more than this comes from evil” (Mat. 5:37), because it

224 A reference to the events related to Eliazar Aynt'apēc'i's actions, claiming that Suk'ias was allegedly following in Eliazar's footsteps.

225 The Armenian text reads «սիանէթ» (*sianēt*). See *Glossary*.

226 The Armenian text reads «ընըզ» (*əṛəz*). See *Glossary*.

227 The Armenian text reads «թուրքացան» (*t'urk'ac'an*), here means conversion to Islam.

228 The Armenian text reads «ընըզ» (*əṛəz*).

229 The Armenian text reads «անձն և անձն» (*anjn ev anjn*). A reference to the Christological peculiarities of duophysitism.

230 The Armenian text reads «բնութիւն և բնութիւն» (*bnut'ıwn ev bnut'ıwn*), *lit.* nature and nature. Apparently the author reiterates «անձն և անձն» (*anjn ev anjn*) and «բնութիւն և բնութիւն» (*bnut'ıwn ev bnut'ıwn*) to accuse Suk'ias of duophysitism.

231 The Armenian text reads «ֆիլան» (*filan*). See *Glossary*.

232 The Armenian text reads «քեօփէկ» (*k'eōp'ēk*). See *Glossary*.

233 The Armenian text reads «խապար» (*xapar*). See *Glossary*.

234 The Armenian text reads «ընըզ» (*əṛəz*).

235 The Armenian text reads «ընըզ» (*əṛəz*).

was not for the sake of tranquility of people that it was performed, but for the sake of turmoil. And he thought of the things which he could not affirm, and started to create, but could not complete. And it became ridiculous for beholders, and became a matter of gossip among the beldams. What kind of wisdom is this? Rather foolishness, extreme<sup>236</sup> [silliness].

Twenty-eighth, foolish is the man, who imagined everyone to be fools, and him alone to be wise. And he has never thought of this, that today he might abolish this [Anathema] and leave, and tomorrow I shall come to church and recite in a loud voice “As for those who say.”

Twenty-ninth, during the sermon he praises Eliazar, and [Suk’ias, this] feeble<sup>237</sup> pretender,<sup>238</sup> weeps sobbing, that perhaps he could make some simple-minded ignoramus weep [too], for in case people are deceived by the art of his imposture, that will become a consolation for his voracious heart. To the very day of his death Eliazar himself recited “As for those who say.” Therefore, this made him [Suk’ias] adversary of his own eulogy, for [it turned out that] the wise one praises the foolish and the worthless one.

Thirtieth, if Eliazar is justly worthy of his eulogy, then he [Suk’ias] made himself a fool, for he opposed the sage. And his eulogy became deceptive, as he [Suk’ias] made himself adversary to him [Eliazar], because he [Eliazar] used to recite “As for those who say.”

Thirty-first, in our childhood we heard “As for those who say” sung before great honorable *vardapets* at the Holy Divine Liturgy for the two Candlemas.<sup>239</sup>

Thirty-second, he became a matter of mockery and outrage, for other Christian nations could say, that this year discovering the ignorance of their own error at the hands of a certain orator and doctor of theology Suk’ias, Armenians eliminated “As for those who say” from the Creed, which they had been reciting up until now. Other Christian nations could say now, that consequently it turned out to be true, that there indeed are many errors among Armenians, which they hide, and some people ignorantly follow

236 The Armenian text reads «յոյժ յոյժ» (*yoyž yoyž*) *lit.* very-very.

237 The Armenian text reads «թիթալ» (*t’it’al*). See *Glossary*.

238 The Armenian text reads «զախալն» (*zakhn*). See *Glossary*.

239 Eremia mentions the Candlemas Liturgies of Theophany or Nativity, and Easter, performed on the vigil of each respective Dominical Feast. In the past, the vigils of all feasts of the Armenian Church were accompanied by the Candlemas Liturgy. Later it was discarded. Eremia’s words testify to the discontinuity of this custom in the seventeenth century Ottoman Empire, proving that in his days the Candlemas Liturgies be exceptionally performed on the Vigils of Theophany and Easter. The thirteen-year-old Eremia describes in his *Diary* the Candlemas Liturgy and Holy Fire he witnessed in Jerusalem during his pilgrimage with his custodian Mahtesi Ambakum and his wife. See K’ēōmiwřēan, *Öragrut’iwn*, 309-310.

them. Behold like nowadays all-wise Suk'ias perceived and abolished "As for those who say."

Thirty-third, they say, that such people are alterable in their will and unsteady in their mind, for who is close to evil, he is swift in assumptions, meaning that while hearing those anathemas, they fear those to be placed upon themselves, thereby they wish to abolish those [anathemas].

Thirty-fourth, alterable is that, when [they wish] to change or override some hymns, or change their order.

Alterable is that, when [they wish] to move the verses of the Psalms and the Sermons backwards and forwards. Alterable is that, when [they command] to say this and not that during the Divine Liturgy, or whether [it should be said] with raised or spread arms, or whether "Glory in the Highest" [should be sung] concordant or voice by voice, or whether with a covered or uncovered head. These all are mutabilities and confusion. Therefore, [being] in delusion of the innovation of the disease of pride he disallows the anathemas, lest they be placed upon him.

Alterable is that nowadays some people say, "How hard is the [observance] of the Armenian fast!" And they lean toward the Greeks [with the words], "Are they not Christians?"

Alterable is that, [when they complain], "How lengthy is the Armenian Service, four-five hours long!" And they tend towards the Franks [by saying], "Are they not Christians?"

Mutability is [when they complain] that the Greeks eat fish on March 25th<sup>240</sup> and on Palm Sunday—"Are not they Christians?"

They turn Frank by saying, "Does not the credibility of Easter belong to them, who possess so many kingdoms and wisdom?" Behold! The mutable plant does not take root! And that kind of mind did not find stability, for it egresses from the Armenians, and does not remain among the Greeks, and is not replanted within the Franks. Thus, the foundation rested on a variable sand and that is [the cause of] its destruction (cf. Luke 6:49).

Thus, it would be suitable to establish this kind of people in peace; it would be proper to pacify the confusion of mistrust of such people; it would be descent to check the words of our forefathers—blessed commenters and interpreters.

<sup>240</sup> The Annunciation is celebrated on March 25th in the Greek Orthodox and Catholic Churches, while in the Armenian Church it is solemnized on April 7th and is accompanied with rigorous fast without fish, meat, and dairy. The Armenian fast is called *սղոխաց* (*atuhac'*), literally meaning "salt and bread" that denotes the products allowed during the fast. Great Lent is also called «Աղոխացից պահք» (*Atuhac'ic' Pahk'*), *lit.* Lent on salt and bread. The tradition during Eremia's time was to have salt and bread during lent at least once a day. Armenian believers would complain about the rigidity of their lent, compared to the less rigorous rules of the neighboring Greeks and Roman Catholics.

Thirty-fifth, if someone argues that Eliazar was hypocritically reciting it for the ears of the people and on his deathbed made his will to this [Suk'ias] not to recite "As for those who say," we give a reply, that he was not in Ejmiacin at the time of Eliazar's death. And if anyone says that Eliazar wrote a letter to him on his deathbed concerning this matter, that I do not know. He has to show [us] that letter!

Thirty-sixth, by propagating an innovative thing, he insinuated a thought in the minds of peasants [and] on the tongues of the simple-minded—is it possible, that "As for those who say" was a useless thing, which our people had been reciting out of ignorance?

Thirty-seventh, if those forefathers, who composed it as a tradition for us, were worthless, then he read the writings of the senseless ones, and by these senseless ones, he was affected through their artifice.

Thirty-eight, if they are wise and meritorious so that to be remembered during the Divine Liturgy, to be venerated at their feast days, to read their homilies, to pray for their intercession, then I claim, he does not deserve to take their names on his lips, because he condemns their vow, denigrates their memory, disdains their sayings, demolishes their statues, distorts their writings; that is called a schism,<sup>241</sup> which will become the cause of complaints and discord, and in the end will lead to turmoil. "Anything more comes from evil" (Mat. 5:37), the troublemaker is a devil!

Thirty-ninth, this [Anathema] is the interpretation, that is to say, the conclusion of the *Creed* and is the unchangeable testifier [of the *Creed*], as it confesses [the] Father, [the] Son, and [the] Holy Spirit, coessential and consubstantial. [It] reflects the word and testifies that those who are found external to this, [those] articulating so-and-so, are expelled, dismissed, excommunicated, anathematized by the Holy Church.

Fortieth, Clement,<sup>242</sup> who slandered upon us so many times, praises our orthodox people in his book as follows: "And following the *Creed* they confess the nature of God the Word to be unchangeable and immutable against Arius by singing the Nicene anaphora "As for those who say," etc."

Forty-first, the Holy Scripture confirms this thing: as Moses recorded blessings and condemnations in the Law of God and as John the Baptist says, "Whoever believes in the Son has eternal life, but whoever rejects the Son will not see life, for God's wrath remains on them" (John 3:36). And as the Lord commands, "those who have done what is good will rise to live, and those who have done what is evil will rise to be condemned" (John 5:29). And again he commands, "I told you that you would die in your sins; if you do not believe that I am he, you will indeed die in your sins" (John 8:24). And again commands, "For judgment I have come into this world, so that the blind will see and

241 The Armenian text reads «ցանկապատառութիւն» (*c'ankapata'ut'wn*), lit. discord in confession.

242 A reference to Clemente Galano.

those who see will become blind" (John 9:39). And again, "Come, you who are blessed by my Father" (Mat. 25:34), and "Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire..." (Mat. 25:41); and there are many other [testimonies] from [the words of] the disciples and veracious of the Holy Scriptures.

This is enough for the auditors; if they read [it] word by word with the intention to be well-informed, and if they comprehend and beware of such people.

Copied in 1793 of the year of [our] Lord and 1242 of the Armenian Era, on March 2, and in ՎՃԿ [1207] on the first of month Sha'bān, in the orphanage after Saint Patriarch Jacob of Nisibis in Balat.

*Glossary of Words in Armeno-Turkish* (Բառեր հայատառ  
թուրքերենով)

Ախմախ [axmax]—ած. տխմար, հիմար—*arab.* ahmak—*n., adj.* stupid, simple-minded, idiot

Էլպէթ, հէլպէթ [ēlpēt', hēlpēt']—մակ. անշուշտ, իհարկէ—*elbet, arab.* elbett—*adv.* certainly, of course,

Ըռզ [əřəz]—գոյ. պատիւ—*ırz; arab.* ərz—*n.* honor, integrity, probity

Թահգիգ [t'ahgig]—մակ. ստույգ, հաստատ—*trk.* tahkik—*n.* investigation, verification (here: *adv.* definitely, absolutely, for certain)

Թէրսանէ [t'ērsanē]—գոյ. նաւարան, թիարան *trk.* tersane—*n.* dock yard, navy yard (here: *n.* galleys; penal servitude)

Խապար [xapar]—գոյ. լուր, տեղեկութիւն—*trk.* haber; *arab.* khaber—*n.* news, information

Խարապ [xarap]—ած. աւեր, աւերած, փչացած—*arab.* kharab—*adj.* corrupt, decayed, ruined

Յօճաղ=յ+օճախ [yočaġ], օջախ [ōjax]—գոյ. կրակարան, փխր. տոհմ, գերդաստան—*trk.* ocak—*n.* fireplace, *fig. n.* kin, family (here: *n.* child, heir)

Սահաթ [sahat']—գոյ. ժամ—*arab.* saat—*n.* hour

Սիանէթ ընել [sianēt']—բայ. պաշտպանել—*trk.* sıyanet—*v.* protection, defence (here: *v.* protect, defend)

Փէղամպար [p'ēlampar]—գոյ. մարգարէ—*trk.* peygamber—*n.* prophet

Փէյտա, ֆայտա ընել [p'ēyta, fayta]—բայ. առաջ քաշել—*pers. n.* peyda—manifest; *v.* produce, acquire, beget

Փիր [p'ir]—գոյ. կրթված ծեր, պատրիարք—*pers.* pir—*n.* chief; erudite; patriarch

Քէօփէկ [k'ēöp'ēk]—գոյ. շուն (այստեղ՝ վիրավորական բան)—*trk.* köpek—*n.* dog (here: a term of contempt)

Ֆիլան [filan]—այսինչը, այնինչը—*arab.* filan; *trk.* filan, falan—so-and-so

*Glossary of Dialectal Forms* (Բարբառային ձևեր)

Ալվի [alvi]—մակ. մի փոքր էլ, այլ ևս—*adv.* a bit more

Զաղալ [zaɬal]—ած. խաղի մեջ խարդախություն անող—*adj.* fraud, impostor, pretender

Թիթալ [tʰitʰal]—ած. նիհար, տկար, տկարակազմ—*adj.* feeble

Թլֆանք [tʰlfankʰ]—գոյ. հոգնություն, թուլություն—*n.* fatigue, weakness

# The Urban/Rural Divide in the Early Modern Period

## *A Microhistorical Study of an Episode in Joseph Emin's Life and Adventures*

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### Abstract

The major developments of the early modern period had an uneven impact on urban and rural dwellers, leading to divergences in worldview and mentality between the two demographics. This article reflects upon these differences through a microhistorical study of an episode in Joseph Emin's *Life and Adventures*, where Emin, an eighteenth-century "port Armenian" encounters Armenian villagers in the Ottoman town of Jinis. My reading of this episode provides a focus for broader reflections on the growing divergences between the viewpoints of a port Armenian like Emin, who was connected to the developments taking place in the early modern world, and that of rural dwellers like the local villagers and priest of Jinis, who were largely disconnected from the same developments.

### Keywords

Joseph Emin – Armenian merchants – Armenian villages – self-fashioning – Armenians in the Ottoman Empire – Ottoman urban and rural life – world history – global history – microhistory – pre-modern Armenian historiography

The urban/rural and coastal/inland divide became a central focus of political and journalistic discourse in 2016, with the "Brexit" referendum in the United Kingdom and the presidential campaign and election of Donald J. Trump in the United States.<sup>1</sup> While the differences between urban and rural dwellers are

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Andy Beckett, "From Trump to Brexit, Power has Leaked from Cities to the Countryside," *The Guardian*, December 12, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/>

quite evident in the present historical moment, such a divide is not unique to the contemporary world. In fact, the current form of this division can be traced as far back as the early modern period (ca. 1500–1800) and beyond. In an overview of major global developments in the early modern era, Joseph Fletcher noted the burgeoning of regional cities, centers of economic activity whose importance and growth was often due to their location along a network of intraregional or international exchange.<sup>2</sup> As a result of the creation of global sea passages—one of the most defining and important developments of this period—came the dominance of coastal or port cities, which served as important nodes of interchange in the new maritime networks.<sup>3</sup> Those living in port cities or traveling along their networks gained privileged access to the rapid developments and changes in technology and the world economy, while those living in rural areas generally did not enjoy access to them. The uneven impact of early modern developments on urban and rural dwellers naturally led to divergences in worldviews and mentalities between the two demographics.

In this article, I will undertake a microhistorical study of an episode in the English-language memoir of Joseph Emin to highlight the divergences between port Armenians and their rural counterparts in the early modern era.<sup>4</sup> Emin is

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commentisfree/2016/dec/12/trump-brexite-cities-countryside-rural-voters; Danielle Kurtzleben, “Rural Voters Played A Big Part In Helping Trump Defeat Clinton,” *NPR*, November 14, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/2016/11/14/501737150/rural-voters-played-a-big-part-in-helping-trump-defeat-clinton>, and “Is ‘Rural Resentment’ Driving Voters to Donald Trump?” *NPR*, August 8, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/2016/08/18/490240652/is-rural-resentment-driving-voters-to-donald-trump>.

2 Joseph Fletcher, “Integrative History: Parallels and Interconnections in the Early Modern Period, 1500–1800,” in *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, ed. Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Variorum Collected Studies Series* 480 (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1995), x:1–35 at 17–22.

3 John F. Richards, “Early Modern India and World History,” *Journal of World History* 8, no. 2 (1997): 197–209 at 198–99; Jerry Bentley, “Early Modern Europe and the Early Modern World,” in *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World*, ed. Charles H. Parker and Jerry H. Bentley (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007): 13–31 at 22–23.

4 The primary source referenced throughout the article is: Joseph Ēmin, *The Life and Adventures of Joseph Ēmin, an Armenian. Written in English by Himself* (London, 1792). In the first edition of his memoir, Joseph Emin’s name (Յովսէփ Էմին) was transliterated as “Joseph Ēmin” on the title page, although throughout the text of the memoir his surname was spelled “Emin,” which has become the standardized way his surname is transliterated in the Latin alphabet. In this article, I will maintain the spelling “Ēmin” in citations of the first edition of the memoir, but will use the standard form “Emin” in all other cases. Sebouh Aslanian has defined port Armenians as primarily “long-distance merchants whose livelihood and identity were largely shaped by their relationship to the sea.” They made their living via global trade, residing in and moving between the major port cities of the age, such as Amsterdam, Venice, Marseille, Saint Petersburg, Madras, and Calcutta. As such, they were exposed to “a greater volume and

a paradigmatic example of an Armenian who enjoyed access to the port city networks of the early modern world.<sup>5</sup> In the episode in question, Emin relates an encounter with Armenians in the Ottoman village of Jinis during his travels across the Ottoman Empire disguised as a botanist.<sup>6</sup> The episode reveals the vast gulf between the worldview of a cosmopolitan and mobile traveler like Emin, and that of the more stationary villagers in the Ottoman vilayets. In my reading of this reported event, I will focus on the ways in which Emin shows himself to be engaged with the advances in the early modern world—one that his Ottoman compatriots were not. These advancements include: large-scale mobility; access to technological and scientific advancements such as navigational tools and printed book culture; and a western Enlightenment education and value system, including a belief in individuality, human freedom, and self-determination. The aforementioned will be contrasted to the villagers, who were not connected to networks that exposed them to the same types of developments and ideas. The episode I analyze here, functions as a productive site at which to witness the divergences in experience and mentality between port and rural Armenians.

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more diverse varieties of information than their land-locked counterparts,” enjoyed access to new technologies of the era such as the printing press, and were border-crossers, who moved between different cultural zones and themselves often had hybrid cultural identities. See Sebouh D. Aslanian, “Port Cities and Printers: Reflections on Five Centuries of Global Armenian Print,” *Book History* 17 (2014): 51–93 at 55–58.

- 5 For a discussion of previous scholarship on Emin, see Sebouh D. Aslanian, “A Reader Responds to Joseph Emin’s *Life and Adventures*: Notes toward a ‘History of Reading’ in Late Eighteenth Century Madras,” *Handes Amsorya* 126, nos. 1–12 (2012): 363–418 at 372–73. See also Daniel Fittante, “Broadening the Discourse: A Critical Assessment of Traditional Accounts of The Life and Adventures of Joseph Emin,” *Armenian Review* 55, nos. 3–4 (2017): 1–18; Michael H. Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travelers and Settlers in Britain, 1600–1857* (London: Permanent Black, 2004), and “Asians in Britain: Negotiations of Identity through Self-Representation,” in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 91–112; Humberto Garcia, “Re-Orienting the Bluestockings: Chivalric Romance, Manliness, and Empire in Joseph Emin’s Letters,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 81, no. 2 (2018): 227–55.
- 6 This portion of Emin’s *Life and Adventures* has been singled out before, but has primarily been treated in discussions of religious, ethnic, and class structures of Ottoman society or as part of the budding Armenian enlightenment and national liberation movement. For the former approach see, for example, Benjamin Braude, “The Nexus of Diaspora, Enlightenment, and Nation: Thoughts on Comparative History,” in *Enlightenment and Diaspora: The Armenian and Jewish Cases*, ed. Richard Hovannisian and David Myers (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999): 5–44, at 24–27. As for the latter approach, see the many bibliographic references to such studies in Aslanian, “Reader Responds,” 372–3, n. 16.

## 1 Joseph Emin: A Port Armenian in the Early Modern World

Emin's biography illustrates the ways in which a port Armenian was affected by and engaged with the broader developments taking place in the early modern world.<sup>7</sup> One of the features marking the early modern age is large-scale mobility and exchange on a massive scale. As Timothy Brook writes, "more people were in motion over longer distances and sojourning away from home for longer periods of time than at any other time in human history."<sup>8</sup> Historian Sebouh Aslanian has identified two mass explosions of forced migrations that gave rise to the global and dispersed early modern Armenian society: the "great flight" (*biyüük kaçgun*) of tens of thousands of eastern Anatolian provincial Armenians into the western cities of the Ottoman Empire, particularly the cities and suburbs of Istanbul/Constantinople, Izmir/Smyrna, and Rodosto/Tekirdağ, as a result of the Celali uprisings at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, and the "great deportation/exile" (1604–05, *biyüük sürgün*) undertaken at the order of the Safavid Shah 'Abbas I that relocated several hundred thousand Armenians from the regions bordering the Ottoman/Safavid empires into Iranian territory, especially the suburb of Isfahan that came to be known as New Julfa.<sup>9</sup> These forced mobilities were then followed by voluntary movements of Armenian diaspora merchants, priests, pilgrims, and printers through networks of port cities linked together by the physical networks of maritime sea passages, and the social networks of personal relations, which have been the subjects of so many of Aslanian's studies.<sup>10</sup> These networks with their port city nodes were largely centered in New Julfa (Isfahan) in the Safavid Empire, and Istanbul/Constantinople in the Ottoman Empire, and gave port Armenians privileged access to the larger

7 The summary of Emin's biography presented here is derived from his *Life and Adventures*.

8 Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), 19.

9 Sebouh D. Aslanian, *Early Modernity and Mobility: Port Cities and Printers Across the Armenian Diaspora, 1512–1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, forthcoming). I am grateful to Sebouh Aslanian for sharing drafts of his unpublished book with me. See also Henry R. Shapiro, "The Great Armenian Flight: The Celali Revolts and the Rise of Western Armenian Society," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2018), <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/dsp016to53j745>.

10 See, for example, from the work of Sebouh D. Aslanian: *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011); "Reader Response and the Circulation of Mkhitarist Books Across the Armenian Communities of the Early Modern Indian Ocean," *Journal for the Society of Armenian Studies* 22, no. 1 (2013): 31–70; "The Early Arrival of Print in Safavid Iran: New Light on the First Armenian Printing Press in New Julfa, Isfahan (1636–1650, 1686–1693)," *Handēs Amsōreay* 128 nos. 1–12 (2014): 381–468; Aslanian, "Port Cities and Printers;" Aslanian, *Early Modernity and Mobility*.

developments occurring in the early modern world. Aslanian has paid specific attention to the class of Armenian merchants who were engaged in trade that spanned several continents and large bodies of water, as well as Armenian print culture and book history, both of which spheres were largely monopolized by Armenians who dwelt in about fifty different port cities.

Emin was a product of one of the twin mass explosions of forced mobility ushering in the period of early modern Armenian history, being born in Hamadan, Iran in 1726 to descendants of those deported by Shah 'Abbas I.<sup>11</sup> Not long after, his family moved to Baghdad and then to Calcutta, like many other Iranian Armenians of the time, as a result of political instability in Iran following the Afghan occupation and the end of the Safavid dynasty.<sup>12</sup> Unlike many of his peers, however, Emin did not become a merchant. Against his father's wishes and the expectations of his community, he declined to enter into commerce and take the life that his birth and society had allotted for him.<sup>13</sup> In his early education, he had chosen to learn English, and it was in the port city of Calcutta that he gained access to a British maritime network that enabled him to earn passage to England, where he would pursue his dream of a British education, with a dual focus on liberal and military arts. With this purpose in mind, Emin embarked for England in 1751, harboring in himself the ultimate goal of liberating his compatriots from Ottoman overlordship in their traditional homeland of eastern Asia Minor through armed revolt.<sup>14</sup>

The trajectory of Emin's life is paradigmatic of a new orientation towards the self in the early modern period that has been referred to as "self-fashioning" by literary scholar Stephen Greenblatt.<sup>15</sup> Greenblatt's 1980, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, took as its subject the new relationship towards the self by persons in sixteenth-century England, which involves an "an increased self-consciousness about the fashionings of human identity as a

11 Émin, *Life and Adventures*, 19.

12 Émin, *Life and Adventures*, 19–37.

13 Émin, *Life and Adventures*, 37–38.

14 Émin, *Life and Adventures*, 39–46. See, for example, Emin's letter to the Lord of Northumberland, in which he expresses such sentiments: "I resolved, therefore, to visit Europe, that I might learn the art military, and other sciences to assist that art. I was sure that if I could go into Armenia like some European officer, I might be useful at least in some degree to my country ... If I could clear my own eyes, and serve my country and my religion that is trodden under foot by the Mussulmans, I would go through all the slavery and danger with a glad heart." Émin, *Life and Adventures*, 99–104.

15 The idea of connecting Greenblatt's literary notion of "self-fashioning" to the life of Joseph Emin came at Sebouh Aslanian's suggestion, for which I would like to express acknowledgement. For further, see his forthcoming chapter on Emin in Sebouh D. Aslanian, *Early Modernity and Mobility*. See also note 9.

manipulable, artful process.”<sup>16</sup> The increased geographic and social mobility available to people of the time is connected to the process of self-fashioning. All of the personages that Greenblatt examines in his monograph were “displaced in significant ways from a stable, inherited social world” and moved “into a realm that brought them in close contact with the powerful and the great.”<sup>17</sup> Self-fashioning allows them to transcend the position that they had been born into along with its limitations, by giving conscious attention to bettering their selves through education, reading, self-discipline, and the pursuit of relationships and networks outside of their allotted place in society.

Emin’s move to England was in quest of a Western education, and in addition to formal educational settings, he speaks about his voracious reading habits that exposed him to new ideas and expanded his intellect.<sup>18</sup> Emin also sought out relationships with “the powerful and the great” of British society to facilitate his education and expand his opportunities. After working a number of hard labor jobs with meager pay for several years, he eventually secured the friendship and patronage of high society English men and women, including Edmund Burke, Lady Montagu, Lord Northumberland, and the Duke of Cumberland. Thanks to the patronage of the latter two, from 1756–1758 he was enrolled in the military academy of Woolwich, and also gained military experience as a volunteer in the British and Prussian armies during the Seven Years’ War. Through forging such high-leverage personal relationships, he gained access to British networks that allowed him to then travel throughout the Ottoman, Georgian, and Russian realms, as he indicates in his *Life and Adventures*. To use Greenblatt’s terminology, Emin was able to “self-fashion” for himself a life that departed from the societal norms into which he was born by shaping his identity and place in the world by means of education and the forging of new social networks.

In 1759, Emin had his first opportunity to put his education and military experience to use and began working towards his goal of liberating his compatriots in eastern Anatolia, when he secured the necessary documents to travel through the Ottoman Empire under the aegis of the British Empire. He traveled across Asia Minor through Armenian inhabited territories all the way to Ējmiatsin, attempting to spread his message of liberation through the twin means of education and military resistance. He returned to England in 1761,

16 Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980): 2.

17 Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 7–8.

18 Ēmin, *Life and Adventures*, 87–88, 100–01, 103.

and then spent the rest of the decade back on the Asian continent, attempting to enlist Georgian and Russian leaders in the cause of Armenian liberation, and then even leading some provincial Armenians in skirmishes and revolts, with little success. The results of his efforts fell far short of his intended outcome, and he returned to Calcutta in 1770, where he lived much of the rest of his life ostracized by the clerical leaders of the Armenian Church, specifically Catholicos Simēon Erevants'i. It is from there that he authored his memoirs, published in 1792.

## 2      **Witnessing the Urban/Rural Divide in an Episode of Joseph Emin's *Life and Adventures***

Emin's *Life and Adventures* includes an account of Emin's first journey to Anatolia in 1759, in which he narrates one of his initial encounters with Armenian villagers. In addition to speaking Armenian and English, Emin could also speak Persian and Turkish. His ability to cast and recast his identity is evident in his initial encounters with both the Turks and Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. As Aslanian has noted, port Armenians were boundary or border-crossers, who could easily navigate between multiple cultural and regional zones. These Armenians had an ability to speak numerous languages, and could make use of their hybrid identities to fit into the norms of different cultures and societies.<sup>19</sup> Equipped with a pass issued by the British to protect him from Ottoman mistreatment, Emin says he never needed it. He "behave[d] in such a domineering way, that the Turks imagined he was some great Armenian, a favourite of the Sultan, with a firman in his possession."<sup>20</sup> After some days of travel, he eschewed the traditional method of travel by caravan—a requirement at the time for Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire—and chose to travel alone by horseback. His servant companions thought he would be "lost without a guide," but with his privileged access to early modern technological and scientific advancements, "the fruits of European wisdom, in his pocket, the compass and the map," he needed no human guide.<sup>21</sup> The possession of a

19 See Aslanian, "Port Cities and Printers," 55–58; as well as "The Marble of Armenian History: Or Armenian History as World History," *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 4 (2014): 129–142 at 137; Aslanian, "From 'Autonomous' to 'Interactive' Histories: World History's Challenge to Armenian Studies," in *An Armenian Mediterranean: Words and Worlds in Motion*, ed. Kathryn Babayan and Michael Pifer (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 81–125 at 124–25.

20 Ēmin, *Life and Adventures*, 156.

21 Ēmin, *Life and Adventures*, 156.

compass and map facilitated Emin's easy travel through the Ottoman Empire and reveals Emin's knowledge of the new scientific and technological developments diffused in the early modern period—in this case those facilitating travel and navigation.<sup>22</sup> By contrast, his companion servants—rural dwellers disconnected from such technological developments—could not imagine how he could fare without human guides.

Traveling alone by horse made the Armenians of Jinis he encountered take him for a Turk when he first entered the village, but when he revealed his Armenian identity by speaking to them in Armenian, his flagrant rebellion against the established societal norms disturbed them, and they “ran to their clubs, in order to beat him heartily, using menacing language, and asking, How he durst travel alone without a caravan, since he was a Christian?”<sup>23</sup> The villagers' response demonstrate how society deeply governed their norms and expectations, and consequently their instinctive attempt to enforce those norms upon any individual that would try to act contrary to them. These norms stand in vivid contrast with Emin's own course of life, in which he had revolted against his community's expectations, and had set out to fashion himself and his life in a self-determined way. When the two worlds first meet one another in the text—the port Armenian first encountering the Armenian villagers—there is an immediate clash and misunderstanding that very nearly devolves into violent confrontation. However, Emin, with his fluid and adaptable identity, counters the villagers' attack by re-presenting himself as a Turk, using the Turkish language to threaten punishment on all the villagers. The threat is immediately effective, and makes the villagers “frightened out of their senses, and a hundred of them came down upon their knees, begging for mercy, and promising a sum of money, if he would forgive them.”<sup>24</sup> Emin continues his charade as a Turk, waiting for an opportunity to reveal his Armenian identity in a safer environment and speak to them about his plan for revolt and liberation. He finds the opportunity to do so later that evening during dinner in the house of the village elder.

During the course of the evening, he manages to direct the conversation toward his intended subject: “You, Christians, what is the reason of your objecting, if any of your countrymen should take a fancy to be a warrior? And why are you not free? Why have you not a sovereign of your own?”<sup>25</sup> Emin here introduces the villagers to western, Enlightenment ideals, such as

22 Richards, “Early Modern,” 203–04; Bentley, “Early Modern Europe,” 22–23, 25–26.

23 Ėmin, *Life and Adventures*, 157.

24 Ėmin, *Life and Adventures*, 158.

25 Ėmin, *Life and Adventures*, 159.

individual freedom, popular sovereignty, and autonomy; but the answer he receives reveals a diametrically opposite mentality from his village counterparts: “Sir, our liberty is in the next world; our king is Jesus Christ.”<sup>26</sup> The villagers view their position in life as established by divine order, and seem content to wait for liberation in a future realm. When Emin questions them on the source of their beliefs, they reply: “The Holy Fathers of the Church ... say, the Armenian nation has been subject to the Mahometans from the creation of the world, and must remain so till the day of resurrection; otherwise we could soon drive the Othmans out of our country.”<sup>27</sup> The villagers believe that it is the divine plan for them to be subject to Muslim overlords until an unspecified, eschatological future when they will then be liberated through supernatural intervention on “the day of resurrection.”<sup>28</sup> Until then, they are to continue contentedly as Ottoman subjects.

In order to counter their assertion that Armenians were always subjects and are not to fight for their liberation, Emin pulls out a copy of the *History of Armenia* of Movsēs Khorenats’i from his pocket and “sent for a priest that could read a little.”<sup>29</sup> Emin shows himself to be in touch with the world of print, one of the pivotal technological developments shaping the culture and mental universe of early modern people.<sup>30</sup> Emin stands in stark contrast to his Anatolian compatriots who are mostly illiterate, apart from the village priest who knows how to read, although not of course primarily for the purpose of education or self-betterment, but rather to perform the liturgical services of the church. Emin brings together two disparate texts for the villagers’ consideration: the “genealogy of the kings of the Armenians” from Khorenats’i’s *History of Armenia*, and a passage from the Gospel: “Whosoever shall leave behind him his father, mother, brother, and wife, lift up the cross, and follow me ... should

26 Ėmĭn, *Life and Adventures*, 159.

27 Ėmĭn, *Life and Adventures*, 159.

28 Ėmĭn, *Life and Adventures*, 159.

29 Ėmĭn, *Life and Adventures*, 160. The copy of Movsēs of Khoren (Khorenats’i) would likely have been the *editio princeps* of the work, printed in Amsterdam in 1695 by the press of T’ovma Vanandets’i under the title Ազգաբանութիւն տոհմին Յաբէթեան. I thank Sebouh Aslanian for this suggestion. On the printing activities of Vanandets’i, see Sebouh Aslanian, “The ‘Quintessential Locus of Brokerage’: Letters of Recommendation, Networks, and Mobility in the Life of Thomas Vanandets’i, an Armenian Printer in Amsterdam, 1677–1707,” *Journal of World History* 31 (forthcoming).

30 Emin presents himself in his biography as a voracious reader, consuming books on a wide variety of topics in both English and Armenian. On the importance of print and its effect on mentality and cultural change, see Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

inherit the kingdom of God.”<sup>31</sup> Emin exegetes these two passages in the following manner, which I quote at length:

You must have heard of the Christians of Frankestan, who, if they had listened to their priests, and had understood the Gospel in the manner in which our holy fathers have explained it to us, (which may God avert!) they would have been as great slaves to the Mahometans as we are now. The meaning of shouldering the cross, is the ensign which the brave soldiers carry against the Infidels, to fight and die under it; those being the true Christians, who can inherit the kingdom of God; and not they that lead a lazy cowardly life, like us, who are become cattle, devoured by wolves: witness David’s Psalm—“Be not ye as the horse, or as the mule, which have no understanding, whose mouth must be held in with a bit and bridle.” For example, a rational being should not suffer himself to be a wilful slave to others; he ought even to be cautious not to be domineered over by his own fellow-christians; since God has created them all free alike, to be ruled or governed by good laws, with the same justice to the rich or to the poor; shewing that every man is honourable, otherwise he is no better than a beast: for example—“Man that is in honour, and understandeth not, is like the beast that perisheth.”<sup>32</sup>

Emin praises the “Christians of Frankestan,” who interpreted the biblical passage in a literal manner, referencing the crosses they bore on their clothes and armor when fighting against Muslims in holy war. Emin presents European Christians as having come up with this interpretation on their own in contradiction to that of their priests, despite the fact that much contemporary interpretation and preaching by European clergy at the time of the crusades supported the interpretation Emin gives here.<sup>33</sup> Why would Emin have said

31 Ēmīn, *Life and Adventures*, 160.

32 Ēmīn, *Life and Adventures*, 160–1.

33 The speeches of Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont (November 18–27, 1095) are often taken by scholars as marking the beginning of the Crusades. In the context of one of the speeches reported in accounts by contemporary chroniclers, the pontiff employs this quotation from the Gospel with precisely the interpretation that Emin gives to it here. For a translation of the speeches recorded by chroniclers of the time and references to the original sources, see Paul Halsall, “Urban II (1088–1099): Speech at Council of Clermont, 1095, Five Versions of the Speech.” Internet Medieval Source Book, December 1997. Accessed June 23, 2020. <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/cite.asp>. On the speeches attributed to Pope Urban and the contemporary historiographic accounts that recorded them, see Tamar M. Boyadjian, *The City Lament: Jerusalem across the Medieval Mediterranean* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), 73–104.

this? It seems that since he aims to make the crusaders a model for Armenians to follow, he wanted to present the crusaders as going against the teaching of their own priests in undertaking crusades. This makes for an apt model for Armenian Christians, who, if they were to take up weapons in insurrection against Muslim overlordship, would in so doing be going against the teachings of their own clergy.

In the latter half of Emin's speech quoted above, there is an extended contrast between rational, honorable, and free beings on the one hand, and lazy, cowardly slaves or cattle, lacking understanding, on the other. Emin's language is drenched in contemporary Enlightenment ideals, such as the equality of all rational men and their natural right to freedom and just laws, without which existence is slavery. He claims that rational beings must resist all forms of dominion and slavery to other men and be subject only to law. Such a condition, Emin says, is the right of all, whether rich or poor, inasmuch as it is a natural birthright: "God has created them all free alike."<sup>34</sup> Such ideals are utterly foreign to the Armenian villagers, who had no experience or conception of any political system other than that of the Ottoman Empire. Emin equates the condition of the Armenian villagers to slavery, implying that they are no different than cattle, inasmuch as they are dominated by their Muslim masters, lacking freedom and rationality. Whereas the villagers understand their condition to be a result of a providential plan for the present age and hope in a better eschatological future, Emin avoids attributing any supernatural plan to the Armenians' condition, and instead blames the Armenians themselves for their present state, saying it is the result of their own cowardice and laziness.

In the course of Emin's speech to the villagers, he says that the priest interjected to offer his approval, which comes as somewhat of a surprise, since Emin had been critical of Armenian clerics and their teaching. The priest calls together all the village men, women, and children to meet Emin. The villagers are described by Emin in intentionally animalistic language as coming together "all in a flock" and are presented as engaging in behavior characteristic of slaves, such as when they try to kiss Emin's feet. Rather than assume the kind of autonomy and "rational" behavior that Emin proposes for them, they seem at first to simply transfer their allegiance and subjection from their Ottoman overlords to Emin. Staying true to the Enlightenment ideals expressed in his speech, Emin does not allow them to make this obeisance, and instead "received every one of them in his arms with equal affection, saluting them all without distinction."<sup>35</sup> Then, the priest exclaims: "My dear brethren, love and respect him; for he is the very man prophesied of by St. Nerses the Great,

34 Ėmin, *Life and Adventures*, 161.

35 Ėmin, *Life and Adventures*, 161.

about six hundred and thirty years ago, who will be the instrument of delivering us from the hands of our oppressors, and of the enemies of our faith.”<sup>36</sup> When questioned at the meaning of this strange pronouncement, the priest elaborates:

Every thing in good time: besides, the holy prophecy is for 666 years to be fulfilled; during that period, we must continue as in subjection; 638 years are expired, there remain 28 years more to complete our persecution; then we shall become free; then no power in the world can oppress us. Our guest must have seen a great deal of the world, as we may judge by his conduct, as well as by his great father; you may be judges yourselves: you were frightened at first, when you imagined he was a Turk; for your harsh behaviour on his saluting you first in a Christian language, any person in his place, even myself who am a priest, would have received the contribution money you offered to give him, and would have gone his way; nor could any person have known the imposition, which you, through your terror, forced upon yourselves. I say, he is the very man; but he must wait, and go through various scenes of life twenty or thirty years more. I tell it to his face; it is not he that does these things, it is the great God above, who has protected him, and turns his heart which way he pleases, as he did to Joseph and David.<sup>37</sup>

Millenarian visions and prophecies like the one mentioned by the villagers above and here by the priest, while popular in the early modern period, were in many respects the inheritance of the late antique and medieval world.<sup>38</sup> In the Armenian context, such views were widespread, being promoted by villagers and by the church in the Ottoman period in order to justify the subjugated position of the Armenian population to their overlords. They had the effect of promoting peace and curbing revolt and armed resistance against Ottoman rule, inasmuch as they entailed a relinquishing of political action and resistance on the human plane by relegating it to the divine in a distant and unspecified future date.<sup>39</sup>

36 Émin, *Life and Adventures*, 161.

37 Émin, *Life and Adventures*, 162–3.

38 See Stephen J. Shoemaker, *The Apocalypse of Empire: Imperial Eschatology in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). On millenarian and apocalyptic interpretations relating to the conquest of sacred cities such as Jerusalem, see Boyadjian, *The City Lament*, esp. 11–50.

39 On the long background to such prophecies and visions in the Armenian context, see Zaroui Pogossian, “The Last Emperor or the Last Armenian King? Some Considerations on Armenian Apocalyptic Literature from the Cilician Period,” in *The Armenian*

Although Emin interprets the priest's words as being said in his favor, it actually stands in vivid contrast to the ideals and worldview expressed in his own speech quoted above. Emin emphasized the ability of human individuals to band together in armed resistance in order to change the political order. He made a stark contrast between the villagers who fail to act to remove themselves from their condition of subjugation and rational creatures who exercise their freedom to improve their condition. The priest, while to a certain degree complimenting Emin or marveling at him, in fact undercuts the latter's message, by claiming that "it is not he [Emin] that does these things," but rather God, who is only using him as an "instrument" to execute the divine will. For the priest, as it seems for the villagers, change can only come about through the intervention of the divine, not by human action. Although Emin is recognized as someone different or apart, a special figure who has "seen a great deal of the world" (itself likely a veiled insult from the perspective of a village priest, who, along with the villagers, were likely suspicious of the world outside the village), in the priest's eyes this uniqueness is due not to Emin's own merit, or following Greenblatt's terminology—his "self-fashioning," but rather to his being chosen as an agent of God, to fulfill the work preordained by the divine being. Far from the Enlightenment ideals espoused by Emin and expressed by Greenblatt as the possibility for an individual to consciously take one's future into one's own hands, and through one's own agency fashion oneself in a

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*Apocalyptic Tradition: A Comparative Perspective: Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Robert W. Thomson on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Kevork B. Bardakjian and Sergio La Porta (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 457–503; Zaroui Pogossian and Sergio La Porta, "Apocalyptic Texts, Transmission of Topoi, and Their Multi-Lingual Background: The Prophecies of Agat'on and Agat'angel on the End of the World," in *The Embroidered Bible: Studies in Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Honour of Michael E. Stone*, ed. Lorenzo di Tommaso, Matthias Henze, and William Adler (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 824–51. On millenarianism and messianism in the early modern period, see, for example, Yosef H. Yerushalmi, "Messianic Impulses in Joseph ha-Kohen," in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 460–87; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–62; Miriam Eliav-Feldon, "Invented Identities: Credulity in the Age of Prophecy and Exploration," *Journal of Modern History* 3, no. 3 (1999): 203–32; Matt Goldish, Richard H. Popkin, Karl A. Kottman, et al., eds., *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*, 4 vols., Archives internationales d'histoire des idées/International Archives of the History of Ideas, vols. 173–176 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishing, 2001); Cornell H. Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient* 61 (2018): 18–90. I thank Sebouh Aslanian for calling my attention to the pervasive presence of millenarian beliefs and expectations across the early modern world.

self-determined way, the priest proffers an alternate vision of reality in which the place of individuals is much more passive, with action and agency residing in the divine realm. Anything extraordinary in human beings and any extraordinary changes in power systems and ruling structures is due to divine intervention. According to such an outlook, human beings are little more than instruments of the divine will.

After this encounter, Emin believes he has “sowed the corn grain of true religion, and planted the admirable zeal of military spirit.”<sup>40</sup> Did Emin’s words actually have any tangible impact on the priest or villagers? The villagers’ reported response to the priest’s speech leads one to doubt the lasting effect of Emin’s influence: “Good father, you never before preached so well in your life to us.” The priest replies, “Yes—I think myself inspired; particularly when I behold the countenance of our noble guest, who keeps silence till we make an end of our speech.”<sup>41</sup> Perhaps more than Emin’s Enlightenment preaching, it was actually the priest’s silencing of him that made the most salient and lasting impression upon the villagers. Certainly, by the end of the episode, there is no indication that any of them desired to follow Emin or join him in his quest.

### 3 Conclusion

In this article, I have highlighted how Joseph Emin was connected to the changes and developments that characterized the early modern world, which transformed human culture from the pre-modern period to a world marked by heightened and profound connectivity, the shrinking of space and time, and increased mobility.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, village Armenians living in the eastern vilayets of the Ottoman Empire did not engage directly in many of these developments, and hence evinced a worldview and behaved in a way that contrasts sharply with a port Armenian like Emin. Through a microhistorical analysis of one telling scene from Emin’s *Life and Adventures*, I have tried to show how the author of this book—who traveled with a map and compass in one pocket and a copy of Khorenats’i’s *History of Armenia* in the other—profited from the mobility, print culture, and technological advances that marked the early modern world. By contrast, the villagers he portrays appear immobile and illiterate, lacking the new technology or mental horizons that would allow

40 Emin, *Life and Adventures*, 164–5.

41 Emin, *Life and Adventures*, 163.

42 On the compression of space and time, see David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989), 240–307.

them to embrace or even understand the ideas espoused by Emin. Emin's behavior and speech, a product of his self-fashioned education and experience, evinced an ideology infused with British Enlightenment ideals that gave pride of place to individuality, freedom, and self-determination. By contrast, the villagers appear unable to think outside of a system in which the only true actor is the divine being, and exhibit no sign of being able or willing to actively work to deliver themselves from their present state of subjugation. On the contrary, when they encounter an individual like Emin acting in a way that contradicted their societal norms, they immediately moved to physically beat him into submission.

I have highlighted this microhistorical moment to make the larger point that it was port Armenians whose mentality adapted to the changes in the early modern world, while rural Armenians remained largely unaffected in their worldview and behavior, even if they sometimes experienced the consequences of those changes or came into contact with those who did. This urban/rural divide in the Armenian context continued right through the nineteenth century and up to the Genocide, in which its significance was made manifest with horrific consequences, when so many Armenians of the eastern vilayets were led to their deaths, in many cases exhibiting little effort to resist their murderers or attempt to save themselves, like so many "sheep led to their slaughter," as Emin might have described them.<sup>43</sup> This episode also speaks to our contemporary historical moment, in which we acutely sense the urban/rural divide in the English-speaking world, living as we are in the wake of Brexit and in the presidency of Trump, and becoming more aware of the impact that location can have upon mentality and behavior.

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43 For a contemporary eyewitness account that commented on precisely this characteristic of the deported Armenian population, see Grigoris Balakian, *Armenian Golgotha: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide, 1915–1918*, trans. Peter Balakian with Aris Sevag (New York: Random House, 2009).

# Familiar Yet Foreign: Armenians in the New Zealand Imagination before the Armenian Genocide

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## Abstract

This study of New Zealand newspapers explores the portrayals of Armenia and Armenians from relatively frequent media coverage dating from 1842 and leading up to the beginning of the 1915 Genocide. In this article, we analyze a sample of more than 35,000 archived news articles and discover recurring tropes about Armenians in both local and national publications. This article breaks new ground in the field of Armenian studies by shedding light on these narratives present in New Zealand. Furthermore, this article serves as an aide-mémoire of a special relationship between New Zealanders and Armenians, which has been lost in the reframing of history.

## Keywords

Armenian Genocide – genocide – Armenia – Armenians in New Zealand – historical memory – culture – Hamidian Massacres – Armenians in the Ottoman Empire – Armenians in newspapers – Armenian Genocide in newspapers – media – weddings

## 1 Introduction & Survey

In one of the furthest lands from Armenia, readers of New Zealand newspapers likely knew a bit about the history and culture of Armenians for years before the Armenian Genocide. This media review of New Zealand newspapers

explores the portrayals of Armenia and Armenians from relatively frequent media coverage dating from 1842 and leading up to the beginning of the Armenian Genocide in 1915. In this research, we analyze a sample of more than 35,000 archived news articles and find recurring cultural and political themes about Armenians in both local and national publications. These stories helped shape an image of Armenians in the imagination of New Zealanders as culturally unique fellow Christians who suffered a Genocide at the hands of the Ottoman Turks. With its focus on alternative tropes in foreign media, this article breaks new ground in the field of Armenian studies by bringing to the forefront these buried reports. As Armenia's historical ally, New Zealand's testimony helps in reconstructing the historic image of Armenians as narrated by the Western media, at a time when newspapers were the dominant source of knowledge about matters abroad for the general population.

There are relatively few studies on the portrayals of Armenians in the foreign media, particularly prior to the 1915 Genocide. Most studies of media coverage of Armenians have focused on the Armenian Genocide rather than the periods preceding it. Some notable studies include the book by Kappler et al. *Mass Media and the Genocide of the Armenians*, which investigates questions of responsibility, denial, victimisation and marginalisation through an analysis of international media.<sup>1</sup> Suny's *Truth in Telling: Reconciling Realities in the Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians* maps the competing rationalisations of the atrocities, massacres and the Armenian Genocide itself published by different US media, politicians and religious figures.<sup>2</sup> Balakian's bestseller *The Burning Tigris* details the Armenian Genocide, the events leading up to it, and the events following it, using archival findings on the intellectual climate, media and popular culture at the time, as well as America's response and failure to act.<sup>3</sup> *The Armenian Massacres, 1894–1896: U.S. Media Testimony* remains one notable compilation of articles, published in US periodicals between 1895 and 1899, reflecting the deep concern of the American public for the Armenian people, and offering a fascinating window onto the world politics of the time.<sup>4</sup> Boulgourdjian-Toufeksian's *From the Ottoman Empire to Argentina* discusses

1 Stefanie Kappler, Sylvia Kasparian, Richard Godin, Joceline Chabot, *Mass Media and the Genocide of the Armenians: One Hundred Years of Uncertain Representation* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

2 Ronald Grigor Suny, "Truth in Telling: Reconciling Realities in the Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians," *The American Historical Review* 114 (2009): 930–946.

3 Peter Balakian, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response* (New York City: Harper Collins, 2003).

4 Arman J. Kirakossian, *The Armenian Massacres, 1894–1896: U.S. Media Testimony* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004).

in detail the political discourses surrounding the reception of Armenians as immigrants on the one side and refugees on the other after the Genocide.<sup>5</sup> Pendse's 2017 study on Armenian periodicals represents an archive of social, literary, political, and economic expressions of historical Armenian communities in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>6</sup> Several volumes edited by Reverend Vahan Ohanian and Ara Ketibian (2019) examine the American newspaper accounts of the Armenians in the *New York Times*, the *Boston Globe*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*. To date, only one study focuses on New Zealand's coverage of the Armenian Genocide: Armoudian et al.'s "New Zealand and the Armenian Genocide: Myths, Memory and Lost History," which explores New Zealand's coverage before, during and after the Armenian Genocide and compares that historical coverage with the paucity of coverage in this contemporary era, when Armenians are rarely discussed in New Zealand media.<sup>7</sup>

This article contributes to this aforementioned scholarship by serving as an aide-mémoire of the virtual, historic relationship between New Zealanders and Armenians before the Genocide of 1915. This has been lost in realpolitik, as diplomatic relations between Turkey and New Zealand have ostensibly overshadowed meaningful recognition about the historical realities and their representations from previous eras.<sup>8</sup> The next sections outlines the themes found about Armenia and Armenians in New Zealand's historical newspapers. While the primary theme focuses on the atrocities perpetrated on the Armenian people, against that backdrop of terror and Genocide was a second theme, centered on aspects of Armenian culture, which is described below.

## 2 Representing Armenians as Victims of Ottoman Massacres

For decades before the Hamidian Massacres (1894–1896) and the Armenian Genocide of 1915, New Zealand newspaper readers could know about Armenia and the Armenian people through extensive media coverage.<sup>9</sup> Armenians

5 Nelida Boulgourdjian-Toufeksian, "The Reception of Post-Genocide Armenians-Immigrants and Refugees", *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 19 (2010): 61–72.

6 Liladhar R. Pendse, "An Introduction to Armenian Periodicals of the Eastern Mediterranean: A Bibliographic Study," *Slavic & East European Information Resources* 18 (2017): 3–32.

7 Maria Armoudian, James Robinson and V. Woodman, "New Zealand and the Armenian Genocide: Myth, Memory and Lost History" in *After the Ottomans: War Myths in Turkey and Beyond. Palestina, Australia, New Zealand*, ed. Hans Lucas Kaiser & Thomas Schmutz (London: I.B. Tauris/Bloomsbury, 2019), 2–30.

8 Armoudian, Robinson and Woodman, "New Zealand and the Armenian Genocide," 2.

9 Taner Akçam, *Killing Orders: Talat Pasha's Telegrams and the Armenian Genocide* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 31–32; Raymond Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide:*

made headlines in New Zealand's national and local newspapers as early as 1851, when the first reported massacres of the Armenians appeared in the *Lyttelton Times*—the first newspaper in Canterbury, New Zealand.<sup>10</sup>

The majority of New Zealand's coverage in the late 19th and early 20th centuries related to documenting the suffering of Armenians under Turkish rule and primarily came from British cable services. Many articles reported massacres, starvation, disease, extortion, and widespread violations of the human rights of Armenians. More than 6,000 articles published during this period covered Britain's demands for reform in Ottoman Turkey, the Porte's refusal to do so, and the multiple attempts at exterminating Armenians with headlines of "bloodshed and pillage" that continued into the twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> Local and national news outlets remained dedicated to such coverage over the years, telling their audiences about, "the suffering of a people in a land far away, encouraging readers to act, while humanitarians among them heeded the call."<sup>12</sup>

Table 1 quantifies the articles published in New Zealand between 1842 and 1917 that report on the Armenian people. A gradual rise in reporting on Armenian affairs over the years appear, with periodic spikes during humanitarian crises such as the 1894–1896 Hamidian massacres and the most violent years of the Armenian Genocide (1915–1917) when 8,046 and 6,408 related articles were published, respectively. Evidently, the Hamidian massacres were a more frequent topic than the Genocide. This statistic might be unexpected, but the former coincided with British Prime Minister Mr Gladstone's intense media campaign to draw attention of the Great Powers to the Eastern question, and alleviate the suffering of innocent people. As a British colony at the time, New Zealand and its media supported the Prime Minister's diplomatic interests, publishing a staggering 1,939 articles on his efforts to save the persecuted Christian population in Turkey.<sup>13</sup> According to Enis Şahin, "If Gladstone hadn't backed this problem so much and had made it so coherent with British politics, how the Armenians drew the attention of the international community towards the end of the 19th century could not have happened."<sup>14</sup>

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*A Complete History* (London, UK: I.B. Tauris, 2011); Geoffrey Robertson, *An Inconvenient Genocide: Who Now Remembers the Armenians?* (Sydney, NSW: Vintage Books Australia, 2014).

10 "Turkey," *Lyttelton Times*, 19 April 1851, <https://bit.ly/2QJRe7H> (Accessed 12/17/2018).

11 See Table 2.

12 Armoudian, Robinson and Woodman, "New Zealand and the Armenian Genocide," 2.

13 Papers Past Archive, *National Library of New Zealand*, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> (Accessed 12/15/2018).

14 Enis Şahin, "British Prime Minister Gladstone and the Armenian Problem According to Western Media", *Turkish-Armenian Relations Throughout History*, 2019, <https://bit.ly/2E3nS15> (Accessed December 01/31/2019).

TABLE 1 No. of newspaper articles published in NZ referencing Armenians per annum (1842–1917)<sup>a</sup>

Publishing Year	No. of articles	Publishing year	No. of articles	Publishing year	No. of articles	Publishing year	No. of articles
1842	2	1862	2	1882	39	1902	180
1843	3	1863	47	1883	129	1903	1,031
1844	1	1864	129	1884	55	1904	539
1845	0	1865	28	1885	69	1905	911
1846	5	1866	2	1886	101	1906	258
1847	1	1867	9	1887	46	1907	431
1848	2	1868	13	1888	105	1908	295
1849	0	1869	6	1889	368	1909	711
1850	3	1870	14	1890	414	1910	248
1851	6	1871	16	1891	121	1911	307
1852	6	1872	40	1892	59	1912	428
1853	3	1873	28	1893	205	1913	386
1854	5	1874	15	1894	487	1914	391
1855	7	1875	32	1895	3,622	1915	2,294
1856	9	1876	45	1896	3,937	1916	1,774
1857	4	1877	140	1897	1,226	1917	874
1858	5	1878	194	1898	345		
1859	22	1879	57	1899	354		
1860	4	1880	192	1900	273		
1861	7	1881	86	1901	311		

a Papers Past Archive, *National Library of New Zealand*, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> (Accessed 12/15/2018).

Mr Gladstone's devotion to the publicizing the violations to Armenians is best summarised in his own words: "Service to Armenia is service to civilization."<sup>15</sup>

A third increase in reporting on Armenians occurred in 1903 with 1,031 published stories.<sup>16</sup> That year, for the first time, the dominant themes were violent acts and political murders committed not by the Turks, but by Armenian

<sup>15</sup> Şahin, "Gladstone and the Armenian Problem."

<sup>16</sup> Papers Past Archive, *National Library of New Zealand*, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> (Accessed 12/15/2018).

revolutionaries—captured in 451 articles.<sup>17</sup> The locus of these outbursts was in Britain, Canada and the United States. The revolutionaries, mainly members of rival organisations transliterated as the “Huentschakist” Party and the “Alfarist” Party, were reported to be targeting each other.<sup>18</sup> The refusal of the Patriarch and wealthy Armenians to financially support their cause triggered revenge killings and further clashes between the parties.<sup>19</sup>

### 3 Representing Armenian Culture and Customs

Prolonged coverage of the massacres ostensibly led to the involvement of ordinary citizens who personally contributed to the Armenian Relief Fund of New Zealand instituted in 1896.<sup>20</sup> While coverage primarily portrayed Armenians as an oppressed and marginalised Christian people, other portrayals stand out, as summarised in Table 2 and Figure 1.

We distinguished these two subject areas and quantified the political and humanitarian articles on Ottoman-Armenian affairs on the one hand, and the pieces related to Armenian culture, people, and customs on the other. Some of the most frequently recurring articles in the latter category described Armenians as enterprising merchants, bankers, jewellers and tradespeople—such as famous carpet crafters, potion mixers, and centenarians living until the age of 110.<sup>21</sup> These articles describe in detail the Armenians’ natural vitality, the complexity of their weddings, the beauty and successes of their women, characterizations that do not fit neatly into the genre of European affairs or the grisly events of the time. These articles take a different tone—casual, anecdotal, more anthropological and less political.

For example, a widely reprinted 1883 article on the Orlov diamond, featured a bold Armenian merchant, who became one of the richest men in Persia by selling the precious stone to the Russian royal family. The seller was so determined to reach his buyer in Europe that he reportedly cut a hole in the calf

17 Papers Past Archive, *National Library of New Zealand*, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> (Accessed 12/15/2018).

18 The original article uses the spelling of “Alfarists,” which show up in other publications as well, such as *the New York Times*, Wikipedia etc., but the spelling of the “Huentschakists,” could not be traced outside of New Zealand archives.

19 “Armenian Political Murders,” *Press*, 18 December 1903, <https://bit.ly/2HMciYS> (Accessed 01/29/2019).

20 “The Armenian Relief Fund,” *Press*, 9 May 1896, <https://bit.ly/2HwcOnt> (Accessed 01/29/2019).

21 “Rare Longevity,” *Golden Bay Argus*, 18 April 1901, <https://bit.ly/2RWVDts> (Accessed 01/29/2019).

TABLE 2     A sample of newspaper articles published in NZ covering recurring subjects related to the Armenians per annum (1842–1914)<sup>a</sup>

Ottoman-Armenian affairs by phrase		Armenian culture by phrase	
Armenian atrocities	1,735	Armenian merchant	116
Armenian question	1,343	Armenian wedding	31
Armenian “outrages” (rape)	649	Armenian tradesmen	20
Armenian massacres	1,090	Armenian princess Beglarian	20
Armenian holocaust	5	Armenian bole	60
Armenian murders	23	Armenian banker	12
Armenian famine	44	Armenian carpet manufacturers	3
Armenian crisis	27	Armenian women	72
Armenian affairs	192	Armenian longevity	25
Armenian horrors	904	Armenian embroidery	6
Total sum	6,012	Total sum	359

a Papers Past Archive, *National Library of New Zealand*, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> (Accessed 12/15/2018).

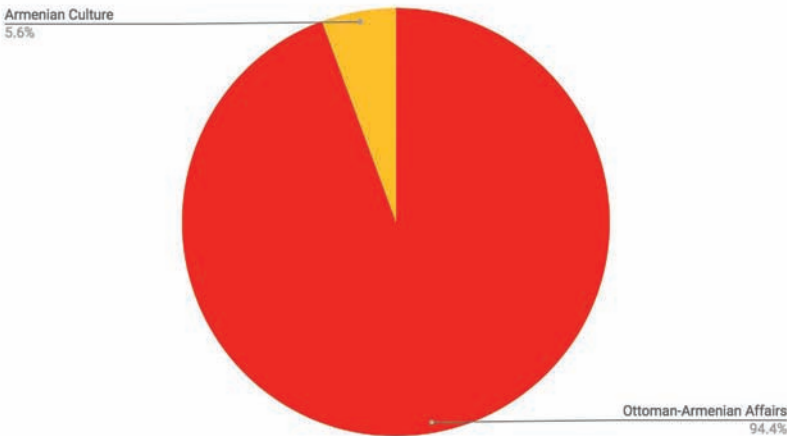


FIGURE 1     The cumulative presence of the two subject areas in New Zealand media (1842–1914)

of his leg, placed the diamond in it and sewed up the wound to prevent its theft during the voyage.<sup>22</sup> A 1906 version of the same story included a more sensationalist recount of the fate of the Armenian merchant named Shafras who obtained the diamond by murdering its previous Jewish owner. After failing to strike a good bargain with the Russian Empress, he found himself in debt, forced to sell the jewel to the royals, and eventually died by poisoning by his son-in-law.<sup>23</sup> A 1911 article on foreign wedding customs confirms that “the Armenians were the richest of all the tribes of all Asia, and to them belonged all the merchandise of precious stones.”<sup>24</sup>

One of the most reported subjects of this time also became the talents and advanced positions of Armenian women. In 1895, twenty New Zealand newspapers wrote about the Armenian Princess Beglarian, who, as a young doctor, clinic director, philanthropist and campaigner for women’s rights in Armenia, was deemed “the advanced woman of the highest type.”<sup>25</sup> *The Star* concluded that it was “an instance of the effete East giving a lesson in progress to the civilised West.”<sup>26</sup> One of Princess Beglarian’s speeches was later quoted in an ethnographic piece about Armenian women that highlighted their talents for crafting, sowing and home-making. The article further detailed that in the home, the Armenian wife and mother rules supremely, and that the daughters’ position in the family is one of privilege and priority—owing to the belief that “a girl is like a rosebud, and cannot develop into full bloom without much care.”<sup>27</sup>

In 1912, Dr Hosanna Makignian who left her native Armenia to pursue medicine overseas was praised for being the youngest licensed woman physician in the United States with the ambition to return to her country as a specialist for women and children.<sup>28</sup> Six New Zealand news outlets reported on The

22 “The Orlov Diamond,” *Star/Lyttleton Times/Colonist*, 9 August 1883, <https://bit.ly/2Mabf6w> (Accessed 01/29/2019).

23 “A Story of a Diamond,” *NZ Times*, 26 February 1906, <https://bit.ly/2Ro8mjw> (Accessed 01/29/2019).

24 “Some Wedding Customs,” *Star*, 02 September 1911, <https://bit.ly/2DHFpMd> (Accessed 01/29/2019).

25 “An Armenian Lady Doctor,” *Star*, 12 December 1895 <https://bit.ly/2Hb8Mdu> (Accessed 01/29/2019).

26 *Star*, “An Armenian Lady Doctor.”

27 “Armenian Women,” *Press*, 1 April 1896, <https://bit.ly/2HMIzSy> (Accessed 01/30/2019). An interesting article with regards to Armenian women also focuses on their beauty, see: “The Ladies’ Column,” *Mataura Ensign*, 7 June 1895, <https://bit.ly/2SbGx2B> (Accessed 01/29/2019).

28 “A Young Lady Doctor,” *Dunstan Times*, 11 November 1912, <https://bit.ly/2RnVREB> (Accessed 01/29/2019).

Armenian Women's Benevolent Association of Tabriz, which for years, maintained thirteen schools in the neighboring villages: "These Armenian ladies raise all the money themselves to support the schools, and work very hard in order to do so."<sup>29</sup> In 1907, Armenian women in Syria made headlines having "obtained suffrage before their English sisters. It is an advancement in the status of Eastern women that none of them could have possibly dreamt of."<sup>30</sup>

"Armenian bole" was another hot topic thanks to a much-publicized case from 1883 concerning butchers in New Zealand misusing the allegedly toxic powder to give low-quality meat a fresh, reddish tint. A total of 60 articles followed this specific case, including the butchers' arrests and their later acquittal after they were deemed clueless of the side-effects of this imported clay native to Armenia.<sup>31</sup> The articles claim that the substance led to the "adulteration of food." However in Armenia, the clay powder was consumed as a medicine and later as a food pigment and colouring base.<sup>32</sup> Interesting to note is that recent research has shown that Armenian bole possesses valuable therapeutic properties, which can be used in modern medicine in a similar way Armenians used it centuries ago to treat diarrhea, dysentery, and bleeding.<sup>33</sup>

Another way the newspapers covered Armenia was through travelogues. One from 1895 described in great detail an Armenian feast hosted by a few wealthy merchants and carpet manufacturers at their home in Northern Turkey.<sup>34</sup> From the endless rows of dishes and delicacies to the unique customs and faux pas, the author undoubtedly and perhaps unknowingly engaged in participant observation, which charmed the editors of the *Otago Witness*, the *Daily Times* and the *Nelson Evening Mail*: "Every now and then I became aware that a courteous neighbour was thrusting a choice piece of kidney or liver, or a particularly succulent bit of crusty brown fat between my incisors with his fingers, and forthwith raised my right band to my lips and forehead in acknowledgment of the attention, returning the compliment a moment

29 "Local & General," *Otago Daily Times/Otago Witness/Poverty Bay Herald/Grey River Argus/Marlborough Express/Ashburton Guardian*, 23 March–21 October 1907, <https://bit.ly/2TmTVoY> (Accessed 01/30/2019).

30 "Local & General," *Star*, 8 May 1907, <https://bit.ly/2FWddXY> (Accessed 01/30/2019).

31 See Table 2.

32 Ayda Hosseinkhani, Hashem Montaseri, Abdolali Mohagheghzadeh, Hassan Seradj, and Manouchehr Sodaifi, "Armenian bole: a historical medicinal clay," *Pharmaceutical Historian*, 44, no. 4 (2014): 98–100.

33 Hosseinkhani, Montaseri, Mohagheghzadeh, Seradj, and Sodaifi, "Armenian bole," 98–100.

34 "An Armenian Feast," *Otago Daily Witness*, 4 May 1895, <https://bit.ly/2THokH2> (Accessed 01/30/2019).

or so afterwards.”<sup>35</sup> In contrast with this cultural experience is an article published on the same day in *the Otago Witness* under the heading “The Armenian Atrocities” in which an impassioned reader urged fellow citizens and officials to send aid to the people being massacred, and to be sympathetic and remember common humanity.<sup>36</sup>

Among these diverse topics covered in sixty-five years, a fascination with Armenian wedding customs stands out for its frequency of coverage. During the late 19th and early 20th century, there were more newspapers in New Zealand per head of population than anywhere else in the world.<sup>37</sup> Readers of many of these newspapers indulged in quasi-ethnographic pieces on the beauty, complexity and exoticism of Christian ceremonies in Armenia. Our evidence suggests that the curious set of differences and similarities between British and Armenian weddings set off a genre dedicated to the subject in the form of editorials and travelogues published in over twenty different newspapers, including major publications like *the Star* and *New Zealand Herald*, as well as the smaller *Timaru Herald*, *Thames Advertiser*, and *Dunstan Times*.

Rather than merely reprinting the same piece across different newspapers—as was a common practice with other subjects—each of these newspapers focused on different aspects of Armenian weddings. One 1885 article, for example, reported on the veil’s history, tracing it back to the Armenians. The article claims that the Armenians, one of the oldest Christian civilizations, feature two veils at their weddings: the lavishly golden groom’s veil and the white veil that covers the bride from head to toe, symbolizing the “submission on the part of the bride in exchanging her single for married life.”<sup>38</sup> An 1891 piece published in 25 different news outlets describes the bride’s ritual of painting delicate flower motifs all over her breasts and neck, along with her dress, makeup and jewels.<sup>39</sup> The same ritual was captured in an in-depth 1877 travelogue, which described a traditional Armenian aristocratic wedding in the town of Pera in the vicinity of Constantinople. In it, the author makes many other comparative observations, including how Armenian couples do not exchange rings, nor have bridesmaids, and that while the saying in England

35 *Otago Daily Witness*, “An Armenian Fest”.

36 “The Armenian Atrocities,” *Otago Daily Witness*, 4 May 1895, <https://bit.ly/2Cizpzi> (Accessed 01/30/2019).

37 Karl du Fresne, “The history of NZ newspapers would shame the Facebook generation,” *New Zealand Listener*, 13 November 2018, <https://bit.ly/2FqoqNq> (Accessed 01/06/2019).

38 “History of the Veil,” *New Zealand Mail*, 18 September 1885, <https://bit.ly/2ssnORD> (Accessed 01/06/2019).

39 “Ladies’ Gossip,” *Lyttelton Times/Otago Witness*, 22 January 1891, <https://bit.ly/2ChNViV> (Accessed 01/06/2019).

is “blessed is the bride the sun shines on, the Armenians in Pera seemed bent on wishing their midnight bridal pair as much happiness as an unbounded supply of wax-lights could produce.”<sup>40</sup>

In one British article, titled “Marriage rites in Armenia,” reprinted in five New Zealand newspapers in 1884, the author described Armenians as precious people, as the dwellers of the Garden of Eden and the valley of Mount Ararat where Noah’s Ark supposedly sat.<sup>41</sup> He then described an Armenian wedding he had attended. The author commented on the surprisingly young age of Armenian brides and grooms—between twelve and sixteen, and then contrasted the bride-giving custom in Armenia to that in England. In Armenia, about thirty men gave away the bride, while in England it is only one man who had the honours. He described the lively celebrations that were simultaneously happening at the bride’s and groom’s houses.<sup>42</sup> Despite its anthropological tone, the article’s conclusion took an amusing ethnocentric turn: “The Armenian rites are undoubtedly graceful and suggestive; but I fancy my readers will agree that there are few prettier sights than an English ‘village wedding’ when the fair daughter of the lord marries the man of her choice, and all the school-children turn out in their festal array. It is a simpler ceremony certainly, but far more satisfactory and much less tedious, than the way they get married in Armenia.”<sup>43</sup>

The juxtaposition of these articles on daily life and celebrations against the backdrop of war, terror, and ultimately Genocide, generates a type of contradiction. So dire was the state of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire that a New Zealand newspaper reported the following in 1889, years before the Hamidian Massacres and Genocide:

Monstrous crimes of an altogether exceptional character, are bringing perpetual desolation upon an unarmed, industrious and peace-loving people. Young girls are violated and cast upon the fire; women are outraged and mutilated; children are scourged; nobles are impaled, ranched

40 “An Armenian Wedding,” *Timaru Herald*, 30 June 1877, <https://bit.ly/2sqHXYw> (Accessed 01/06/2019).

41 “Marriage Rites in Armenia,” *Lyttelton Times/New Zealand Herald/New Zealand Mail/Southland Times/South Canterbury Times*, 6 February 1884 <https://bit.ly/2QHsIUF> (Accessed 01/06/2019).

42 *Lyttelton Times/New Zealand Herald/New Zealand Mail/Southland Times/South Canterbury Times*, “Marriage Rites in Armenia.”

43 *Lyttelton Times/New Zealand Herald/New Zealand Mail/Southland Times/South Canterbury Times*, “Marriage Rites in Armenia.”

with petroleum and set on fire; a bride is carried off in the midst of the marriage service and thrown into the boiling water.<sup>44</sup>

This strange juxtaposition raises the following question: How can the newspapers publish one article admiring Armenian brides alongside a report on Kurds raping and boiling a bride to death?<sup>45</sup> These themes, which simultaneously describe the culturally-rich Armenians and the monstrous crimes against them without ever cross-referencing the two, reached a peak when the two types of articles—cultural and humanitarian—were published on the same day in the same newspaper.<sup>46</sup> On December 17 1896, *New Zealand Mail* ran three very different stories related to the Armenians. The first, was a cable reporting on the Armenian massacre at Egin where Turkish soldiers aided the Kurds resulting in the murder of 1,500 Armenians. The second was an in-depth description of an Armenian wedding under Kurdish threat, and the third was about the Sultan's protest against US President Cleveland's call for action to alleviate the Armenian suffering in his message to Congress.<sup>47</sup> At the height of the Hamidian massacres, which resulted in an estimated 80,000 to 300,000 Christian casualties, G.B. Burgin described what he had personally witnessed at an Armenian ceremony: not golden veils, flowers and grandeur, but rather how the groom's father was forced to take his place below a burly Turk because "a Mohammedan is always entitled to sit above a Christian."<sup>48</sup> He further goes on to describe how the Kurd chief had to be generously bribed not to molest the bride and groom, and how during the ceremony, performers were hired to honour the death of a Kurdish prince who likely had murdered many Armenians.<sup>49</sup> In a chilling final paragraph foreshadowing the mass killing orders that would begin a decade later, he wrote that for these poor people "the bridegroom is death—famine and pestilence attend him; and the murderous

44 "The Armenian Atrocities," *Wanganui Herald*, 14 September 1889, <https://bit.ly/2BndwYe> (Accessed 01/06/2019).

45 "Items," *Oamaru Mail*, 8 August 1889, <https://bit.ly/2WOp9Ay> (Accessed 01/06/2019).

46 As discussed on page 10, the same juxtaposition of Armenian culture and horrors in the same newspaper occurred in 1895 when the "Armenian feast" story ran alongside a plea to stop the atrocities.

47 "Cable Flashes," *New Zealand Mail*, 17 December 1896, <https://bit.ly/2TOJNya> (Accessed 01/06/2019); "An Armenian Wedding," *New Zealand Mail*, 17 December 1896, <https://bit.ly/2ALuUft> (Accessed 01/06/2019); "Continental," *New Zealand Mail*, 17 December 1896 <https://bit.ly/2sqKPog> (Accessed 01/06/2019).

48 *New Zealand Mail*, "An Armenian Wedding." See also Taner Akçam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility* (New York City: Metropolitan Books, 2007), 42.

49 *New Zealand Mail*, "An Armenian Wedding."

monster who sits upon the throne of Islam smiles cynically, surrounds himself with a vast army, and devises fresh methods by which he may exterminate the whole Armenian race. How long, oh Lord, how long?"<sup>50</sup> Such was the juxtaposition of the horrors of day-to-day life and the attempt to push them aside at one of the most sacred Armenian ceremonies.

On the second of April the following year, four articles covered the Tokat massacre during which a hundred Armenians were killed; simultaneously *The Bruce Herald* ran a wedding piece without any reference to the massacres.<sup>51</sup> A British journalist who attended a traditional Armenian wedding in Constantinople reported that the magnificent bride was completely covered with a veil of long slips of tinsel, "like that with which we decorate our Christmas trees."<sup>52</sup> The article further conveys how "the clothes were clumsily made, as are all Oriental garments, and completely disfigured whatever of grace she had" and that the ceremony resembled a Catholic one but with much more symbolism."<sup>53</sup>

#### 4 Conclusion

This article explored the coverage of Armenians in New Zealand newspapers before the Armenian Genocide, with a focus on the fascination New Zealanders had with Armenian culture at a time when this Christian nation was being persecuted under Ottoman rule. By mapping out the alternative narratives and exploring beyond the dominant theme of the victim of mass annihilation, we can begin to understand the image New Zealanders had of Armenians at a time when newspapers were the primary source of knowledge. By comparing the historical data accumulated on these recurring tropes, we were able to conclude that despite the diversity in the topics covered, New Zealand newspapers were 16.7 times more likely to write about political turmoil and maltreatment than about Armenian culture and customs.<sup>54</sup>

Furthermore, this article serves as a reminder of the special historic relationship between New Zealanders and Armenians, which has been lost in the reframing of history. In the modern era, atrocities against Armenians, as well

50 New Zealand Mail, "An Armenian Wedding."

51 "The Armenian Massacres," *NZ Times/NZ Herald/Star/Thames Advertiser/Lyttelton Times*, 2 April 1897, <https://bit.ly/2DJXGbs> (Accessed 31/01/2019).

52 "An Armenian Wedding," *Bruce Herald*, 2 April 1897, <https://bit.ly/2sViVki> (Accessed 01/06/2019).

53 *Bruce Herald*, "An Armenian Wedding."

54 See Figure 1.

as their customs and culture, which New Zealanders once cared for, are mostly forgotten in the country's media. This includes the significant anniversary of Anzac Day, which coincides with the official start of the Armenian Genocide. On the rare occasions that New Zealand media cover Armenians, the subject of the Armenian Genocide is also rare. These reports are mostly on television celebrities, such as the Kardashians family, or a news item featuring former President Robert Kocharian or politician Mher Yeghazarian.

About a dozen articles connecting the Armenian Genocide and New Zealand have appeared over recent years, usually near the date of commemoration.<sup>55</sup> This shift from the newspapers of past is partly due to the nature of news focusing on the here and now. But it also arises from trade and the diplomatic efforts of the Turkish government, which has culminated in a close-knit relationship between New Zealand and modern Turkey and has ultimately aided the latter's Genocide denial and derailed the efforts of New Zealand Armenians for Genocide recognition in New Zealand.<sup>56</sup>

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55 Maria Armoudian, "Honour all victims of Turkish brutality," 23 April 2015, *New Zealand Herald*, <https://bit.ly/2WxoQqk> (Accessed 31/01/2019); Maria Armoudian & James Robinson, "NZ's heroic response to a faraway genocide," *Newsroom*, 27 April 2018, <https://bit.ly/2MG9QF5> (Accessed 01/31/2019); Maria Armoudian, "Armenia," *Radio New Zealand*, 25 April 2015, <https://bit.ly/2WwVxqV> (Accessed 01/31/2019); James Robins, "A Forgotten Past: Anzac and the Armenian Genocide," *New Zealand Herald*, 24 April 2016, <https://bit.ly/2RC0ZVZ> (Accessed 01/31/2019).

56 Armoudian, Robinson and Woodman, "New Zealand and the Armenian Genocide," 2.

## Re-reading Armenian Modernity in Madt'ēos Mamurian's *English Letters*

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### Abstract

This article moves to examine Madt'ēos Mamurian's *English Letters or the Destiny of an Armenian* alongside issues of national consciousness and the modern political subject. Focusing on the narrative style and structure that allowed the author to problematize and cultivate the idea of reawakening the Armenian nation and individual as a political animal, the article claims to bring in the notion of the strange, stranger and the uncanny, as the operating tools in Mamurian's engagement with the modern in a late nineteenth century Ottoman-Armenian context.

### Keywords

Madt'ēos Mamurian – *English Letters or the Destiny of an Armenian* (Անգլիական Նամականի կամ Շայու մը Ճակատագիրը) – reawakening – Armenian modernity – 19th century Western Armenian literature – epistolary novel

...

Նելսոն առ Վուստ

Կ. Պոլիս ...

Առջի շաբաթ հող Լօնտօն մօտդ էի, բարեկամ, այս առտու շոգենալը զիս հոս նետեց երեք հազար մղոն տեղ ինն աւուր մէջ կտրելով: ...Ահա փափաքիս հասայ, հայ եմ լեզուաւ՝ եւ քեզ հայասիրիդ հայերէն գրելու առիթ ունիմ: Եթէ իմ անկլիացի լինելս չգիտնայիր, կարծեմ որ զիս բնիկ հայու տեղ կ'ընենիր զիրս կարողալով:

...

From Nelson to Wood, Constantinople ...  
 Last week I was near you, friend, there in London; this morning the steamship brought me here, covering a distance of three thousand miles in nine days.... Well I realized my wish. I'm Armenian by language and I have the opportunity to write in Armenian to you, an Armenophile. If you didn't know I was an Englishman, I think you would take me for a native Armenian, by reading my letter.<sup>1</sup>



If we are not even intrigued by the title, *English Letters or the Destiny of an Armenian*, this fragment from the opening letter of Madt'ēos Mamurian's epistolary novel definitely catches our attention with a not-so-usual juxtaposition of English and Armenian realities. The presentation of two British Armenophile gentlemen—Nelson Mamgents and his friend Wood, who studied together at Cambridge University—put much interest into the Armenian language, culture and history. This investment sets up the tone and frame of the novel, weaving before us a story of false identities, roots, national and personal histories, discoveries and revelations. Mamurian's choice to introduce a non-Armenian element into his story, discusses in a latent way the bifurcated question of modernity and modern individual in the nineteenth century Armenian context. Due to the strict policies and censorship of the Ottoman state, any novel based on the making of the modern individual/self and national identity, other than being an Ottoman subject, had to be told with a number of narrative strategies. The present article aims to focus on those strategies which rendered it possible for Mamourian to engage himself with the advent of the “modern” among the Ottoman Armenians. In analyzing the novel through its indirect and concealed style, the article will reveal the ways in which “strangeness” is not simply a feeling resulting from the use of British characters and a sentimental plotline—a number of schemes and a thwarted love story—in order to articulate the idea of political re-awakening of Armenians. That “strangeness” (*tarorinak*) in the narrative is inherently related to the state of estrangement and becoming a

<sup>1</sup> The article will be using the following editions for all its references to the original and translation of the text: Madt'ēos Mamurian, *Անգլիական նամակներ հայու հայրն և քան Հայաստանի* [*Anglikan namaki kam hayu mē Chakatagirē*] (Izmir: Dbakrutyun Yeghparts Dedeyan, 1881). The translation of the opening section belongs to Aris Sevag (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 308. All subsequent translations of the Armenian text are my own.

“foreigner” (*otar*) inside home/land, and to the “strangely familiar” or uncanny (*tartam*)—a feature of Armenian modernity showing itself in national consciousness without the nation. Thereby, this triad will become the operating tool, for us, in understanding the reawakening of the Armenian political body in the novel which, always at stake, lies between the capability to turn into a political animal and a dead one.

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 *The Novel*

In its four hundred and odd pages, *English Letters* includes a series of stories that run parallel to each other or appear as frame stories within its epistolary structure. The majority of the letters, exchanged between Nelson and Wood, introduce to us two main stories which run side by side. One and apparently more important of these two issues is the Armenian millet. Their centuries old history and current socio-political and cultural state are both fervently discussed in those exchanges. The second and seemingly lighter subject matter unfolds, as soon as the novel opens up with Nelson's leaving England for Constantinople after his marriage proposal to his childhood love Lily, which is callously rejected by her mother Lady Eastham. The sentimental quality of his story runs smoothly in parallel to the men's scholarly debates around Armenians' national history and their current state. In displaying his strong admiration for the Armenians' national and cultural achievements in the past, Nelson largely characterizes it as perfect and idyllic times. Conversely, he accuses Armenians at present of being materialistic and criticizes their inaction and failure to preserve their cultural and national integrity.

In face of Nelson's impulsiveness and perfectionism, Wood manifests more commonsense and serenity in his letters from London. His sensible and coherent disposition plays a balancing role upon a series of events, preventing the love affair between Nelson and Lily from dragging into further misunderstandings. The side plot of the sentimental story, through the second half, follows one of the typical scenes of (mis)recognition in Romantic novels, as Lily goes to Constantinople to live near Nelson, though in disguise. After not being recognized for some time, she escapes from London, and from turning into a victim of parental imposition that obliges her to marry with a dandy British aristocrat (Mr. Dandy). But events take a curious turn when Nelson and Lily face two major discoveries. The fact that they're both Armenians on parental side explains Nelson's strong attachment to Armenians beyond his profession as an Armenologue. Yet, the second discovery: that the two are cousins since

their fathers were brothers—crushes the two lovers' plan to get married. Still the devastating revelation that they have blood relation does not give way to a tragic ending. Instead they quite unexpectedly adapt themselves with their new conditions rather peacefully, as they decide to move to their ancestral lands and live in perfect harmony with peasants.

## 1.2 *Mamurian: The Man of Parts*

Widely celebrated as the founder of *Arevelian Mamul* (*The Eastern Press*), Madt'ēos Mamurian's literary output has hardly been studied. Although Mamurian founded *Arevelian Mamul* in 1871 and edited it for thirty years in Smyrna (current day Izmir, Turkey), his name has mainly been mentioned as the translator of European literature and the publisher of textbooks on Armenian history, literature and grammar.<sup>2</sup> His three novels: *Haykakan Namaki* (*Armenian Letters*) published in 1872, *Angliakan namaki kam hayu mē Chakatagirē* (*English Letters or the Destiny of an Armenian*) published in 1881, and an unfinished novel *Sev Lerin Martē* (*The Man on the Black Mountain*) have mostly escaped the attention of the Armenian literary studies and criticism.<sup>3</sup> This neglect can best be traced to the writer and literary critic Hagop Oshagan, who in his colossal work *Hamapatker Arevmtahay Grakanut'ean* (*A Panorama of Western Armenian Literature*), allots a chapter to Mamurian where he criticizes his works for being problematic and dreary. Oshagan writes:

... այդ ժամանակուան քաղաքակրթութեան գերագոյն կեդրոնէն մեզի -կրնամ ըսել-ոչ մէկ արժէքով անձնական դիտողութիւն չէ շնորհած, չորս հարիւրը անցնող իր վէպի էջերուն: ... Այս մարդը փոխանակ այդպէս գրքունակ իմաստութեան պատգամներու մէջ քրմանալու, եթէ երբեք իր զգացածները ու տեսածները խորհած ըլլար օրը օրին անձանագրելու, մենք այսօր կ'ունենայինք շատ հետաքրքրական ու անգլացոց համար ալ շահեկան վաւերագրեր, այնքան սիրելի՝ մեր օրերու մարդոց, այնքան փնտռուած՝ պատմութեան հետամուտ, բարբերու խուզարկու իմացականութիւններէ:

2 Madt'ēos Mamurian, *Arevelian Mamul* (Izmir: Dbakrutyun Yeghparts Dedeyan, 1882). Robert H. Hewsen provides a more extensive list of Mamurian's achievements. "An intellectual engage, he was an author, translator, publicist, historian, journalist, linguist, essayist, critic, teacher and political economist." See Robert H. Hewsen, "Madt'ēos Mamurian: A Smyranean Contributor to the Western Armenian Renaissance," in *Armenian Smyrna/Izmir: the Aegean communities*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (Mazda Publishers, 2012), 167–175.

3 This unfinished novel was serialized in Mamurian's *Arevelian Mamul* between 1871–81.

... In more than four hundred pages of his novel,—I could say—he did not bestow to us any noteworthy personal observation about the uppermost center of civilization of the time ... Instead of mastering in the analysis of academic knowledge, if this man could have thought of writing regularly on the things he saw and how he felt, we would have now owned engaging documents, equally useful for the British people, and so precious, about people of our time, something that is in great demand in history's diligence to understand morals and customs.<sup>4</sup>

Hagop Oshagan's disapproval and disappointment in the way that the Anglophile writer fails to provide us with more observations from his real-life experiences is understandable. Yet the so-called failure, in Oshagan's eyes, can be rooted in a different explanation. Having written the novel during his stay in London in 1857–58, Mamurian only decided to publish it in 1880, thanks to the insistence and encouragement of his mentor and close friend Tzerents'.<sup>5</sup> Taking the period it was written into consideration, Mamurian's novel can be seen as a typical nineteenth century literary work. Written in the styles of travel writing and the epistolary novel—two fashionable *topoi* of the period—the novel embodies Romantic feelings such as freedom, reawakening and self-discovery, blended with national consciousness, characteristic of Armenian Romanticism. The work also favors the meta-narrative. Mamurian did not write just as any historian would do, nor did he seem to aim for a narrative that would put the Ottoman world in comparison with its Western counterpart. The text does not reflect the observations of a social historian. Instead, by falling back upon the imagined, Mamurian tailors a narrative in order to be able to deal with the burning question of claiming a political body (both as citizens and on the level of a national state of its own). And this was only possible by blurring the main argument with the aid of narrative strategies and discourses.

Contrary to Oshagan's displeasure and underestimation, it is his son, Vahe Oshagan who expresses the significance of this work in Armenian literature, despite the criticisms directed against the style and overloads of philosophical debates on history.<sup>6</sup> In his book *The English Influence on the West Armenian Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, v. Oshagan characterizes the modern

4 Hagop Oshagan, Համապատկեր Արևմտահայ Գրականություն [Hamapatker Arevmtahay Grakanut'ean] (*A Panorama of Western Armenian Literature*) (Jerusalem: Surp Hagop, 1945), 442.

5 Hovsep Shishmanian (Constantinople 1822–Tiflis 1888) is considered to be the father of the Armenian historical novel.

6 Vahe Oshagan, *The English Influence on the West Armenian Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Cleveland OH: Cleveland State University, 1982), 18.

experience in Armenian letters as “strange,” which resonates with the apparent “strangeness” of Mamurian’s novel that this article aims to focus on.<sup>7</sup> In his argument, Oshagan points to a belatedness, making a claim that carefully arrives *avant la lettre*, as Gregory Jusdanis, years later, after him, problematizes the Third World countries’ belated affair with modernity.<sup>8</sup> Oshagan ascribes the quality of the “strange” mainly with the inevitable temporal discrepancies which resulted with the lack of synthesis between the idea and the practice of the modern, and hence the incompleteness of its full meaning within the Western Armenian context. Nevertheless, the non-Western cases such as the Western (or Ottoman) Armenians—who have centuries long history of national, cultural and intellectual re-awakening—developed their own ways of understanding and making the modern in their lives. Thus, without adhering necessarily to a comparative assessment that would bring Eurocentrism as a base, this article focuses on the key role of “strangeness” in Armenians’ experience with modernity and examines *English Letters* through the unusual ways that its author engages himself with this question.

### 1.3 *Armenian Modernity and Literature*

The nineteenth century within the borders of the Ottoman Empire witnessed a great number of novelties that are commonly referred to as Armenian modernity. Because it signified a whole new phase in the Armenian culture in this century, it is not surprising to find that terms such as Renaissance, Rebirth (*Veratsnund*) and Awakening (*Zart'onk'*) were used to describe this intellectually and socially new age. Almost every social, cultural, and literary venture in this period was highlighted with the reference to “the new.” Yet, modernity in the case of Armenian literature marked a complexity in its reception, as the new artistic expression did not follow the same trajectory as in the West. Rather, scholars recognized this “overlapping mixture of the neoclassical, romantic, realistic and other new movements” as the perfect integration and syntheses of an imported model of modernity with their culture in various ways.<sup>9</sup> Noteworthy examples of this contextualization emerged through the

7 Vahe Oshagan, “Modernization in Western Armenian Literature,” *Armenian Review*, no. 36 (1983): 62–75.

8 Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

9 For more on the history and contextualization of Armenian modernity see: Agop J. Hacıyan, Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk and Nourhan Ouzounian, eds. *The Heritage of Armenian Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000–2005), 71; Boghos Levon Zekian, “Christianity to modernity,” *The Armenians: Past and Present in the Making of National Identity*, eds. Edmund Herzig and Marina Kurkchian (London; New York: Francis & Taylor, 2005), 60–61.

framing of the “new Armenian woman,” the use and promotion of modern Western Armenian (*ashkharhabar*) as the “new language,” and as this article aims to highlight, the making of the “new political animal” and national consciousness.<sup>10</sup>

Western Armenian literature—especially in the second half of the nineteenth century—marks the traces of every level of introducing “the new”: from social class to women’s emancipation, from Armenian nationalism to the language reform. However, the introduction and advocacy of such daring novelties by the intellectuals and writers of the time, oftentimes forced them to take refuge in narrative strategies. As one of these writers, Mamurian had to forge a narrative strategy that would help him twist his actual intention to champion his ideas on the reawakening of the Armenian millet and gaining a national identity again. And he was not the sole example in burying his main discussion under the guise of a sentimental story. In 1883, two years after the publication of *English Letters*, Srpouhi Dussap, the first Armenian woman novelist, would appear with her first novel *Mayda*. In her epistolary work, she similarly adopted a narrative style which gained her an edge to tell the tragic and heartbroken story of a widow on the surface, while advocating the right for women’s economic and sexual freedom in the deep level of her palimpsestic double-narrative.<sup>11</sup> The aim of these two writers was their only difference. While Dussap was striving for the betterment of women by challenging the roles tailored for women in the private realm of the house, Mamurian was working up for the “resurrection” of his own nation, which would inevitably attract the attention and outrage of Ottoman authorities.

## 2 Self/Nation Formation via the Letters

Mamurian’s keen familiarity with European novels of the previous century served as models for his work.<sup>12</sup> Even though he was influenced by the

10 In a comprehensive study on this issue, Victoria Rowe analyzes six Armenian female writers and their works in relation to their feminist agendas emerging in response to modernity in *A History of Armenian Women’s Writing, 1880–1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars, 2003).

11 To read more on S. Dussap and the palimpsestic quality of *Mayda*, see Maral Aktokmakyan, “Serpouhi Dussap’s *Mayda* or the Birth of Armenian Women’s Literature through Palimpsestic Narrative of Feminism,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, forthcoming in 2020.

12 He was highly influenced by English and French traditions in particular. As V. Oshagan notes, he knew so well Richardson’s *Clarissa* and *Pamela*, Sterne’s *The Sentimental Journey*, Goldsmith’s *Citizen of the World or Letters from a Chinese Philosopher Residing in London to His Friend in the East*, and Montesquieu’s *Les lettres persanes* and Voltaire’s

European Romantic school (1770–1830), he did not simply copy and imitate his European predecessors. He rather employed Romantic ideas such as individualism, philosophic idealism, creative imagination, primacy of feelings and revolt against political authority for the articulation and reawakening of the Armenian nation.<sup>13</sup> By the time he started writing his novel, Romanticism was already considered outdated. Yet Mamurian utilized Romanticism as a way of introducing a social and political critique of the national past and theorizing on a political subject.

Consisted of 106 letters, which are mostly exchanged between Nelson and Wood, the novel includes a rich catalogue of ancient and modern societies, political leaders, philosophers, scientists, soldiers, inventors, explorers, Biblical and mythological figures. While this forms a background for the main discussion of the Armenians, the way that these two Englishmen approach their subject matter is noteworthy in terms of using discursive frames that were commonly applied by orientalist and colonial writers, and western travelers. In the opening letter, Nelson feels the need to emphasize his identity as an Englishman before he delves into examining Armenian society. He sings the praises of the British nation, taking pride in its uniqueness in every respect: «Ո՛ր մեր վարմունքը, ո՛ր մեր գործը օտարին կը նմանին, նետէ անգլիացի մը միլիոն մը եւրոպացիի մէջ ու հեռուէն մատով ցոյց կու տամ քեզի» (“Which one of our traits and works looks like the foreigner’s? Put the Englishman among million Europeans and I’d show you him from a distance”).<sup>14</sup>

From the introduction, we see that understanding a historical society such as Armenians was necessary, as it put British society and history—considered to be the best representative of the civilized Western World—on the other side of the equation. Taking pride in essential traits that he attributes to the British such as freedom and equality, liberal atmosphere in every field, scientific developments and British empiricism, he characterizes his motives for traveling to Constantinople as “scientific research” (*usumnakan khuzarkut’iwn*) on the ancient Armenian nation. He reassures the reader, as much as his friend Wood, that his travel to Constantinople is experimental, as he is “in search of grandchildren of Hayk” whom, to his surprise, are not part of the dead ancient world, but might be surviving as he lately read about them in a number of books.<sup>15</sup> His

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*Les lettres anglaises.* See *The English Influence on the West Armenian Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, 18.

13 Rowe, *History of Armenian Women's Writing*, 6.

14 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 10.

15 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 14.

inquiries make us smile as soon as we read the naivete behind his lines informing us that there are Armenians especially in Constantinople “moving about in large crowds” and that they are mostly “a living and breathing people” (*shader al shunch' k'airnun ktan eghēr*).<sup>16</sup> Just as the indigenous people were colonized by western travelers, Armenians are described as microorganisms that can be studied, if not subdued, under the rational and scientific minds of the civilized western people.

In almost all narratives of encounter, such as travel writings, the unsettling confrontation with the unknown foreigner has also been subject to a narrative treatment in the form of reducing and negating the Other into a lesser and always manageable discourse. This gesture does not particularly belong to the only Westerner author. We see the same mindset of subordinating the Other<sup>17</sup> for the reacknowledgment of the subject, as a subject, in these narratives regardless of the time period and location. However, based on its economic, social and political enterprises during imperialist and colonial periods, the Western world managed to create a system, which constructed a coherent representation of the strange and often incomprehensible realities in the non-Western world.”<sup>18</sup> For David Spurr, this act of debasement, which can also be seen as “the repertoire of colonial discourse,” has twelve rhetorical modes that function by negating the value of the Other. Negation—one of the most common of those rhetorical strategies—displays the ways in which the Other is conceived as “absence, emptiness, nothingness or death” in the writings of the Westerner.<sup>19</sup>

Along with his self-assured tone rooted in national pride and British supremacy in his opening letter, Nelson's following correspondences from Constantinople further reflect this Western attitude towards his new surroundings. As early as his second letter to Wood, he describes his new environment framed in the rhetorical strategy of negation:

նեղ, տղմուտ զազրալի փողոցներ, կիսափուլ ու անձեւ փայտէ տուններ, այլանդակ դէմքեր, աննման հագուստներ տեսնելու՝ ապուշ մնացի, ինքզինքս Բարախաներու մէջ կարծեցի, եւ քիչ մնաց որ կրկին նաւ մտնելով եկած տեղս պիտի դառնայի:

16 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 14.

17 The ‘other’ here is being used as a Saidian term.

18 David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 92.

19 Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 92.

I'm stupefied by seeing narrow, filthy and muddy streets, dilapidated and amorphous frame houses, strange faces, eccentric clothes and thought I was in the Caribbeans. I almost thought of embarking for return.<sup>20</sup>

The much warmer and milder climate in the seat of the Empire, compared to the harsh and cold climactic conditions in England, is, this time, interpreted with the rhetorics of appropriation, commonly employed by colonial discourse, which operates by establishing a connection between the climactic environment and disposition of its people.<sup>21</sup> Nelson attributes the “dreamy atmosphere” of calm weather in Constantinople to supernatural elements, such as fairies and jinns, and irrationality.<sup>22</sup> To him, conversely, the northern people, such as the British are “wise and earnest people, as they bring out their meanings out of the filter of civilization and knowledge.”<sup>23</sup> Nelson's main motive in his travels is finding the modern Armenian society and analyzing their current state in comparison to their idyllic past.<sup>24</sup> This purpose leads him to fall back on classification, the rhetorical strategy, which helps the Westerner organize the Other in manageable constructions and definitions: such as “truth vs falsehood” and “reason vs madness.”<sup>25</sup> If the British society is presented—with its governmental, economic and rational characteristics—as the single standard for all nations to aspire and follow, then the assumption also is such that passivity and servitude are inherent in Oriental societies.<sup>26</sup> He occasionally levels criticism at Armenians with the firm conviction that his way of thinking is the only and true one:

Սակայն մոռցեր էի որ ամեն ազգ, մանաւանդ արեւելքցիք, անկլիացոց պէս բնածին գոռոզութիւն, ազգասիրութիւն եւ տրամաբանութիւն շարունակ չպահելով, մեր տրամադրութեանց շփոթութիւն, մեր ուղիղ դրութեանց վրդովում կ'պատճառեն եւ մեր օրինաւոր ակնկալութիւնը 'ի դերեւ կ'հանեն: Վասն զի ինչպէս

20 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 26.

21 Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 41.

22 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 47–49.

23 «Իսկ Հիւսիսայինք՝ խոհուն, ծանրագլուխ, իրենց իմաստները քաղաքագիտութեան եւ գիտութեանց բովէն զտուած դուրս կը հանեն:» Mamurian, *English Letters*, 49.

24 Hartog also argues that the rhetoric of otherness established itself firmly in the Western tradition as the Eurocentric discourse of the self preserved the principal idea that “by classifying others I classify myself.” See Francois Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

25 Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 62.

26 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 32.

հիմա համաձայնեցնեմ թափուր, անկշիռ եւ գերի ժողովուրդ մը, ազգ բառին հետ, զի ստուգիւ գերի, ստրուկ է հայը:

But I forgot that not every nation, especially those in the Orient do not have pride, patriotism and reason as the British do and hence they cause confusion in our minds and disturb our orderly ways and disappoint our expectations. Then how shall I make a hollow, unimportant and slavish people agree on the word ‘nation,’ for the Armenian are slaves.<sup>27</sup>

The rich rhetorical devices under Nelson’s westerner mindset are incorporated—just as the ample categories of names mentioned earlier—only to form a persuasive background for Mamurian’s real intentions. This falsity seeps into the pseudo-colonial, rhetorical narratives in the main narrative, and makes it clear that Nelson defends the rights of Armenians in a way that no colonial or Westerner would have. Both Nelson and Wood admire Armenians in the past referring to their political integrity, hardworking nature, diligence and consciousness in their core values throughout the novel. The affirmative statements about the Armenians not only reveal the author’s real intentions but also contradict the discursive layer of a pseudo-colonial or orientalist discourse. Nelson establishes a similarity between the Armenian society in the past and the British nation at present only to acknowledge the power of the former, in many respects. He writes:

Այս հետաքրքրութեանս գլխաւոր գրգիչներէն մէկն ալ եղաւ հայու բնութեան մերինին հետ մասամբ նմանութիւն գտնելս, չէ թէ կիսամերկ, հիւղի տակ ու որսորդութեամբ ապրելու եւ անտառներու մէջ պտըտելու ատեննիս, այլ մեր նոր կացութիւնը անոնց հինին հետ բաղդատելով: Վասն զի մենք վայրի մորթ հագած՝ կաղնի պաշտած ժամանակ՝ անոնք մետաքսի ու գոհարի մէջ կ’ծփային, պալատներ կ’ընակէին, տաճարներ ու թատրոններ ունէին, ու աւելի ընտիր էակ մը՝ արեւը կ’պաշտէին: Թէպէտեւ մեզի պէս ծովային ժողովուրդ մը չէր հայը, սակայն իր ցամաքային վաճառականութիւնը մինչեւ Հնդկաստան կ’տարածէր, եւ պատմութենէն կ’իմանանք որ անոնց բնութիւնը, ընտանեկան եւ քաղաքական կեանքը մերինէն շատ հեռու չէին:

One of the main incentives for my interest in this was that I found partial similarity between the Armenian’s nature with ours, not when we were

27 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 15.

half naked, living in huts and engaged in hunting and roaming the forests, but by comparing our new condition with their old one. Because when we were wearing wild animal skins and worshipping the oak tree, they were trimmed in silks and jewels, they were living in palaces, they had temples and theatres, and they were worshipping a better creature, the sun. Although Armenians were not a seafaring people like us, they expanded their overland trade as far as India, and we learn from history that their nature, domestic and political life were not very different from ours.<sup>28</sup>

The enchantment and admiring tone towards the Armenians might still, to some degree, be linked to the same Western urge to construct values and meanings in a selective manner. However, as we continue to read the letters, we follow the fixed idea of a free Armenian state is repetitively woven through the narrative by means of statements that urge the reawakening, resurrecting, and rebuilding of national consciousness among Armenians.

In 1881—the year the *English Letters* were published—Armenians already started to enjoy the flourishing cultural and intellectual life in Istanbul. Since 1863, they had their own “national constitution,” which allowed them to obtain legal status.<sup>29</sup> This cultural revival, up to some point, affected their status in comparison to other Ottoman millets’ in maturing the idea of national consciousness and their demand for independence.<sup>30</sup> It is true that the “modern” entered into the lives of Ottoman Armenians in many aspects, and its ideals were both transformative but also used to scrutinize the Western model. However, the failure in the fulfillment of a national independence—and hence that of modernization—was partly because of the lack of attention from the European powers. It is interesting and equally ironic that Mamurian needed to discuss the present and future of Armenian political life under the disguise of the Western mind, even though he was highly familiar with the unreliable approach and hypocrisy of western countries over the national movements in

28 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 15.

29 What is originally known as Ազգային Սահմանադրություն (*Azgayin Sahmanadrut'wn*) in Armenian, and *Nizamname-i Millet-i Ermeniyan* in Ottoman Turkish, was in fact a regulation, which, ratified by the Sultan, gave the Armenian community living in the Empire the opportunity to obtain a legal and authorized status, to reorganize their internal structures (such as limiting the powers and authority of the Patriarchate and incorporating the classes of amira and trade guilds within the body of representatives) and regulate them by the Armenian National Assembly.

30 Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 37.

the “East.”<sup>31</sup> Regarding their political interventions with skepticism, he never pinned hope for the belief that the Western world could help the Armenians attain their goals. Likewise, a year after the publication of *English Letters*, he would write in *Arevelyan Mamul* that “the major flaw of our literature was the weakness of the ethnic element because of our inspiration has been coming from outside instead of from our national sources and feelings.”<sup>32</sup> The apparent contradiction between the strategies of a Western oriented narrative and his political insights can be read as a signpost for the precarity he was burdened with while writing a novel on the political life of Armenians. As one of those liberal minded intellectuals who struggled against Sultanism and autocracy of the Ottoman regime, Mamurian was aware that building a political reality for the Armenians required more than distrusting the mercy of the Ottoman state. It required more than recognizing dysfunctional internal structures: the Patriarchate; emerging sects such as Catholicism and Protestantism among Armenians; conflict in social classes; or arguing that Ottoman is not a nation to be fond of enlightenment and knowledge.<sup>33</sup> It lies in the cultivation of the *idea* of self-consciousness (as defined by the modern Western world) before the discussion of a political body of an Armenian nation. For this Mamurian presents one of the critical observations embedded in Nelson’s letters, condemning the assimilative character that the Armenians so strongly adopted as part of their national and political survival:

Աւետարանը չէ որ փրկեց հայութիւնը կորուստէ այլ Քուրանը, որ անոր հակոտնեայն է. Հայը չէ որ պահպանեց իր եկեղեցին այլ Թուրքն, որու մզկիթն անոր հակապատկերն է. բարոյական կամ հոգեկան զօրութիւնը չէ որ պահպանեց Հայոց ընտանեկան կեանքն ու եկեղեցական պաշտամունքն այլ Թրքաց տգիտութիւնն ու անքաղաքագիտութիւնն որ Հայոցը կ’հաւասարէին: Հայր էապէս քրիստոնէայ թուրք մ’է, ամեն միջավայրի յարմարող եւ իր տիրապետներուն վարմունքն ու սովորութիւններն օրինակող սորկօրէն:

It was not the Bible but the Quran, its opposite, that saved the Armenians. The church was saved not by the Armenians, but by the Turks, whose

31 Hayg Ghazaryan, “Մատթէոս Մամուրեանի Հասարակական-Քաղաքական Հայացքները 1860–1870-ական թուականներին,” (*Madt’ēos Mamurianī Hasarakakan-K’aghak’akan Hayats’k’nerə 1860–1870akan t’uakannerin*) *Տեղեկագիր* [Teghekgagir] 3 (1957): 83–100.

32 Mamurian, *Arevelyan Mamul*, 362.

33 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 168.

mosques are its opposite. It was not the moral or spiritual strength that saved Armenians' family life and religious faith, but the ignorance and uncivilized ways which was equal to the Armenians'. *Armenians are at heart Christian Turks, they adapt to every condition and submissively copy their rulers' behavior and habits.* (my emphasis)<sup>34</sup>

Mamurian knew that their submissive approach would secure nothing beyond the biological survival of his nation. It was this slavish and conformist nature in the Armenian individual that he wanted to dig out first and then replace it with a capacity and determination for a political life. Thereby, he pins down the idea of Armenian *bios* or political life to the formation of the Armenian individual as a political animal. In this respect, Nelson holds a key role with critical importance, more than becoming merely Mamurian's mouthpiece or a romantic hero. Reminiscent of the Western travel narratives where signs of modernity are embedded through the understanding of journey also as self-discovery, inner-self or self-consciousness, Nelson's journey to Constantinople promises more than the opportunity to detect the social and political knots in the Armenian society.<sup>35</sup>

First and foremost, after his broken love affair with Lily, Nelson's travel to Constantinople resonates with his intentions to heal his mind and soul. In a letter written to Lily earlier in the novel, Nelson reflects on his plans to take refuge in the past: «Վերջին արկածներէն՝ ես ինքս մարդկութենէ ելած՝ հայ մարդ գտնելու եկեր եմ հոս եւ դեռ ինքզինքս չեմ գտած ... Անցեալն է իմ ապաւէնս եւ առանձնութիւնը իմ մխիթարութիւնս:» («After what happened last, I have lost my human feelings. I came here to find out the Armenian and still could not find myself ... I take refuge in the past and console myself with solitude.»)<sup>36</sup> His stay in Tarabia, a small neighborhood in Constantinople—*Θεραπεία* meaning “therapy or treatment” in Greek—already foreshadows the advent of a series of revelations related to the true story of his life and identity.

As secrets gradually unfold, Nelson discovers his real identity as an Armenian, the story of his father, Lady Eastham's plots and eventually his blood relation with Lily. With these revelations, the early concern over the dormant national consciousness and its “half dead body” (*ays kisamer marminā*) changes its direction.<sup>37</sup> While the debates in the letters initially rested on the theoretical ground of re-establishing a historical continuity with the ancient

34 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 168.

35 Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 15.

36 Mamurian, *English letters*, 61.

37 Mamurian, *English letters*, 53.

past and rulers' political consciousness, Nelson and Wood adopt the role of historiographers, who, similar to the ancient Armenian mythical figures called Aralez, strived to resurrect the dead political body of the Armenians.<sup>38</sup> With the turn of events, though, Nelson, as an early portrait of a modern individual, is reawakened into a new political end. He eventually decides to settle down in Mush with Lily.<sup>39</sup> His eventual return to his ancestral homeland in historic Armenia operates like an implicit message for the Armenians to follow his example, and realize the idea of political or national unity in reality.

### 2.1 *The Uncanny in Armenian Modernity*

For a novel based on narrative strategies and an indirect style of writing, like *English Letters*, structure is everything. And it would not be wrong to say that the novel has mainly two interrelated and complementary structures. The novel opens with a foreword in the fictional frame that is followed by the letters. Here, the narrator informs his reader about Mr. Harley, a British gentleman who inquiries about the Armenian representative who has recently been received by the Queen of England. The narrator's answer—equally curious as the mysterious Englishman who suddenly appears and refers to the narrator Mamurian as a stranger (*otar*)—draws our attention to the issue of foreignness and political rootlessness of the Armenians, a community of Others within the Ottoman Empire. The narrator's response is vital in terms of framing the question that the remainder of the novel will rest upon: «Պարոն, ներկայ դարուս Հայն, իր քաղաքական կացութեան համեմատ, չորս հինգ տեսակ տէր եւ չորս հինգ տեսակ դեսպան ունի ուրիշ Տէրութեանց մօտ, բայց իրօք՝ Հայու մը դեսպանը նոյն ինքն է. ուստի կրնաք հաղորդել ինձ ձեր խօսելիքը:» (“In the current political state Armenians have four or five kind of pioneers and four or five representatives. But the representative of an Armenian is no-one but himself. Thus, you can tell me what you'd like to tell.”)<sup>40</sup> With this remark, the question of a political presence of Armenians has already been problematized before the novel begins, and it has been introduced discreetly in the question of a “representative.” The narrator's intervention does not end here. Mamurian the narrator receives the letter—these letters being the novel itself—from the same Mr. Harley who expresses his

38 Haralez (or Aralez) (Հարալէզ or Առլէզ in Armenian) are mythical dog-like creatures, which were believed to resuscitate the lifeless bodies of heroic men fighting and falling dead in battle by licking their wounds. They are mentioned in the famous myth of Ara the Beautiful and Queen Šamiramis.

39 Mush (also known as Daron/Տարոն in Armenian), part of the historic Greater Armenia, was one of the Armenian populated provinces in the Ottoman Empire.

40 Mamurian, *English Letters*, 16.

interest in seeing a representative for the purpose of carrying out the dying wish of his friend by giving these letters to someone who can read Armenian. Structured as a *mise-en-abyme*—letter in a letter form—the whole novel not only tells the story of “the destiny of an Armenian” individual (as the subtitle of the novel suggests), but also calls for the attention of the entire Armenian millet pertaining to their political existence.<sup>41</sup>

Another structure operating in the novel is via a number of secrets, that come to light later in the novel. To begin with, Nelson’s reason for traveling to Constantinople turns out to be different from his scientific purposes. His self-exilic retreat in Constantinople, as we learn, was induced by Lady Eastham, Lily’s mother, who disapproves of their union. However, not every hidden truth seems as unimportant as this one. Those secrets that a play central role in the novel also bring along destructive and disturbing facts with critical changes. The major secret is that Lady Eastham confiscated all the wealth of Raphael Mamigonian, Nelson’s father and her brother-in-law. Initially class conflict is shown as the setback for the union of the lovers, but when the secret is revealed that Nelson and Lily are cousins, the possibility for a happy ending is ultimately shattered.

Different from the conjugal love in other sentimental novels, the ending of *English Letters* promises a highly unconventional alternative union. By their decisions not to marry Nelson and Lily remain faithful both to the laws of the Armenian church and to his father’s legacy. Nevertheless, the couple turns their unfulfilled love story into a union by their move to Mush, as part of historic Armenia, where they start an idyllic new life together. Dr. Paine, a family friend, describes in a letter to Wood how the two are spiritually reborn in Mush and given their new (Christian Armenian) names through a symbolic baptism: Nerses (Nelson) and Shushan (Armenian for Lily).<sup>42</sup> The two start educating the villagers as Shushan teaches provincial women, while Nerses exerts for the reconstruction of a new Armenian land by his Western ideas on land reform and social progress. Instead of returning back to the “civilized world,” they start a new life right out of the ruins of Armenian land, and manifest a clear message for the modern Armenians that the reawakening for a political life must start from the ancient lands. However the message that Nelson presents for the

41 I prefer the use of “destiny,” rather than “fate” for the Armenian «ճակատագիր» on the grounds that destiny, unlike fate, implies a certain extent of control and intervention granted on the subject. Both senses of positive and negative capabilities of change are present in the novel. I would like to thank Prof. Tamar M. Boyadjian for alerting me on this distinction.

42 Mamurian, *English letters*, 454.

reawakening of Armenian political life is not as optimistic as it sounded earlier in the novel: “It is no longer the historical, magnificent and free Armenia, but ruins only and a graveyard.”<sup>43</sup>

Although the second half in the novel might seem optimistic by bringing the idea of national unity into practice, the ominous sense of feeling never leaves us. In parallel to the plotline, we are constantly reminded of the headless state of the Armenian nation (foreword), of the lovers on the brink of incestuous union, and of ruins and a graveyard that Nerses and Shushan embrace as their ancestral lands, hoping to initiate a political sense of belonging. It seems that the uncanny deeply identifies with the Armenian experience of modernity. The ideas of national state and conscious citizens (as political subjects) can go nowhere beyond the “strangely familiar” and “improperly proper” definition of the uncanny.<sup>44</sup> The familiarity of political ideas such as ancestral lands, or the historic Armenia in the Armenian imagination, immediately gains a strange and even eerie quality. Just like the German original for the uncanny that roots in the idea of “home”—*unheimlichkeit*—the Armenian homeland stands as the vacant political space that no longer denotes its previous meaning, causing its community to remain outside as strangers.<sup>45</sup> This uncanny climaxes in Nelson’s final letter to Wood in which he expresses that his deathwish from his fellow countrymen is a graveyard in Armenia.<sup>46</sup> This is the ultimate uncanny statement that empties out the meaning of one’s homeland as the national site of political subjects. Equally disturbing is the fact that political consciousness, as well as the project of modernity in the case of Armenians, are both projected as attainable only insofar as they are dead.

As the present article examines, under the pressure of the Ottoman sovereignty, Mamourian weaved a network of plot and characters in *English Letters* only through which he could voice the story of the modern Armenian individual with a national consciousness. Yet what remains at stake in Mamurian’s case is not simply the censorship or the outrage that he might have received

43 Mamurian, *English letters*, 457.

44 Jacques Derrida, *The Monolingualism of the Other or The Prosthesis of Origin*, trans. Patrick Mensah (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 29.

45 Jacques Derrida reworks the Freudian concept of the *unheimlichkeit* by bringing it out of its limits in psychoanalysis and focusing more on the root of the word. For more on Derrida’s discussion of the term with regards to the openings between the idea of “home” and the issue of subjectivity, see Jacques Derrida, *The Gift of Death* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 88; on friends and enemies, see *Politics of Friendship* (Verso, 2005), 58; on foreignness, see *Of Hospitality*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 261–62; and on languages, see *The Monolingualism of the Other*, 29, 37.

46 «Հայաստանի մէջ շիրիմ մը»; Mamurian, *English Letters*, 462.

from the Ottoman authorities. It was the disturbing fact that home or homeland for the Armenians, for them to reunite and reawaken, might no longer belong to them. By probing the significance of the employment of British characters and discursive layers, the article aimed to present the ways in which the triad of strange, stranger and uncanny manifested itself in Mamurian's understanding of the Armenian modernity within its faultlines.

## *Review Article*



# Medieval contexts and modern realities of a Genocide-survivor artwork

*A review article of Heghnar Watenpaugh's The Missing Pages*

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### Abstract

This article is a critical review of Heghnar Watenpaugh's monograph *The Missing Pages*, which traces the history of the thirteenth-century Zeytun Gospels from its creation to the 2010s, when several of the manuscript's illustrated folios became subject to a restitution claim through a lawsuit filed by the Armenian Church against the Getty Museum. It highlights the importance of Watenpaugh's publication on assembling and clarifying the impressive itinerary of the Zeytun Gospels, the manuscript's socio-cultural functions, as well as the historiographic research on Cilician miniature painting conducted by the author in the framework of this book. In the present article, several issues raised in the book are critically explored from different angles, expressing a partial or significant difference of opinion when it comes to some of the interpretations and contextualizations proposed by Watenpaugh. These include: Watenpaugh's non-exhaustive consideration of the Zeytun Gospels' colophons, which stand as the most authentic documentations on the manuscript's history prior to the twentieth century; her tracing of parallel examples of artifacts that survived the Genocide based not on scholarly research but on popular narratives (and on contemporary literary writings); the discussion of bilingual coins minted by the Armenian king Hetum I and the Seljuk sultan Kaykhusraw II as cases of "complex identities of the period", without delving into these complexities, and, thus, not doing justice to the nuances of the medieval context of their rule; some aspects of the history of scholarship on Cilician miniature

painting; and the way Watenpaugh presents two of the most prominent historians of Armenian art, Sirarpie Der Nersessian and Karekin Hovsepian, and their attitudes toward the ownership and acquisition of Armenian cultural heritage by western art institutions, which appear to be less than balanced in *The Missing Pages*. Finally, some reflections on contemporary exhibition practices of survivor artifacts, whose current locations of preservation are often a consequence of (cultural) genocide and dubious acquisition practices, require clearer and more in-depth presentation, at least as far as the exhibition history of the Zeytun Gospels and its separated folios is concerned.

### Keywords

the Zeytun Gospels – Toros Roslin – Cilician Armenia – Armenian Genocide – cultural heritage – restitution of cultural property – exhibition practices

Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The Missing Pages. The Modern Life of a Medieval Manuscript from Genocide to Justice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019. Pp. 436.

This book explores the history of a thirteenth-century Cilician manuscript, known as the *Zeytun Gospels*, copied and illustrated by Toros Roslin. Having survived the atrocities of the Armenian Genocide, the *Zeytun Gospels* came to the center of public attention in 2010, when a lawsuit was filed by the Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church against the J. Paul Getty Museum with the restitution claim for the manuscript's folios containing the eight canon tables that were kept at the museum since 1994. The five years of litigation raised the curiosity of many, but then it suddenly ended in September 2015 before the scheduled trial would take place two months later, on November 3. The behind-the-scene settlement between the two parties resulted in the recognition of the Armenian Church's ownership of the canon tables by the Getty Museum, which nevertheless would keep the parchment folios—now as a donation from the Armenian Church, the former plaintiff.<sup>1</sup> The donation was officially fulfilled in early January 2016.

The lawsuit for Roslin's canon tables was the first and so far the only restitution claim for a cultural property considered stolen during the Armenian Genocide. During the litigation, the manuscript's history and hence its

1 "J. Paul Getty Museum and the Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America announce agreement in Armenian Art restitution case" (21.09.2015) <http://news.getty.edu/canon-table-2015.htm>.

provenance were central in deciding the rightful ownership of the folios, and both parties studied the necessary information and available testimonies. It is this very history that is narrated by Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh in *The Missing Pages*, which brings together the hitherto well-documented but never so carefully assembled, clarified and systematized history of the Zeytun Gospels. It covers the entire history of the manuscript since the medieval period until modern days, including also the legal contest of the 2010s (chapter 8), which, as explained by the author, sparked the idea for this book (p. 46, 307).

*The Missing Pages* is one of the few studies dedicated to the history of one manuscript in regards to its afterlives, functions and reception. The book consists of eight chapters, accompanied with a Prologue and an Epilogue, both of which narrate the author's personal experiences in dealing with the Zeytun Gospels. A large part of the Prologue represents the travels that the author undertook with the aim of seeing and experiencing the places where the manuscript was kept in the past. Chapters 2–8 are dedicated to every new location where the Zeytun Gospels appeared after its creation: medieval Hromkla (p. 48–78), Zeytun until 1915 (p. 79–115), Marash between 1915 and 1923 (p. 116–156), post-Genocide Aleppo (p. 157–189), twentieth-century New York (p. 190–224), Soviet and post-Soviet Yerevan (p. 225–260), and present-day Los Angeles (p. 261–299). A similar itinerary is not uncommon for many survivors of the Armenian Genocide, yet its immediate relevance to survived art objects is a less evident matter, which is traced in *The Missing Pages*. Apart from narrating the specific circumstances in which the Zeytun Gospels appeared after the thirteenth century, the chapters include large overviews on historical, socio-political and cultural, as well as geographical and urban aspects that have or might have touched the life of this manuscript. These long overviews, though not always clearly brought into connection with the Zeytun Gospels, are nevertheless helpful in understanding the ever-changing realities that impacted the multiple movements of many sacred objects, including especially the Gospels in question, whose fragmentation was an immediate consequence of the Genocide deportations.

The book is written in an easily comprehensible language, and a non-expert reader would feel no discomfort in understanding art historical terms or the sequence of events linked to the Zeytun Gospels. Although it is the history of this sole manuscript that is central, the book also sheds light on contemporary issues related to cultural heritage in general, its ownership, management, but also its intentional destruction and unethical acquisition practices, which are discussed in the opening chapter entitled *Survivor Objects. Artifacts of Genocide*. The public interest in these quickly-developing matters might be the reason for choosing a writing style that would bridge both “academic and general audiences.” The storytelling approach applied by the author is explained in the Back Matter (p. 307): “Genocide, that greatest of crimes, reaches into all

human activity, including art. It challenges the very act of representation. In this book the chapters open with short vignettes that paint a picture or narrate a scene based on the same evidence that the body of the text treats analytically.” Although this courageous initiative of bridging two different audiences is undertaken with literary creativity and painstaking attention to available information, several points appear slightly incongruent, at least from the point of view of a scholarly readership. For example, in the first chapter, Watenpaugh speculates about the possible reasons for how the canon tables were separated from the mother manuscript: “Perhaps canon tables came loose from the binding over time. Or perhaps someone cut the thread” (p. 21), and shortly after she writes: “This crease [visible on the canon tables—G.G.S.] enables you to imagine how, at some point, unknown hands removed the Canon Tables from the mother manuscript, how they folded it, perhaps tucked it in a pocket or in the folds of a fabric belt like the ones men wore in the waning days of the Ottoman Empire, and took it away” (p. 22–23). A more critical formulation of the problem would probably save the reader from additional mystery and obscurity that already accompany the multilevel history of the Zeytun Gospels. Such complications seem a little unnecessary especially in this particular case, because a first-hand testimony by Hagop Atamian, which is discussed by the author elsewhere (p. 149), clarifies some of the aspects of when and how the canon tables could have been cut off from the mother manuscript.

Despite some incongruities that the mixture of different writing styles inevitably arouses, *The Missing Pages* represents a wide-scope book, treating the Zeytun Gospels not only from historical and art historical perspectives but also exploring the manuscript’s social context. This context becomes especially clear in chapters 3–5, which narrate the manuscript’s frequent movements from one place to another. Chapter 6 (*New York. The Zeytun Gospels Enters Art History*) and chapter 7 (*Yerevan. Toros Roslin, Artist of the Armenian Nation*), apart from representing the Zeytun Gospels’ appearance in these cities, also discuss the scholarship on Toros Roslin whose twentieth-century revival is traced by Watenpaugh. The author pays particular attention to the question of why some scholars included the manuscript’s history in their studies, while some others chose to remain silent about the circumstances in which they examined it. In an attempt to understand some scholars and all those who intentionally or unintentionally came into contact with the Zeytun Gospels, Watenpaugh dedicates many pages to the biographies of these individuals, focusing on their particular roles played in the life of the manuscript.

An important dimension of the book is revealed in chapter 7, which analyzes the modern perceptions of Toros Roslin as expressed in the works of several Armenian artists and writers. Roslin’s “towering presence” in some artistic and

literary productions by twentieth-century Armenian artists and writers (who felt themselves to be heirs of Roslin's legacy) is viewed by Watenpaugh from the perspective of a renewed interest in national traditions, as much as it was possible to do in a post-Khrushchev Soviet state. In these modern interpretations of Roslin, including especially Razmik Davoyan's novella *Toros Roslin*, Armenian art of the past was seen as a means through which Armenian identity and collective memory were able to survive. Watenpaugh formulates it in a short but apt sentence: "This is an enormous claim for art" (p. 250). She shows that the immense interest in one particular artist from Armenia's past and the "new career" of Toros Roslin as "a medieval Armenian genius-artist" had departed from a confinement as a subject of solely academic studies. Many scholars and intellectuals, especially those working in Soviet and post-Soviet Armenia, saw in Roslin the combination of both national and cosmopolitan features of the Armenian culture. In this regard, Watenpaugh's study covers a traditionally ignored but probably one of the most significant aspects of art historical scholarship by dealing with such matters as how scholars choose subjects of their research or how it came to happen that one medieval artist (or one artistic or architectural monument) could acquire overwhelmingly more scholarly attention than many others who—probably undeservedly—remain in the shadows. Watenpaugh's discussion therefore sheds light on the role that art historians play in emphasizing (or ignoring) the importance of an artwork, hence becoming active participants in shaping the life, the future and even the material value of that artwork, yet often remaining unaware of their own involvement or future impact.

The multidimensional nature of this book makes it a highly insightful and important contribution to the study of Armenian art and its socio-historical dimensions. Yet, some issues discussed below seem to be treated with less thoroughness than others.

In the second chapter the author explains the role and value of Armenian manuscript colophons (p. 68–70). The Zeytun Gospels' colophons, which are indeed the most authentic documentations on the manuscript's history prior to the twentieth century, are however reproduced and considered only in a fragmentary form. From the main colophon dated to 1256 only two short citations are made (p. 57, 69), though given its length (6 manuscript folios) and historical importance as a primary source, it would perhaps be expedient to treat it in more detail. No mention is made about several short colophons Roslin wrote inside the manuscript, or the colophon dating from the year 1806 which records the sacred objects salvaged during a "pillage of this village" (fols. 407v–408r, according to current pagination). Two other 19th-century colophons dating from 1852 and 1859 are assembled in one short passage in chapter 3, which narrates their contents but does not reproduce the specific information found

in them (p. 104–105). More attention is accorded to two colophons dating from the 16th–17th centuries (p. 70, 84–85), which occupy folios 405v–406r and 406v–407v.<sup>2</sup> The latter colophon records the manuscript's transfer from Furnus to a church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God, which is plausibly attributed by Watenpaugh to the church located on the citadel of Zeytun. The full reproduction of this colophon could have revealed a few more details from the early modern period of this manuscript's history, such as the names of the Furnus clerics who sold the manuscript, the transaction price of 460 florins that *mah-tesi* Hagop paid to become the manuscript's new owner, or Hagop's and his family's "long-cherished wish to have a precious Gospel book," for they were "striving for divine love" (fol. 406v). Such details would provide further depth to Watenpaugh's novel exploration into the social function of the Zeytun Gospels as a holy object. Moreover, the 460 florins paid for the Zeytun Gospels appears to be very high, if one compares it, for example, with an average ransom of 120 florins paid for one person's liberty in the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, such information would allow the readers to appreciate the high spiritual and material value that the Zeytun Gospels enjoyed even before their eight folios' sale in the 20th century put the spotlight on their contemporary market value.

When narrating the Zeytun Gospels' salvation story in 1915, Watenpaugh brings a parallel example of how the famous *Homiliary of Mush* (Մշն Հաղորդսիր) was rescued. She bases her narrative on the popular and somewhat mythicized story according to which that manuscript was divided into two by two women who carried them while fleeing from Mush in 1915 (p. 172, also 43–44). In reality, this large-size manuscript was divided in 1828 or probably before, and there are a few explicit colophons that recount this. One of them was written in 1828 by the local priests who bound the divided portions of the manuscript (Matenadaran ms 7729, fol. 602v): "With the grace of the Holy Spirit, in the Armenian year 1277 [1828], the two (volumes of the) holy homilies were bound again ... by the hand of sinful Kirakos *vardapet* Aghbets'i and *tirats'u* Sahak ... With great effort and difficulty we were able to rebind it." Another piece of information about the physical state of the Homiliary of Mush

2 This is the approximate but very plausible date suggested by Sirapie Der Nersessian, on whose suggestions Watenpaugh's narrative is based (p. 83). According to a more recent reading, the hardly legible date for the colophon written on folios 405v–406r is read as follows: "1558?". See *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Mashtots' Matenadaran*, vol. III, compiled by A. Malkhasyan (Yerevan: Yerevan State University Press, 2007), 77 (in Armenian).

3 For a statistic of ransoms, see, for example Mária Ivanics, "Enslavement, Slave Labour and Treatment of Captives in the Crimean Khanate," in Dávid Géza & Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth–Early Eighteenth Centuries)* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007), 216–217.

and more specifically its (re)binding in 1828 is found in a colophon written by Yohannes *vardapet* Muradean, the chief priest of the Holy Apostles' Monastery of Mush: "In 1828, Kirakos *vardapet* Aghbets'i divided the manuscript into two volumes and bound them because the manuscript was too heavy and difficult to move.... On May 4, 1892, I started to paginate the two bound volumes of the Homiliary in sequential order: the first volume has 648 folios, and the second (volume) 564."<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, it is true that the two main parts of the Homiliary of Mush were able to escape the Armenian Genocide separately and were later united in the Matenadaran. Based on this, Artashes Matevossian suggested that the wrong assumption that the manuscript was divided in 1915—on which the popular narrative is based—might be a legendary accretion based on the 19th-century rebinding of the manuscript.<sup>5</sup> Be that as it may, these supposed bindings can be considered lost, since all the preserved parts of the Homiliary of Mush arrived in their current places of preservation without any binding.

Chapter 2 discusses cultural and socio-political realities of Cilician Armenia during the thirteenth century, when the Zeytun Gospels was created in Hromkla. While analyzing a bilingual coin bearing the names of the Armenian king Hetum I and the Seljuk sultan Kaykhusraw II, the author interprets it as an expression of "the complex identities of the period," referring especially to the sultan's Christian mother and to the two rulers' "entangled fates" (p. 55–56). This somewhat romanticized image of the Armenian and Seljuk rulers does not do justice to the nuances of the medieval context of their rule. A large number of bilingual coins, with Armenian and Arabic legends and with an equestrian image of Hetum I,<sup>6</sup> were already minted during the reign of Kaykhusraw's father, sultan Kayqubad I, most likely soon after young Hetum's official reign started (1226), which coincided with the ceasing of Kayqubad's continuous attacks on Cilician frontiers.<sup>7</sup> These invasions were

4 Translations are mine. For the original texts in Armenian and further comments on the manuscript's fragmentation, see A. Matevossian, "When and where was created the festive Homiliary of Mush?" *Banber Matenadarani* 9 (1969): 137–162, esp. 139 (in Armenian).

5 A. Matevossian, "When and where was created the festive Homiliary of Mush?" 139, n. 6.

6 These were silver *drams* or *trams*, equivalent to *dirham* in Persian and Arabic and to *drachma* in Greek and Latin.

7 Various, mostly non-Armenian, sources mention that during the years between 1220 and 1226, when the Armenian court was occupied with finding a suitable candidate for the royal throne, the Cilician frontiers were often attacked by the new Seljuk sultan, who managed to gain control over several important fortresses in Cilicia, among which the sea fortress of Kalonoros (Alanya) is particularly mentioned. See, for example: *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus: Ktābā dMaktbānūt Zabnē, L'histoire du monde d'Adam à Kubilai Khan*, traduit du syriaque par Ph. Talon, volume 2 (Fernelmont: Éditions Modulaires Européennes, 2011), 233 (for the siege of Kalonoros/Alanya in 1223) and 241 (for the siege of "the majority of Cilician fortresses" in 1226); *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil*

apparently in line with the Crimean campaign (the Sudak campaign) undertaken by Kayqubad I in the 1220s with the aim of securing for his sultanate the important commercial routes from the Mediterranean (including notably Cilician Armenia and the neighboring costs) to the Black Sea.<sup>8</sup> The regular incursions into Cilicia and Crimea in the early 1220s and their sudden cessation around 1227 apparently resulted in certain commercial regulations and obligation. The issue of this type of bilingual coins bearing the names of the “king of Armenians” and the “exalted sultan” is most likely a reflection of a new geopolitical balance that had been reached. Their issue continued also during the next sultan Kaykhusraw II, who inherited these privileges from his late father prior to the defeat of the Seljuks in the mid-13th century by Mongols. In the light of these considerations, Hetum’s “openness to the world” (p. 55) or Kawkhosraw’s “complex identity” seem to be of secondary importance, at least in explaining the occurrence of bilingual coins.

As mentioned above, in the sixth and seventh chapters Watenpaugh offers an illuminating discussion of many scholars and studies that have dealt with Toros Roslin and the Cilician miniature painting. Regrettably, a discussion of a study by Levon Azaryan published in 1964—*Cilician Miniature Painting in the Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries* (in Armenian)—is missing. This was one of the first extensive monographs on Cilician illustrated manuscripts and on Toros Roslin, whose importance was and remains crucial for those interested in the subject due to its innovative methodology.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, Azaryan was the scholar who practically single-handedly launched the methodology of studying the Cilician miniature painting as represented by distinct schools (the schools of Drazark, Skewra, Hromkla, etc.), as apposed to the hitherto-prevailing opinions and chronological classifications that often represented the Cilician book illumination as a homogenous artistic production. This new systematized approach later served as a foundation stone for structuring several important publications on the subject, including those discussed in *The Missing Pages*.

Watenpaugh’s impression about Sirarpie Der Nersessian as a modern Western scholar, who would prefer to see Armenian artworks in “a well-run Western museum or private collection” or for whom the artworks’ current ownership and whereabouts were of little importance to focus on is arguable

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*fīl-ta’rīkh*, Part 3—*The Years 589–629/1193–1231, The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, translated by D.S. Richards, Crusade Texts in Translation 17 (Aldershot—Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), p. 280 (mentions the conquest of four Armenian fortresses in 1225).

8 For the Sudak campaign and its commercial-economical context, see A.C.S. Peacock, “The Saljūq Campaign against Crimea and the Expansionist Policy of the Early Reign of ‘Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16/No. 2 (Jul. 2006): 133–149, esp. 143–145.

9 See also Sirarpie Der Nersessian’s review of Azaryan’s book, published in *Revue des Études arméniennes* 2 (1965): 394–398.

(see chapter 6, esp. 222–223). Der Nersessian—as everyone else concerned with the fate of survived Armenian artifacts—was reasonably thankful that at least a part of them was saved and gathered in various collections.<sup>10</sup> However, before we make any conjunctions on whether she had a particular preference for “the best place” for an Armenian artwork to be kept, we need more information. Indeed, the author herself warns the reader that “we do not know Der Nersessian’s personal view on these issues” (p. 223). Yet, the prominent scholar’s activities outside of academia shed some light “on these issues,” and leave a somewhat different impression than is assumed. Between 1969 and 1982, she donated five manuscripts in her possession to the Matenadaran—a telling fact which surprisingly went unnoticed by Watenpaugh, though in other contexts the author has used the same list of Matenadaran’s acquisitions between 1969–1998 (see for example p. 358, n. 27) in which Der Nersessian’s donations are also documented.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Der Nersessian’s role and participation cannot be overestimated in the fate of 23 illustrated Armenian manuscripts—including also two manuscripts illustrated by Toros Roslin (now Jerusalem ms 2660 and Matenadaran ms 10675)—stolen from the treasury of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, all of which were planned for sale by the London-based Sotheby’s in an auction scheduled for March 14, 1967. In February 1967, when Der Nersessian saw the newly-published auction catalogue prepared by Charles Dowsett,<sup>12</sup> she recognized the manuscripts and contacted both the Armenian Patriarchate and the Gulbenkian Foundation to

10 See for example Der Nersessian’s short overview of the Armenian manuscripts in American collections which she believes appeared there in the aftermath of the WWI and the Armenian massacres: S. Der Nersessian, “Armenian Gospel Illustration as Seen in Manuscripts in American Collections,” in M.M. Parvis and A.P. Wikgren (eds.), *New Testament Manuscript Studies* (The University of Chicago Press, 1950), 137–138.

11 “A list of the collection acquired between 1969 and 1998,” in *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Mashtots Matenadaran*, vol. 111, compiled by A. Malkhasyan (Yerevan: Yerevan State University Press, 2007), 45 (in Armenian). See also B. Tchoukaszian, “Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts in Private Collections,” *Banber Matenadaranani* 15 (1986): 339 (in Armenian).

12 Sotheby & Co. *Catalogue of Twenty-Three Important Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts* (20 plates, 3 in color), *day of sale: Tuesday, 14th March, 1967, at 11 o'clock precisely* (sale cancelled on March 7, 1967). The Forward of the printed catalogue points at the importance of Toros Roslin and his royal commissioners (p. 3): “The disposal of the present collection of twenty-three Armenian Gospel manuscripts probably represents the most important sale of this nature hitherto. Three of the manuscripts are already well-known; of these, two (lots 1 and 2) were illuminated and signed by Thoros Roslin, the most celebrated of 13th century Cilician Armenian artists, and the third (lot 7) constitutes the chef-d’oeuvre of extant manuscripts illuminated by Martiros, the master of the Khizan school in Eastern Armenia in the 16th century. Of those present here, two (lots 1 and 2) are intimately connected with the Armenian royal family in Cilicia, including King Leo and Queen Keran, who are famous as patrons of Armenian art.”

find a solution for saving the manuscripts from further dispersal and fragmentation, as it often happens with merchandised manuscripts.<sup>13</sup> A week before the scheduled auction would take place, Sotheby's cancelled the auction of "twenty-three important Armenian illuminated manuscripts," as the auction catalogue characterized them.<sup>14</sup> After this short séjour in London, Roslin's two Gospels, together with 21 other manuscripts, went back to Jerusalem, although one of them, the *Malatya Gospels*, was soon donated by catholicos Vazken I to the Matenadaran, where it still resides under the inventory number 10675. Remarkably, this happened in the same period, when the same catholicos initiated the transfer of the Zeytun Gospels—the canon tables' mother manuscript—from the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul to the Matendaran (now ms 10450). Der Nersessian's role in the story of the manuscripts that appeared in London was not merely limited to drawing the relevant Armenian institutions' attention on the illegal sale of Armenian manuscripts. She, together with Alex Manoogian (who at that time was the president of the AGBU), was in a five-member commission specially initiated on this occasion by catholicos Vazken I on March 8, 1967, which had a mission "to check the restitution conditions, to find necessary means and to organize the secure repatriation of the stolen manuscripts."<sup>15</sup> Within a few days, the commission members gathered in London and, a few days before the scheduled auction would take place, negotiated with the Sotheby's, which cancelled the auction and returned all 23 manuscripts.<sup>16</sup> These episodes indeed draw a different picture of Sirarpie Der Nersessian's attitude toward modern lives and ownership of Armenian

13 The story of the stolen Armenian manuscripts was largely discussed in both Armenian and international media. Among English-speaking journals, see, for example: "Battle joined over Gospel manuscripts," *The Times* (London), March 3, 1967, 12 (article by the News Team), in which Der Nersessian is shortly interviewed. See also the articles cited below, notes 14 and 15.

14 In fact, the number of the stolen manuscripts was 28. It appears that the Sotheby's was presented with only 23 of them. For the cancellation of the auction, see for example: "Manuscripts Sale is Called off: Gospels Go back to Jerusalem," *The Times* (London), March 7, 1967, 1 (article by News Team); "MSS. going back to Jerusalem," *The Times* (London), March 11, 1967, 2.

15 See Vazken catholicos' letter addressed to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Yeghishe Tertrean (8 March, 1967), published in *Etchmiadzin* 3 (1967): 23. Alex Manoogian had paid the largest part of £50,000 requested by the Sotheby's for the cancellation of the auction of 23 manuscripts, which, according to *The Times*, were estimated around £500,000. For Manoogian's communication with *The Times*, see "Manuscripts Man to be 'Punished': Armenians Plan Secret Action," *The Times* (London), March 13, 1967, 2 (article by Staff Reporter).

16 See the commission's letter sent to catholicos Vazken, dated March 11, 1967, in *Etchmiadzin* 3 (1967): 24.

manuscripts. Moreover, her being a cosmopolitan Western art historian with close contacts with many well-run Western museums and institutions apparently did not prevent her from resolute actions in a seemingly controversial situation.

A similar remark refers to the image of Karekin Hovsepien. From a gratitude notice Hovsepien included in his 1942 publication (mentioned “1943” by Watenpaugh<sup>17</sup>) to acknowledge the Walters Art Gallery administration’s kindness in providing the photographs of the manuscript W. 539, Watenpaugh concludes that “from a respected priest confidently approaching a religious manuscript, he had become a mere researcher, an independent scholar, petitioning the goodwill of those who now had possession of his sacred texts” (p. 203). Hovsepien’s “becoming an independent scholar” in 1942 overlooks the fact that by that time he had a successful scholarly career for well over half a century. It is curious that the author focuses on Hovsepien’s politeness and respectful attitude toward the gallery administration which provided him with photographs for research purposes while Hovsepien’s cited notice hardly reflects his attitude or preferences for private institutions’ ownership of survived manuscripts, a matter on which he had a very different view, and of which the author is well aware (see p. 205). For instance, when witnessing the

17 Making this seemingly small correction of the original date of Hovsepien’s publication seems to me not unimportant, because it helps to better trace the Zeytun Gospels’ vicissitudes in the USA. The approximate time when Watertown-based Nazaret Atamian showed the canon tables to Karekin Hovsepien is carefully calculated by Watenpaugh (p. 192–193) as between 1936, Hovsepien’s arrival in New York, and 1943, when his book *Materials and Studies on History of Armenian Art and Culture* (vol. II, New York, 1943, in Armenian) was published, in which Atamian’s possession of canon tables is documented. Given that this information repeatedly appears in the book (p. 192, 201, 279, 281) and elsewhere, including also in the Getty’s answer at the trial of the *Western Prelacy vs. Getty Museum* (BC438824, Dec. 5, 2011, The Getty’s Answer, §6, [http://news.getty.edu/images/9036/getty\\_answer\\_dec\\_5\\_2011.pdf](http://news.getty.edu/images/9036/getty_answer_dec_5_2011.pdf)), it seems noteworthy to mention that Hovsepien’s corresponding article was first published in 1942 in the New York-based Armenian periodical *Hayastaneayts’ ekeghets’i* (October, vol. 4, No. 1 (1942): 85–124) to be reprinted a year later in his collection of studies. This means that by October 1942 Atamian had already showed the canon tables to Karekin Hovsepien. In June 2019, I was lucky to have the opportunity to work in the Archives of Karekin Hovsepien in Lebanon and view the original photographs and microfilms of the Zeytun Gospels’ folios, taken at the time when these were in the possession of Atamian. On the envelope containing the photographs, Hovsepien wrote with a pencil the date when he received them from Atamian’s Watertown address: “May 26, 1942”. In the same archive file, among several research notes, Hovsepien made also short notes on the previous itinerary of the canon tables, calling them “Մարաշի աւետարանի խորանները” (“The Canon Tables of the Marash Gospels”). See *Archives of Garegin Catholicos Yovsēp’ean*, The Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon, No 24-1-612.

continuous appearance of Armenian manuscripts in the American art market and referring in particular to two manuscripts kept in the Freer Gallery of Art, Hovsepian expressed a preference that these would better be acquired by state institutions rather than by private collectors.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, a very small remark refers to the wonderful exhibition *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts* organized in the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1994, which is characterized as “the first-ever exhibition of Armenian book arts in the United States” (p. 254). Lest the work of the previous generation be forgotten, however, I would like to mention the 1955 exhibition *Armenian Manuscripts* organized in the University of Kansas Library, which had displayed a part of one of the then-richest private collections of Armenian manuscripts owned by Harutiun (Harry) Kurdian.<sup>19</sup> This collection, comprising 300 manuscripts, was later donated to the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice.

### Some Reflections on Exhibition Practices of Survivor Artifacts

*The Missing Pages* raises a series of significant questions regarding cultural genocide and the fate of art objects that somehow escaped final destruction. These survivor artifacts are among the central arguments largely discussed in the book, which often come along with an inevitable question: “Who owns, or should own, an object like the Canon Tables, and how is that determined?” Watenpaugh raises this question in the Prologue (p. 4) and throughout the pages of her book she illustratively demonstrates how a medieval manuscript, after having been kept for centuries in one place as a highly venerated religious object, was passed from hand to hand in the post-Genocide period, and how its two parts ended up being kept in two continents. As shown in the last chapter, the legal contest of the 2010s signaled the new role of these 13th-century parchment folios, now as witnesses and survivors of the Armenian Genocide. Yet, what does a visitor learn when seeing a beautifully exhibited artwork like the canon tables in a museum hall? How to represent, exhibit and explain a heritage, which, for example, has survived a genocide and whose current location of preservation is an eventual consequence of historical wrongs? In *The Missing Pages*, Watenpaugh writes about the telling silences of such artworks’ provenances, underlining especially that “the tragic story of the mutilated

18 See Hovsepian’s Introduction to K. Hovsepian, *Materials and Studies on History of Armenian Art and Culture*, vol. 11 (New York, 1943), 1 (in Armenian).

19 For the catalogue of this exhibition, see *Armenian Manuscripts. An Exhibition at the University of Kansas Library*, December 1955 (University of Kansas Press, 1955).

manuscript should not be silenced but rather incorporated into exhibition” (p. 5, also 26–27, 46)—a concept which is not only educative, but might also be some sort of ‘compensation’ in some restitution conflicts of this kind. Although at the end of the first chapter the reader is informed that “this book [explores] how institutions like museums curate and display works of art with little reference to their painful histories” (p. 46), no matter-of-fact discussion is found in the pages of the book that would deal with the question of how the story of the Zeytun Gospels and its separated canon tables was ignored or represented at the hitherto-organized exhibitions. To my knowledge, the only public exhibition that represented the survival story of the Zeytun Gospels was the *Survived Manuscripts* exhibition opened in the Matenadaran Museum in April 2015 on the occasion of the Centennial commemoration of the Armenian Genocide. Being included as part of the Matenadaran’s permanent exhibition, the Zeytun Gospels continues to tell its story to more than 100,000 visitors annually. This number of visitors might seem less impressive in comparison to the large audiences of the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Getty Museum and the Metropolitan Museum, where the Zeytun Gospels’ canon tables were occasionally exhibited since the 1990s.<sup>20</sup> Yet given that in these cases no effort was made to incorporate this and many other objects’ “tragic stories” into the public exhibition practices, the educational and humanistic missions of these important art institutions can be considered fulfilled only partly, at least as far as their informative notices on the survivor artworks is concerned. Furthermore, it is perhaps not unimportant to underline that for the sake of political loyalty or probably even under political pressure, the so-called encyclopedic museums would rather avoid making a special emphasis on a survivor artwork that

20 Below is a list of the exhibitions in which the canon tables of the Zeytun Gospels participated.

Pierpont Morgan Library (1994): *Treasures in Heaven. Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, edited by Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck, exhibition: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 04.05–07.08.1994, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 28.08–24.10.1994 (Princeton University Press, 1994), cat. 82, Pl. 10–11, 206.

The Getty Museum (1997–1998, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2016): *Masterpieces of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Illumination* (16.12.1997–22.03.1998), *Illuminating Color* (22.05–16.08.2001), *Five Hundred Years of Manuscript Illumination* (11.02–01.06.2003), *Byzantium and the West* (14.09–05.12.2004), *Traversing the Globe through Illuminated Manuscripts* (22.01–26.06.2016).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1997, 2018–2019): *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, edited by Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, exhibition: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 11.03–06.07.1997 (published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), No. 243, 362–363; *Armenia. Art, Religion, and Trade in the Middle Ages*, edited by Helen C. Evans, exhibition: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 22.09.2018–13.01.2019 (Yale University Press, 2018), cat. 57, 46.

manifests the mutilated history of a national group which seeks justice and restitution internationally. This neutral approach adopted by many art institutions meets perfectly with the modern concepts of ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘shared cultural heritage.’

If in the previous two centuries and especially after the formation of nation-states the key role of many ancient and medieval artifacts was to be an identity marker for specific national or religious communities, in our era of multiculturalism a newer and greater role comes to challenge these perceptions by interpreting artworks as belonging to humanity in general, rather than to a specific community, a nation, or a state. This new vision of cultural heritage was formed especially in the aftermath of and in response to the tragedy of 11 September 2001, when a year later, during its 31st session, the UNESCO adopted the Declaration on Cultural Diversity.<sup>21</sup> Sharing cultural heritage with others, which became also the ruling concept of 21st-century scholarship and academia, was warmly welcomed by many big museums and art institutions, including especially the encyclopedic museums, whose collections are comprised of various kinds of art objects originating from different parts of the world. Ironically, the humanistic mission of making cultural heritage available or accessible to everyone appears to stand in contradiction with the same idea of humanism. One wonders if buying looted artifacts, enriching the black art market and even indirectly contributing to terroristic organizations (and thus encouraging the destruction and fragmentation of cultural heritage) can be compensated by the beautifully exhibited remnants of that heritage. Propagating cosmopolitan values and diversity by promoting the destruction of cultural property which is supposed to be a part of that diversity strongly questions the principles and methods of assembling, owing, representing and sharing cultural heritage, and I cannot agree more with Watenpaugh's short observation that “associating with such criminal networks and enriching them hardly seems the ‘cosmopolitan’ thing to do” (p. 39).

The observations and remarks I have allowed myself cannot reduce the importance of *The Missing Pages* and the novel approach this book brings. Considering the biography of a survivor manuscript and highlighting the importance of exhibition practices are relatively new subjects of discussion in their Armenian context, and *The Missing Pages* opens that new platform for rethinking cultural heritage and relevant issues of its preservation, ownership, guidance, display, research, and interpretation.

21 For the declaration document see *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity: A vision, a conceptual platform, a pool of ideas for implementation, a new paradigm* (2002) <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000127162>.

## *Book Reviews*



Christina Maranci, *The Art of Armenia: An Introduction*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pp. 272.

Christina Maranci's *The Art of Armenia: An Introduction* offers a well-guided, and carefully selective, tour of pre-modern Armenian art from the ancient highlands of Urartu through the Ottoman and Safavid Empires. It is intended primarily for students who are new to the field of Armenian art history, and as such is geared toward non-specialist audiences who may not be able to read Armenian. Maranci thus refers the reader not to a large (and perhaps inaccessible) corpus of secondary sources in Armenian, but rather to recent English and French language scholarship in art history, social history, anthropology, and archeology. Punctuated by short historical overviews, abundant color images, and a series of compelling readings, this volume joins the ranks of other significant introductory texts to Armenian Studies, as well as promises to become a welcome addition in the classroom.

At least in the Anglophone world, pre-modern Armenian cultural production has rarely been more visible in the public eye, thanks in part to the recent success of Helen Evans's *Armenia!* exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Maranci's volume treads some of this same terrain, drawing also from the insights and case studies of two foundational works in the field of Armenian art history: Sirarpie Der Nersessian's *Armenian Art* (1979) and Patrick Donabédian's *Armenian Art* (1989), both of which are currently out of print. Akin to these previous studies, *The Art of Armenia* is largely concerned with a broadly defined medieval period, which occupies four of its six chapters; the other two chapters concern the pre-Christian period in Armenian history and the early modern period, respectively. To this body of scholarship, Maranci makes at least two contributions to orient new students to the field.

The first is one of fruitful synthesis. Whereas Donabédian, and to a lesser extent Der Nersessian, devote relatively little attention to the prehistoric and Urartian art in the ancient Armenian highlands, Maranci animates this period

in a dynamic manner, in part by utilizing a range of scholarship that links aesthetic innovation to social and imperial history. For instance, rather than simply catalogue the formal characteristics of the Urartian fortress, which dotted the Armenian highlands from the first millennium BCE onwards, Maranci places the reader on the ground, so to speak, by inviting us to envision how these strongholds articulated a visual language of authority over a broad geographic range. Here she partly follows the work of Lori Khatchadourian, but also layers this scholarship by returning briefly, throughout the book, to moments when pre-Christian visual motifs reemerged with different valences. In this manner, *The Art of Armenia* offers a detailed look at the diversity of Armenian cultural production across media, space, and time. The past is never entirely past, Maranci reminds us, though its meanings are subject to change.

The second contribution of this book is found in Maranci's accessible formal analyses of a wide array of arts (including architecture, manuscript illumination, textiles, coins, metalwork, ceramics, and sculpture). At their best, these readings follow a productive structure, bolstering formal interpretation with glimpses into the social functions, and performative capabilities, of a wide array of objects. In one case, Maranci draws imaginatively on medieval theories of manuscript illumination, such as Nersēs Šnorhali's (d. 1173) commentary on the Canon Tables, to better understand the ways in which medieval audiences contemplated word and image in concert. Other examples are similarly evocative: readers are invited, for instance, to consider how medieval Armenian churches interfaced with their immediate surroundings in hyper-localized ways, translating the natural world into an extension of their sacred architecture, even while displaying a visual language of piety that would be legible to pilgrims from afar. This subtle dance between the near and the far, the micro and the macro, is on display throughout the book, helping to bring granular readings into focus within broader critical frames.

In this spirit, *The Art of Armenia* draws parallels between its case studies and other forms of cultural production around the Mediterranean, Europe, and the Middle East, demonstrating how measured Armenians were in foregrounding certain visual languages over others. On occasion, it would have been instructive to include images of artifacts from some of these neighboring traditions, if only to model for students how the field of Armenian art history might further engage in such comparative work. Instructors may therefore want to supplement this volume with neighboring case studies of their own, but at least will not find this a difficult task. Overall, the comparative emphasis of this book emerges as one of its strengths, situating Armenian art within patterns of cultural production across an expansive stage.

Last but not least, the appearance of this book, which positions itself as an introductory text in the field, affords the opportunity to take at least some stock of Armenian Studies at the present moment. One might reasonably ask, following the recent critique of Sebouh Aslanian (and the longstanding critiques of scholars in other fields), in what ways the model of ‘national’ histories, which often follow a single ethnic group across the *longue durée*, might still do productive work in today’s more globally oriented and globalized classroom.<sup>1</sup> As this critique generally goes, ‘national’ histories risk overstating the cohesiveness of group affiliation over time, sometimes to the exclusion of other historical processes that require a more inclusive optic. *The Art of Armenia*, however, arguably sidesteps this critique. In part this is because its focus is not necessarily on Armenians themselves, but rather on the cultural production of Armenians (or, in some cases, the cultural products that were created on Armenian territory).

Instead one is struck, in every chapter, by the sheer diversity of the art surveyed, which is both a feature of the material and of Maranci’s approach. Sometimes, difference is expressed in terms of geography and technique, as far-flung monasteries created divergent approaches to manuscript illumination at the same historical moment. At other times, difference is gendered, as early modern women were apparently more willing to depict female saints in textile work than were their male counterparts, who generally worked in other mediums. And sometimes, difference is expressed temporally. The volume’s epilogue therefore recalls the ancient visual motifs that adorn the facades of Soviet and post-Soviet era buildings in Yerevan today, still generative of new meaning. It turns out there is not a singular thread running through the scope of *The Art of Armenia*, but two: a selective interconnectivity with other traditions, on the one hand, and the kaleidoscopic heterogeneity within the Armenian tradition(s), on the other. Of course, *The Art of Armenia* is not the first work to successfully braid these threads together. But its arrival as an introductory textbook, geared toward attracting new scholars to Armenian Studies, reflects a notable moment for the field.

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1 Sebouh David Aslanian, “From ‘Autonomous’ to ‘Interactive’ Histories: World History’s Challenge to Armenian Studies,” in *An Armenian Mediterranean: Words and Worlds in Motion*, ed. Kathryn Babayan and Michael Pifer (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 81–125.

Houri Berberian & Touraj Daryaee (eds.), *Reflections of Armenian Identity in History and Historiography*. Irvine: UCI Jordan Center for Persian Studies, 2018. Pp. 207.

*Reflections of Armenian Identity in History and Historiography*, edited by Houri Berberian (Meghrouni Family Presidential Chair in Armenian Studies) and Touraj Daryaee (Maseeh Chair in Persian Studies and Culture), is a collection of papers presented at an international conference at the University of California, Irvine, in 2015. The chapters bridge the ancient to the contemporary, connected by the theme of Armenian identity. These draw on a number of sources, including written texts in a plethora of languages, tombstones, inscriptions, film, martyrology, romance, and poetry. The chapters range widely in their scope, as some are eight-page papers on discrete topics, while others are more ambitious and reach as many as 50 pages. This volume cuts across academic disciplines, periods, languages, and geography. Given the wide parameters of the volume and the scope of the chapters, there is something here for everyone, making the volume useful both in the classroom and for more research-oriented purposes.

The first contribution is “Historical Dynamics of the Endogenous Armenian, i.e. *Hayots*, Identity: Some General Observations,” by Gregory Areshian. Areshian delves into the theories of identity—notably grounded in French and German studies from the twentieth century—to locate useful paradigms and questions to put to use in investigating Armenian identity over the *longue durée*. As such, this paper spans from the Middle Bronze Age to post-genocide nation building. He clarifies that the struggle to pin down stable features of “identity” is problematic because of the multiple, overlapping definitions of terms like “identity” and variability involved over time, concluding, for example, with a clear and succinct argument to avoid the debates about ethnogenesis. Areshian insists on the separation of “Armenia” and “Armenians” from the term “Hayk” in order to separate endogenous from exogenous conceptions of Armenianness. Further, he establishes five significant “metamorphoses” of Armenian identity, marking not only significant shifts in identity itself, but also in the very idea of what constitutes identity (e.g., religious, linguistic, cultural, and/or political communities). These metamorphoses include Urartian reforms, Arsacid state building, the establishment of the Armenian Church, the diaspora starting in the eleventh century, and the intellectual renaissance of the Armenians from the eighteenth century on.

The second chapter is “The Fall of Urartu and the Rise of Armenia” by Touraj Daryaee. This chapter analyzes the words used to refer to Armenia in the trilingual inscription from the sixth century BCE at Behistun in Kermanshah, Iran.

Daryaei argues that the use of the Old Persian term *Armina*, to compare to the *Uraštu* in the Babylonian version, demonstrates the ascendance of Armenia under Darius the Great. The Old Persian version recognizes Armenia, in part to check the powerful influence of nearby Media, while the Babylonian version of the inscription fell back on more traditional associations of this territory as Urartian instead of Armenian.

Ani Honarchian's chapter is on "Of God and Letters: a Sociolinguistic Study on the Invention of the Armenian Alphabet in Late Antiquity." She examines Koriwn's account of the life of Maštoc' with a focus on sociolinguistics to argue that the "social environment" of the fifth century informs the creation of the Armenian alphabet. The perceived prestige and affiliations of a particular script inform their success, e.g., the use of Latin script in modern Turkish or a revised Arabic script in Persian. In a similar way, as Honarchian points out, the similarities between Greek and Armenian signal the prestige of a major Christian language. The Armenian alphabet cannot be divorced from the Christianization narratives of Armenia, as the written word offered Armenians access to a broader Christian world. At the same time, the Armenian alphabet was also distinctive from others and served to unite Armenians in a moment of political fragmentation. This unification occurred upon multiple strata, e.g., through a genealogy based on Scripture or through the normalization of a single dialect as Classical Armenian.

The next chapter, Khodadad Rezakhani's "The Rebellion of Babak and the Historiography of the Southern Caucasus," employs Arabic, Persian, and Armenian sources to situate the ninth-century revolt of Babak in a series of regional and transregional power networks. While he focuses on Armenian sources and Babak's relationship to the Albanians and, particularly, the Siwnec'ik', Rezakhani argues that the revolt should not be cast as a solely local phenomenon, nor as representative of Iranian v. Arab power. Instead, this chapter offers Musafirid comparisons to the descriptions of Babak's rise to power and suggests that Babak may have in fact been born of a local family, possibly (given similarities with contemporary names), Siwnec'i.

Giusto Traina relies on Greek and Latin sources, as well as material culture, to discuss Armenia in "Ambigua Gens? Methodological Problems in Ancient Armenian History." Taking as a starting point Tacitus's description of Armenia as an "ambiguous race," Traina focuses on the imperial underpinnings of Classical sources about Armenia in order to argue for a recalibration of modern scholarly perspective. Convincingly arguing for the inappropriateness of a "buffer zone" paradigm, Traina instead suggests that we focus more on connected histories, understanding Armenia not as a backwater sticking point between two hegemonic empires, but rather an "ambiguous kingdom"

that renders such binary constructions obsolete. Particularly interesting in this respect is Traina's discussion of an ancient Sanskrit source that dissects power relations in a concern for "strategic balance."

Sebouh Aslanian's chapter on "The 'Great Schism' of 1773: Venice and the Founding of the Armenian Community in Trieste" offers a thorough and useful corrective of the origins of the break between Mxit'arist communities centered in Venice and Vienna. He relies on previously unknown documentary evidence to demonstrate that the schism was not the result of theological disputes, which Aslanian identifies as the later product rather than the cause of the schism. Instead, he offers proof for Akinean's argument that the schism was the result of the policies of Mxit'ar's successor, the abbot Melkonian. The monks at San Lazzaro had argued for more voice in the decisions of the order, particularly concerning questions about Melkonian's powers (manifested in a broader discussion about the use of funds) and length of tenure. Melkonian likely amended the community's constitution, which had been established by Mxit'ar himself. Aslanian's second major intervention in this chapter is the placement the Mxit'arist discontents—those who were dismissed for having challenged Melkonian—at Trieste, where the Habsburgs offered the schismatic Mxit'arists opportunities in an effort to harness Armenian mercantile potential in a bid to supplant the economic powerhouse of Venice.

The next chapter, "The Armenian Oikoumene in the Sixteenth Century: Dark Age or Era of Transition" by S. Peter Cowe, challenges the assumption that the sixteenth century was a moment of decline. This view, Cowe argues, is the result of prioritizing a certain type of history, namely relying on the decline of chronicles and manuscript production. If we turn instead to other markers of cultural production, including other genres such as martyrologies, epics, translations, and romances, these testify to a particularly vibrant Armenian literary community in the sixteenth century. Another important intervention of this chapter is the insistence to combine the study of the Armenian plateau with the diasporic communities to narrate the vibrancy of the Armenian oikoumene. To illustrate the importance of this idea, Cowe offers examples that link Armenia to both western Europe (e.g., *Paris and Vienne*) and to the Perso-Turkic world (e.g., Koroğlu romance or the rise of Armeno-Turkish). This approach is a very effective challenge not only to the "dark age" idea, but to the bifurcation of Armenian history into separate strains of Armenian v. diasporic. It also pushes the reader to assess critically what sources are appropriate to narrate history at any particular point in time, arguing that the traditional model of the historical chronicle was the production of monastic centers, while the

efflorescence of other genres relied in part on the diversification of voices and audiences interested in “history.”

Roman Smbatyan’s “Some Remarks on the Identity and Historical Role of Artsakhi Meliks in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries” argues for the significance of the meliks of Arc’ax as “symbols of Armenian statehood and military power” (165). To do this, he analyses the self-description of the meliks, notably by focusing on their tombstones, as well as their reputation and connections in the broader Armenian diaspora and their description in Russian sources. This establishes the leaders of Arc’ax as the primary voice in efforts towards Armenian liberation.

The final section of the volume covers the modern period, starting with Myrna Douzjian’s “Armenianness Reimagined in Atom Egoyan’s *Ararat*.” Douzjian problematizes the critiques that condemned Egoyan’s film for perpetuating genocide denial. Instead, Douzjian argues, *Ararat* should be understood as a prompt to interrogate the relationship between the past, diasporic community, and individual identity. Focusing on three moments in the movie, she avoids the reading of the Catastrophe as a static event that can (or should) be told in sweeping narratives. Instead, Douzjian demonstrates that Egoyan’s film is a story of how conversations inform individual identity, i.e., the project that Armenians face personally in grappling with the creation of a clear narrative. This has implications about the homogeneity of the diasporic community—namely, that the representation the genocide as a grand narrative is a communal project, bid for “proof” that unites the Armenian community. Douzjian’s point, then, is that *Ararat* demonstrates the delicate problems in representing the genocide from the perspective of the individual.

Shushan Karapetian’s chapter, “The Changing Role of Language in the Construction of Armenian Identity among the (American) Diaspora,” contrasts the growing neglect of Armenian language with the perceptions of the importance of the Armenian language in the Armenian communities of the United States. Relying on interviews among the American diaspora and studies on language acquisition and multilingualism, Karapetian addresses the shift in status of the Armenian language from a form of communication to a symbol of identity. Given that identity is constructed (and, so, contingent on specific circumstances), she presents a situation in which the elevated status of the language in fact inhibits its use, as younger generations see it as a mode of high, sacred, or important discourse and so switch to English for quotidian concerns. Drawing on interviews with Armenian-Americans, Karapetian outlines the cognitive dissonance of diasporic Armenians who equate language and identity and yet fear their own inclusion into the very community

they seek to affirm. This, she argues, explains the recent attempts to define Armenian identity based on faith or “upbringing” instead of language.

The final chapter is Rubina Perroomian’s “Effects of the Genocide, Second Generation Voices,” which is a study of how the children of genocide survivors grapple with their parents’ trauma. It draws on studies of genocide to discuss the transgenerational trauma that can help make sense of the challenges facing the new generation in the diaspora. The focus on parent-child relationships serves as an organizational tool to explore both the parents’ responses (in many cases, their silence about the genocide) and the children’s development in relation to both community and identity. Perroomian chronicles the alienation commonly attested between the parents who survived the genocide and their children, born and raised in the new worlds of Europe or America. She also explores the children’s attempts to overcome such alienation by visiting family villages in eastern Turkey, by publishing memoirs documenting their parents’ survival, or by authoring poems about the genocide and community. These examples pass the responsibility for the memory of the genocide to the younger generation, fueled in part by the anger at both Turkey’s denial of the genocide and the indifference of the broader international community.

“Identity” remains a contested category that eludes clear definition. As a result, scholars in some disciplines have moved away from identity studies entirely. This volume speaks to concerns specific to History by embracing the complexities of such a difficult topic. The authors each frame their inquiry based on the particularities of their sources, concerns, and approaches. The variety of sources at play (whether judged by genre or by language), the immense chronological span of the volume, and the sheer number of disciplines and theoretical shout-outs reveal a deep-set problem about identity. It is historically contingent and subject to change. Should historians want to approach such a contentious topic and its shifting definitions, then, they must adopt a versatile skillset and center our discussion on concrete texts rather than generalizations. There is no single or correct way to study identity, as this volume demonstrates quite effectively. Further, just as there is no set agreement on what constitutes Armenianness across these chapters, so too is there no clear way to identify Armenia. This is particularly challenging in the papers by Areshean and Rezakhani, both of whom correctly acknowledge that the regions between the Black and Caspian Seas have been interconnected, but it is also paramount to the discussion of “Armenian” and “diasporic” communities as, for example, in the papers by Smbatyan and Cowe. Armenian history emerges as something both unique and simultaneously wholly integrated into life in Venice or in Boston. One value of this volume is not in any single contribution, but in the weaving of these very different threads and the acknowledgement

of the very multiplicity of approaches to the study of Armenian identity over the centuries.

The production of the book also deserves a note, particularly given the color photos that beautifully illustrate many of the chapters. Some mistakes or typos eluded the copyeditor, notably transcription inconsistencies and, perhaps more egregiously, an author's note to the copyeditor that was printed as part of the text. It should be understood, though, that these are inconsequential to the academic value of the contributions.

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Sylvia Angelique Alajaji, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora: Searching for Home in Exile*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. Pp. 192. Online media examples at [www.ethnomultimedia.org](http://www.ethnomultimedia.org).

Until Sylvia Angelique Alajaji's 2015 monograph, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora: Searching for Home in Exile*, Armenian music was all but absent in the otherwise rich ethnomusicological literature on music in diaspora communities. The book is something of a rarity in Armenian studies, too, because it deals with those genres—*kef*, *estradayin*—that do not fit comfortably in the Armenian national repertoire. "What is Armenian music?" Alajaji begins (ix). "Who are the Armenians?" (1) The answers to these questions vary as Alajaji makes a compelling case for writing Armenian music into the scholarly history of the Armenian diaspora.

As much a work of social science as musical analysis, the book covers over a hundred years of Armenian music making in the Ottoman Empire, Lebanon, and the United States. With ethnographic and historical precision, Alajaji demonstrates how music changes according to shifting understandings of Armenian identity—that is, the ways that Armenians have variously articulated the significance of home and exile, the relationship between past and present, and the boundary between self and other. Ensuing debates about which represents the "true" Armenian music reveal the stakes of performing and listening to music in the aftermath of genocide.

Alajaji begins where most stories of Armenian music do: with priest and musicologist Komitas Vardapet (1869–1935), whose work laid "the groundwork for a distinctive (and symbolic) Armenian music style" (34). Chapter one situates Komitas's activities within the intellectual currents of Armenian nationalism and European comparative musicology. Like his contemporaries Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály in Hungary, Komitas located musical authenticity in the countryside and railed against foreign influence in the cities. In Alajaji's reading, Komitas forged a national repertoire that could unify a diverse Armenian population, but he also sketched the politically-resonant stylistic boundaries—now mapped onto ethnic categories—along which later debates about Armenian identity would occur. That Komitas was one of the intellectuals deported during the Armenian Genocide lent even greater weight to his legacy.

By contrast, chapter two takes us to 1930s and '40s New York, into the Eighth Avenue nightclubs where newly arrived Armenians performed alongside musicians of Greek, Turkish, and Arab heritage. Recordings by Kanuni Garbis Bakirgian and Marko Melkon (included in accompanying media examples) are full of stylistic and textual references to Ottoman urban life. That many of

these songs were sung in Turkish would become a point of contention among later generations that favored more overtly Armenian repertoires. But Alajaji points out that the tradition did not necessarily have a home in Republican Turkey, either: the song *Şeker Oğlan* (“Sugar Boy”) includes a vocal improvisation called *gazel*, which Turkish critics deemed too melancholic, too “scruffy” for the modern, secular nation state (76). Such sonic signifiers of what Alajaji terms “past home” (9) survived well into the second generation, whose *kef*—or “party”—music could be heard up and down the East Coast (79).

Like the 1934 restaurant menu offering “turlu zarzavat with yalanji dolman” alongside navy bean soup and clam chowder (66), the Eighth Avenue scene and its offshoots were peculiar to the “racial borderland” that early-twentieth-century Armenian immigrants inhabited in the United States (64). In Lebanon, however, where Armenian political, cultural, and religious institutions operated with relative autonomy, choirs “took on the mantle left by Komitas” (94). Alajaji’s third chapter, “Beirut 1932–1958,” explores the core repertoire of folk, patriotic, and religious songs through which genocide survivors and their children learned the Armenian language and fostered a distinct Armenian identity around a mythic idea of home. In singing together, Alajaji writes, choirs “gave life to the notion of Armenia and fed the possibilities impossible in Soviet Armenia—the possibility to sound and imagine the nation on its own terms, loudly and publicly” (103).

For subsequent generations, sounding the Armenian nation was not enough. Chapter four, “Beirut, 1958–1980,” charts the development of a pop music industry that spoke more directly to everyday life in Lebanon and, eventually, to a political climate in which (here she quotes Razmik Panossian) “the Genocide became the core of what it meant to be Armenian” (129). Alajaji focuses on *estradayin* star Adiss Harmandian, whose love songs like *Karoun, Karoun* (“Spring, Spring”) and *Dzaghigner* (“Flowers”) combined Western Armenian lyrics with an infectious “modernized, pan-ethnic sound” already popular across the eastern Mediterranean (122). Ironically, it was this same stylistic hybridity that would characterize the more exclusionary, militaristic songs that came next. Naming Syrian-Armenian patriotic singers George Tutunjian and Karnig Sarkissian, Alajaji contends that with the politicization of the genocide and the advent of the Lebanese Civil War, Armenian pop became “the locus of a highly militant discourse of identity that subverted the inclusivity of the hybridity embodied within the *estradayin* songs into something exclusive, creating boundaries out of that which had once defied them” (110).

In Lebanon as in the United States, Armenian music existed in dynamic relation to shifting notions of home, self, and other—albeit in remarkably different ways. Alajaji’s fifth and final chapter, “California,” brings the two narratives

together. As Lebanese Armenians arrived in Los Angeles in the 1970s, the perceived Turkishness of the U.S. Armenian music scene proved controversial, spilling into tense debates over Armenian identity, heritage, and political duty. Komitas and *estradayin* soon dominated the Los Angeles soundscape, while *keff* faded into the private sphere.

If the story of Armenian music in the twentieth century points to intra-community struggles, Alajaji concludes that it also speaks “to the many and creative ways in which Armenians have forged spaces of belonging for themselves in the face of the unspeakable” (166). Alajaji takes all of her interviewees seriously, and it is their perspectives—not preconceived notions of what Armenian music is or should be—that shine through each ethnographic “snapshot” (ix). A hundred years in two hundred pages is a tall order, and there is plenty more to uncover, especially when it comes to archival material. But even for those who can already sing along, Alajaji’s masterful writing, accessible to academic and popular audiences alike, should inspire critical reflection on the ways that Armenian music and Armenian identity are inextricably linked.

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Yana Tchekhanovets, *The Caucasian Archaeology of the Holy Land: Armenian, Georgian and Albanian Communities between the Fourth and Eleventh Centuries CE*. Leiden: Brill, 2018. Pp. 332.

Recently, the fields of Armenology, Caucasian Studies, and Eastern-Christian studies have had the addition of a new academic monograph *The Caucasian Archaeology of the Holy Land: Armenian, Georgian and Albanian Communities between the Fourth and Eleventh Centuries CE*, published by Brill Academic Publishers ("Handbook of Oriental Studies" series, vol. 123). The author of the study is Dr. Yana Tchekhanovets, archaeologist, researcher of the history of Caucasian and Armenian Early Christian communities in the Holy Land, and a leading expert of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

The study is valuable in many ways. The monuments of the Holy Land related to the Armenian Highlands and the South Caucasus had not yet received a thorough archaeological analysis, and this is the first comprehensive study on the subject. In addition, the book presents the results of many archaeological excavations carried out in the area of Israel within the past two decades (some of which involved the author's direct participation) that concern communities originating from the Armenian Highlands and the South Caucasus. Combining well-known and still emerging—but already quite extensive—archaeological material, Tchekhanovets offers a thorough analysis using the methodology of contemporary archaeology. At the same time, she offers a fresh reading of historiographic and literary sources, helping to shed new light on the historical environment, as well as the status, function, and dating, of these monuments. This monograph is also notable in that it sheds considerable light on many aspects of a number of Early Christian monuments in Armenia.

*The Caucasian Archaeology of the Holy Land* is also the first to refer to the documents kept in the archives of the Israel Antiquities Authority and the archives of the Russian Federation, which has helped to reconsider a number of previous assumptions. Geographically, the study comprises the territories of contemporary Israel, the State of Palestine and the Sinai Peninsula, which used to be parts of the Early Christian Palestine. Chronologically, it covers the Early Christian (starting with the 4th century), Byzantine and Early Islamic periods. Taking into account the evidence of the presence and activity of the three communities—Armenian, Georgian and Caucasian Albanian—in the context of these periods and region, the author confirms the importance of these communities and their individual representatives (Euthymius the Great, John the Silent, Peter the Iberian) in the early period of the history of Christianity.

Here I find it necessary to draw attention to the formulation "Caucasian Communities," both in the title of the book and in the text, which is justified

with regard to Iberia and Caucasian Albania, but is less accurate in its reference to Armenia. Although this formulation was deeply rooted in Soviet historiography and frequently appears in many books from that era, it would benefit from a more nuanced critique and reassessment in this study, drawing on the secondary literature in Armenian.

The study consists of an introduction, five chapters and sub-chapters, as well as features a large number of photographs, drawings and maps (archival and contemporary, including author's works). One of the strengths of the work is the bibliography (almost 600 entries). The bibliography includes a large number of recent and significant academic publications, helping to orient non-specialists in the field, as well as provides a welcome overview on the series of scientific projects of the Israel Antiquities Authority. The divisions in the book reflect the key questions that the author addresses: "Literary Sources," "The Archaeological Evidence," "Manuscripts and Colophons," "Finds vs. Texts," "Caucasian Communities and the Holy Land."

In the first chapter, the author considers the medieval sources as valuable historical and cultural evidence of the period. These include Armenian, Georgian, Greek, Syriac and Latin sources, which in terms of content include historical chronicles, ecclesiastical documents, and pilgrim itineraries as well as hagiographic works.

The next chapter, which forms the core of the study, is dedicated to the archaeological evidence of the Armenian and Georgian communities in Palestine. These are the foundations of monastery structures, inscriptions and graffiti found on churches, tombstones and mosaics, all of which are examined in detail. This chapter does not contain Caucasian Albanian material, as these monasteries/churches are not documented archaeologically yet, although their existence is testified in sources. However, Caucasian Albanian manuscript fragments of Sinai are discussed in the next chapter, "Manuscripts and Colophons."

The first sub-chapter of the main chapter, which is the longest, offers a detailed look at Armenian and Georgian monuments. Among the archaeological materials analyzed here, there is one artifact that has disappeared and is analyzed on the basis of restored archival material, as well as one newly discovered stone bowl which should be regarded as a 19th-century forgery. The examination of Armenian and Georgian monasteries shows that the former, as a rule, were concentrated in cities and their vicinity, being mainly *xenodocheien*, whereas the latter were usually in the rural area and were engaged in agriculture, i.e. *coenobitic* monasteries. As Tchekhanovets concludes, the Armenian and Georgian communities active in the Palestine area were established and operated exclusively within the framework of these monastic institutions, and

as secular colonies, they were formed not earlier than the 11th century. There are some records on both communities, in both Armenian and Georgian, as well as in Greek, written by clergy and pilgrims. At the same time, Armenian or Georgian inscriptions found in various monastic institutions are not yet sufficient for viewing the excavation sites from a narrowly “national” point of view, because these monastic institutions, especially those of the urban type, were often multiethnic (Armenian and Greek monks, as well as Armenian and Georgian monks, were buried side by side), which is also confirmed by written sources. These monasteries were large and extensive architectural complexes, in which various ethnic communities, with their church building/chapel, monastic cells, guest house and cemetery, occupied only part of. In other words, they were unique complexes, and this fact completely changes our understanding of the Palestinian monastic environment, where even doctrinal differences seemingly did not present a major obstacle to coexistence.

An example of this comes from the monastery complex near the Damascus Gate of Jerusalem, a small part of which was opened in the 19th century—revealing the most magnificent “Bird” mosaic with an Armenian inscription—when the structure was wrongfully identified as Chapel of Saint Polyeuctus. As a result of subsequent excavations of the monastery from 1990–2000, the other sections of the complex were eventually opened, and another Armenian part was found (the mosaic inscription of St. Eustatius), just the Greek section of the monastery was discovered. We see the same pattern in the Mount of Olives complex, which is currently under the jurisdiction of the Russian Church. It is known as the “Shushanik Mausoleum” and has a mosaic featuring Armenian script. Later, two additional mosaic parts were opened here. The results of these latest excavations have confirmed the long-term activity of the complex (5–9th centuries), as well as the fact that Armenian and Greek monks coexisted in the area rather than followed one another in time. Moreover, the well-known Iberian monastery served as a dwelling for monks of various ethnic backgrounds. It is also important to note that Tchekhanovets is well-acquainted with both Armenian medieval archaeology and Armenian sources; she has also learned *grabar* (Classical Armenian) under the tutelage of M. Stone, and this training has greatly contributed to her multilateral and accurate coverage of the material.

The following chapter, “Manuscripts and Colophons,” significantly complements this archaeological material, as it examines Georgian and Caucasian Albanian manuscript fragments and palimpsests that were suddenly discovered in St. Catherine’s monastery. The latter are valuable for the history of the Caucasian Albanian community, and are the only evidence of its existence in the Holy Land.

The chapter, “Finds vs. Texts,” is relevant insofar as many of the monasteries found in the manuscript record are not confirmed (or have not yet been confirmed) archaeologically. Tchekhanovets takes these mysteries seriously. In this regard, she critiques a number of positions that were once based on amateur-style studies or on sources that were in part fictional. Tchekhanovets thus rightly calls for a reassessment of historical data before combining evidence from the manuscript record with archaeological material.

One of the important conclusions of this chapter, and that of the whole study, is that our current perceptions of the status of the Armenian, Georgian, and Caucasian Albanian communities in the Holy Land and their relationships with other communities are, in many respects, biased and often generate insoluble “knots.” Perhaps this is one of the reasons why various Armenian and Caucasian Albanian monasteries, mentioned by Archimandrite Anastasius, as well as the Caucasian Albanian monasteries mentioned by Movsēs Dasxuranc’i, have not been discovered or located yet. Tchekhanovets hopes that new approaches, as well as interdisciplinary studies, will contribute to the resolution of these longstanding problems.

Finally, the fifth chapter is dedicated to the cultural ties between the Armenian, Georgian, and Caucasian Albanian communities and the Holy Land. By analyzing the structures of Armenian and Georgian churches and their decoration, Tchekhanovets observes that these structures feature obviously local, Palestinian, or in other words Early-Byzantine artistic and architectural traditions. This also applies to Palestinian workshops and craftsmen, who were using common prototypes to create mosaic compositions, regardless of the background of the church or the donator. Nor do ceramics and burial rituals have any certain “national” character, since these were usually common to all traditions. Moreover, as Tchekhanovets shows, pilgrims to the area were fluent in several languages, and this often causes confusion even among specialists today (Armenians were fluent in Armenian and Greek, those from Caucasian Albania were fluent in their native language and in Armenian, and so on), who sometimes prefer a more anachronistically “national” approach to the study of these peoples and their cultures.

Another sub-chapter is devoted to confessional problems. The Early Middle Ages is marked especially by the splitting of the Churches after the Council of Chalcedon, and later by ecclesiastical disputes over Monothelitism. However, as Tchekhanovets demonstrates, these developments did not have much influence on Palestinian monuments. Historiography has long considered the Jerusalem sources on churches of Greater Armenia, Iberia, and Caucasian Albania, and in this very context, Tchekhanovets highlights the connection between these monastic institutions of the Holy Land with these churches

(such as the influence of Jerusalem liturgical practice, the early translations of the Jerusalem Lectionary, the models of the Tomb of Christ, the acquisition and transfer of manuscripts and ritual objects to the homeland). As a result of this direct relationship, the tradition of creating sacred landscapes (in part by employing Palestinian sanctuaries and their corresponding names as models) emerged in the territory of the Caucasus and Armenia, as well as “New Jerusalems” (e.g. Zuart‘noc’) were created. The last sub-chapter summarizes the results of the mapping of Armenian and Georgian archaeological sites and their comparative tables, which make the extent to which these communities operated in the Holy Land and their geography clearer and more understandable. However, as the author points out, some of her findings are still preliminary, because Caucasian Studies is still a young field in the archaeology of the Holy Land, and further excavations in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Mount Tabor will certainly result in new discoveries. Evidently, there is every reason to hope that, in the future, Caucasian Studies will make considerable progress in the archaeological studies of Israel, and this valuable study will continue to bear much fruit.

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