ԲԱՆԲԵՐ ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏԻ

BULLETIN

OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

VOLUME III *ISSUE - 2*

YEREVAN
2023


ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏ
EX ORIENTE LUX
ԱԼԻ
INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

BULLETIN
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

VOLUME III, ISSUE 2

YEREVAN
«COPY PRINT» PRINTING HOUSE
2023

ԲԱՆԲԵՐ
ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏԻ

ՀԱՏՈՐ III, ՀԱՄԱՐ 2

ԵՐԵՎԱՆ
«ՔՈՓԻ ՓՐԻՆԹ» ՏՊԱԳՐԱՏՈՒՆ
2023

P. - ISSN 2738-2710
E. - ISSN 2738-2702

BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES (BIOS)

Published by the decision of the Scientific Council **of the** Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA

The periodical has been published since 1960. Until 2021 the periodical was named "The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East"

Editorial Office: Marshal Baghramyan Ave. 24/4, Yerevan 0019, Armenia
Tel. (+374 10) 58 33 82
E-mail: journal@orient.sci.am
Web page: http://www.orientcpnme.am/

BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES. III/2 / - Yerevan: Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, 2023.- p. 160.

The current issue of the "Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies" includes studies on the ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary history of the countries of the South-west Asia, as well as issues of source studies. A considerable part of articles deals with the ongoing developments and processes in the Eurasian region. The periodical may be of interest for the orientalists, specialists in the field of Armenology and international relations.

Տպ. - ISSN 2738-2710
Էլ. - ISSN 2738-2702

ԲԱՆԲԵՐ ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏԻ (ԲԱԻ)

Տպագրվում է ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի գիտական խորհրդի որոշմամբ

Խմբագրական խորհրդի հասցե՝ ՀՀ, ք. Երևան 0019, Մարշալ Բաղրամյան պող. 24/4
Հեռ. (+374 10) 58 33 82
Էլ-փոստ՝ journal@orient.sci.am
Կայքէջը՝ http://www.orientcpnme.am/

Պարբերականը հրատարակվում է 1960 թ.-ից:
Պարբերականը մինչև 2021 թ. կոչվել է Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ (ՄՄԱԵԺ):

ԲԱՆԲԵՐ ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏԻ. III/2 - Եր.: ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտ, 2023.- 160 էջ:

«Բանբեր Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի» մատենաշարի հերթական հատորն ընդգրկում է Հարավ-արևմտյան Ասիայի երկրների հին և միջին դարերի պատմության, նոր և նորագույն ժամանակների, ինչպես նաև աղբյուրագիտության հարցերի վերաբերյալ հետազոտություններ: Զգալի տեղ է հատկացված տարածաշրջանի քաղաքական զարգացումների, միջազգային հարաբերությունների և այլ հիմնախնդիրների լուսաբանմանը: Նախատեսվում է արևելագետների, հայագետների, միջազգայնագետների համար:

ԲՈՎԱՆԴԱԿՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

ՀՈԴՎԱԾՆԵՐ

ՌՈՒՍԼԱՆ ԿՈԲԶԱՐ
Տիգրան Մեծին պարթևներին պատանդ հանձնելու հանգամանքների, պատճառների և տարեթվի հարցի շուրջ: Մ.թ.ա. 215-96 թթ. հայոց պատմության ժամանակագրության վերանայում 15

ՔՐԻՍՏԻՆԵ ԿՈՍՏԻԿՅԱՆ, ԳԵՎՈՐԳ ՍՏԵՓԱՆՅԱՆ, ԳՈՀԱՐ ՄԽԻԹԱՐՅԱՆ
Քրիստոնեությունն ու քրիստոնյաները Շաքիում և Շիրվանում վաղ ժամանակներից մինչև Սեֆյան դարաշրջանի ավարտը 41

ՄԵԼԱՆՅԱ ԲԱԼԱՅԱՆ
Գանձակ քաղաքը Աղուանից կաթողիկոսության նստավայր 66

ԱՆԱՍՏԱՍԻԱ ՊԱԼԱՄԱՐՉՈՒԿ
Կոմպոզիտային միապետության տեղական տարեգրությունն ու կառույցները վաղ Նոր շրջանի խոսույթում 83

ՎԼԱԴԻՄԻՐ ՌՈՒԺԱՆՍԿԻ
Սիոնիստական պարադիգմի սկզբնավորումը հրեական պատմության մեջ. Բեն-Սիոն Դինուրի աշխարհայացքի ուսումնասիրությունը 107

ԳԻՏԱԿԱՆ ԿՅԱՆՔ

ԱՐՏՅՈՄ ՏՈՆՈՅԱՆ, ՀԱԿՈԲ ԱՎՉՅԱՆ
Ludwig Paul (with the Cooperation of Pejman Firoozbakhsh), an Analytical Bibliography of New Iranian Languages and Dialects. Based on Persian Publications Since CA. 1980, Wiesbaden: "Ludwig Reichert Verlag", 2022, 444 PP. 131

ԳՈՀԱՐ ԻՍԿԱՆԴԱՐՅԱՆ
Միջազգային գիտաժողով «Հարավային Կովկաս. կայունության և անվտանգության արդի մարտահրավերները» 140

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

RUSLAN KOBZAR
On the Question of Circumstances, Reasons and Date of Tigranes the Great Extradition as Hostage to the Parthians. A Revised Armenian Chronology of the Period 215-96 BC 15

KRISTINE KOSTIKYAN, GEVORG STEPANYAN, GOHAR MKHITARYAN
Christianity and Christians in Shakī and Shīrvān From the Earliest Times Until the end of the Safavid Era 41

MELANYA BALAYAN
The City of Gandzak as Patriarchal Residence of Ałuank 66

ANASTASIA PALAMARCHUK
Local Chorographies and Structures of Composite Monarchy in the Early Modern Antiquarian Discourse 83

VLADIMIR RUZHANSKY
The Genesis of the Zionist Paradigm in Jewish History: Exploring Ben-Zion Dinur's Worldview 107

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

ARTYOM TONOYAN, HAKOB AVCHYAN
Ludwig Paul (with the Cooperation of Pejman Firoozbakhsh), an Analytical Bibliography of New Iranian Languages and Dialects. Based on Persian Publications Since CA. 1980, Wiesbaden: "Ludwig Reichert Verlag", 2022, 444 PP. 131

GOHAR ISKANDARYAN
International Conference "South Caucasus: Current Challenges to Stability and Security" 140

DOI 10.52837/27382702-2023.3.2-15

ON THE QUESTION OF CIRCUMSTANCES, REASONS AND DATE OF TIGRANES THE GREAT EXTRADITION AS HOSTAGE TO THE PARTHIANS. A REVISED ARMENIAN CHRONOLOGY

ՀՈԴՎԱԾՆԵՐ

Ruslan Kobzar **

ARTICLES

Abstract

This article re-examines the circumstances, reasons and date of taking Tigranes II the Great into hostage by the Parthians from a new perspective, in the light of information from late Babylonian cuneiform, Greco-Roman, ancient Armenian and ancient Georgian sources, the prevailing scholarly opinion that the surrender of Prince Tigranes as a hostage was due to the demands of the Parthian side following the Armenian military defeat by Parthian King Mithridates II is challenged and refuted. A new interpretation of events logically connects the accounts of Justin [25:322] and Strabo [42:336-340] regarding taking Tigranes II the Great hostage, which is confirmed by the late Babylonian cuneiform tablet, with information from Strabo [43:224-225] of successful Armenian resistance against repeated Parthian aggression.

Keywords: Chronology, Artaxiad dynasty, Orontes (Ervand) IV, Artaxias I, Artavazdes I, Tigranes I, Vagharshak I, Arshak (Arsac) I, Tigranes II the Great, Mithridates I, Mithridates II the Great.

---

* The article was submitted on November 22, 2023. The article was reviewed on December 10, 2023.

** To the blessed memory of my father, Samvel Arakelyan, I dedicate.

DOI: 10.52837/27382702-2023.3.2-15

ON THE QUESTION OF CIRCUMSTANCES, REASONS AND DATE OF TIGRANES THE GREAT EXTRADITION AS HOSTAGE TO THE PARTHIANS. A REVISED ARMENIAN CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERIOD 215-96 BC*

*Ruslan Kobzar***

Abstract

This article re-examines the circumstances, reasons and date of taking Tigranes II the Great into hostage by the Parthians from a new perspective. In the light of information from late Babylonian cuneiform, Greco-Roman, ancient Armenian and ancient Georgian sources, the prevailing scholarly opinion that the surrender of Prince Tigranes as a hostage was due to the demands of the Parthian side following the Armenian military defeat by Parthian King Mithridates II is challenged and refuted. A new interpretation of events logically connects the accounts of Justin [25:322] and Strabo [42:336-340] regarding taking Tigranes II the Great hostage, which is confirmed by the late Babylonian cuneiform tablet, with information from Strabo [43:224-225] of successful Armenian resistance against repeated Parthian aggression.

Keywords: Chronology, Artaxiad dynasty, Orontes (Ervand) IV, Artaxias I, Artavazdes I, Tigranes I, Vagharshak I, Arshak (Arsac) I, Tigranes II the Great, Mithridates I, Mithridates II the Great.

---

* The article was submitted on November 22, 2023. The article was reviewed on December 10, 2023.

** To the blessed memory of my father, Samvel Arakelyan, I dedicate.

In the beginning of 96 BC, the king of Great Armenia died. This was a rather significant event, which was reflected in a late Babylonian cuneiform inscription (BM 45712) dated to the first month of the year 216 according to the Seleucid calendar (SEB), which corresponds to 26/27 March - 23/24 April 96 BC [38:418-419]. To our great regret, the name of the deceased king of Great Armenia is not mentioned in this document.

The heir to the Armenian throne, crown prince Tigranes, was at that time in Parthia, to whom, judging by the data of Justin [25:322] and Strabo [34:398-401;42:336-340], he had been taken hostage long before the events described. The above-mentioned sources are confirmed by the information of another late Babylonian cuneiform record (BM 45712), which is dated to the second month of the year 216 of the Seleucid Era, which corresponds to 24/25. 4. - 23/24. 5. 96 BC [3:43-44;38:422-423].

The circumstances, reasons and date of Tigranes' extradition as hostage to the Parthians are not reported additionally by either Strabo or Justin. Nor do we know who gave Tigranes away.

In the scientific literature, a hypothesis was expressed, according to which, in the second half of the II century BC, Great Armenia was attacked by the Parthian king Mithridates II, who demanded the extradition of hostages as a sign of submission [21:26; 9:192;1:81;18:48;4:58].

It is not known who and when first expressed it, but at least since the publication of N.C.Debevoise's work "Political History of Parthia" in 1938, it already existed. In it, the author suggested that during the time of Artavazdes I, Armenia was attacked by the Parthian king Mithridates II, as a result of which the king's eldest son Tigranes was given as a hostage [4:58]. In making this point of view, Debevoise failed to take into account a number of factors: 1) there is no source that says that Tigranes II is the son of Artavazdes I; 2) the available sources explicitly call Tigranes II the son of Tigranes I [2:195-197].

Movses Khorenatsi, referring to the genealogy of the Artaxiads, clearly says that the successor of Artaxias (Artashes) I was Artavazdes I, who had no male offspring and kept his brother Tiranes as his successor [27:110]. Sebeos [11:29] and Leonti Mroveli [17:34] do not know of King Tiranes, while Artavazdes I is always mentioned with his brother Tigranes I*. Mentioning the deeds of the latter, Movses Khorenatsi in particular says that he ruled for 21 years and died on the road under a snowfall, and during his reign he faithfully served the Romans [27:111]. This is confirmed by a Roman source [20:102-103, 120-121], the author of which calls Tigranes I† a particularly distinguished ally of the Romans during the Third Punic War, which lasted from 149 to 146 BC Artavazdes I ruled only three years, a fact which we learn by simple mathematical calculation, taking away from the total 24-year reign of Artavazdes I and Tigranes I according to Sebeos [11:29], and 21 years of reign of Tigranes I according to Movses Khorenatsi [27:111]. The accuracy of the reign of each of them is established due to ignored information by Movses Khorenatsi about Artaxias (Artashes) I. The Father of Armenian historiography writes that Artashes I reigned on his father's throne thanks to the support of Darius the Last, the Persian king of

* It should be noted that this king should be the second king in the history of Armenia bearing the name Tigranes, since according to sources (Xenophon, Movses Khorenatsi, Thomas Artsruni and others), king Tigranes I Ervandyan (Ervanduni), a contemporary of the Median king Astyages and the Persian king Cyrus II the Great, is also known.

† A.I. Nemirovskiy, in his comments on the translation of the book of Lucius Ampelius into Russian, believed that the mentioned Tigranes was the king of Lesser Armenia [20:203-204]. This point of view cannot be accepted, since it directly contradicts the information of Paulus Orosius [30:322;31:147], according to which Mithridates V Euergetes (150-121/120 BC) was the king of Lesser Armenia during this period. From 120 BC the ruler of Lesser Armenia was king Antipater, son of Sisis [42:422-425]. He then transferred Lesser Armenia to the administration of Mithridates VI Eupatores. The exact date of his accession to the throne of Lesser Armenia is unknown. Suggested dates range from 114-112 BC to 105-90 BC. See more about this [40:160-166].

kings, who provided Artashes I with a part of the army of Assyria and the whole army of Atrpatakan (Atropatene) to overthrow King Ervand [27:95]. The information given by Movses Khorenatsi that the army of Assyria and Atropatene was subordinated to the Persian king of kings allows us to see him as only one ruler of that epoch, Antiochus III the Great, taking into account that in 221/220 BC, the latter went on a campaign against the ruler of Atropatene Artabazana and subordinated him to his will [46:407-408]. Before this, from the time of Atropates, a contemporary of Alexander the Great and before Artabazana, Atropatene had been an independent state for a hundred years. According to synchronous chronology, Artaxias reigned on the Armenian throne in the 29th year of the reign of the Persian king of kings Darius the Last [27:98], that is, Antiochus III the Great (223-187 BC). Consequently, the year of Artaxias's accession to the throne will be 194 BC. Before that, all researchers, following E. Meyer, leaving aside the data of the sources, considered that the accession of Artashes I in Armenia was inseparably connected with the establishment of Zareh in Sophene in 202/201 BC [26:50-51]. And if for Zareh, it is undoubtedly 202/201 BC, which is confirmed by the information of John of Antioch (Fr. 53) [16:557], in the case of Artashes I, the picture is different. Strabo also confirms this, saying that on the eve of Armenia becoming a Seleucid strategy, its ruler was Orontes (Ervand, Eruand), a descendant of Hydarnes, one of the seven Persians [42:396-340]. Orontes/Ervand came to the throne in the eighth year of Darius the Last/Antiochus III the Great (215 BC) [27:91-92] and ruled for 20 years [27:96-98] (i.e. until 195 BC). Here it should be remembered that according to Strabo, Artashes and Zareh were originally only *strategos* of Antiochus in Armenia and Sophene, and during the latter's battle with the Romans at Magnesia in 190/189 BC, they defected to the side of the Romans and proclaimed themselves independent kings [42:336-340]. Artaxias I ruled for 41 years, of which he was a *strategos* for 5-6 years, and king for

35 years. Years of their reign are as follows: Artaxias's I (194/189-153 BC), Artavazdes I (153/152-150 BC), and Tigranes I (150-129 BC).

According to Lucian (Ps. Lucian) [19:234-235], Tigran lived for 85 years and died of illness (between 56 and 54 BC) [24:123;32:535-539]. Therefore, Tigran II the Great was born between 141 and 139 BC. This means that it is logical to see Tigranes I, a participant in the Third Punic War, in the person of his father, and not Artavazdes I as Debevoise believed, if only because at the time of Artavazd's I death in 150 BC, Tigranes II the Great had not yet been born.

A few years after the publication of Debevoise's work, Hakop Manandyan's monograph "Tigran the Second and Rome" was published (Yerevan, 1943). In his work, the author, relying on the information of Movses Khorenatsi, although correctly indicated the sequence of reign of the first three Artaxiads [27:98,108-111], but missing the data of the Father of Armenian historiography concerning the number of years of reign of each of these kings [27:98,108-111], as well as the information of Lucius Ampelius [20:102-103,120-121] about Tigranes I, incorrectly indicated that the immediate successor of Tigranes I was Tigranes II. The combined information of L. Ampelius [20:102-103,120-121], Movses Khorenatsi [27:16-18, 59-69], Sebeos [11:26-29], Leonti Mroveli [17:27] and "Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay" ("The Conversion of Kartli")[‡] [35:90;47:33] allows us to state that after the death of Tigranes I (129 BC), Vagharsakes (Arsaces) I (129-108 BC) became the king of Great Armenia. This king was a representative of the side line of the Parthian Arsacids, who reigned in the year of the death of Antiochus VII Sidetes in the battle with Phraates II (129 BC). This happened precisely in 129 BC, since the next year (128 BC) Phraates II died in

[‡] The author expresses gratitude to Gor Margaryan, Harutyun Khudanyan, Manuchar Guntsadze and Vigen Tsatryan for kindly providing the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the articles of Stephen H. Rapp, Jr and Paul Crego.

a battle with the Scythians [25:354]. After Vagharsakes I, his son Arshak I (108-96 BC) became king. There is a high probability that Vagasis, mentioned by Justin [25:353], appointed by Mithridates I as governor of Media, as well as Bagasis (Bagayasa), mentioned in late Babylonian cuneiform texts [3:3, 7-8, 18, 20-23], and Vagharsakes I, mentioned by Movses Khorenatsi, are one and the same person. The fact that Tigranes II the Great could not be the immediate successor of his father was clear even from a simple mathematic calculation: Artaxias I ruled for 41 years, Artavazdes I ruled for 3 years, and Tigranes I ruled for 21 years, which totals to 65 years. To whatever reference points we would not apply this number of years (to the beginning of the reign of Tigranes II the Great (96 BC) or Artaxias I (189 BC)), there will be a gap of 35 years. During this period, according to Movses Khorenatsi, Vagharsakes and his son Arsakes ruled. Vagarsakes I (129-108 BC) ruled for 22 years, and Arsakes I (108-96 BC) ruled for 13 years. Manandyan did not attach any importance to this, although the answer lay in the source known to him.

The erroneous provisions stated above by Debevoise and Manandyan were accepted by other researchers with excessive haste [23:27-30;1:81;40:196;18:48; 50:230;14:198], and the thesis of Great Armenia's dependence on the Arshacids from the time of Mithridates II began to acquire a well-established meaning, which was more and more often cited in works devoted to the Artaxiads, and judging by the references, again, solely on the basis of the information of Justin and Strabo. Other sources (prologues to the books of Pompeius Trogus, information provided by Movses Khorenatsi, Leonti Mroveli and others) were not considered as an alternative, which in general not only presented the historical picture one-sidedly, but also distorted historical realities. R. L. Manaseryan [23:30], in particular, believed that the hostage-taking of Tigranes should have taken place between 115-110 BC. As before, Debevoise, referring to the information of

Justin and completely ignoring the information of Movses Khorenatsi about the sequence of rulers in the house of Artaxiads, believed that Tigranes was given hostage by Artavazdes I, the successor of Tigranes I. However, taking into account all sources at our disposal makes it possible not only to take a different look at the circumstances of Tigran's surrender as a hostage, but also at the dating of this event.

So, let us analyze the information from the sourses.

In the "Epitome of Pompeius Trogus's work 'Philippic History'", preserved thanks to the efforts of Marcus Justinus, there is a mention that the Parthian king Mithridates (judging by the context, one may conclude that it is Mithridates II (121-91 BC)), started a war with the Armenian king Artavazdes [25:355]. At this point Justinian's narrative breaks off. The course of the war, as well as its outcome, is unknown to us. On the basis of the available information about Tigranes being given as hostage to the Parthians [25:322;42:336-340], a reconstructed and postulated conclusion is made that Great Armenia lost the war to Parthia, and Tigranes, given as hostage to the Parthians, was a guarantor of the fulfilment of the Armenian king's obligations dictated by the Parthian side. As the most probable date of the beginning of this conflict, 115-111 BC is indicated. This dating is also hypothetical, based on the first references to the Parthian king Mithridates II the Great with the title "king of kings" in epigraphic and numismatic sources:

1) mention of "Arsaces, King of Kings", in a dedicatory inscription from the temple of Asclepius on the island of Delos, which was left by some Greeks, priests of Dioscurus-Kabir, "friends of the king". The inscription dates from about 110 BC [28;36:349-353;39:372-375;4:58]. This date roughly coincides with another Greek inscription from Babylon, which is dated to109/108 BC. It mentions Mithridates II under the title "king of kings" [37:40];

2) Akkadian documents from Babylon dated simultaneously to the Seleucid and Arsacid eras, in which this title is mentioned [13:353;50:232-234];

3) the title "king of kings" also appears on the coins of Mithridates II the Great. The inscription on them reads "to the king of kings of the great Arsaces Epiphanes". The time of this issue is dated to 109/108-96 BC [50:231-236].

However, a question arises whether Justinian's mention of Mithridates II the Great's war with the Armenian king Artavazdes, Mithridates II's assumption of the title of "king of kings" and crown prince Tigranes' being given as hostage to the Parthians have any connection with each other, if there are no specific references in the sources that could link them together, especially in the light of Strabo's data (XVI, 1, 19) [43:224-225] on the successful resistance of Armenians to Parthian aggression and the presence of contradictory information from the prologue to Book XLII of Pompeius Trogus [25:394-395].

In 1996, the third volume of Late Babylonian Cuneiform Astronomical Texts, edited by Sachs and Hunger, published a poorly preserved Late Babylonian cuneiform document that dates from the fifth month of 201 Seleucid Era (SEB), which corresponds to (7/8. 8.-5/6. 9. 111 BC). It says "...the city of Habigalbat (Hanigalbat of Assyrian texts, Mitanni of Hittite texts, and Nahrainah (Upper Mesopotamia) of Egyptian texts), which is called the country of Armenia (in the text Ar-mi-il?)..." But as G.F. Assar correctly pointed out, there is not a single word in this text that could confirm the connection of this document with the military operation in Armenia [3:42].

As for the circumstances of the Parthian king's adoption of the imperial title of "king of kings", they have been omitted by the extant sources. However, Appian of Alexandria preserved the mechanism of the adoption of this

title by the Armenian king Tigranes II the Great. He writes: "And King Tigranes, son of Tigranes, conquered many neighboring tribes, who had their own dynasts, began to be called the king of kings" [2:195-197]. It would seem that if we follow Appian of Alexandria's explanation, any king who conquered several small kingdoms could automatically confer this title. Consequently, Mithridates VI Eupator, and Tigranes II the Great and the Parthian kings of their contemporaries could all bear this title simultaneously and independently of each other. However, as the facts show, they held this title alternately, not simultaneously. Moreover, Artavazdes of Atropatene, after 34 BC, also carried this title for some time, which is confirmed by the inscriptions on his copper coins [49:117-123, table 12]. It is, however, well known that this king did not conquer any neighboring tribes or kingdoms. Dio Cassius only notes that after Mark Antony's arrival in Armenia and his meeting with the Atropatene king, under the terms of the treaty, some parts of Armenia conquered by the Romans were transferred to the Median [6:43-433]. To Tigranes II the Great, the title of "king of kings" passed after the victory over the Parthians. From this we would assume that the indispensable detail concerning the possession of this title is the victory of one king over another king bearing this title. But even here we face confusion, because Mithridates VI Eupator also bore this title in the interval between 89/88-85 BC which is confirmed by the inscription on the pedestal of his statue, found during the excavations of Nymphaeum [50:244], although it is known that he did not fight either with Tigranes II, or with the Parthian king, and, therefore, he could not have victory over them. This suggests that the mechanism of assigning this title is much more complex than it seems. It is clear that within the same state, which absorbed and included a number of other kingdoms, there were persons bearing the titles "king" and "king of kings", which was a manifestation of the hierarchical system within the state [32:535-539], but beyond the borders of this state, until the middle of the I

century BC, two or more persons bearing the title of "king of kings" at the same time, for reasons that are still unclear, were not present. Only from 54 BC, was this title simultaneously borne by Pharnaces, king of Bosporus (from 54 to 51 BC) and Orodes II (57-38 BC), king of Parthia, and after Pharnaces, simultaneously Artavazdes II, king of Great Armenia (49-48, 39-37 BC) and Orodes II, king of Parthia [22:21;49:26-47; 50:241].

It should be emphasised that the researchers who claim the dependence of Great Armenia on Parthia in the time of Mithridates II the Great on the basis of information from Justinian's Epitome leave out of sight the well-known fact that from the work of Pompeius Trogus, in addition to Justinian's epitome, the so-called prologues or titles to the books have also been preserved. A comparative analysis of the prologues and the abridged text of Justin reveals discrepancies in many details, one of which is the identification of the Parthian king Mithridates, who started a war with the Armenian king Artavazdes. According to Justin, it is Mithridates II who succeeded Artavazdes, and according to the prologue, it is Mithridates who succeeded Phraates. It can be only Mithridates I, who inherited Phraates I [10:12-13].

The Parthian king Mithridates I (165-132 BC) turned into a "Great" king from an ordinary king only after he won the battle over the Seleucid king and became the owner of Great Media (without Atropatene) and Babylonia. But Mithridates I could not be called "king of kings" for the very reason that Media and Babylonia conquered by him were not kingdoms recognizing the supreme power of the Seleucids, but only satrapies, which were governed by trustees appointed by the Seleucids, who did not have the royal title. The royal title belonged to the Seleucids, and even after losing a battle to the king of the Parthians, they did not recognise his supremacy over them, and did not submit to him.

Describing the activities of the Parthian king Mithridates I, Justine writes that by the time of his death, having subjugated many peoples to his

authority, he had extended the Parthian domination (imperium Parthorum) from the Caucasus Mountains to the Euphrates River [25:353]. From a superficial study of this information, a hasty conclusion was made about the dependence of Great Armenia on Parthia already in the time of Mithridates I. The information of Justinian, which has not been properly explained in the research literature so far, is subject to consideration. It is clear from Justin's message that the western border of Parthia at the time of the death of Mithridates I was the left bank of the Euphrates, and the other one was the Caucasus Mountains. The discrepancy regarding the Caucasus Mountains, in the specificity of that part of the world, is not accidental. The cause for this was the information provided by Strabo, who says the following about the Caucasus: "The stories that have been spread far and wide with a view to glorifying Alexander are not accepted by all; and their fabricators were men who cared for flattery rather than truth. For instance, they transferred the Caucasus into the region of the eastern sea which lies near those mountains from the Euxine; for these are the mountains which the Greeks named Caucasus, which is more than thirty thousand stadias distant from India; and here it was that they laid the scene of the story of Prometheus and of his being put in bonds; for these were the farthermost mountains towards the east that were known to writers of that time" [42:238-241]. Such a diametric representation of ancient geographers about the Caucasus, given the information provided by Strabo [43:224-225] about the successful resistance of Armenians to Parthian aggression, allows us to give concrete content to the answer to the above question. Obviously, in Justinian's report about the Caucasus, it is the eastern border of the Parthian power, where the Caucasus is understood as the Indian Mountains. This opinion is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, saying that Mithridates, "king of the Parthians, being a mild and gracious prince, was exceedingly prosperous and successful, and greatly enlarged the bounds of his empire. He conquered all before him, as far as

to India, where Porus reigned formerly, with a great deal of ease; and though he had achieved that degree of power and authority, yet he inclined not in the least to pride and luxury, as is common with princes in such cases. He was kind to his subjects, and valiant in warfare against his enemies; and having subdued many nations, he collected the best of their customs, and imparted them to the Parthians" [8:34-37]. The mentioned Por was a Punjabi rajah known from ancient sources, whose possessions stretched between the rivers Hidaspes (now Jhelam) and Chandrabhaga (now Chenab). The information by Diodorus is also supported by the report of Paulus Orosius about the invasion of Mithridates I into India [30:311-312;31:140-141]. The successful wars of Mithridates I expanded the borders of Parthia in the east to India, which gave rise to the mention of the Caucasus, which, judging by Strabo's message, also meant the Indian Mountains. That is, when describing the borders of Parthia under Mithridates I, Justin (Justinus) implies their extension from east to west, but not to west and north.

Greek geographer Strabo writes in Book XVI of his Geography: "For the Medes and the Armenians, and third Babylonians, the three greatest of the tribes in that part of the world, were so continued from the beginning, and continued to be, that at time opportune for each they would attack one another and in turn become reconciled. And this continued down to the supremacy of the Parthians. Now the Parthians rule over the Medes and the Babylonians, but they have never once ruled over the Armenians; indeed, the Armenians have been attacked many times, but they could not be overcome by force, since Tigranes, opposed all attacks mightily, as I have stated in my description of Armenia" [43:224-224].

As we can see, Strabo was aware of three important circumstances, which he recorded in his work: 1) Armenia was repeatedly attacked by Parthians; 2) Parthians never managed to defeat Armenians by force of arms; 3) Tigranes was given as hostage to Parthians. Hence, three important conclu-

sions emerge: 1) if the sources do not record the victory of the Parthian kings Mithridates I and Mithridates II over Great Armenia, then, accordingly, there is no reason to link the adoption of the imperial title of "king of kings" by Mithridates II the Great with the extradition of Tigran as a hostage; 2) if there was no military defeat of the Armenian king, then Tigranes could not be handed over as an expression of submission or as a guarantor of fulfilment of certain requirements by the Armenian side dictated by the Parthian side in connection with the defeat; 3) the date of Tigranes' extradition as a hostage to the Parthians does not have to be linked to the era of Mithridates II the Great and his assumption of the title of "king of kings". Consequently, the circumstances of Tigranes' hostage-taking require other explanations, which could simultaneously harmonize the information of Justin [25:332] and Strabo [42:336-340] about Tigranes' hostage-taking to the Parthians, taking into account the data by Strabo [43:224-225] about the successful resistance of Armenians to Parthian aggression.

We found several similar cases in a number of sources. One of them is described in a Georgian source, Leont'i Mroveli's "The Lives of Georgian Kings". The described case is connected with the epoch of reigning of the representative of the side line of the Parthian Arsacids in Great Armenia, who reigned in the year of the death of Antiochus VII Sidetes in the battle with Phraates II (129 BC). His name was Arshak (Arsac, Vagharshak), and we mentioned him above. So, let us directly turn to our source.

"During his rule, the reign of Antioch (Antiochus VII) in Babylon ended (129 BC). At the same time a man by the name of Arshak' came to the throne in Armenia. Mirvan arranged the marriage of his daughter to Arshak's son - also Arshak'. After the death of Mirvan his son, Parnajom, became the king."

He came to love the Persian faith and fire worshipping; he brought fire priests and magicians[§] from Persia, had them settle in Mtskheta at a place, which is now called Mogvta, and began to openly abuse the idols. The inhabitants of Kartli hated him, because they worshipped the idols. Most of the eristavis conspired against him and sent an envoy to the King of Armenia with this message: "Our King has abandoned the faith of our fathers and does not serve the gods, the masters of Kartli, any more. He introduced his father's faith in Kartli and refused the faith of his mother. He does not deserve to be our King. Give us your son Arshak', whose wife is from the family of the Parnavazids, our kings. Give us your army's help and we will make Parnajom flee, he who has brought a new faith to Kartli. Let our King be your son Arshak', and our Queen - his wife, the daughter of our kings." That proposal appealed to the King of Armenia. He sent back the envoy with a positive answer, in which he said: "If you truly and honestly want to have my son as your king, give me your hostages and I will give him to you and shower you with all kinds of presents." [17:26]

For comparison, I also offer my own translation of this fragment: "King Antiochus (Antiochus VII) was defeated in Babylon (129 BC), and at this moment Arsak became king in Armenia, with whom Georgian (Kartli) king Mirian was united. And Mirian died, and her son Parnajom became king in her stead.

This Parnajom loved the Persian religion, the worship of fire, summoned priests (fire worshipers) and mags from Persia, settled them in Mtskheta, in the place that is now called Mogvta, and openly began to blaspheme idols. Therefore, the inhabitants (natives) of Kartli (Georgia) hated him, since they prayed to idols. Then the majority of the Georgian ***eristavi***-s

[§] According to the oral communication of Dr Eduard Khurshudyan, this term, taking into account the era, is correctly translated as "mags". I would like to thank him for his verbal advice on this matter.

hatched (formed) a conspiracy and they sent an ambassador (envoy) to the Armenian king with a petition (saying): "Our king has abandoned the faith of our fathers, no longer serves the gods, the rulers of Kartli, accepted the example of his father (this means king Mirian, who adopted him and raised him) and followed the religion of his mother".

Now he is not worthy to be our king anymore. Give us your son Arsak, whose wife is from the generation (line) of our Pharnavazian kings. Send your army to our aid and we will put Parnajom, who introduced a new religion to Kartli (Georgia), to flight. Let your son Arsak be our king, and let his wife, the daughter of our kings, be our queen.

The Armenian king liked this decision. He sent them back to the ambassador with a kind reaply, saying: "If you truly, from the bottom of your heart, want to have my son as king, then give me hostages, and I will give you my son as king and shower you with all sorts of gifts."

The described case is very informative. It allows us to understand a crucial mechanism that existed in ancient times in Transcaucasia. In the absence of the king on the throne, the local nobility could turn to neighboring royal houses to obtain a royal offspring as king. And they, in turn, demanded the surrender of hostages from representatives of noble families as guarantees of the safety of their offspring. Let us note that the local nobility did not elect a new king from representatives of the local princely nobility. It is possible that this practice arose as a result of unsuccessful previous experience, and not an ancient tradition. From the work of Movses Khorenatsi, it is clearly seen that in the premature death of the king and the minority of the heirs, the first of the Arminian nakharars (nobility) could be chosen as king, as in the case of Ervand [27:91-92]. Such a candidate reigned without undergoing the coronation ceremony, which was carried out by the Bagratids [27:92]. Apparently, the coronation did not take place, since the minor children of the previous king, legally, remained heirs to the throne. However,

apparently, due to consequences that arose (Ervand's persecution of Artashes) [27:92-99], this practice was abandoned. It is also important that king Vagharsak I, who demanded hostages himself, became the king of Great Armenia, not by right of conquest of this country. The year of his accession (129 BC) coincides with the year of the death of the king of Great Armenia Tigranes I under a snow avalanche. Let us recall that the perished Armenian king was the father of Tigran the Great, who was given to the Parthians as a hostage. At the time of Tigranes' death his son and heir was about 10 years old. His young age prevented him from taking the throne. Probably, as in the case of the Georgian ***eristavi***-s, who turned to Armenian king Vagharsak I (Arshak, Vagharshak), the Armenian nobility turned to the Parthian king Phraates II with a proposal to place a representative of the Parthian Arsacids on the throne of Great Armenia. And Parthian king Phraates II demanded the extradition of hostages as security guarantees. In such a case the possible date of Tigranes' extradition as a hostage could have been 129 BC. A new interpretation of events logically connects the accounts of Justin [25:322] and Strabo [42:336-340] regarding taking Tigranes II the Great hostage, which is confirmed by the late Babylonian cuneiform tablet, with information by Strabo [43:224-225] of successful Armenian resistance against repeated Parthian aggression.

Another possible practice is known and described by many ancient sources. It refers to an incident related to Parthian king Phraates IV (38-2 BC), who, for fear of outrages against his policies and attempts on his life, invited the then Roman prefect of Syria Titius for negotiations and gave him four of his legitimate sons as hostages: Seraspadanus, Rodaspes, Phraates and Bonones (Vonones) with two wives and four of their sons. The Parthian king realised that no one on his own could successfully fight him without the help of someone from the Arsacid family, as the Parthians are exceptionally loyal to this family. Therefore, by removing his sons, he endeavored

to take away this hope from the men who had maligned him [12:57,109; 25:361; 29:149-152; 30:421; 31:213; 43:234-238; 44:152-153,192-195; 45:384-385; 51:396-397; 51:246-249]. It should be noted that the Parthian king gave his sons and grandsons as hostages not at the request of the Roman side, but under the pressure of the internal political situation in Parthia.

It cannot be excluded that a similar situation could arise in Great Armenia, when one of the possible pretenders to the throne temporarily was removed from the country to eliminate such incidents. And though I consider this option of development of events less probable, and prefer the above described one, it still deserves attention as a possible way of development of events. During the reign of Artaxiads in Great Armenia, such situations repeatedly took place when the heirs to the throne or relatives of the king, disappointed with the royal policy and relying on the dissatisfied nobility, rebelled against the reigning monarch. They managed to mint coins, try on the sleeping royal crown of the still living monarch and even lead enemy troops to Great Armenia. According to Appian of Alexandria [2:437-439], Tigranes II the Great had several sons from Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates VI Eupator, two of whom he executed: one he killed in battle when he started a war against him. Appian does not mention his name, but some researchers believe that this prince may well be Sariaster, the son of King Tigranes of Armenia, about whom Valerius Maximus tells in his work. Mentioning him, Valerius Maximus writes: "Sariaster, against his father Tigranes, the king of Armenia, formed a conspiracy with his friends in such a way that they let blood flow from their right hands and mutually tasted it" [48:416]. And although for our study, the issue of identification is not so fundamental, let us say that in the history of Armenia there were seven kings bearing the name Tigranes, and to our great regret, the mentioned passage from the work of Valerius Maximus does not allow us to specify which king Tigranes we are talking about. Thus, the attempt to connect together

the data from the work of Appian of Alexandria and Valerius Maximus is shaky in view of its hypotheticality. However, within the framework of this article, the passage from the work of Valerius Maximus is certainly of interest in terms of a specifically recorded case of complex relationships between the older and younger representatives of the royal family. Another of his sons was executed by Tigranes II the Great while hunting, because this son did not help him when he fell to the ground, but while he was still lying on the ground, the son put a diadem on himself. The third son, Tigranes, showed much sympathy for his father at this hunt, and was favoured by him. Yet some time later, he proved to be unfaithful to him, made war with his father, was defeated by him, and fled to Phraates, the Parthian king, who had just received power after his father Sintricus [2:437-439]. Phraates III gave away his daughter to Tigranes the Young [33:203-205], and then, at the request of his son-in-law, began a war with Tigranes II. Accompanied by the rebellious son of king Tigran and rebellious Armenian nobility, Phraates III invaded Armenia and reached the capital Artashat. Caught by surprise, then-old Tigranes was forced to flee to the mountainous regions of his country. However, the city of Artashat, remaining loyal to its king, offered stubborn resistance to the enemy [5:86-87]. When the Parthian king saw that the siege might take too long, he returned to his country, leaving part of his army to his son-in-law. However, after his departure, Tigranes II the Great attacked his traitor son and the rebellious Armenian princes, gathering around him the military forces that remained loyal to him, defeated them, pursued and restored his power in the country. Tigranes the Young was forced to flee from Armenia and, deciding to go to Mithridates VI, headed for Pontus, but on the way, he learnt that his grandfather had been defeated. At the cost of a new treason, he hoped to come to an agreement with Pompey and acquire the throne of his father. All this forced Tigranes II the Great

himself to appear at the negotiations with Pompey, as a result of which, the latter acted as umpire and resolved the dispute in favour of his father.

In 71 BC, Zarbienes, king of Corduene (Gordyene), rebelled in the hope of quick Roman help. He was denounced and Tigranes II the Great had him and his entire family executed (this was before the Romans invaded Armenia) [32:535-539].

Not infrequently, such conspiracies were brought to a successful conclusion by their initiators. Thus, in their works Octavian Augustus [51:390-393], Tacitus [45:386-389] and Dio Cassius [7:302-305] describe how Artaxias (Artashes) II, the grandson of Tigranes II the Great, was killed by his relatives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Aliev I.G., Ocherk istorii Atropateny (Outline of the history of Atropatene), B. Azerneshr, 1989, 60 p. (in Russian).
2. Appian. Roman History, Volume II. Translated by Horace White. Loeb Classical Library 4. In four volumes. London/New York, 1912.
3. Assar G.R.F., "A Revised Parthian Chronology of the Period 165-91 BC", Electrum, 11, 2006, pp. 87-158.
4. Debevoise N.K., "Politicheskaya istoriya Parfii" Per. s angl., nauch. red. i bibliografich. prilozhenie V.P. Nikanorova. - SPb: Filologicheskij fakul'tet SPbGU, (Istoricheskaya biblioteka). Debevoise N.K. "A Political History of Parthia"/ Translation from English into Russian, scientific editorship and a bibliographical supplement by Valery Nikanorov - St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University Faculty of Philology, 2008, 816 p.

5. Dio Cassius, Roman History, Volume III Books 36-40. transl. by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster. Loeb Classical Library 53, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.
6. Dio Cassius, Roman History, Volume V Books 46-50. Translated by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster. Loeb Classical Library 82, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917.
7. Dio Cassius. Roman History, Volume VI Books 51-55. Translated by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster. Loeb Classical Library 83, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917.
8. Diodorus Siculus, Library of History, Volume XII Fragments of Books 33-40. Transl. by Francis R. Walton, Loeb Classical Library 423, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.
9. D'yakonov M.M., Ocherk istorii drevnego Irana (Outline of the history of Ancient Iran), Moscow, 1961, 452 p. (in Russian).
10. Elchibekyan Zh.G., Armeniya i selevkidy (IV-I vv. do n.e.) (Armenia and the Seleucids). Na armyanskom yazyke. Avtoreferat dissertacii na soiskanie uchenoj stepeni kandidata istoricheskih nauk. Akademiya Nauk Armyanskoj SSR. Institut Istorii, Yerevan, 1972, 19 p. (in Russian).
11. Episkop Sebeos. Istoriya imperatora Irakla. Nikifor Vrienij. Istoricheskie zapiski (976-1087) - Ryazan': Aleksandriya, 2006, 400 p. (1-202/202-400). Podgotovleno po izdaniyu SPb., 1862, SPb., 1858) (in Russian).
12. Evtropij. Breviarij ot osnovaniya Goroda (Eutropius)/ Per. i prim. D. V. Kareeva, L. A. Samutkinoj. - SPb. Aletejya, (Ser.: "Antichnaya istoriya"), 2001, p. 305. (Translated in Russian).
13. Haussollier B., Inscriptions grecques de Babylone, Klio. Bd. IX, (kamen' datirovannyj 121/120 gg. do n.e.), 352 f (tablichka datirovannaya 110/109 ili 111/110 gg. do n.e.), 1909, p. 353.

14. Hregul' A.O., Parfyans'ke carstvo, Velyka Virmeniya ta Kappadokiya u zovnishchn'opolitychnyh planah Mitridata VI Євpatora naperedodni vijn z Rymom (Parthian Empire, Greater Armenia and Cappadocia in foreign policy projects of Mithridates VI Eupator before the wars with Rome), Naukovi praci istorichnogo fakul'tetu Zaporiz'kogo nacional'nogo universytetu (Scholarly Works of the faculty of History, Zaporizhzhia National University, Ukraine)., Vyp (Vol.). 52. Tom (Part) 2, 2019, p. 197-201. (in Ukrainian).
15. Flavij I., "Iudejskie drevnosti". V 2 t. T. 1. Kn. 1-12, M.: AST: Ladomir, 2007. - 748 s.; T. 2. Kn. 13-20. "O drevnosti iudejskogo naroda (Protiv Apiona)"/ Iosif Flavij. - M. AST, Ladomir, 2007, 612 p.
16. John of Antioch, Fr. 53, C. Müller, Fragmenta historicorum graecorum, IV, 1868, p. 557.
17. Leont'i Mroveli, The Lives of Georgian Kings, transl. and with commentary Dmitri Gamq'relidze in "The Georgian Chronicles of Kartlis Tskhovreba" (A History of Georgia), ARTANUJI Publishing, Tbilisi, 2014, 414 p.
18. Litovchenko S.D, Kappadokijskij krizis 90-h gg. I v. do n.e. i Velikaya Armeniya (Cappadocian crisis of the nineties of the I century BC and Great Armenia)/Drevnosti. Har'kovskij Istoriko-Arheologicheskij Ezhegodnik 2006-2008, p. 48-57. (in Russian).
19. Lucian. Phalaris. Hippias or The Bath. Dionysus. Heracles. Amber or The Swans. The Fly. Nigrinus. Demonax. The Hall. My Native Land. Octogenarians. A True Story. Slander. The Consonants at Law. The Carousal (Symposium) or The Lapiths. Translated by A. M. Harmon. Loeb Classical Library 14. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913. p. 234-235.
20. Lucij Ampelij "Pamyatnaya knizhica" (L. Ampelius Liber Memorialis). Per. i komm. A.I. Nemirovskogo, 3-e izdanie, ispravlennoe i dopolnen-

noe (Seriya "Antichnaya biblioteka". Razdel "Antichnaya istoriya"). SPb Aletejya, 2002, 248 p. (in Russian).

21. Manandyan, H., Tigran Vtoroj i Rim. V novom osveshchenii po pervoistochnikam (Tigran II and Rome). Izdatel'stvo ARMFAN, Yerevan, 1943, 240 p. (in Russian).
22. Manaseryan R., Hayastany Artavazdic minchev Trdat Mets, Yerevan, Areg, 1997, 216 p. (in Armenian).
23. Manaseryan R., "Tigran Mets. Hayastani pajkhary Hromi ev Parthevastani dem m. t. a 94-64 tt." (Tigran the Great. The struggle of Armenia against Rome and Parthia 94-64 BC), Yerevan, Hayastan, Lusakn, 1987/2007, 241 p. (in Armenian).
24. Ciceron M T., Rechi. V dvuh tomah. Seriya: Literaturnye pamyatniki. Izdanie podgotovili V.O. Gorenshtejn i M.E. Grabar'-Passek. Otv. Red M.E. Grabar'-Passek, Akademii nauk SSSR, Tom II (Vol. II) Moscow, 1962, 443,400 p. Tom II (Vol. II) (in Russian).
25. Mark Yustinian Yustin "Epitoma sochineniya Pompeya Troga","Historiae Philippicae" (Marcus Junianus Justinus. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus), Diodor Sicilijskij "Istoricheskaya biblioteka", kniga XVII, "Aleksandriya", Ryazan', 2005, 560 p. (in Russian).
26. Meyer E., Blüte und Niedergang des Hellenismus in Asien, Berlin, Carl Curtius, 1925.
27. Movses Khorenaci "Istoriya Armenii". Perevod, vvedenie i primechaniya G.Kh. Sarkisyana, Yerevan, 1990. (in Russian).
28. OGIS. I. Nr. 430 (Delos).
29. Panov A.R., Avgust i parfyanskie zalozhniki v Rime (Augustus and the Parthian hostages in Rome). Problemy istorii, filologii, kultury. Moscow-Magnitogorsk-Novosibirsk, 1,2016, pp. 149-152. (in Russian).

30. Orozij P., "Istoriya protiv yazychnikov" (Paulus Orosius. Historiae Adversus Paganos), knigi I-VII. Perevod s latinskogo, vstupitel'naya stat'ya, kommentarij, spisok sokrashchenij i ukazatel' V.M. Tyuleneva. Izdanie tret'e, ispravlennoe i dopolnennoe, Sankt Peterburg, 2009, 544 p. (in Russian).
31. Paulus Orosius, Historiae Adversus Paganos, transl. by John Dryden. The Greatest Books of Christian Civilization. Paulus Orosius. Volume 31. Published by The Kolbe Foundation, Texas (USA), 2014, 274 p.
32. Plutarch, Lives, Volume II, Themistocles and Camillus. Aristides and Cato Major. Cimon and Lucullus. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 47. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.
33. Plutarch, Lives, Volume V, Agesilaus and Pompey, Pelopidas and Marcellus. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 87. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917.
34. Radt S.L. (ed. and tr.) "Strabons Geographika". - Vols. 1-10. - Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002-2011.
35. Rapp Stephen H.Jr. "PreChristian History in the Georgian Shatberdi Codex. A Translation of the Initial Texts of Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay" ("The Conversion of Kartli"), Le Muséon, 112 (1-2), 1999, p. 79-127.
36. Reinach S. Fouilles de Délos, Bull. de Correspondence Hellénique. VII. 1883, p. 349-353.
37. Rostovtseff M.I., Welles C.B. A Parchment Contract of Loan from Dura-Europus on the Euphrates, Yale Classical Studies, II. 1931, p. 40.
38. Sachs A.J. and Hunger H., ADRTB, Vol. 3, Diaries from 164 BC to 61 BC. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien, 1996.
39. Sallet A., von Beiträge zur antiken Münzkunde: Arsaciden – Inschrift von Delos // Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Bd. XII, 1885, p. 372-375.

40. Saprykin S.Ju. Pontijskoe carstvo. Gosudarstvo grekov i varvarov v Prichernomor'e (The Pontic Kingdom. A State of the Greeks and the barbarians in the Black Sea Littoral), Moscow, Nauka, 1996, 352 p. (in Russian).
41. Schileico W., Ein babilonischer Weihtext in griechischer Schrift, Archiv für Orientforschung. Bd. V, 1928-1929. p. 11-13.
42. Strabo, Geography, Volume V: Books 10-12. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Loeb Classical Library 211. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928.
43. Strabo, Geography, Volume VII: Books 15-16. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Loeb Classical Library 241. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930.
44. Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars, Volume I Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, Caligula, transl. by J. C. Rolfe, introduction by K. R. Bradley. Loeb Classical Library 31. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.
45. Tacitus, Histories: Books 4-5. Annals: Books 1-3, transl. by Clifford H. Moore, John Jackson. Loeb Classical Library 249, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.
46. The Histories of Polybius, transl. from the text of F. Hultsch by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, M.A., Vol. I. London, Macmillan and CO. and New York, 1889, 670 p.
47. Toumanoff., Chronology of the early kings of Iberia, Traditio, vol. 25,1969, pp. 1-33.
48. Valerij Maksim "Devyat' knig dostopamyatnyh deyanij i vyskazyvanij" (Valerius Maximus. Memorable Doings and Sayings). Perevod s latinskogo, komentarii, vstupitel'naya stat'ya i prilozheniya A.M. Smorchkova, Moscow, 2020, 472 p. (in Russian).

49. Vardanyan R., Artavazd II-i dramnery (Coinage of Artavazdes II), Moughni, Yerevan, 2004, 140 p. (in Armenian).
50. Vardanyan R., Bor'ba za titul "carya carej" v kontekste vostochnoj politiki Rima I veka do n.e. (po numizmaticheskim, epigraficheskim i narrativnym istochnikam) / Istoriko-filologicheskij zhurnal (Patmabanasirakan Handes), №1, The Fight for the "King of Kings" title in the context of Rome's eastern policy in the 1st century BC (on numismatic, epigraphic and narrative sources), 2011, p. 230-252. (in Russian).
51. Velleius Paterculus, Compendium of Roman History, Res Gestae Divi Augusti. Transl. by Frederick W. Shipley, Loeb Classical Library 152. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.

Ruslan Kobzar
Private researcher
akrsarme@gmail.com
ORCID ID: 0009-0002-7650-3432

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ ՄԵԾԻՆ ՊԱՐԹԵՎՆԵՐԻՆ ՊԱՏԱՆԴ ՀԱՆՁՆԵԼՈՒ ՀԱՆԳԱՄԱՆՔՆԵՐԻ, ՊԱՏՃԱՌՆԵՐԻ ԵՎ ՏԱՐԵԹՎԻ ՀԱՐՑԻ ՇՈՒՐՋ: Մ.Թ.Ա. 215-96 ԹԹ. ՀԱՅՈՑ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԺԱՄԱՆԱԿԱԳՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՎԵՐԱՆԱՅՈՒՄ**

Ռուսլան Կոբզար

Բանալի բառեր՝ Ժամանակագրություն, Արտաշիսյաններ, Երվանդ IV, Արտաշես I, Արտավազդ I, Տիգրան I, Վաղարշակ I, Արշակ I, Տիգրան II Մեծ, Միհրդատ I, Միհրդատ II Մեծ:

** Հոդս՝ Առաքելյան Սամվել Խումաշարի լուսապայծառ հիշատակին:

Պատմական աղբյուրներում պարթևների Միհրդատ II և հայոց Արտավազդ արքաների միջև տեղի ունեցած պատերազմի մասին առկա տեղեկությունների և արքայազն Տիգրանի երկարատև պատանդառության փաստը հիմք ընդունելով՝ պատմաբանների կողմից վերականգնվել է մի իրավիճակ, իբր հայերը պարտություն են կրել պատերազմում և որպես իրենց ստանձնած պարտավորությունների կատարման երաշխիք ստիպված են եղել Տիգրանին պատանդ տալ պարթևներին: Ընդհանրացնելով իր և նախորդ ուսումնասիրողների ստացած արդյունքները՝ Ռ. Լ. Մանասերյանը վերոնշյալ դեպքերն առաջարկել է թվագրել Ք.ա. 115-111 թվականների միջակայքում՝ Միհրդատ II Մեծի կողմից «արքայից արքա» տիտղոսի ստանձնման նախընթաց շրջանում: Սակայն նման հետևությունը հակասության մեջ է մտնում Ստրաբոնի հաղորդած այն տեղեկության հետ, որ հայերը բազմիցս հաջողությամբ դիմագրավել են պաթևների հարձակումներին ու չեն նվաճվել նրանց կողմից: Հայ-պարթևական պատերազմի ընթացքն ու ելքը պատմական աղբյուրներում չի լուսաբանվում: Դատելով Պոմպեոս Տրոգոսի «Փիլիպպոսի պատմությունը» երկի Հուստինոսի համառոտ վերաշարադրանքից և անհայտ հեղինակի նախերգանքներից՝ հեղինակը հնարավոր է համարում, որ պատերազմը տեղի ունեցած լինի Միհրդատ I և Արտավազդ I արքաների գահակալման շրջանում: Ամեն դեպքում Միհրդատ II-ը չէր կարող պատերազմել Արտավազդ I-ի հետ: Հեղինակը, հենվելով աղբյուրների վրա, ցույց է տալիս, որ հաշտություն կնքելու դեպքերից բացի, գոյություն են ունեցել պատանդ տալու այլ իրողություններ ևս, և նման իրավիճակը չի բացառվում արքայազն Տիգրանի պարագայում:

DOI: 10.52837/27382702-2023.3.2-41

CHRISTIANITY AND CHRISTIANS IN SHAKĪ AND SHĪRVĀN FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES UNTIL THE END OF THE SAFAVID ERA*

Kristine Kostikyan, Gevorg Stepanyan, Gohar Mkhitaryan

Abstract

The paper examines the religious aspects of the history of Shakī and Shīrvān regions of Eastern Caucasus from the times of the spread of Christianity there until the end of Safavid rule over it. An overview of the history of the Church of Albania (or Ağuank'), its legal and political aspects conducted in the article are important for a better understanding of its relations with the Armenian Apostolic Church, and identity issues of its subject Christian population.

An empirical and comparative-historical analysis of the data and information contained in historical sources on the situation of Christians in the regions of Shakī and Shīrvān provides a clear view of the realities and situation in each phase of history and the factors stimulating their conversion to Islam. The study shows that during Safavid predominance over the regions included in one administrative unit of Shīrvān bīglarbīgī the cultural and civil methods of assimilation and conversion, combined with economic incentives, prevailed. The gradual weakening of Safavid rule over the regions was accompanied with serious challenges and hardships faced by local Christians during the frequent invasions of North Caucasian tribes. The collapse of Safavid rule in the regions designated the end of religious tolerance and intensification of the use of forced and economic methods of conversion to Islam.

* This work was supported by the Science Committee of Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport, Republic of Armenia, under Grant [21T-6A163].

The article was submitted on September 7, 2023. The article was reviewed on November 23, 2023

Keywords: Christianity, Islam, Christians, religion, conversion, Church of Albania, Armenian Apostolic Church, Safavid state, Armenians.

Introduction

Shīrvān and Shakī are regions of Eastern Caucasus, an area subjected to frequent migrations and military attacks of nomadic tribes and clashes of the empires of the East. The regions formed part of the territory of ancient Albania in Greco-Latin or Ağuank' in Armenian sources, which is later known also as Arran in Arabic and Persian sources.

Ağuank' (Albania) had a complicated ethnic structure. From olden times, various ethnic groups and peoples belonging to the Caucasian and Indo-European language families lived there. In his Geography, Strabo mentions that although subject to one king, they spoke twenty-six languages or dialects [47: 229]. Religion played an important role in the ethnic consolidation and self-identification of peoples in Ağuank'.

The kingdom of Ağuank' had close ties with the kingdoms of Armenia and Georgia, and also with the empires of ancient Iran. Armenia played a significant role in the spread and adoption of Christianity in Ağuank' at the beginning of the 4th century AD [16: 806-810].

From the 7th century, the Byzantine Empire made efforts to take the Church of Ağuank' under its influence and increase the number of its subjects in the territory of Eastern Transcaucasia. However, its attempts met the strong resistance of the Armenian Apostolic Church and had no success [11: 73-88]. The Church of Ağuank' stayed united with the Armenian Church in spite of the later efforts as well made by the Church of Georgia in the 10th-15th centuries [46: 111-112].

The spread of Islam in the Eastern Caucasus was a long process starting from the times of its Arabic conquest and continued later under the rule of Muslim powers through economic incentives and forced methods, and also

by the influence of Persian culture until the 19th century. The issue of religious change and conversion is important for understanding the ethno-confessional processes and political developments in the region. Yet, it is one of the least considered issues as it is very sensitive in political aspects.

It has been acknowledged that there exists a correlation between religion and ethnicity [41: 13]. In some cases, religion equates to ethnicity, such as Amish, Mormons, Hutterites and Jews, which fall under the category of direct linkage between religion and ethnicity [41: 14].

A similar case may be traced with the ethnic groups in Eastern Caucasus. Religion had a significant impact on their self-consciousness and identity, and its change often resulted in changes in ethnicity.

Christian religion and the Armenian Apostolic Church were the important components of Armenian identity from the earliest times of the adoption of Christianity as state religion in the Armenian kingdom until the 19th century [59: 6-7, 24]. The role of the Armenian Church increased substantially after the collapse of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia and especially after the establishment of the Mother See in Holy Ējmiac'in. Catholicoses of Ējmiac'in were the religious leaders of all Armenians, acknowledged by the Muslim powers ruling over Armenian regions, and also served as a link between the Muslim governors and their zimmī (Armenian) subjects. A very peculiar understanding of the role of Armenian Catholicoses by the Muslim rulers may be traced in the title 'khalīfah' given to them [34: 122-123]. The title, the same as 'caliph', combined the features of a religious and civil leader. The catholicoses had certain independence in regulation of the inner life of their pasture and settlement of not only its religious but also most of the secular matters, like the settlement of disputes and conclusion of certain contracts between Armenians.

The authority of the catholicos over his subjects has been noticed also by Tournefort in the 17th century who states: "he is the most considerable

Prelate in the World, in regard to the Authority he has over his Nation, which tremble at the least Threat of Excommunication from him" [53: 241]. The authority of the catholicos was also stipulated by the protection of his subjects from Muslim powers that he would secure with royal decrees and sometimes by paying the capitation (jizya) instead of the poor, as evidenced by the French traveller [53: 241].

Thus, religious conversion was observed by the Armenian Apostolic Church as an unacceptable commitment, which led to the separation and exclusion of a person not only from the Church but also from the ethnic community. Thus, besides the term 'davanap'okhut'yun' (դավանափոխություն) used for "conversion" in Armenian, there are other equivalents in Armenian with the meaning of "adoption of Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Islam" denoting the changes in ethnic identity. There are the words "fṙ anganal", "lehanal", that is 'to become 'a Fṙ ang' (a French) or "a Leh" (a Pole) [23: 163]. Also the following words are used for the adoption of Islam: "parskanal", "k'rdanal", "tač'kanal"[†], "t'rk'anal", that is 'to become a Persian, a Kurd, or a Turk (Turkish)'. These words show that apart from the change of religion, the conversion in a certain ethnic environment resulted also in the change of ethnic identity and final assimilation of the person.

As already noticed by K. Trever, in the medieval period the literary language of the peoples of Albania was much connected with their religious belonging: the monophysites adopted Armenian, the dyophysites adopted

[†] A synonym to 'become a Muslim' or 't'rk'anal', used mostly among Armenians living in Turkish environment or under the rule of Ottoman Empire. See Margaryan G., "Tažik" and Other Names to Denote Muslims in Armenian Historical Sources as a Reflection of the Cognition of a Different Ethnic-confessional Community, Historia i Świat (History and the World) Volume12, Siedlce, [60: 183-191].

Georgian and Muslims adopted Arabic and later Persian. Thus, in ethnic aspects "the Albanian Church became more Armenian" [54: 310].

Study of the characteristic features of "The story of Vačagan" and "Canons of Ağven", the sources of the History of Albania by Movses Daskhurantsi and the main canonic documents of the Church of Albania, written at the beginning of the 6th century [4: 159, 183], has allowed Al. Hakobyan to conclude that the union of the religious communities on the right and left banks of Kura River had already taken shape and Armenian became the main official language of the Albanian Church in the period [4: 123].

Apart from Armenian, we have literary evidence also for the Udi language, the language of Christian Udis belonging to the Armenian Apostolic church and living in some villages of Shakī, like Niž and Vart'ašen. The research on the Albanian palimpsests has brought J. Gippert and W. Schulze to the conclusion that they contained parts of Gospel of John, translated as such into Old Udi by about 670 AD, at a time when the Old Armenian Christian tradition was already present in the regions of Caucasian Albania [21:209]. Old Udi should be the language of the ancient Gargars, as according to Movsēs Kağankatuatsi, "Mesrob Maštots (362-440) created with the help of the bishop Anania and the translator Benjamin an alphabet for the guttural, harsh, barbarous, and rough language of the Gargaratsik" [40: 69]. Udi language has been considered to pertain to the "Lezgian" stock of the East Caucasian language family and it is the successor of the so-called "Caucasian Albanian" language of the Middle Ages [22: 208-209].

In late medieval and early modern periods, already during the rule of Shirvānshāhs and predominance of Ṣ afavid Iran, we trace gradual increase in the influence of Persian culture and spread of Persophonie among the ethnic groups of Eastern Transcaucasia. There were also Armenian

Persophones, who had translated Gospels into Persian [31: 88-89]. Among them were the Armenian Tates, who belonged to the Armenian Apostolic Church, had Armenian names and considered themselves Armenians. They spoke a dialect of Persian. However, their origin is debatable. As stated by G. Asatrian, they could be Iranians who had become followers of the Armenian Apostolic Church and, more likely, they were Armenians who had lost their native language and become Persophones [7: 83].

As the ethnonym "Armenian" was used in many of the historical sources as regards all Christians of Eastern Transcaucasia belonging to the Armenian Apostolic Church, we will use the ethnonym "Armenian" whenever we cite and rely on these sources.

Christian Ağuank' (or Albanya)

As we already mentioned above, the Kingdom of Ağuank' adopted Christianity at the beginning of the 4th century AD. The head of the Church of Albania, at first entitled as bishop, had his residence in Kapağak (Qabala) and in Čoğ (Derbend) [16]; later in the first half of 6th century it moved to Barda [49:60-61]. The head of Albanian Church should have received the title of Archbishop in the second half of the 5th century and already from the beginning of the 6th century the sources give the title of catholicos to the religious head of Ağuank' Church [4: 119, 123].

In later period, the catholicoses of Ağuank' had their seats also in the fortress Berdakur [40: 297], on the right bank of T'art'ar River in Artsakh, in a cave near the fortress of Čarek', in the town of Ganja and also in the monasteries of Dasna and Khamši near it [30: 141, 145]. In the 15th century there were parallel catholicoses of Albania in the monasteries of Č'alet' (in Shakī) and Gandzasar (in Artsakh) [11: 124, 148]. Since that period Gandzasar became a permanent place of their residence and the

catholicosate was mainly run by the scions of the noble family of Hasan-Ǯalalyans [55: 372].

As we see, since the 6th century the catholicoses had more often their seats in the territory on the right bank of Kura River in the eastern regions of Armenia so they were more connected with Armenian people. The Catholicoses of Ağuank' were ordained by the Catholicoses of All Armenians which supposed a certain dependency of the Church of Ağuank' on the Armenian Church [4: 127]. The way how the Catholicoses of Ağuank' were appointed is well attested in the Persian decrees of the Matenadaran, as their rights were also confirmed by Shāhs of Iran. An elected catholicos had to present a document expressing common consent of the Christian villages of Eastern Transcaucasia on his election, then the Catholicos of All Armenians ordained him and afterwards he represented these documents to the Shāh's government to confirm his rights [32: 249-251].

Christians of Shīrvān and Shakī in the 9th-15th centuries

The processes going on in Eastern Caucasus and the kingdoms formed there in the 9th-10th centuries were much connected with the general decay of 'Abbāsid Caliphate and the so-called "Iranian intermezzo" on its territory, carried over into the Christian lands on the edges of Iran [56: 8]. So the Iranian culture and stratum proved of great influence over the population of Eastern Caucasus and in ethno-cultural and ethno-religious developments of the region. Iranian culture combined with the Islamic ideology contributed greatly to the spread of Islam in the region.

In the 9th-10th centuries, the process of Islamization was more intensive among Eastern Albanian tribes due to the Muslim dynasties ruling them. Later, in the Seljuk period, the Persian language and culture played an

important role in the dissemination of Islam among the people of North-Eastern Caucasus [35:193].

After the weakening of the caliph's authority, Hāshim b. Surāqa proclaimed his independence at Bāb-al-abwāb (ca. 255/869), and the Yazīdids established themselves in Shīrvān [14]. The territory under the rule of Hašimids was soon occupied by the Shīrvānshāhs, and then by the Saljuqs. Shīrvānshāhs were the various lines of rulers, originally ethnic Arabs but speedily Persianized within their culturally Persian environment, who ruled in the region of Shīrvān from mid-'Abbāsid times until the age of the Safavids [12]. Shīrvānshāhs gradually became Persianized, and from the times of Manushihr b. Yazīd (r. 418-25/ 1028-34), their names became almost entirely Persian rather than Arabic, with favored names from the heroic national Iranian past and with claims made to descent from such figures as Bahrām Gūr [12].

Shīrvānshāhs waged frequent warfare with the infidel peoples of the central Caucasus, such as the Alans, and the people of Sarir (i.e. Daghestan), and with the Christian Georgians and Abkhāz to their west [12], so they would be more consecutive in converting their own subjects. However, the Christian population of Eastern Caucasus received new portions of Armenian immigrants from the regions of Great Armenia devastated during the conquests of Turk-Seljuks and Mongols [45: 47]. Christians of Eastern Caucasus, alongside with local Muslims, suffered from the attacks of Mongol conquerors and at times the territory came within the lands of the Il-Khānids and at others within the lands of the Golden Horde [12]. A colophon of an Armenian manuscript copied in the village of Matrasa in 1403 is a witness of the atrocities committed by Tīmūr [57: 31]. As a result of migrations from the Armenian regions, the migrants combined with local Christians gradually formed a Christian inhabited zone in Shīrvān in the Middle Ages [47: 47].

The history of the Shakī region located to the west and north-west of Shīrvān is more connected with Armenia and Georgia. Movses Daskhurantsi reports that at the time when Ašot I Bagratuni restored the kingdom of Armenia, on the basis of the Armenian principalities of Bagratids of Taron, established earlier in Shakī, the kingdom of the Armenian Bagratids of Shakī was formed under the leadership of Hamam in 887 [40: 221-222]. Nikoğayos Adonts has conducted research on the Armenian Bagratids in Ağuank', and traced their history down to 962 [3:125-134]. Evidence about king Hamam's son Atrnerseh and his Christian subjects forming the majority of the population in Shakī is found in the works of Arab historiographers Ibn Rusta and Muqaddasī [6: 526, 652]. Moreover, the author of "Ḥudūd al-'ālam" (10th century) not only considers Shakī a domain with Muslim and Christian population, and even a region of Armenia [25: 144, 398]. The Armenian and Arabic sources have preserved also the names of the son and grandson of Atrnerseh as Ishkhanak (or Ishkhanik), al-Malik [24: 229-230].

The regions of Shakī and then Qabāla were disputed and annexed by the Georgian kingdom of Bagratids in the 12th-13th centuries [36: 28]. In the 15th century, the rulers of Christian domain in Shakī, having originated from the family of Qara-Kisīish (Turkish-Pers. black deacon, or deacon in black)[‡], due to the needs of the time, were converted to Islam [28: 136].

Shakī had the famous Armenian monastery of Č'alet' as its religious centre, surrounded with Armenian and Udi villages. Č'alet' was also the seat of the catholicoses of Ağuank' in the period from 1406 to 1516, who ran the post in parallel with the catholicoses of Gandzasar [46: 113, 116]. At

[‡] Armenian clergymen were often called in documents also by the name siyāhkolāh(an)- 'black hat wearers' featuring their black outfit with black hood.

the same time the monastery of Č'alet' was a centre of Armenian culture and manuscript writing [57: 425, 58: 281].

Christians in Shīrvān vilāyat of Safavid State

In the period from 1538 until the beginning of the 18th century, a major part of the regions of Eastern Caucasus was included into the Safavid State of Iran [15: 245] and formed parts of its administrative units known as bīglarbīgīs (or vilāyats) of Shīrvān and Ganja (or Qarabagh).

The region of Shakī and its town Arrash formed part of Shīrvān vilāyat with the trade economic centre in Shamākhī. It was a juncture in Eastern Transcaucasia where the merchants arriving from various places established practical ties with foreign merchants [29: 35-36, 72]. In the second half of the 16th century European traveller A. Jenkinson spoke of Shamākhī as a town with a prevailing Armenian population [5: 205]. According to the European travellers and missionaries of the 16th century, the town was almost deserted during its conquest by the Ottoman troops in 1580 and afterwards it received another hard blow during the campaign of Shāh 'Abbās in September 1607, who took it by force and killed a significant number of its inhabitants [5:270, 17: 114]. Adam Olearius, having visited the town in 1638, stated that Armenians formed a significant portion of its population and they were a major group in the infantry of the khān [2:526]. Later the population of Shamākhī increased considerably, as French Jezuit Philip Avril, who visited the city in 1686, stated about 50,000-60,000 inhabitants living there, of which 30,000 were Armenians, and the rest "Turkish" (Muslims), Russian, Georgians, Multanis, Circassians and Daghestanis [8:75-76].

A. Ayvazyan supposes that the number of the 'Armenians' in the province of Shīrvān at the end of the 17th century should be at about 100,000 and his calculation was based on the number of the soldiers (10,000)

mentioned by Israyil Ori as supposed to be recruited from local Christians with the purpose to free them from Muslim rule with the assistance of the Russian Empire [9: 63].

Conversion to Shiite Islam was much encouraged and stimulated not only among Sunnite Muslims but also among Non-Muslims of Safavid Iran; moreover, the cases of forced adoption of Islam were not rare as well [1:80]. The Christians of Shīrvān vilāyat as subjects of Safavid State were also involved in the converting processes. English travellers already in the mid-16th century had noticed the economic methods encouraging conversion to Islam among Christians [5:247].

Much of the treatment with Christians in Safavid state was dictated by its economic and political needs and also by the influence of Muslim high clergymen. Thus, due to some special matters, Shāh 'Abbās I and his successors stimulated the conversion of Christians to Islam through economic incentives and sometimes also forced them to adopt Islam [37: 22- 25, 27, 30].

Among the fiscal and other economic incentives facilitating the conversion of the Christians to Islam first of all jizya, the poll-tax (with its addition called tafāvut-i jizya- Pers. 'the difference of jizya') levied on non-Muslims should be considered.

The payment of jizya was compulsory for all zimmīs (non-Muslim subjects) of the Safavid State. Very light during Shāh 'Abbās I's rule, jizya increased in the 17th century [39] reaching from about 1600 dīnār to 2500 dīnār or 1 misqāl (4.69 gramms) in gold paid by each male adult [51:180].

Tafāvut-i jizya levied on zimmī Armenians was the sum added to jizya after each census of population as a result of money inflation. The size of this tax was counted and recorded in tax registers separately from jizya. These taxes (jizya and tafāvut-i jizya) formed an important portion of the Safavid state's budget and sometimes the general sum of these taxes formed

the major part of the total sum of taxes levied from some Christian villages [42:234-235]. Thus, the tax tafāvut-i jizya levied from the villages Dastakert and Golyazi of Syunik' in 1682 was 39,900 dinars (or 3 tuman, 9900 dinars), which was the 2/3 of the sum of all taxes received from there [32:312].

As witnessed by Esayi Hasan-Ǯalalyan, the size of jizya and also other taxes increased three times at the beginning of the 18th century [18:14]. The tax paid for faith had often been a cause of conversion to Islam, and therefore Armenian Catholicoses sometimes paid the tax instead of their poor subjects. Tavernier, who travelled much in the Armenian regions and also visited the Armenian Catholicos, has kept evidence of it [52:11]. Tournefort in his turn states that in case of inability to pay jizya Armenians were enslaved or converted to Islam [53: 301-302].

Another important factor facilitating conversion was the law of Imām Ja'far inherent to Shiite Islam [43]. According to this law, a Muslim could inherit the property of his dead zimmī relative no matter how far the kinship was, depriving the closer zimmī relatives of this right. This law was put into wide practice by the special order of Shāh 'Abbās at the end of his rule [17: 288] and was a very effective instrument for conversion to Islam. Catholicos Esayi of Ağuank' states that as a result of this law many Armenians were converted in Iran and Transcaucasia, and also many Armenians were robbed by their greedy converted relatives [18:18].

The conversion of Christians to Islam was frequent especially among local elites, who wished to occupy high offices in state administration and government, since Muslim law did not allow non-Muslims to hold high positions. They adopted Islam to enter the ranges of Ghulāms accepted into military service as well as administrative posts. There were a number of Armenian converts among the outstanding officials of the Safavid army and state administration, such as Qarchiqāy Khān, the Commander in Chief of

Shāh 'Abbās's army, amīr shikārbāshīs Yūsif Khān, appointed as governor of Shīrvān [19:532], Allahvirdī Khān [10:13, 71], and so on.

Persian historiographer Fażlī Khuzanī describes an episode where Shāh 'Abbās I as a sign of special favour for the services of the Armenian melik of Jraberd (Jālbird) recruited the latter's sons as ghulāms [19:416].

We have a featuring example of this kind referring also to the Khāns of Shakī. According to the history of the khānate of Shakī Ḥājī, Chalabī Khān had been a scion of Jāndār, from the family of Christian Deacon, named Qarākishīsh. Jāndār had adopted Islam and the new name 'Alī Jān, and his son Qutluq was appointed as khān of Shakī [28:136].

In spite of the economic incentives, in its period of relative strength over the regions of Shakī and Shīrvān, the Safavid government secured endurable conditions for local Christians since it kept control over the Muslim governors preventing violence and religious intolerance against zimmīs. Adam Olearius, having attended the religious holiday of water-blessing conducted by the Armenian clergymen during his visit to Shamākhi in 1637, gives a rather full description of the religious atmosphere and peculiarities there. He states that a great number of Persian soldiers guarded the crowd of Armenians participating in the holiday in order to protect them from the violence of local Muslims in case of need. Moreover, a sum of 1000 thalers was paid by the Armenian Church to the khan for the permission to conduct the ceremony [2:526, 533-534]. This is evidence of a rather deep intolerance existing in the region as regards local Christians, which was the reason to keep them in the local armed forces, as mentioned above by Adam Olearius, and to protect them in case of violence exercised against them.

Another featuring example for the role of the Safavid government in the restriction of local abuses and conflicts can be found in the work of Tahir Vahid, the Persian historiographer of Shāh Abbas II. He relates about the

dismissal of Muḥammad Khān, the bīglarbīg of Shīrvān from the post because of his bad treatment (aṭvār-i nahunjār) and frequent conflicts (munāqisha) with his subjects (maliks and ra'īyyats) [50:3115-316]. As stated by Zakaria of Agulis, he was replaced by Najaf Qulī, the former bīglarbīg of Iravan province in 1663 [27: 68-69, 128].

From the beginning of the 18th century, already forming a religious minority in the region, the Christians of the Eastern Caucasus were combined in the eparchy of Shīrvān. Its immediate subordination to the Church of Ağuank' (or Gandzasar) was often disputed by the Catholicoses of Ējmiac'in [38: 13, 16-23]. A Persian document composed at the beginning of the the 18th century contains the names of 48 villages of the regions of Shīrvān and Shakī, the village-elders and clergymen of which gave their consent to the subordination to the Catholicosate of Ağuank' [33: 94-104].

The decline of Safavid State, already much perceptible in Shīrvān and Shakī at the beginning of the 18th century, affected the state of the Christians significantly as it was accompanied by frequent invasions of North Caucasian tribes.

In this period, the cases of forced adoption of Islam by Christians in the region became more frequent and were much connected with the pressure of Muslim rulers of the region and their intolerant religious policy. Jezuit clergyman Yohann La Maz wrote about witnessing the hardships of the Armenians of Shamākhī in his letter dated to September 1, 1702. He stated about the unlawful fines put on them and the heavy economic state of the Armenian villagers because of their faith, all of whom would certainly migrate to other, safer places [44:107].

Artemii Volinski, Russian envoy sent in 1715-1716 to the court of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, was a witness of the oppressions caused to the Armenians

living in K'arxane village near Shamākhī, while passing through the Eastern Caucasus [13:72].

According to J. Gerber, a member of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersbourg, who visited the Eastern Caucasus in the first half of the 18th century, there was a significant number of Armenians belonging to the Armenian Church as well as those subject to the Pope (Catholics) in the town of Shamākhī. He speaks of the hard conditions and religious intolerance conducted against Armenians of Shamākhī and a major destruction of the nearby Armenian villages during the rebellions and attacks of the North Caucasian tribes in the last period of the Safavid rule [20:116-117]. This information is confirmed in the work of Esayi Hasan Ǯalalian, the Catholicos of Ağuank'. The latter states that in 1712, 1716, 1720 and 1721 Lezghi groups led by Surkhāy, Shamkhāl, Ismī and Ḥājī Dāud attacked and robbed many Armenian villages in Shīrvān, killed and enslaved its inhabitants [18: 23-24].

Conclusions:

Christianity and the Christians had their important place in the social-economic and political history of Shakī and Shīrvān regions of the Eastern Caucasus from early medieval times to the end of Safavid rule there. The sources have kept evidence about a great number of Christians subject to the Armenian Apostolic Church living in the regions of Shakī and Shīrvān regions until the 18th century.

The data and information of various historical sources presented and analyzed in the paper allow tracing the political developments in the regions affecting the religious atmosphere there and challenges faced by the Christians in various stages of history because of the political realities of the region, resulting in intensified conversion to Islam among them.

The zimmī status given to the Christians living under the rule of Muslim powers, although discriminative in certain aspects, granted them some protection from the forced methods of conversion. However, there were many economic incentives stimulating conversion in the Safavid State, a part of which were the regions of Shakī and Shīrvān from 1538 until the beginning of the 18th century. The weakening of the Safavid State of Iran accompanied by frequent attacks of North Caucasian tribes brought new challenges to the Christians of the regions, increased religious intolerance and intensified conversion to Islam through forced methods.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Abisaab, R. J., Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire, London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004, 244 p.
2. Olearij A., Podrobnoe opisanie putešestviya Golštinskogo posol'stva v Moskoviyu i Persiyu v 1633, 1636 i 1639 godakh sostavlennoe sekretearyom posl'stva Adamom Oleariem, transl. by P. Barsov, Moscow, Univesitetskaya tipografiya, 1870, 388 p. (in Russian).
3. Adonts N., 'Bagratunyats parkʻə (The Splendour of Bagratunis)' Patmakan usumnasirutʻyunner, Paris, A. Xondkaryan, 1948, pp. 125-134. (in Armenian).
4. Akobyan A., Albanya-Aluank v greko-latinskix i drevnearmyanskix istočnikax (Albanya-Aluank in the Greec-Latin and Old-Armenian sources). Yerevan, Gitutyun, 2022, 304 p. (in Russian).
5. Angliyskie putešestvenniki v Moskovskom gosudarstve v XVI veke, translated by Yu. Got'e, Leningrad, Poligrafkniga, 1938, 308 p. (in Russian).
6. Arab Matenagirner (Arab Historians and Geographers of 9th-10th centuries), Arabic Sources, III, transl. and pref. by A. Ter-Ğevondyan, Yerevan, Yerevan University Publishing House, 2005, 703 p. (in Armenian).
7. Asatrian G., Etničeskaya kompozitsiya Irana: ot 'Arijskogo prostora' do Azerbayjanskogo mifa (Ethnic Composition of Iran: From the "Expanse of the Aryans" to the Myth of Azerbaijan), Yerevan, Caucasian Centre for Iranian Studies, 2012, 128 p. (in Russian).
8. Avril Ph., Travels into Divers Parts of Europe and Asia, undertaken by the French King's order to discover a new way by land into China containing many curious remarks in natural philosophy, geography, hydrology and history: together with a description of Great Tartary and of the different people who inhabit there. London: Printed for Tim. Goodwin, 1693, 369 p.
9. Ayvazyan Ar., Arevelahayutʻyan žoğovrdagrutʻunə XVII-XVIII darerum ev hayots zorkʻi tʻvakazmə (Demography of the Eastern Armenians in the 17th-18th centuries and the Strength of Armenian Army in the 1720s). Yerevan, NT Holding, 2022, 664 p. (in Armenian).
10. Babaie S., Babayan K., Baghdiantz-McCabe I., Farhad M., Slaves of the Shāh: New Elites of Safavid Iran, London-New York, I.B.Tauris, 2004, 218 p.
11. Balayan M., Hay-Ağvanits ekeğetsin (skzbnavorumits minčʻev mer orerə) (Armenian-Albanyan Church (from its beginning until now), Stepanakert, Vačʻagan Barepašt, 2009, 240 p. (in Armenian).
12. Bosworth C. E., Shīrvānshāhs, Encyclopædia Iranica, SHĪRVĀNSHĀHS – Encyclopaedia Iranica (iranicaonline.org) (accessed on 24.10.2022).
13. Bushev P., Posol'stvo Artemiya Volinskogo v Iran v 1715-1718gg (po russkim arxivam). Moscow, Nauka, 1978, 286 p. (in Russian).
14. Cahen C. 'Āl-e Hāšem,' Encyclopædia Iranica, I/7: 758, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/al-e-hasem-3rd-5th-9th-11th-

century-local-dynasty-of-the-region-of-darband-bab-al-abwab (accessed on 14 .06. 2014).

15. The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 6 (The Timurid and Safavid Periods), edited by P. Jackson, Cambridge-London-New York-New Rochelle-Melbourne Sydney, Cambridge University Press, 1986, 1087 p.
16. Chaumont M. Albanya, Encyclopædia Iranica, I/8, 806-810, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/albania-iranian-aran-arm (accessed 17.06. 2014).
17. A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the 17th and 18th Centuries, vol. I, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939, 720 p.
18. Esayi Hasan- Šalaleants, Patmut'yun Hamarot Ağvanits erkri (A Short History of country of Ağuank), Jerusalem: S. print-house of Apostolic Seat of St. Hakovbeants, 1868, 58 p. (in Armenian).
19. Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani, A Chronicle of the Reign of Shāh 'Abbas, edited by K. Ghereghlu, vol. II, Gibb Memorial Trust, 2015, 1072 p. (in Persian).
20. Gerber I., 'Opisanie stran i narodov vdol' zapadnogo berega Kaspiyskogo morya'. 1728. Istoriya, geografiya i etnografiya Dagestana XVIII-XIX vv. Arxivnye materialy, edited by M. Kosven and Kh. Khashaev, Moscow, pub. Vostochnaya Literatura, 1958, 371 p. (in Russian).
21. Gippert J., Schulze W., Some Remarks on the Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests' (a special internet edition), "Iran and the Caucasus", 2007, 11, pp. 201-212.
22. Gippert J., Relative Clauses in Vartashen Udi Preliminary Remarks, "Iran and the Caucasus", 2011, 15, pp. 207-230.
23. Gyurjinyan D., Azgayin ink'nut'yan p'op'oxut'yun nšanakoğ hayeren bayerə, "VEM Pan-Armenian Journal", 2019, 4(68), pp.161-181 (in Armenian).

24. Hakobyan A., Ark'ayatohmern u išxanatohmerə bun Ağuank'um ev Hayots arevelits koğmank'um antikits minč'ev 13-rd dar (The Royal and Princely Houses of Proper Albania and Eastern Regions of Armenia from Antiquity to the 13th Century), Yerevan, "Gitut'yun" NAS RA, 2020, 440 p. (in Armenian).
25. Hudud al-alam, The regions of the World. A Persian geography (372 A.N. – 982 A.D.), transl. and expl. by V. Minorsky. London: E.J.W. Gibb memorial series, 1937, 524 p.
26. Jalaleants S., Čanaparhordut'yun i Mecn Hayastan (Travel to Great Armenia), vol II, Tp'xis, Nersisean Hogevor Čemarani, 1858, 517 p. (in Armenian).
27. The Journal of Zak'aria of Agulis, Annotated Translation with Commentary by George A. Bournoutian, Mazda Publishers, Inc. Costa Mesa, California, 2003, 242 p.
28. Karīm Āqa Fātiḥ, 'Tārīkh-i khānāt-i Shakī', Si risālah dar bāra-i Qafqāz, muqaddamah, taṣḥīḥ va yāddāshtha Ḥusayn Aḥmadī, Tihrān: Mū'assasah-i muṭāli'āt-i tārīkh-i mu'āṣir-i Īrān, 1384, pp. 134-152. (in Persian).
29. Khoždenie kuptsa Fedota Kotova, Russkie putešestvenniki v stranax Vostoka, Moscow, N. Kuznetsova, 1958, 112 p. (in Russian).
30. Kirakos Gandakets'i, History of the Armenians, transl. by R. Bedrosian. New York, 1986, 116 p.
31. Kirakosyan H., Parskaxosut'yunə Shīrvāni hay bnakč'ut'yan šrjanum (18th century) (The Persophonie among Armenians of Shīrvān (18th Century)), "Scientific Artsakh", 2020, 4(7), pp. 83-92. (in Armenian).
32. Kostikyan K., Persian Documents of the Matenadaran: Decrees, vol. III, Yerevan: Zangak 97, 2005, 728 p.
33. Kostikyan K., Xečo M., Matenadarani parskeren šariat'akan notarakan pastat'ğt'erə: 17th-18th centuries (Shariya Notarial documents of the

Matenadaran: 17th-18th centuries), Yerevan, NAS RA 'Gitut'yun', 2018, 224 p. (in Armenian).

34. Kostikyan K., Parsits gragrut'yan mej hayots kat'oğikosnerin trvac titğosn u patvanunnerə' (The title and honorary names given to the Armenian catholicoses in Persian diplomatics), "Handes amsorya", 2019, 1-12, pp.121-133, (in Armenian).
35. Lysak I. V., Rol' sel'jukov v rasprostranenii islama na territorii Dagestana, "Bulletin of Chelyabinsk State University, Political Sciences. Oriental Studies", 2011, n. 14 (229), pp. 94-98, (in Russian).
36. Markaryan S., Nezavisimoe khanstvo Shaki v XVII-XIX vv, "Caucasica, Trudy instituta politicheskikh i sotsial'nykh issledovaniy chernomorsko-kaspiyskogo regiona", vol. I, Moscow 2011, pp. 27-42. (in Russian).
37. Matthee R., Christians in Şafavid Iran: Hospitality and Harassment, "Studies on Persianate Societies", 2005/1384, vol. 3, pp. 3-43.
38. Mkrtumyan L., Ağvanits (Gandzasari) kat'oğikosut'unə XVII-XIX dd. (The Catholicosate of Aghvank in 17th-19th centuries), Yerevan, Tntesaget, 2006, 270 p. (in Armenian).
39. Moreen V., 'Jezya'. Encyclopedia Iranica, vol. XIV, pp. 643-645, 2008, available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jezya (accessed 20.12. 2022).
40. Movses Dasxurantsi, The History of the Caucasian Albanians, transl. by C. J. F. Dowsett, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, 252 p.
41. Oppong S., 'Religion and identity', American International Journal of Contemporary Research, 2013, Vol. 3, No. 6, pp. 10-16.
42. Papazyan A., Agrarnie otnošeniya v Vostočnoy Armenii v 16-om – 17-om vekax, Yerevan, Arm.SSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1972, 302 p. (in Russian).

43. P'ap'azian H., Sefyan Irani asimilyatorakan k'ağak'akanut'yan hartsi šurj (On the Problem of Iran's assimilation policy), Bulletin of Matenadaran, 1956, 3, pp. 85-99 (in Armenian).
44. Pis'ma i doneseniya iezuitov o Rossii konca XVII i načala XVIII veka, vol. III, S. Peterbourg: Senatskaya tipografiya, 1904, 382 p. (in Russian).
45. Stepanyan G., Armenians of Baku Province in the Second Half of the 19th Century, Yerevan, Lusakn, 2013, 358 p.
46. Stepanyan G., Čalet'i vank'ə patmut'yan kaṙuğinerum (Chalet' Monastery at the Crossroads of History), Bulletin of Matenadaran, 2021, 32, p. 92-144. (in Armenian).
47. Strabo, Geography, with an English Translation by Horace Leonard Jones in eight volumes, vol. V, London, Heinemann LTD, Cambridge, Massachussets: Harvard University Press, MCMLXI, 1961, 542 p.
48. Suny R. G., Looking Toward Ararat: Armenia In Modern History, Indiana University Press. 1993, 304 p.
49. Svazyan H., Hogevor išxanut'yan aṙajnordanist kentronnerə hin ev vağ mijnadaryan Ağuank'um, (II- IX dari skizb) (The diocesan centers of Agvank in the early and late Middle ages [the 2nd century and the beginning of the 9th century]), Journal of Armenian Studies, 2018, 3, pp. 53-65. (in Armenian).
50. Ṭāhir Vahīd Qazvinī, 'Abbāsnama ya zindigānī-i 22 sāla-i shāh 'Abbās-i Sānī, by Aqa Ibrāhīm Dihkānī, Tihran, Kitābfurūshī-i Dāvudī Arāk, 1329, 353 p. (in Persian).
51. Tadhkirat al-mulūk, A Manual Of Safavid Administration (circa 1137/1725), Persian text in Facsimile, transl. and explained by V. Minorsky, London, printed by W. Heffer and sons LTD., 1943, 348 p.
52. Tavernier J., The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, a Noble Man of France Now Living, through Turks to Persia and East Indies Finished

in the Year 1670 Giving an Account of the State of those Countries, made English by J. P. London, Printed for R. L. and M. P., 1678, 658 p.

53. Tournefort J., A Voyage Into The Levant Performed by Command of the Late French King, 3 vols., London, printed for Midwinter, D. Brown, A. Bell, M.DCC. XVIII, 1741, 416 p.
54. Trever K., Ocherki po istorii i kul'ture Kavkazskoy Albanii, Moscow-Leningrad, AS USSR, 1959, 419 p. (in Russian).
55. Ulubabyan B., Xačeni išxanut'yunə X-XVI darerum (Principality of Khachen in the 10th-16th centuries), Yerevan, Arm.SSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1975, 454 p. (in Armenian).
56. Vacca A., Non-Persian Provinces of Iran: An Introduction to the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid North, published online by Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp.1-42.
57. Xač'ikyan L., 15-rd dari hayeren jeṙagreri hišatakaranner (Colophons of the 15th century Armenian manuscripts), part I, Yerevan, Arm.SSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1955, 819 p. (in Armenian).
58. Xač'ikyan L., 15-rd dari hayeren jeṙagreri hišatakaranner (Colophons of the 15th century Armenian manuscripts), vol. III, Yerevan, Arm.SSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1967, 712 p. (in Armenian).
59. Zak'aryan S., Hayots ink'nut'yan k'ristoneakan haratsuytsə (The Christian Paradigm of Armenian identity), "Hayots ink'nut'yan hartser", 2, Yerevan, Limush, 2014, pp. 6-24. (in Armenian).
60. Margaryan G., "Tajik" and Other Names to Denote Muslims in Armenian Historical Sources as a Reflection of the Cognition of a Different Ethnic-confessional Community, Historia i Świat (History and the World) Volume12, Siedlce, pp.183-191.

Kristine Kostikyan
Matenadaran, Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts,
Institute of Oriental Studies, National Academy of Sciences,
Republic of Armenia
Yerevan State University,
Russian-Armenian University
kr.kostikyan@gmail.com,
ORCID: 0000-0003-4421-7220

Gevorg Stepanyan
Yerevan State University,
Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences, Republic of Armenia
sasun-07@mail.ru

Gohar Mkhitaryan
Yerevan State University,
Institute of Oriental Studies, National Academy of Sciences, Republic of Armenia
goharmkhitaryan7@gmail.com,
ORCID: 0000-0002-3494-6916

ՔՐԻՍՏՈՆԵՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆ ՈՒ ՔՐԻՍՏՈՆՅԱՆԵՐԸ ՇԱՔԻՈՒՄ ԵՒ ՇԻՐՎԱՆՈՒՄ ՎԱՂ ԺԱՄԱՆԱԿՆԵՐԻՑ ՄԻՆՉԵՎ ՍԵՖՅԱՆ ԴԱՐԱՇՐՋԱՆԻ ԱՎԱՐՏԸ

Քրիստինե Կոստիկյան, Գևորգ Սրեփանյան, Գոհար Մխիթարյան

Բանալի բառեր՝ քրիստոնեություն, իսլամ, քրիստոնյաներ, կրոն, դավանափոխություն, Աղվանից եկեղեցի, Հայոց Առաքելական եկեղեցի, Սեֆյան պետություն, հայեր:

Քրիստոնեությունը, տարածված լինելով Աղվանքում Հայոց թագավորության աջակցությամբ 4-րդ դարում և ձևավորելով իր սեփական կրոնական կառույցը հանձին Աղվանից Եկեղեցու, վերջինս ենթարկվում էր Ամենայն Հայոց կաթողիկոսին: Հայոց Առաքելական եկեղեցին և նրա դավանանքը վաղ միջնադարից մինչև 19-րդ դարի վերջը վճռորոշ դեր են ունեցել Արևելյան Այսրկովկասի և մասնավորապես նաև Շաքի-Շիրվանի քրիստոնյաների ազգային ինքնագիտակցության, լեզվի, էթնիկ նկարագրի ու ինքնության պահպանության գործում, հակադրվել դավանափոխության գործընթացներին:

Աղվանից Եկեղեցին արաբական նվաճումից հետո առճակատվում է իսլամի տարածման իրողությանը, որը ժամանակի ընթացքում խարխլում է քրիստոնեության հիմքերը և նվազեցնում նրա հետևորդների քանակը տեղի քրիստոնյաների շարունակական մահմեդականացման միջոցով: Սույն հոդվածով փորձ է արվում

հետազոտել Շաքիի ու Շիրվանի շրջաններում ապրող քրիստոնյաներին վերաբերող աղբյուրագիտական նյութը՝ լուսաբանելով քրիստոնեության աստիճանական թուլացման հանգամանքները և քրիստոնյաների մահմեդականացման գործընթացը վաղ միջնադարից մինչև Սեֆյան տիրապետության ավարտը:

Քննվում են գործոններ, որոնք նպաստում էին քրիստոնյաների մահմեդականացմանը տարբեր ժամանակահատվածներում: Դրանցից էին՝ մահմեդական իշխանության պայմաններում քրիստոնյաների անհավասար իրավաքաղաքական ու սոցիալ-տնտեսական դրությունը նրանց տրված *զիմմիի* կարգավիճակում, նրանց նկատմամբ իշխանությունների խտրական վերաբերմունքը և Սեֆյան պետության ներսում քրիստոնյաների մահմեդականացումը խրախուսող սոցիալ-տնտեսական զանազան միջոցները, նաև Սեֆյան տիրապետության անկման շրջանում Հյուսիս-Կովկասյան լեռնաբնակ ցեղերի հաճախացած արշավանքների ընթացքում քրիստոնյաների նկատմամբ դրսևորվող կրոնական անհանդուրժողականությունը և բռնությունները:

DOI: 10.52837/27382702-2023.3.2-66

THE CITY OF GANDZAK AS PATRIARCHAL RESIDENCE OF AŁUANK*

Melanya Balayan

Abstract

In 552, Partav, the administrative center of Ałuank (Caucasian Albania, Aran) marzpanate, became the first episcopal residence of the finally established Patriarchate of Ałuank. However, in 789, the Catholicos of Ałuank had to leave the seat because the Arab *vostikan* residence was moved from Dvin to Partav. The patriarchal seat was settled for a short time at the fortress of Berdakur in Artsakh, and later, at the beginning of the 9th century, it was moved to Gandzak. So, in the 9th-12th centuries the city of Gandzak became the center of the Ałuank Patriarchate. In the 12th century, due to some political circumstances, the Ałuank patriarchal seat was moved to Charek, the Monastery of Khamshi, then to the Monastery of Metsaranits, Gandzasar (at the same time also to Tshalet), and then again to Gandzak. Because it was a patriarchal and important spiritual center, at different periods of time there were constructed and function a number of churches. According to the documents of 1849, the following Armenian Apostolic churches are mentioned in Gandzak: the Mother Church of St. Hovhannes, St. Gevorg, St. Astvatsatsin (St. Virgin), St. Gregory the Illuminator, St. Sargis, and in 1885 the number of Armenian Apostolic churches in the city was six. Historical documents state that even after the establishment of Soviet rule and the annexation of the territory to Soviet Azerbaijan, Gandzak continued to be one of the main spiritual and cultural centers for Armenians, a fact that was refuted after 1921.

* The article was submitted on December 1, 2023. The article was reviewed on December 10, 2023.

At the former patriarchal center, all the spiritual structures were gradually destroyed. The arguments received through the various information channels clearly indicate that at present the majority of Gandzak's Christian structures do not exist, and some are radically transformed and used for different purposes.

Keywords: Ałuank, Artsakh, Utik, Partav, Gandzak, Apostolic, Church, Catholicos, patriarchate, residence.

It is well-known that in 428 AD, as a result of the administrative territorial policy implemented by Persia, after the abolition of the Armenian Arsakid kingdom, Artsakh and Utik provinces of Great Armenia, which are also mentioned in historical sources as "Eastern Lands of Armenia" and "Eastern Armenian provinces", were left out of the Armenian regional government (marzpanate) and included in that of Ałuank.

And under these new administrative and political circumstances, the bishoprics of the Eastern Armenian Lands, as well as Ałuank itself, actually appeared as part of another administrative unit, to a certain extent separated from the direct control of the Armenian Church. Due to the deepening of the direct ties between the bishoprics in the created situation, as well as because of various external and internal problems, due to the unification of the episcopal seats of the Eastern Armenian Lands and Ałuank itself, in 552, the formation of the Patriarchate of Ałuank took place; the first seat of the newly established Patriarchate became the administrative center of the Ałuank region, Partav. However, in 789, the Catholicos of Ałuank had to leave the seat because the Arab *vostikan*'s residence was moved from Dvin to Partav. Thus, at the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century, the Ałuank (Albanian) Patriarchal seat was located for a short time in the territory of Artsakh, in the Berdakur fortress on the right bank of the Trtu-Tartar river (currently Martakert region), and later wat settled in Gandzak.

According to written sources, the settlement Gandzak existed since ancient times. However, on the basis of the report by Movses Daskhurantsi, "a Khazr (*var.* Khalt) Patgos was cruel and merciless and was killed in a short time, and his son came to the world with the sword and captivity, and the church was burned by many fires and went to Baghdad. And again, by the order of the king and the treasury, he built the city of Gandzak in the year of 295, Arshakashen province" [8:331] an opinion was suggested in historiography, according to which the city was founded in 846. In our opinion, according to this report, by the order of the caliph of Baghdad, the son of the commander did not establish the settlement, but came back and rebuilt the destroyed settlement*. The written sources about the Catholicos of Ałuank settled in Gandzak also support the mentioned point of view. In particular, before the above-mentioned 846 and during the same period, albeit with interruptions caused by political circumstances, Hovhannes III (799-824), Movses (824, half a year) and David IV (824-852) Catholicos from Ałuank were enthroned in Gandzak.

And so, in the 9th-11th centuries, the Patriarchal seat of Ałuank was located in Gandzak. It was transferred here from Berdakur, although there is also a point of view according to which it was transferred from Partav to Gandzak immediately. Most likely, the following testimony of Matteos Urhayetsi was the basis of the mentioned point of view. "... And when Persia became stronger, the seat of the Patriarchate was changed to Gandzak, thus in our anthology we meet the following Catholicos of Ałuank: St. Hovhannes and St. Gevorg, St. Hovsep, St. Markos and St. Stepanos..."[17:248]. Taking as a principle this testimony of Matteos Urhayetsi, M. Barkhudaryants stated: "Then instead of Partav, Gandzak be-

* About the time of construction of the city of Gandzak, see in detail the works of V. Minorsky and A. Hakobyan. [24:46-47, 25:216-217].

comes a royal residence (seat of Amira); here is being moved the patriarchal residence of Ałuank, as well [3:371]." However, it should be noted that Gandzak became a royal residence (seat of Amira) in the middle of IX century, and the Patriarchal seat of Ałuank was taken out of Partav at the end of VIII century. Therefore, it was rightly located in Berdakur for some, albeit short, period of time, as Movses Daskhurantsi also testifies [8:345]. According to Matteos Urhayetsi, the Catholicos Hovhannes, Gevorg, Hovsep, Markos and Stepanos from "Armenian-Ałuank" supervised in Gandzak [17:248].

However, the mentioned list cannot be complete for the simple reason that Gandzak was the main and important Patriarchal seat of the Ałuank church for about three centuries, even with short interruptions. By combining a number of historical sources and the research based on them, one can conclude that in the period of the 9th-13th centuries, the following Catholicos supervised in Gandzak: Hovhannes III (799-824), Movses (824, half a year), David IV (824-852), Hovsep II (852-877), Samuel (877-894), Hovhannes IV (Hovnan, 894-902), Simeon II (902-923), David V (923-929), Sahak II (929-948), Gagik I (948-958), David VI (958-964), Petros I (964-982), Movses IV (982-988), Markos I (982-?), Hovsep III (?-1040), Markos II (1040-1077), Stepanos I (1077-1103), Hovhannes V (1103-1129), Stepanos II (1129-1131), Gagik II (Grigoris, 1139), Bezhgen (1133-1140), Nerses II (1149-1155), Stepanos III (1198-1214, this patriarch Stepanos III, upset by the persecution of Muslims, left Artsakh and made Handaberd his seat – M. B.), Hakobos (1214), Hovhannes VI (1215-1235), Nerses III (1235-1262)*.

* The supervising periods of some catholicos of Ałuank are presented A. Manucharyan's adjustments. See [12:93]. See also [2:122-131]. Note that the chronology of A. Hakobyan is slightly different [25:436].

It should be noted that a number of the above mentioned patriarchs, obliged by political conditions, temporarily left Gandzak and, as B. Ulubabyan rightly pointed out: "The Ałuanian Catholicos, sometimes leaving Gandzak, also stayed in neighbouring monasteries, in the Dasn desert, in Khamshi Church of Miapor province of Utik, and again in Gandzak... And in all these cases, all the spiritual dioceses from the Eastern side of Armenia, as well as the Armenian and Ałuanian spiritual centers of Trans-Kurian or of former Ałuank (later be called Shaki, Shirvan, Derbend) were subject to the Patriarchate of Ałuank"[16:371] Matteos Urhayetsi reports that by order of Melikshah, the Seljuk commander Puzan Amira attacked and captured the city of Gandzak in 1088-1089. Catholicos Stepanos of Ałuank (1077-1103), who was in the city at that time, "...escaped peacefully with the help of God, because of being detained by the Armenian troops who were together with Puzan" [17:254]. However, after the death of Melikshah, as a result of extremely cruel treatment of the new rules, the activity of the spiritual prelacy of Ałuank became impossible, and Catholicos Stepanos was forced to leave Gandzak and settled in Syunik. Catholicos Stepanos I died in 1103 and was buried in Vahanavank: "I, Lord Stepanos, Catholicos from Ałuank, oppressed by Turks, came and rested to the church built by the Queens Shahandukht and Katay"[6:89]. Stepanos Orbelyan also testifies to the fact of the death of Catholicos Stepanos in Vahanavank: "one morning and one happy Patriarch Stepannos from Ałuank came to the place and lived there, and one day died and was buried in front of the sanctuary" [20:241]. However, the historian does not provide information about the date of death. Matteos Urhayetsi, presenting the events of 1103, wrote: "Lord Stepannos, the Patriarch of Ałuank, died this year" [17:320]. In 1103, on the initiative of Armenian Catholicos Barseł, a meeting of bishops from Ałuank was held in Gandzak in order to elect a new Catholicos of Armenian Ałuank.

Hovhannes (Hovhannes VII) (1103-1130), brother of perished Catholicos Stepanos, was elected as the Patriarch [15:340].

In the first half of the 12th century, as a result of the weakening of the Seljuk central state, an indescribably difficult situation was created in Armenia, particularly in its eastern parts. The arbitrariness and periodic invasions of the local authorities had become unbearable. The unstable political situation was probably one of the reasons why the patriarchs of the Armenian Apostolic Church were not able to consistently monitor the transition of the Patriarchate of Armenian Ałuank and, as already mentioned, the Patriarchal chair remained vacant for the time being. It should also be noted that the sources report non-uniform information about the time when the Patriarchal seat of Ałuank was vacant, only emphasizing that Mkhitar Gosh counts that period as 8 years, and Kirakos Gandzaketsi indicates 25 years [4:199]. And so, Catholicos of Armenia Grigor III Pahlavuni (1113-1166) [21:254] sent Bishop Sahak of Karin parties to Eastern Lands of Armenia in order to ordain the Catholicos of Ałuank and to preserve the unity of the Armenian patriarchal power. King David of the Kyurikyan Kingdom of Lori, uniting the bishops in 1139 on the Feast of the Epiphany, convened a meeting under the chairmanship of Bishop Sahak, where Bishop Gagik from Armenian Ałuank was appointed Catholicos, being renamed Grigoris. "Then they ordained Gagik Catholicos, and named him Grigorēs, after the name of the Armenian Catholicos [4:200]". According to Kirakos Gandzaketsi, the newly elected leader from Ałuank was from the family of Catholicos, and a group of influential clergymen of the time, including Tokaker's son Priest Grigor and David Alavkavordi, wrote a "wish letter" to Armenian Patriarch Grigoris". "...and they sent a man with a letter to ordain him as a bishop, to ordain a bishop himself, and to give an order to ordain child Gagik as the Catholicos of Ałuank, so that a leader will perish in the world"[4:200].

From the content of the letter, it can be noticed that not only was the Armenian Patriarch making efforts for the unity of the Armenian Apostolic seat, but also the subordinate dioceses sought to receive the support and patronage of the Armenian spiritual leader. Among the quoted lines by Kirakos Gandzaketsi, the last thought is also worthy of attention: "for one leader to destroy the world". The narrator, of course, was referring to the dire situation in the region, at the same time pointing out the role of the spiritual leader for the nation deprived of statehood. Therefore, the immediate ordination of a spiritual leader from Armenian Ałuank was also dictated by political conditions. Along with the Catholicos of Ałuank, 12 bishops are ordained according to the accepted rules [4:200]. According to the testimony of Kirakos Gandzaketsi, immediately after the mentioned event, in 1139, a great natural disaster happened, an earthquake. "In the year of 588 there was a strong earthquake and the city of Gandzak was destroyed, and a building that was on top of its inhabitants collapsed" [4:200]. Mkhitar Gosh also listed the provinces and cities that were turned into ruins, "O Armenian land and make it tremble, with the movement, there was a lot of destruction in many places in the provinces of Parisos and Khachen, in the plains and in the mountains, in the mountains and the capital of Gandzak is the ruin of a common man..." [1:365; 16:114].

As a result of the earthquake, a large number of churches and monasteries were destroyed in Gandzak as well. A natural disaster was followed with the raid of Choli's general from Persia to Gandzak in 1143, and after capturing the city, the latter also attacked Khachen province and, according to Gosh, "he took all the fortresses, destroyed churches and set fire to monasteries, exterminated nobles and captured soldiers" [1:386]. Samuel Anetsi also testifies about this: "...with hunger and sword and captivity, with hunting priests and holy testament and religious fell at my feet lawless" [19:132]. The Catholicos of Ałuank was forced to leave Gandzak. The patri-

archal seat was established for some time within the borders of the fortress called Charek: "to many sorrows and hardships, which it caused to the common people. All the people of the south, the sons of Ismael, even more than the Armenians and Ałuank of the world, because you were the king and the ruler. The Catholicos moved from Ałuank to another place, because he did not have a stable seat, until he came to a cave on the border of the fortress to call Charek, and he stopped and shepherded his flock [4:178]." Catholicos of Ałuank was even deprived of the right to enter Gandzak. Catholicos Stepanos of Ałuank (1155-1214) sent a chorepiscopus named Deacon to collect church taxes from Christians in Gandzak [4:179].

Gurji Batradi, the emir of Gandzak, knowing that the Water blessing day is a great church holiday for Christians, suggested the chorepiscopus to inform the Catholicos of Ałuank that he had to personally appear in Gandzak to bless the water so that the Muslims of the city could also experience that joy. Accepting the unexpected invitation, Catholicos Stepanos III left for Gandzak with his entourage. The Christian and Muslim population of the city arrived with the emir at the river bank, where the ceremony was to be held. When the Catholicos blessed the water by pouring the chrism into it, fanatical Muslims revolted against their emir and the Catholicos of Armenian Ałuank and arrested them. By the order of the viceroy sitting in Isfahan, the amira was deprived of power and sent to Isfahan, and the Catholicos was released in exchange for paying a large ransom. After this incident, Catholicos Stepanos, according to the testimony of Kirakos Gandzaketsi, no longer stayed in Gandzak, but found refuge in the Khachen area.

In 1993, immediately after the liberation of Karvatchar, among the stone inscriptions preserved in the territory of Handaberd fortress, S. Karapetyan found a tombstone (132×54×15 cm) containing important historiographical information related to the issue under study, the five-lined undated inscription on which states that here rests the body of Catholicos Stepanos

of Ałuank: "This is the grave of St. Stepanos – the Catholicos of Ałuank" [9:28]. After the death of Catholicos Stepanos, in 1195, the clergy from Armenian Ałuank ordained Hovhannes (1195-1235) as Catholicos in Gandzak, after receiving the consent of emir Omar of Gandzak: "And they brought him to the city of Gandzak to the ruler of Gandzak, whose name was Amir Omar, and begged him to give an order to ordain him as Catholicos" [4:181].

Due to political circumstances, the Patriarchal seat was then moved to St. Hakobavank of Metsaranits in a short period of time, from where it was moved and established in Gandzasar. In 1728, after the death of Yesai Hasan-Jalalyan, Bishop Nerses was consecrated legitimate Catholicos of Armenian Ałuank by Ejmiatsin. In the 1750s, Karabakh came under Muslim rule. The Catholicos Nerses of Ałuank also showed great support in the fight against Panah, who declared himself the Khan of Karabakh, and after the final establishment of Khan in Karabakh, he had to leave the territory and settle in Gandzak, where he remained until the end of his life. In 1763, "...Nerses the Catholicos, who was an old man" [11:643] died in Gandzak. He was buried in the southern vault of St. Hovhannes the Baptist Church in Gandzak. It was written on his tombstone: "This is the coffin of Saint Nerses and the Catholicos of Ałuank..." [5:227; 10:50]. After the death of Catholicos Nerses, critical situation arose again within the Catholicosate of Ałuank, because of the fight over the Patriarchal chair and the resulting division of the Catholicosate. In the same year of 1763, in Gandzasar monastery Bishop Hovhannes (1763-1786), a representative of the Hasan-Jalalyan family, was consecrated as the new Catholicos. But in the same year of 1763, in Gandzak Israel (1763-1808) was anointed as the Catholicos of Ałuank. In 1767, Israel moved from Gandzak to Karabakh, hoping to receive the support of local Ibrahim Khan. However, Hovhannes Hasan-Jalalyan of Gandzasar was recognized by Ibrahim Khan as Catholicos of

Ałuank, and Israel had to return to Gandzak, where he continued his spiritual activity, leading the dioceses included in the domain of the Gandzak Khanate. In 1780, Israel settled in Hałpat, taking over the administration of Hałpat Diocese [13:152]. Thus, the documents of the time clearly testify to the fact of another split within the Catholicosate of Ałuank.

In 1786, after the murder of Catholicos Hovhannes Hasan-Jalalyan in the prison of Shushi, his brother Sargis Hasan-Jalalyan had to leave Karabakh as a result of the persecutory policy of Ibrahim Khan and settled in Gandzak in 1791. Having received sufficient support from Javad Khan of Gandzak and Melik Mezhlum who took refuge there, with their support: "He was ordained as Catholicos in Gandzak, in Elizavetpol in the year of 1794" [15:348-349]. But in 1795-1796, during the destructive and deadly invasions of Agha-Muhammed Shah from Persia, Sargis Hasan-Jalalyan had to go to Georgia. Thus, with the departure of Catholicos Sargis Hasan-Jalalyan of Ałuank from Gandzak, the page of the history of Gandzak as the patriarchal seat of Ałuank was also closed. In 1804, after Gandzak became a part of the Russian Empire, the spiritual life in the predominantly Armenian city returned to a somewhat normal course. In 1862, the dome of St. Cross or St. Hovhannes the Baptist church, which was the former Patriarchal seat in Gandzak, was built with the funds of wealthy Aghajan Khachatryan and a nine-line inscription was made on the front side of the church. With the funds of brothers Mkrtich and Grigor Afanasyans, in 1857-1869, the church of St. Grigor Lusavorich was rebuilt. It was renovated again in 1904 according to the epistle of Catholicos of All Armenians Mkrtich Khrimyan [22:75]. During the period of being part of the Russian Empire, in 1804-1918, 4 Orthodox churches were built and operated in Gandzak. And since 1909, an Armenian church choir has also been operating [22:75].

Thus, historical documents state that until 1921, the annexation of Karabakh to Azerbaijan, Gandzak, however, remained for Armenians as one

of the most important spiritual and cultural centers of Armenians, a fact that was not recognized after 1921. The last bishop, leading the episcopal seat of Gandzak in the years of 1910-1926, Levon Priest Pseryan, had to hand in a resignation letter in 1926 [10:14]. Sargis Jalalyants, visiting Gandzak in the 30s of XIX century, described it as follows: "The city is divided into three parts? Kilisakand (translated meaning "Monastery village" – M. B.), Yerevanian's Quarter and Norashen. It has three churches, the largest and most famous of which is the six-pillar church built by the Norashen people. In front of the church in Kilisakand is a four-columned brick porch built by priest Gevorg Gandzaketsi. This church has a white stone bell tower built in a very inconvenient place; it is surrounded by the houses of spiritual pastors" [23:153-154].

M. Barkhudaryants wrote about Gandzak at the end of the 19th century. "The building of the upper part of my city is old, especially the Armenian quarter called Kilisakand, in which the mother church of St. Hovhannes the Baptist is located, and the lower part is the Persian quarter, which is said to have been founded by Shah-Abbas I. Armenians have 1,600 families in my city, 4 churches: St. Hovhannes the Baptist and St. Lusavorich in the Armenian quarter, St. Gevorg near Nor-shuka, St. Virgin in Norashen or Yerevanian's quarter" [3:178].

Exactly a century later, in the 1980s, S. Karapetyan, a researcher of Armenian historical monuments who visited the settlement, wrote: "...one can only assume how many churches Gandzak, which had a large Armenian population, and was the Patriarchal seat until the 9th-12th centuries, would have had. Meanwhile, by the year of 1989 the oldest of the known and preserved churches date back to the 17th century..." [10:47]. According to the documents of 1849, the following churches are mentioned in Gandzak: St. Hovhannes Mother Church, St. Gevorg, St. Astvatsatsin (St. Virgin) and St. Sargis, and in 1885, the number of churches in the city reached 6 [10:47].

According to S. Karapetyan's interpretation, Mother Church of St. Hovhannes the Baptist (1618) "has a three-nave basilica structure. The semi-circular vault under the sloping roof is supported internally by three pairs of columns. Eastern-side vestries are double-storied. At different times, a porch, vestibule and bell tower were added to the church from the west. As in the church itself, on the south side of the vestry on the first floor, burials were made in the vestibule in the 18th and 19th centuries, as well. Epitaphs of some of them were recorded and published. On the southern wall, below the sundial, were 4 lines: In the time of Catholicos Hovhannes, the year of 1633 St. Hovhannes Church was built" [10:47-48]. S. Karapetyan also thoroughly presented all the lithographs recorded by researchers of different times in the territory of the church, which, unfortunately, no longer existed at the time of the visit. According to T. Minasyan, valuable Armenian manuscripts were kept in the churches of St. Grigor and St. Hovhannes of Gandzak, among which were "writer Tuma's Gospel with parchment leather cover, which was entirely written in iron script, another Gospel, which was created in 1183 at the request of Hovsep in Drazark and had "honest parchment, fine pictures, a refined pen and a brilliant taste in fine art". The location of these two manuscripts is unknown; one of the treasures of St. Hovhannes Church was one of the masterpieces of the Armenian manuscript culture, "The Gospel of Keran and Hetum" (Matenadaran, Ms. № 6764). In 1283, on the occasion of giving her son Hetum a riding title, Queen Keran ordered and received a Gospel from Stepanos witer and presented it to the Skevra Monastery in Cilicia [14:71]".

In St. Grigor Lusavorich Church of Gandzak the "Gospel of St. Mary" was kept, used for the inauguration ceremony of presidents of the RA, which was written in the village of Banants and is attributed to the 7th century. The Gospel was moved from Gandzak to St. Ejmiatsin and Catholicos of All Armenians Vazgen I donated it to Matenadaran [14:75]. Arguments

received through various channels of information clearly indicate that nowadays the main part of the Christian structures of Gandzak simply do not exist, and some of them have been completely transformed and are used for different purposes. In particular, the oldest spiritual center and one-time Patriarchal seat in Gandzak, St. John's Church, was shelled by the Turkish army and was greatly damaged in 1920. And later, under the pretext of renovation, all the cross patterns and Armenian inscriptions on the walls were first scraped, and then plastered, painted and used as a concert hall for the city's chamber orchestra. The mentioned facts were recorded and photographed by S. Karapetyan in 1982. Thus, historical documents prove that even after the departure of the Ałuanian spiritual leadership from Gandzak until the establishment of Soviet system and the annexation of the territory to Soviet Azerbaijan in 1920, it continued to be one of the important spiritual and cultural centers for Armenians. However, after 1921, in this once Patriarchal seat and Armenian spiritual and cultural center all the Christian structures were gradually destroyed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Alishan Gh., Armenian History [Hayapatum], Venice, 1901, 649 p. (in Armenian).
2. Balayan M., Armenian Albanian Church, Stepanakert, "Vachagan Barepasht", 2009, 240 p. (in Armenian).
3. Barkhudariants M., The Land of Ałuank and Neighbours, Artsakh, Yerevan, "Gandzasar", 1999, 416 p. (in Armenian).
4. Kirakos Gandzaketsi, Armenian History, Prepared for publication by Melik-Ohanjanian K., Yerevan, "Sovetakan Grogh", 1982, 352 p. (in Armenian).

5. Corpus Inscriptionum Armenicarum, part V, Compiled by Barkhudarian S. G., Yerevan, Publication of the National Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1982, 348 p. (in Armenian).
6. Corpus Inscriptionum Armenicarum, part II, Compiled by Barkhudarian S., Yerevan, Publication of the National Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1960, 240 p. (in Armenian).
7. Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 14th century, Yerevan, Publication of the National Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1950, 757 p. (in Armenian).
8. Movses Kałankatuatsi, History of the Albanian Land, Yerevan, Armenia publishing House, 1983, 383 p. (in Armenian).
9. Karapetyan S., Armenian cultural monuments in the region of Karabakh, Yerevan, "Gitutyun", 1999, 288 p. (in Armenian).
10. Karapetyan S., Northen Artsakh, Yerevan, "Gitutyun", 2004, 616 p. (in Armenian).
11. Hakhumian A., Sketches from the past of Karabagh, "Ararat", № 2-3, St. Ejmiatsin Printing House of the Mother See, 1915, pp. 220-222. (in Armenian).
12. Manucharyan A., Lithographic additions and clarifications to the rodbook of Catholicos from Ałuank, Yerevan State University, Bulletin Armenological issues, 2 (8), Yerevan, YSU press, 2016, p. 82-94. (in Armenian).
13. Mashtots Matenadaran, Patriarchal archive, paper 240, 152 p. (in Armenian).
14. Minasyan T., Scriptoria of Artsakh, Yerevan, "Nairi", 2015, 220 p. (in Armenian).

15. Shahkhatuniants Hovh., Signatures of the Catholicos of the Ejmiatsin and five Ararat Provinces, Vol. 2, Ejmiatsin Catholicosate publishing House, Ejmiatsin, 1842. (in Armenian).
16. Ulubabyan B., The Principality of Khachen in the 10th-16th centuries, Publication of the National Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, Yerevan, 1975, 454 p. (in Armenian).
17. Matteos Urhayetsi, Chronicle, Yerevan, "Armenia publishing House", 1991, 540 p. (in Armenian).
18. Sargis Archbishop Jalaliants, A trip to Great Armenia, parts I, II, "DALL", Yerevan, 2016, 696 p. (in Armenian).
19. Samuel Anetsi, Selected Works of Historians, Vagharshapat, St. Ejmiatsin Printing House, 1893, 180 p. (in Armenian).
20. Stephanos Orbelian, History of the Sisakan province, Tiflis, N. Aghanian Printing House, 1911. 618 p. (in Armenian).
21. Ormanian M., The Choch of Armenia, Yerevan, Printing House of the RA Government Periodical, 1993, 280 p. (in Armenian).
22. Yeremyants-Gandzaketsi S., Short History of the City Gandzak from the Ancient Times till 1920, Yerevan, "Lousabats", 2017, 120 p. (in Armenian).
23. Sargis Archbishop Jalaliants, A travel to Great Armenia, Yerevan, "DALL", 2016, 696 p.
24. Minorsky V. F. History of the Shirvan and Derbend of the 10th-11th centuries, Moscow, Publishing House of Oriental Literature, 1963, 265 p. (in Russian).
25. Hakobyan A., The Royal and Princely Houses of Proper Albania and Eastern Regions of Armenia from Antiquity to the 13th century (Historical and source study examination), Yerevan, Publishing House "Gitutyun", 2020, 440 p. (in Armenian).

Melanya Balayan
Institute of Oriental Studies National Academy of Sciences, Republic of Armenia
melanyabalayan@mail.ru
ORCID ID: 0009-0004-4672-5696

ԳԱՆՁԱԿ ՔԱՂԱՔԸ ԱՂՈՒԱՆԻՑ ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿՈՍՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՆՍՏԱՎԱՅՐ

Մելանյա Բալայան

Բանալի բառեր՝ Աղուանք, Արցախ, Ուտիք, Պարտավ, Գանձակ, առաքելական, եկեղեցի, կաթողիկոս, կաթողիկոսություն, նստավայր:

552 թ. վերջնականապես կազմավորված Աղուանից կաթողիկոսության առաջին աթոռանիստն էր Աղուանք մարզպանության (Առան, Ալբանիա) վարչական կենտրոն Պարտավը: Սակայն 789 թ. արաբ ոստիկանի նստավայրը Դվինից Պարտավ տեղափոխվելու պատճառով Աղուանից կաթողիկոսը ստիպված էր հեռանալ այնտեղից: Աղուանից կաթողիկոսական աթոռը կարճատև ժամանակահատված տեղակայվեց Արցախի Բերդակուր ամրոցում, իսկ IX դարի սկզբներին տեղափոխվեց ու հաստատվեց Գանձակում: Եւ այսպես, IX-XII դարերում Գանձակ քաղաքը դարձավ Աղուանից կաթողիկոսության կենտրոնը: Սակայն քաղաքական հանգամանքների պարտադրանքով Աղուանից կաթողիկոսական աթոռը

XII դարում տեղափոխվեց Չարեք, Խամշի վանք, Մեծառանից վանք, Գանձասար (զուգահեռ նաեւ՝ Ճալեթ), այնուհետև կրկին՝ Գանձակ:

Որպես կաթողիկոսանիստ ու կարևոր հոգևոր կենտրոն՝ Գանձակում տարբեր ժամանակներում կառուցվել ու գործել են մի շարք եկեղեցիներ: Համաձայն 1849 թ. վավերագրի՝ Գանձակում հիշատակված են հետևյալ եկեղեցիները՝ Սբ. Հովհաննես Մայր եկեղեցի, Սբ. Գևորգ, Սբ. Աստվածածին, Սբ. Գրիգոր Լուսավորիչ, Սբ. Սարգիս, իսկ 1885 թ. քաղաքի եկեղեցիների թիվը հասնում էր 6-ի:

Պատմական վավերագրերը փաստում են, որ Աղուանից հոգևոր առաջնորդի Գանձակից հեռանալուց հետո էլ մինչև 1920-ական թվականները՝ խորհրդային կարգերի հաստատումը, այնուամենայնիվ, հայերի համար Գանձակի Ս.Հովհաննես եկեղեցին շարունակում էր մնալ հոգևոր-մշակութային կարևոր կենտրոններից մեկը. մի իրողություն, որ սակայն բացառվեց 1921 թվականից հետո: Երբեմնի կաթողիկոսանիստ կենտրոնում աստիճանաբար ոչնչացվեցին հոգևոր բոլոր կառույցները: Տեղեկատվական տարբեր խողովակներով ստացված փաստերը ակնհայտորեն մատնանշում են, որ ներկա ժամանակներում Գանձակի քրիստոնեահենք կառույցների հիմնական մասը պարզապես գոյություն չունի, մի մասն էլ հիմնովին վերափոխվել ու կիրառվում է տարբեր նպատակներով:

DOI: 10.52837/27382702-2023.3.2-83

LOCAL CHOROGRAPHIES AND STRUCTURES OF COMPOSITE MONARCHY IN THE EARLY MODERN ANTIQUARIAN DISCOURSE*

Anastasia Palamarchuk

Abstract

The concept of the composite monarchy, developed in contemporary historiography, is an effective analytical research tool for studying large territorial states with complex internal structure. The ground of this concept lies in the famous works by H.G. Koenigsberger [20:301-333;21,19] and J.H. Elliott [11:47-71;12]. Each of them (Koenigsberger mostly relying on the continental material, Elliott - primarily on the British one) reflected the fact that the vast majority of the early Modern States had complex and elaborate internal structure not only in the administrative aspect, but also in the territorial one. In such complex polities the royal power not only evolved from suzerainty to sovereignty, but it also expanded upon a number of autonomous or semi-autonomous territorial entities - composites. The definition of composite comprised autonomies marked by the high level of administrative subjectivity, and the process of their incorporation (implemented or potential) was perceived primarily in formal legal aspect.

Keywords: Monarchy, politics, kingdom, Chronicles.

Koenigsberger saw the degree of maturity of institution within composites, first of all of representative institutions as a crucially important ele-

* The article was submitted on December 1, 2023. The article was reviewed on December 10, 2023.

ment. For J.H. Elliott, who also gave credit to the institutional aspect of composite state model, instruments and mechanisms constituting composite monarchies represented a wide spectrum of functional loyalties, including the royal court and a special communicative milieu, shaped by the court patronage system. Describing the phenomenon of composite monarchy, Elliott considered it a special impulse for the further consolidation of local communities and identities, able to strengthen themselves under the pressure of confessional factors.

C. Russel [29:133-146], as is generally known, preferred to use a close, but not completely synonymous to "composite monarchy" term "multiple monarchy", restraining it constructivity to the Stuart reign in England. Accentuating rather cultural-historical and confessionally-ecclesiological, rather than formal aspect of this institutional phenomenon, Russel interpreted events in corresponding historical perspective. Constituent elements of composite monarchy he described as relatively homogeneous entities.

Considering the structures which Koenigsberger and Elliott labeled as "composite" J. Morrill [27:1-38; 26] preferred the notion "dynastic agglomeration", stating that the need for dynastic stability represented a determining impulse (and in some measure a natural result) for the rise of large and ethnically heterogenous territorial entities. Emphasizing a dynamical character of the Early Modern polities, Morrill noticed that there was a great configurational variety in such kind of communities until the XVIIIth century. H. Scott standing close to Morrill's views, defined the Early Modern polities as "subordinated kingdoms" [31:44-87].

Only R.R. Davies [8] expanded the "elliotian" concept of composite monarchy beyond the XVIth and XVIIth centuries and applied the similar approach to the period far more prior to the Tudor and Stuart age. He examined the idea of the High Kingship, common for both Celtic and Germanic regions of Britain (Anglo-Saxon bretwalda) (significantly, Bede in his Historia Ecclesiastica used the Latin word "imperium" as synonymous for bretwalda [40:99-129; 17:9-47]). Taking this in consideration, Davies explained the power strategy that Plantagenets were accomplishing, and stated that regional pan-British leadership could be achieved not only with the means of war, diplomacy, functions of the supreme judge, Arthurian mythology etc., but also with the preservation of multiple ethno-territorial autonomous communities.

R.R. Davies' speculations can be successfully applied for the study of the Norman dynasty - with only difference that the territories that the Normans aspired to dominate, comprised both insular and substantial continental part. Stability and multiplicity of autonomies as an important feature of the Late Medieval age (XIV-XV centuries) of both English and Scottish kingdom became a focus of interest for the pleiad of scholars - H. Cam [5], - K. Stringer [34:5-36], C. Nevill [28] J. Scammell [30:449-473], J.W. Alexander [2] et al.

In all possible interpretations the concept of composite monarchy clearly demonstrates the diversity of ethno-political and ethno-cultural processes within large polities in the Early Modern Europe. Composite monarchies were developing under the permanent impact of the two concurring discourses: the universalistic and particularistic ones. These discourses, in turn, structured the outlines and internal structural boundaries within composite states.

The first, imperial discourse developed the idea of the pan-European Christian Empire. The Second one created the intellectual foundation for the legitimation of the territorial monarchies in Europe. While interacting, both discourses became subordinated to each other, tending to display a potential for the mutual exploitation of sense-making dominants. Figuring out, such discoursive practices not only transformed the traditional medieval universalistic space, connecting it with the mastering of the internal heterogeneity

of the state and with the rise of proto-national and later national identities, but also required conceptualization of a special functional units conditionally termed as territorial and ethno-cultural autonomies. Such autonomies were interpreted as locally consolidated ones, built, on the one hand, upon keeping up territorial and regional communities, on the other hand - upon their re-construction in the changing contexts of the Early Modern state.

At each level of the universalistic discourse was exploited the well-known Roman concept of empire as a continually expanding territorial structure, which was gradually absorbing (and in a certain degree unifying) authentic and previously independent "gentes". The particularistic discourse, in turn, referred to the intellectual resources of the medieval corporativist tradition, which had been developing ideas of uniqueness and self-sufficiency of the internally integrated and territorially limited community.

The fact that for the classical Medieval and Early Modern time the term "autonomy" is purely analytical and does not belong to the political or legal vocabulary of that period needs no explanation. Nevertheless, the Western European Middle Ages was the time when autonomies, both territorial and non-territorial, developed and flourished; most of them initially had or later assumed corporate form.

By the late XVIth century observance of external formal boundaries and formalized privileges of feudal autonomies remained an important element of the internal structure of the Early Modern composite monarchy. Nevertheless, local customs, institutes securing the interaction between a corporation and supreme power, local history and traditions as well as the structure of a corporation itself became a more important component.

The History of Britain in the High Middle Ages, under the Tudors and the early Stuarts evidenced the process of emergence of the above mentioned "composite" (or multiple) identities. The perception of England as an empire, entrenched in the insular historical and legal consciousness, recur-

ring during the reigns of the Stuarts and extending to the whole British archipelago, determined the establishment of chorography as a prevalent form characteristic of the English historiography. Chorographic structure of the narrative unfolding the space of the territorial "empire" to the reader corresponded to the method of "intellectual appropriation" of the British Isles by the English antiquarians which could be defined as "cultural-historical". A considerable role was assigned to reactualization of ethnogenetic myths at different levels: while some of them (primarily - the Galfridian myth) were regarded as relevant to the pan-British cultural and historical past, others emphasized autonomous dimensions of the past and present of distinct composites (Scotland, Ireland, Wales).

The rise of the Antiquarian historical writing in the XVIth century was inseparable from the birth of protonational and later national discourse. Aggregation (more precisely re-aggregation) of the land and the community of the realm consistently fulfilled by the Tudors was in a special way reflected in the intellectual field. Chorographical descriptions that constituted a substantial part of the Antiquarian legacy, had both pan-English (Leland's Itinerary [24]) or pan-British (Camden's Britannia [6]) and regional coverage (chorographic surveys by Lambarde [22], Vowell [38:41-53], Stowe [33], Carew [6], Doddridge [9] and later Dugdale). The very genre of chorography was intended to create a comprehensive image of a territory, country or a region similar to what was formed in mind after looking at a geographic map.

Beside chorographies, discourses on the nobility constituted an important complex of the antiquarian narratives: the so-called Catalogues of Honor (Milles [25], Glower [14], Brooke [4], York [41]) and legal-historical surveys of the noble titles, dignities and offices (Titles of Honour by John Selden [32] and its numerous derivatives). Like the chorographies, these texts were also closely related to the intent of the supreme power to put to-

gether and configure the Community of the Realm and to unfold before the reader its internal structure. Taking into consideration that by definition a noble title was directly linked to a certain land holding, and the totality of these land holdings formed the territory of the Realm of England, the functional analogy with chorographies is quite obvious.

While the demand for pan-English and pan-British chorographies and narratives came principally from the supreme power and was implemented in the intellectual milieu associated with the traditional central administrative structures (i.e. mostly by lawyers and heralds), intellectual construction of the autonomies and regional identities was initiated and carried out by several actors: central and local elites, by the supreme power, legal-administrative institutions, religious and professional communities etc. In many cases the authors of several locally oriented narratives were closely connected (by origin or by their office) with the communities they were writing about. The common strategy of description of an ethno-cultural autonomy assumed the mechanism of intellectual differentiation, that is finding out and exploring such differences between "our community" and the "outer world" (in the case of the local narrative - England or Britain) that legitimated the existence of an entity and made it worth of description. Locally oriented narratives and pan-England chorographies were not opposed to each other, but were correlating as neo-Platonic macrocosm and microcosm, structurally similar but yet not identical, each having its own spectrum of meanings, sense-making points, events and myths. The microcosm of a local narrative, though having its own semantic stem, was obligatory placed into the wider British context and newer was considered as a completely separated one. Rather we see how the universalistic and particularistic discourses, that initially emerged at the European scale, were accomplishing in the universe of the British archipelago.

The earliest and obviously the most famous of the locally oriented narratives and the first "county history" - "The Perambulation of Kent" by William Lambarde - can be distinguished as an archetype for all later locally oriented chorographies.

The well-known concept of the Heptarchy defined as seven Germanic kingdoms from which the Kingdom of England emerged, took on the new significance in the Early Modern historical thought and especially in the context of the composite monarchy. Originally this concept was invented in the XIIth century by Henry of Hintigdon [36:64-65]: four hundred years later William Lambarde, an outstanding antiquarian, lawyer and creator of Anglo-Saxonism re-actualized it for the English intellectual community [15; 3]. Lambard, who had been serving as a Justice of the Peace for Kent for many years, "a Kentishman by adoption" as M. Zell called him [42], was rightfully styled as a father of the local history by further generations of Kentish intellectuals.

"The Perambulation of Kent" opens with the image (which included visualization - a map, and verbal description) of primordial complexity of the British ethic and political landscape - seven kingdoms and their neighbors, the Scots, the Picts, and the Franks, with corresponding plurality of laws and customs. Lambarde says: "As each country therefore hath his propre laws, customs and manners of life, so no one man ought to doubt these peoples, being aggregated of so many sundry nations, had their several rules, orders and institutes. Nowbeit, amongst the rest those be most famous, which our ancient writers call the Dane law, west Saxon law, and Mercher law, the first of which was brought by the Danes, the second was used amongst the West Saxons, and the last was exercised in the Kingdom of Mercia" [22:5].

Kent is the outer south-eastern part of Britain: of course, Lambarde does not depict it as a periphery, but in accordance with the tradition created

by Bede, rather as the gate to English land, a border region laying between the invaders and the rest of the island [3:138]. "It is called by Caesar and other ancient writers, Cancium, and Cancia in Latine; which was framed either out of Cainc, a word that (in the language of the Britaines, whom Caesar at his arrival found inhabiting there) signifies, Bowghes, or Woods … or else, of Cant, or Canton, which denoteth an Angle or Corner of land" [22:7]. In this aspect very demonstrative is Lambarde's version of the first population of England. He completely ignores the popular Galfridian story of the giants inhabiting Britain before the coming of Brutus, and instead advocates the "Samothian" version, which suggested the common Celtic origins of the peoples of Gallia and Cantia. "Out of these things thus alleged, I might draw provable conjecture, that Kent which we have in hand, was the first inhabited part of all this our land… Samothes began his dominion over this Realme almost 150 years after such time as he first arrived in that part of France which is called Celtique and had planted his people there, what can be more likely, then, that ha came out of France first into Kent?" [22:14] Kent is depicted as a community where complex inner structure ("four kings" of the pre-Roman period, mentioned by Caesar) transforms into the monolithic kingdom after the coming of the Germans; the line of seventeen Kentish kings, starting with Hengist and ending with Baldred with their respective "memorable things" is finished by the integration with the "English" kingdom of Egbert. All administrative changes imposed by the Wessex monarchy (creation of shires, lathes and hundreds) could not erase the substantial element - the gavelkind; the autonomy of Kent was finally sanctioned by William the Conqueror "at whose hands the cominaltie of Kent, obtey|ned with great honour, the continuation of their aun|cient vsages, notwithstanding that the whole Realme besides suffered alteration and change" [22:22].

The final part of the "Perambulation" transcends the standard chorographic scheme and turns into a legal-historical tract on the most specific Kentish phenomenon - the custom of gavelkind. This principle of landholding required to divide the estate held in socage tenure between male heirs [42:40] (unlike the right of primogeniture in the English Common law) and for Lambarde was meant to represent a peculiar Kentish practice. Lambarde states that gavelkind was the institution entrenched in the ancient German society; it successfully survived the Norman conquest and still defines the Kentish way of life. In Lambarde's way of thought, evident in his other tracts, custom and law structure a community, that is why he prefers to "descende to the disclosing of the customes themselves: not numbering them by order as they lie in that treatise, but drawing them forth as they shal concerne, either the lande it selfe, or the persons that I will orderly speake of, that is to say, particularly the Lord and the Tenant: The husband and the wife: The child and the gardien, and so after addition of a few other things incident to this purpose, I will drawe to an end" [22:390-391]. Paradoxically, the comparison with the Common law is necessary to demonstrate the unique character of the Kentish tradition, while Royal charters, Acts of Parliament and other legal documents included in the text allow to portray the Royal power as a guarantor of continuity and proper regulation of gavelkind within the realities of the post-Norman English kingdom. Although Lambarde wrote his "Perambulation of Kent" before the Union of Crowns, the existence of the Custom of Kent opens for him a way to show up a variety of legal systems and practices in the kingdom. In his "Eirenarcha" [22] Lambard more explicitly outlines this concept: the function of the supreme Royal power and Equity is to regulate and if necessary to correct the practices of the Common law and local customs. The co-existence of the Common Law, Civil law, Equity along with the continuation of county customs, represented in Lambarde's book by the Custom of Kent, created a model in

many ways parallel to the structure of composite monarchy. R. Brackmann argues that for Lambarde the county of Kent was a model county, England in miniature [3:136], and this is certainly one of the possible interpretations of this text, but it is important to stress that Kent definitely is presented as a specific entity with the defined boundaries; these boundaries are both territorial (spatially determinable from without) and semantic (determinable from within, by the extent of local custom). A complete chorographical description of the English Kingdom, according to Lambarde, can be compared with tessellation of the whole image from individualized particles: "some one in eache Shyre, would make the enterprise for his owne Countrie, to the end that by ioyning our pennes and conferring our labours (as it were) Ex symbolo, wée may at the last by the vnion of many parts and papers, compact a whole and perfect bodie and Booke of our Engllish antiquities" [22:387].

J.M. Adrian [1:307-334] constructively reflects on the idea of the order as the organizing principle of The Perambulation. Certainly, here we see one of the first steps towards the description of a community as a total constituted of all titles and dignities of the *nobilitas nominata and nobilitas innominata* within a certain feudal entity. Later, under the first Stuarts we will see numerous examples of description of the noble community as the hierarchy of orders, which were integrated into heraldic and legal tracts as the structural stem of the narrative, and conceived by its authors - heralds and lawyers - as the key pillar of the Kingdom of England itself. In John Selden's "Titles of Honor" hierarchy of dignities and noble titles perform a universal phenomenon with the range of possible variations peculiar to each monarchy - such approach opened a possibility of comparison between European kingdoms and demonstration of the excellence of the English constitution. When Lambarde structures the Kentish gentry and nobility into Ramistic scheme, he yet does not abstract a title from its living holder; he does not

demonstrate a Kentish part of the general English nobility, but reassembles Kentish nobility building on the explicitly confined territory of the county.

One of the most illustrative cases of the Early Modern locally-oriented chorography is the "Survey of Cornwall" written by Richard Carew. Carew was born to the noble Cornish family in about 1555, was educated in Oxford, in London he met William Camden and under his influence became a member of the Antiquarian Society. In his later career Carew served as a High Sheriff of Cornwall and through his wife was also related to the Cornish nobility. In his chorography published in 1602 [6] and dedicated to Walter Raleigh, Lord Warden of the stannaries, Lieutenant General of Cornwall from 1585 and MP from Cornwall, he constructs alternative Cornwall-oriented version of the first population of Britain. This narrative, in some aspects following Camden's Britannia, develops and brings to perfection the narrative scheme proposed by Lambard.

Carew's chorography clearly demonstrates the most characteristic mode of treatment with the local and pan-English ethnogenetic myth. According to Carew, there are three versions of how Cornwall got its name. The first two are derived from its geographical position: some derived it "from Cornu Galliae, a horne or corner of France, where against nature hath placed it; and some, from Cornu Walliae, which (in my conjecture) carrieth greatest likelyhood of truth" [6:1-2]. The third version is ethnogenethic one: "Cornwall got its name after Corineus, Brutus' cousin; this Corineus came from Troy with Brutus, landed in Plymouth, fight a giant Gog-Magog, threw him down to the sea and received the gift of that Countrie, in reward for his prowess" [6:2].

This short note had to re-create two literal associations, well-known to the early XVI century reader. The description of the epic fight between Corineus and Gog-Magog begins with Geoffrey of Monmouth. In "The History of the Kings of Britain" (book 1, 17-21) [13:28] Corineus comes to

Britain with Brutus after a long campaign in Gaul and proves himself to be a valiant giant-fighter. We see Corineus replicating Brutus' actions on the local scale: "Brutus named the island Britain after himself and called his followers Britons. He wanted to be remembered for ever for giving them his name. For this reason, the language of his people, previously known as Trojan or 'crooked Greek', was henceforth called British. Corineus followed his leader's example by similarly calling the area of the kingdom allotted to him Corineia and his people Corineians, after himself. He could have had his pick of the provinces before any other settler, but preferred the region now called Cornwall, either after Britain's horn or through a corruption of the name Corineia" (book 1, 21) [13:28]. The site of this victory was located by Geoffrey in Plymouth [43:527-543].

Holinshed's Chronicles provide a similar version, but with different location. "He got the upper hand of the giant and cast him downe headlong from one of the rocks there, not farre from Dover, and so dispatched him; by reason whereof the place was named long after the Fall or Leape of Gogmagog, but afterwards it was called the Fall of Dover. For this valiant deed ... Brute gave unto Corineus the whole countrie of Cornwall" [18:15]. As we can see, it is Brutus who gives the power over Cornwall to Corineus, leaving him passively accept it.

Choosing of these two equally famous variants, Carew preferred the Galfridian one, with Corineus actively acting as the second Brutus. Considering the credibility of different versions of ethnogenetic myths and the earliest population of Britain, Carew notices: if one accepts the legend of Brutus as true, one should also accept the fact that his first landing took place not in Dover, but in the city of Totness in Devon. All these explications made to the traditional Galfridian narrative were made to represent Cornwall as an opening place for the entire British history. Despite that "nature hath should red out Cornwall into the farthest part of the, and so besieged it with

the Ocean" [6:3], in Carew's view is not a real periphery, but lies in the crossroad of the trade routes between Wales, Ireland, Spain and the Netherlands, that allows the Cornish "to vent forth and make return of those commodities, which their own, or either of those Countries doe afford" [6:4]. Cornwall is a self-sufficient, rich, flourishing land, not inferior to all England in every parameter (the only inconvenience mentioned by Carew is the long distance from the central courts in London).

Carew's description of Cornwall consists of two parts (not completely corresponding to the book 1 and book 2 of the narrative), each providing a special approach to the entity. The first one depicts the land of Cornwall, while the second pictures Cornwall as a community; taken together, they make up a tridimensional imaginary structure. The first part of the narrative unfolds the Cornish landscape with all its natural resources, starting from the lower forms of creature (lands and its qualities, minerals, plants, grains, rivers, woods) to the higher (animals, cattle, birds, fishes etc.) and finally, to the description of the customs and the character of a "Cornish gentleman" [6:57-77]. This well-built community (Carew cites a popular proverb "that all Cornish gentlemen are cousins; which endeth in an iniurious consequence, that the king hath there no cousins" [6:64] comprises "learned men", "lawyers" "physicians", "statemen", "martial men", has its peculiar recreations and saints feasts, cannot be understood without a thorough historical description of its formal status, government and feudal jurisdiction [6:78-85]. Thus, the attentive reader can perceive Cornwall as a whole, watching on the land from a bird's eye view and its people as a part of natural hierarchy of creation. The second conceptual part (Cornwall as a community) consists of two elements: the short chronicle of Cornwall, starting with the Roman conquest of Britain and finishing with the last Cornish rebellion of 1549 [6:95-98] and successive chorographical account of the Cornish hundreds. Carew invites his reader to follow him step by step: "I

will make easie iournies from place to place, as they lie in my way, taking the Hundreds for my guides, untill I haue accomplished this wearisome voyage" [6:98]. During this travel one can discover the inner structure of the community, not hierarchic but horizontal one, not monolithic but in a sense composite. With several personal and official bonds Cornish community is integrated into the wider British context, so its autonomy and boundaries do not suggest isolation. Significantly, the description of Cornwall ends exactly where it has started: at Land's End, at the grave of the giant. "Not farre from the lands ende, there is a little village, called Trebegean, in English, The towne of the Giants grave: neere whereunto, and within memory (a's I haue beene informed) certayne workemen searching for Tynne, discouered a long square vault, which contayned the bones of an excessive bigge carkas, and verified this Etimology of the name" [6:159]. The historical, semantical and geographical boundary of the community is thus completed in a full circle.

Very close to Carew's narrative stands "The Breviary of Suffolk" [35] written by Robert Reyce (or Ryece), a Suffolk gentleman, and dedicated to Sir Robert Crane, a distinguished Suffolk knight and High Sheriff of this county. Reyce had some connection to the Antiquarian circle and was praised by the famous herald John Guillim for his learning, and C.G. Harlow comments that Carew's book was an immediate inspiration for Reyce [16:43]. But there are some evident differences with the "Description of Cornwall". The text Reyce created is not a standard chorography, the description of Suffolk land at the opening pages is quite laconic. He does not mention any origin myth or dynastic history of the South Saxons, and generally omits the detailed description of geographical objects (with the exception of the main rivers of the county [35:7-13]). Only once he notices the peripherical situation of the county: "the county is one of the remotest shires of all England eastward" [35:5]. Nevertheless, Reyce sees himself as flesh

and blood of Suffolk land: "the fruits and effects of my recreative opportunities, which by all the meanes that I could I have laboured to gather together for the benefit of this Country, unto the which next under God, I doe owe that little that I haue, for my birth, education, and habitation. And indeed what is more commendable (in my weake judgement) than curiously to search out the best ornaments of his native soile?" [35:2] In the antiquarian discourse the idea of the land nourishing the specificity of peoples inhabiting it was quite common, especially for the lawyers antiquarians like Selden and Spelman, with the one important difference: for them the land nourishing and generating the Common law was the whole England. Reyce obviously separates Suffolk as a special space, almost idyllic, "which ministreth unto the inhabitants a full choyce of healthfull and pleasant situations for their seemly houses" [35:25] and to which "the Lord hath voutsafed many singuiar benefitts" [35:21].

Reyce generally adapts Carew's way of description of the local community as a unity of several orders, but while Carew describes only the selected important categories within Cornish society, Reyce's description is much more consistent. He starts with the lowest stratum - "the poore" and proceeds to the highest one, namely to the Dukes of Suffolk [35:56-82]. Reyce definitely took his inspiration from heraldic tracts that can be conditionally styled "catalogues of honor" and were aimed at the representing of the noble community at the pan-English scale. Of all the above-mentioned chorographies his text was the most deeply influenced by heraldic literature. He integrates blazons of armorial bearings and genealogies of the Suffolk nobility into his narrative, and so imitates the elements of heraldic visitations. An interesting analogy to Reyce's we find in "The Union of Honor" by a Caroline antiquary James Yorke [41:19-43], who added to the heraldic tract about the higher nobility a special catalogue of armorial bearings of his native Lankashire gentry.

Reyce's description of Suffolk community is still multi-dimensional. The image of the community builds of a functional description of each group (the poor, husbandmen, yeomanry, gentlemen, knights and the nobility, additionally - the clergy, lawyers, martial men, statesmen), personal and family lineup with the short history of each noble family and the first creation in Suffolk and finally, the arms. Beside this, Suffolk is defined through its administrative division and government structure, where for every office its holder is identified. Finally, we find descriptions of the local places of memory, namely the churches, where the arms of the higher nobility and the monarchs of Britain were demonstrated. Reyce takes his reader for the tour into the church of Preston, where along the arms of the local gentry the bearings of the British monarchs are exposed. The first and the most honorable place belongs to queen Elizabeth Tudor and her imperial shield [35:188]; then we return to the origins of the history of Britain, reading the blazon descriptions of the arms of Edward the Confessor, Edward the Martyr, the King of Norway (Reyce means Sweyn the Forkbeard "king of Denmarke, England, Norway, Scotland and Sweden"), Julius Caesar, Brutus, Belinus, Saint George, Roderick the Great king of Gwynedd, also the arms of Scotland and Ireland [35:192-201]. So, from the local church in Suffolk the reader can perceive the "composite" retrospective of the Tudor state.

William Smith (1550?-1618), the author of the chorographic narrative "The Vale-Royall of England" [37], structures his description of the Country Palatine of Chester almost completely relying on Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles [18]. While Holinshed saw the history of Britain as the aggregation of territories and dynasties into the integrated whole continuous over time, as a demonstration of continuity of the royal power dominating over the Kingdom of England - the entity that had been born from the heterogenous components, Smith applies the same principle to the history of a local community, to the particular feudal and ethno-cultural autonomy. Smith

demonstrates that name, status and character is a subject of historical change. The Mercian community starts as the borderland one: "The Kingdom of March, reached from London to the river of Marcey, which parteth Cheshire form Lancashire; of which river, some write, it should take name. But that cannot I believe, but think rather it is so called, because it marched or bordered upon all the other" [37:1] Without any rational critics Smith reproduces Holinshed, stating that "Crida was the [first King] of March … He was descended from Woden and the tenth from Him, by lineal extraction" [37:2]. He demonstrates the Mercia-centric historical continuity in the form of a short chronicle. The Kingdom of Mercia [37:2-6] transforms into the Duchy of Mercia under the last Anglo-Saxon kings [37:7-8], then into the County of Chester and finally into the County Palatine [37:49-54]); the succession line of the twenty-two kings of Mercia continues with the succession of William the Conqueror's vassals; the real immutable constants of the community are embodied in the administrative and legal institutions, power structures and local privileges constituting its territorial integrity. In accordance with the antiquarian tradition, Smith integrates into the text three documents, establishing the Palatinate of Chester and conforming the corresponding privileges of autonomy ("Supplication, exhibited to the King Henry VI by the Inhabitants of the County Palatine Chester" (1450), the response Royal proclamation, and "The Confirmation of the Liberties of the County Palatine" by Elizabeth I (1568) [37:9-15].

John Doddridge, the author of the short text "History of the Ancient and Modern Estate of the Principality of Wales, Duchy of Cornwall and Earldom of Chester" [9] was born in Devon, made a successful career in the Court of the King's bench and hold several estates in his native county, including Bremridge, a manor mentioned in Domesday Book. In his survey Doddridge emphasizes that three abovementioned autonomies making up the title of the Royal Heir to the Throne, constituted the essential part of the

Royal domain lands: they were the fountain of the Crown income and dynastical wealth. The royal will, expressed in granting of privileges and in formalizing the status of the autonomies with regard to the other lands in the Kingdom, is understood as a guarantee and basis of their existence.

All three feudal autonomies held by the Prince of Wales as feudal tenure are located in periphery, as Doddridge emphasizes. Moreover, the history of these peripherical territories goes back to the Briton period predating to the rise of the kingdom of England. For Doddridge this is a chance to recall the idea of all-Briton unity. "This part of this island, which is called Wales … was anciently called by the Saxons conquering this land, called the said Territorie (into the mountaines whereof the remnant of the Britaines that remayned were fled , and not to be overcome by them) Wallia, and the people Welshmen, that is to say, vnto them strangers" [9:1-2]. "The uttermost part of this island toward the West, stretching it selfe by a long extent into the Ocean is called the County of Cornewall; lying ouer against the Duchie of Britaine in France. The people inhabiting the same, are called Cornishmen, and are also reputed a remnant of the Britaines, the ancient Inhabitants of this land: they have a particular language, called Cornish, (although now much worne out of use) differing but little from the Welsh" [9:77-78]; "this Earledome [Chester] bordering upon North Wales for the better defence of that Country" [9:123]. For every community Doddridge follows the same pattern: localization on the imaginary map of Britain, development of customs and privileges (transition from earldom to dukedom for Cornwall and to county Palatine for Chester), territorial structure (counties and manors), income rates, courts of justice and jurisdictions. Doddridge demonstrates how over the century's legal acts of the English monarch formed community - its territories, its autonomy, its institutes. It is the king of England who creates the proper order from "peripherical" and "extraneous". By reconstructing the long process of "territorial appropriation" he shows how the ancient Briton periphery becomes one of the key elements of the contemporary English monarchy.

The perception of the royal power as an organizing and ordinating principle of the English state was a general characteristic for all antiquarian and legal narratives, where the history of potestary institutions was reconstructed and examines in pan-Anglian scale. By the end of the XVI century we can clearly see the shift of emphasis in the key issues characteristic for the medieval perception of the autonomies. Formalized boundaries and fixed privileges continued to be a substantial element of the internal structure of the composite monarchy. For the Early Modern period the key elements of "autonomy" were local custom, institutes of interaction between the supreme power, its history, traditions and community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Adrian J.M., Tudor Centralization and Gentry Visions of Local Order in Lambarde's "Perambulation of Kent", English Literary Renaissance, Vol. 36, No. 3, 2006, pp. 307-334.
2. Alexander J.W., The English Palatinates and Edward I, Journal of British Studies, 1983, № 22, p. 2-22.
3. Brackmann R., The Elizabethan Invention of Anglo-Saxon England, by Nowell L., Lambarde W., and Study of Old English, D.S.Brewer, 2012, 244p.
4. Brooke R. A., Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Duke, London, printed by W. Stanseby, 1622.
5. Cam H., Liberties and Communities in Medieval England: Collected Studies in Local Administration and Topography, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1944.

6. Camden W., Britannia: sive Florentissimorum Regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum Adiacentium ex intima antiquitate chorographica descriptio. London, Radulphum Newbury, 1586
7. Carew R., The Survey of Cornwall and An Epistle Concerning the Excellencies of the English Tongue, With the Life of the Author, London, 1769, p. 1-2.
8. Davies R. R., The British Isles 1200-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections. Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1998.
9. Doddridge J., The history of the ancient and moderne estate of the principality of Wales, dutchy of Cornewall, and earldome of Chester Collected out of the records of the Tower of London, and diuers ancient authours, By Sir Iohn Dodridge Knight, one of his Maiesties iudges in the Kings Bench. And by himselfe dedicated to King Iames of euer blessed memory. London, 1630.
10. Dutton R., Shakespeare and British History, The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles, ed. by R.Kewes, J.W. Archer, F. Heal. Oxford, 2013, pp. 527-543.
11. Elliott J. H., A Europe of Composite Monarchies, Past and Present, N 137 1992, pp. 48-71.
12. Elliott J.H., Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain, 1492-1830, Yale University Press New Haven, 2006., 608.
13. Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain, Ed. by M.D. Reeve transl. by N. Wright, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2007. pp. 20-21.
14. Glower R., Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis, London, typis G. Jaggard, 1608.
15. Goffart W., The First Venue into "Medieval Geography": Lambarde's Map of the Saxon Heptarchy, Alfred the Wise, Studies in Honor of Janet Bateley, ed. by J. Roberts et al. Cambridge, 1997.pp. 53-60.

16. Harlow C.G., Robert Ryece of Preston (1555-1638). Suffolk Archaeology and History. Vol. 32. Part 1. 1970.
17. Higham N., An English Empire: Bede and the early Anglo-Saxon Kings, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1995, 288p..
18. Holinshed R., The firste volume of the chronicles of England, ... Fragments concerning the history of Mercia see p. 143, 165, 176, 189 et al.
19. Koenigsberger H.G., Monarchies, states generals and parliaments: the Netherlands in the 15th and 16th centuries, Cambridge, 2007.
20. Koenigsberger H.G., The Empire of Charles V in Europe, The New Cambridge Modern History. Vol.2., Ed. by G.R. Elton. Cambridge, 1958, pp. 301-333.
21. Koenigsberger H.G., The Practice of Empire, Cornell University Press Ithaca, 1969, 229p.
22. Lambarde W., Eirenarcha or of the Office of the Justices of Peace. London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1619.
23. Lambarde W., The Perambulation of Kent: Conteining the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of That Shyre, London, 1576.
24. Leland J., The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535–154, 5 vols., ed. by L. Toulmin Smith. London, George Bell and sons, 1909–1910.
25. Milles' The Catalogue of Honor, or, Treasury of True Nobility, Peculiar and Proper to the Isle of Great Britaine, William Jaggard, London, 1610.
26. Morrill J., Dynasties, Realms, Peoples and State Formation, 1500-1720, Monarchy Transformed. Princes and Their Elites in Early Modern Western Europe, ed. by R. von Friedeburg, Cambridge University Press, 2017. p. 17-43.

27. Morrill J., The British Problem, 1534-1707, State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago, Basingstoke, MacMillan, 1996, p. 1-38.
28. Neville C.J., Land, Law and People in Medieval Scotland, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2012, 264 p.
29. Grant A., Stringer K. , Russel C., Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History, London, 1995, 322p.
30. Scammell J., The Origins and Limitations of the Liberty of Durham, English Historical Review, №81, 1966. pp. 449-473.
31. Scott H., Dynastic Monarchy and the Consolidation of Aristocracy during Europe's Long Seventeenth Century, Monarchy Transformed, Princes and Their Elites in Early Modern Western Europe, ed. by R. von Friedeburg and J. Morrill. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017. pp. 44-87.
32. Selden J., Titles of Honor, London, W. Stanseby for John Helme, 1614.
33. Stow J., A Survey of London. ed. by C. L. Kingsford., (reprinted from the text of 1603), Clarendon, Oxford, 1908.
34. Stringer K., States, Liberties and Communities in the Medieval British Isles, ed. by M. Prestwich, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2008, 225p.
35. Reyce R., Hervey F., Suffolk in the Seventeenth century. The Breviary Of Suffolk (1902), Kessinger Publishing, 2010, 306p.
36. The Chronicle of Henry of Hintingdon. Comprising the History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Accession of Henry II, ed. and transl. by Th. Forrester. AMS Press, London, 1853. 442p.
37. The Vale-Royall of England, or, The County Palatine of Chester Illustrated… Performed by William Smith, and William Webb, Gentleman, Mr. Daniel King. London, J. Streamer, 1656.
38. Vowell J., The order and vsage of the keeping of a parlement in England, and The description of tholde and ancient cittie of Excester, Collected by Iohn Vovvel alias Hooker gentleman. London, 1575. pp. 41-53.
39. Williams I., Developing a prerogative Theory for the Authority of the Chancery, Law and Authority in British Legal History, 1200-1900, ed. by M. Godfrey Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016, p. 33–60.
40. Wormald P. B., Ideal and reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society,Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1983, 345 p.
41. Yorke J., The Union of Honor, containing the Armes, Matches and Issues of the Kings, Dukes, Marquesses and Earles of England from the Conquest until 1640. With the Armes of the English Viscounts and Barons now being: and of the Gentry of Lincol, London, Printed by Edward Griffin for William Leake, 1640.
42. Zell M., Landholding and the Land Market in the Early Modern Kent, Early Modern Kent, 1540-1640, Ed. by M. Zell. Woodbridge, 2000, p. 40.
43. Kewes R., Archer I.,The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013, 772p.

Anastasia Palamarchuk
Institute of Oriental Studies NAS RA
sir.henry.finch@gmail.com
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-0851-6875

ԿՈՄՊՈԶԻՏԱՅԻՆ ՄԻԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՏԵՂԱԿԱՆ ՏԱՐԵԳՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆ ՈՒ ԿԱՌՈՒՅՑՆԵՐԸ ՎԱՂ ՆՈՐ ՇՐՋԱՆԻ ԽՈՍՈՒՅԹՈՒՄ

Անաստասիա Պալամարչուկ

Բանալի բառեր՝ միապետություն, քաղաքականություն, թագավորություն, տարեգրություն:

Կոմպոզիտար միապետության հայեցակարգը, որը մշակվել է ժամանակակից պատմագրության մեջ, արդյունավետ վերլուծական հետազոտական գործիք է բարդ ներքին կառուցվածքով խոշոր տարածքային պետությունների ուսումնասիրության համար: Այս հայեցակարգի հիմքն են հանդիսանում հայտնի հետազոտողների՝ Քյոնիգսբերգերի և Էլիոթի աշխատությունները: Նրանցից յուրաքանչյուրը (Քյոնիգսբերգերը հիմնականում հենվում է մայրցամաքային նյութի վրա, Էլիոթը՝ բրիտանականի) արտացոլում էր այն փաստը, որ վաղ արդի պետությունների ճնշող մեծամասնությունն ուներ բարդ և մշակված ներքին կառուցվածք ոչ միայն վարչական առումով, այլ նաև տարածքային: Նման բարդ քաղաքականության ժամանակ թագավորական իշխանությունը ոչ միայն զարգացավ գերիշխանությունից դեպի ինքնիշխանություն, այլև ընդլայնվեց մի շարք ինքնավար կամ կիսաինքնավար տարածքային միավորների՝ կոմպոզիտների:

DOI: 10.52837/27382702-2023.3.2-107

THE GENESIS OF THE ZIONIST PARADIGM IN JEWISH HISTORY: EXPLORING BEN-ZION DINUR'S WORLDVIEW*

Vladimir Ruzhansky

Abstract

The 1920s and 30s marked a pivotal period for the genesis of the modern Jewish state and its historical narrative. It was during this era that the Zionist paradigm of Jewish history took shape, serving as the cornerstone of collective memory and the bedrock of national identity for successive generations of Israelis.

The initial cohort of Zionist historians astutely grasped the pivotal role of historical scholarship in shaping a national identity, particularly in advancing the Zionist ambition of rejuvenating the Jewish state and cultivating a novel Jewish identity - the Israeli identity. In pursuit of these aspirations, Zionist historians grappled with formidable challenges, chiefly centered around establishing a scholarly foundation validating the unity of the Jewish people and their enduring connection to the land of Israel, known as Eretz Israel.

This paper endeavors to delineate the defining traits of Zionist historians during this epoch, drawing upon the prominent figure exemplifying this ethos, Professor Ben-Zion Dinur who endeavored to harmonize ideological allegiance with scholarly veracity.

Furthermore, the paper delves into the fundamental elements comprising the Zionist narrative within Jewish history.

Keywords: Israel, Zionism, Israeli historiography, Ben-Zion Dinur, history, Eretz Israel, Mandatory Palestine.

---

* The article was submitted on December 4, 2023. The article was reviewed on December 10, 2023.

Preface

Within the Hebrew scientific literature, a substantial body of research comprising monographs and articles delves into Zionist historiography. The dedicated focus of Israeli researchers on historiography is easily comprehensible, considering that history stood as a pivotal tool in the realization of Zionism's primary aspiration - the revitalization of Jewish statehood in Eretz Israel.

Subsequently, historical science in Israel emerged as a potent tool in the intense internal political strife that unfolded in the country post-1948 [5]. Throughout the clashes among historians - those aligned with the "new" and "old" schools - it appeared that all conceivable approaches and interpretations associated with the Zionist narrative in Jewish history had been thoroughly explored. Nonetheless, this paper endeavors to offer a fresh perspective on the evolution of Zionist historiography by analyzing the life experiences of Professor B.-Z. Dinur, the architect of the Zionist narrative in Jewish history [2].

The life trajectory of a researcher and their worldview undeniably play crucial roles in comprehending the ideas they espouse. In the case of B.-Z. Dinur, it is arguable that his life experiences not only influenced the shaping of Zionist narrative in Judaic studies but also became integral components of the narrative's formation. Moreover, Professor Dinur embodies a distinct type of historian, the Zionist historian, whose approach intertwines science with ideology and politics inextricably. He stands as the epitome of this paradigm, reflecting how deeply intertwined his scholarship was with his ideological convictions and political stance.

The primary aim of this proposed article is to delve into the life experiences of the creator behind the Zionist narrative in Jewish history and to encapsulate how these experiences shaped the paradigm he constructed. At the heart of this inquiry lies the investigation into the extent to which the Zionist

paradigm in Jewish history mirrors the life journey of its architect. Using B.-Z. Dinur as an example, this study examines how Zionist intellectual historians responded to contemporaneous events in which they were active participants.

It is crucial to highlight that historians' perspectives on past and present events hold particular significance in the study of Israeli historiography [9]. Unlike scholars in other fields of humanities, representatives of the Zionist narrative in Judaic studies sought to elucidate the present through past interpretations and, conversely, to evaluate historical events through the lens of their contemporary reality.

The figure of B.-Z. Dinur is particularly intriguing, not only because he formulated the concept of the Zionist narrative in Jewish history and charted the course for the future of Judaic studies in Israel for decades, but also due to his monumental influence on his contemporaries, being an exceptional organizer of the academia. His impact on Judaic studies is further accentuated by another vital aspect: before the 19th-century onset of the Zionist movement, Jewish life oscillated between two continuously conflicting trends.

This examination aims to elucidate how Dinur's life experiences and visionary narrative intertwined, shaping both the trajectory of Jewish historiography and the interpretation of historical events in Israel.

During periods of prosperity for Jewish communities dispersed worldwide, the connection between the Jewish people and Eretz Israel notably waned. Conversely, in the most tragic junctures of Jewish history, Eretz Israel became synonymous, especially among Jewish elites, with salvation, the sole haven where Jews could live securely.

Rabbi Yehuda Halevi's magnum opus, "Kuzari" [13], reflects this sentiment, as he dedicated 40 years of his life to this work, advocating for the return of Jews to Zion. Between 1100 and 1140, this period witnessed Jew-

ish communities in Europe and the Middle East facing imminent destruction following an era of prolonged prosperity.

The devastating aftermath of the Crusades compelled the author of "Kuzari" to a resolute realization: the prosperity and success of Jews in the Diaspora cannot supplant the imperative need for their own sovereign state. Subsequent to the Crusades and a succession of Jewish expulsions from European states, from Germany and France to Portugal and Hungary, European Jewish history embarked on a phase of peace and prosperity under the Polish crown. This respite concluded abruptly with the outbreak of the Bohdan Khmelnitsky uprising in Ukraine, marked by Jewish pogroms perpetrated by Khmelnitsky's Cossacks. These pogroms rekindled the earlier paradigm of Eretz Israel, as posited in the 12th century by Rabbi Yehuda Halevi.

In the 18th century, this paradigm found practical manifestation through the messianic return to the Promised Land under the guidance of Rabbi Yehuda Hasid in 1700. This movement signified a tangible effort to actualize the age-old aspiration for a return to the ancestral homeland.

The European Enlightenment and the French Revolution of 1789 reignited hope among Europe's Jews for successful assimilation into European society. This optimism culminated in the rise of the Haskalah movement, representing the Jewish adaptation of Enlightenment values. Parallel processes, each with distinct characteristics, unfolded in Russia, where the traditional drive for integration took the form of autonomism. Yet, the Dreyfus affair in France and the series of Jewish pogroms in Russia redirected the attention of Diaspora Jews back towards Eretz Israel [11].

A brief overview of Jewish history unveils two consecutive primary trends: the pursuit of integration into local environments and the longing to reestablish statehood in Eretz Israel. These trends evolved into historical paradigms during the 19th century, the progenitor of the former being S. M.

Dubnov, while the latter was championed by B.-Z. Dinur. While the creative legacy of S. M. Dubnov extends far beyond the scope of this article centered on the Zionist narrative in Jewish history, the primary focus here lies on the paradigm crafted by B.-Z. Dinur.

Birth of the Zionist Narrative of Jewish History

The 20th century saw the emergence of a constellation of remarkable Jewish historians, including luminaries like Eliezer Lipa Sukenik, Benjamin Mazar, and Shmuel Yavin, among others. Their invaluable contributions not only garnered high acclaim within Israel but also earned recognition abroad, particularly in the Western world.

However, even among these distinguished scholars, the figure of Professor B.-Z. Dinur stands prominently. His lifespan (1884-1973) intersected with the pivotal events of Jewish history in the 20th century: the birth of the Zionist movement, the establishment of the Jewish community in Palestine, the Holocaust, and ultimately, the founding of the modern state of Israel, where he played an active role. Furthermore, B-Z. Dinur passed away just before the Yom Kippur War, his death in July 1973 symbolizing the end of one era of Israel and the dawn of another - the Israel we recognize today.

Born in Khorol, Poltava province, B.-Z. Dinburg spent his formative years immersed in the study of sacred scriptures and rabbinic literature within the midrashim and yeshivas of the Pale of Settlement [6]. At 18, he attained the title of rabbi, envisioning a promising future as a spiritual leader within the Pale of Settlement. However, young Ben-Zion chose to deviate from this spiritual path.

In his memoirs, he describes the transformation of his worldview in detail: from Orthodox Judaism in the form of Hasidism to Jewish nationalism

in the form of social Zionism*. While considering memoir literature, one should acknowledge its inherent goal of portraying the author in a favorable light before readers. However, it is evident, even in these early years, that the architect of the Zionist narrative in Jewish history displayed not only ambition but also remarkable qualities such as extraordinary thinking and a keen, critical perception, extending beyond the present to encompass the depths of the past [6].

His critical acumen was primarily evident in his interpretation of rabbinic literature, a stance that, according to B-Z. Dinur himself, caused disfavor among the rabbis. He often examined the past through the lens of the present, adopting this approach as his method, a scientific approach to evaluating specific historical events. As a seeker, he swiftly found the religious framework, much like the confines of the Jewish *shtetl*, to be overly restrictive.

Yet, it is important to note that B.-Z. Dinur held a deep regard for his family's traditions, taking pride in their roots and ties to prominent Hasidic clans [8]. Despite his departure from religious practice at a young age, Hasidism's core tenets, such as nationality, collectivism, and mutual aid, undeniably shaped the worldview of the architect of the Zionist paradigm in Jewish history. It is highly probable that Hasidism significantly influenced B.-Z. Dinur's ideological and political inclinations, leading him to align with social Zionism during his formative years**.

* The program slogans of this movement were: "Jewish labor on Jewish land" and "the land of Israel" is the property of the Jewish people.

** This fact is noted by famous Israeli historian Sh. Etinger in the preface to the multi-volume edition of the works of B.-Z. Dinur "Ben-Zion Dinur, Generations and Records: Studies and Essays on Israeli Historiography" - vol. 4, Jerusalem, Mossad Bialik, 1978 p. 7 (in Hebrew), Etinger refers to the article by B.-Z. Dinur "The Origin of Hasidism and its Social and Messianic Foundations", Jerusalem, 1956, Ami 207-227 (in Hebrew). This article is available here: Studies and essays on the beginning of the new times in the history of Israel (historical writings, Jerusalem, 2016 (in Hebrew).

B.-Z. Dinur, naturally spirited, harbored aspirations not solely in studying history but in forging it. His proactive nature propelled him into leadership within social Zionism in Ukraine. He actively engaged in organizing Jewish self-defense and shaping the Jewish education system within his movement. During this period, he not only emerged as a political leader but also revealed his skills as an interpreter of history.

In the realm of historical science, B.-Z. Dinur functioned less as a theorist and more as a practitioner, synthesizing and adapting historical research to suit the ideological requisites of the political movement he fervently championed throughout his adult life.

The anti-Semitic policies of Tsarist Russia, evident in Jewish pogroms, significantly influenced his personal and academic development. His formative years coincided with the First Russian Revolution. Struggling financially during his *yeshiva* studies and failing to find common ground with the impoverished Russian and Ukrainian populace or the affluent Jews in the Pale of Settlement, he turned to the Jewish poor for support. This marked a pivotal moment that shaped his commitment to being a social Zionist, a stance he upheld steadfastly throughout his life, as detailed in his memoirs [6].

Amidst the reactionary period following the First Russian Revolution's defeat, B.-Z. Dinur fled persecution by the Tsarist authorities and emigrated to Europe. There, he pursued a contemporary European education, initially at the Berlin Higher Institute for Jewish Research and later at the University of Bern.

During this phase of B.-Z. Dinur's life, his scholarly development burgeoned. At the high school level, he was mentored by the eminent Russian antiquarian Mikhail Rostovtsev and the Jewish history specialist Eugen Taubler. Taubler, a fervent Zionist and architect of the Jewish archive

among German Jews, played a pivotal role in establishing the first Zionist archive in Eretz Israel.

Both of these scholars wielded immense influence over B.-Z. Dinur's academic journey. Notably, they imparted to him a holistic approach toward the study of Jewish history, an approach that Dinur staunchly advocated from the outset of his scholarly pursuits after immigrating to Mandatory Palestine. Drawing heavily from M. I. Rostovtsev's comprehensive methodology, Dinur later adapted and refined this approach, employing it effectively to interpret Jewish history.

It should be noted that M. I. Rostovtsev was the successor of the Russian tradition of the "anti-historical trinity" in scientific research, which means the synthesis and analysis of sources of archeology, philology and history. B.-Z. Dinur was a follower of this tradition. It was at his insistence, long before the declaration of independence of the State of Israel, that all scientific disciplines at the Hebrew University, in one way or another connected with Jewish studies, were united into a single block, "Madey Yahadut" (Jewish sciences), which included, in addition to Jewish history, the study of the Tanakh and rabbinic literature (*mikra*), the study of the geography of Eretz Israel, the Hebrew language, Jewish philosophy, archeology, etc.

M. I. Rostovtsev's influence is also found in such monumental works by B.-Z. Dinur as "Israel Begola" (Israel in exile) and "Israel beartso" (Israel on its own land). These two monographs not only formed the cornerstone of the Zionist narrative within Jewish studies but also served as the primary textbook for the study of Jewish history in Israel for several decades, a point we will address shortly.

Much like his mentor, B.-Z. Dinur focused significantly on chronology, grounding his periodization in historical, archaeological, and literary sources. This method, prominently employed by Professor Dinur in the

aforementioned monographs, underpinned his narrative, structured through clear periodization drawn from historical documentation.

Additionally, Professor Dinur adopted his teacher's methodology in source analysis, adhering to M. I. Rostovtsev's fundamental principle of synthesizing diverse historical evidence, from literary to numismatic sources. Moreover, Dinur followed Rostovtsev's approach in modernizing history, for instance, interpreting messianic sects within a Zionist framework. However, this interpretive stance was not unique to either Rostovtsev or Dinur but was a prevalent approach among many scholars during and after their time.

Similar to M. I. Rostovtsev, B.-Z. Dinur scrutinized historical events through the lens of their contemporary relevance. Yet, Professor Dinur diverged significantly regarding his connection to present-day life, rejecting the historian's detachment to a far greater extent than his teacher.

When assessing the relationship between a teacher and a student, researchers often aim to identify commonalities in methodologies and overall creativity, along with recognizing the student's contributions to their mentor's methods and concepts. In the case of B.-Z. Dinur, this distinguished scholar not only followed his mentors but also critically evaluated and refined their approaches.

In contrast to his mentor Eugen Teubler, who perceived Jewish history as an integral element of broader historical currents, B.-Z. Dinur underscored the distinctive nature of the Jewish people's historical odyssey. The worldview of B.-Z. Dinur, evident in the narrative of Jewish history he crafted, was shaped significantly not only by the poignant experiences tied to Russia but also, to a considerable extent, by the events unfolding in Europe during the First World War.

During this period, European historians aligned historical research with their nations' resurgence, viewing this revival through the lens of national

movements. It can be argued that B-Z. Dinur's Zionist narrative mirrors European nationalism, which infuses a national framework into various facets of public life, including scientific research and university education [17]. A hallmark of this phase in European historiography is the quest for the distinctiveness of a particular people's historical trajectory. Notably, not only B.-Z. Dinur but also renowned Jewish historians like G. Graetz and S. M. Dubnov adhered to this European tradition. For instance, B.-Z. Dinur consistently argued that despite the disappearance of the Jewish state in antiquity, the essence of the Jewish people remained unchanged, experiencing alterations only in their living conditions and existence.

The burgeoning wave of nationalism in Europe during that era further fortified B.-Z. Dinur in his Zionist convictions. Initially, he placed his aspirations for the future in the Russian revolution and even endeavored to defend his dissertation in Petrograd, guided by M. I. Rostovtsev. However, as B.-Z. Dinur later recounted, the outbreak of the First World War and the October Revolution of 1917 thwarted his academic pursuits, hindering his attainment of an academic degree.

Eventually, in 1921, he relocated to Mandatory Palestine, where he immediately immersed himself in political, educational, and scholarly endeavors until his passing in 1973. B.-Z. Dinur's personal experiences undeniably shaped all aspects of his activities. In the latter half of the 1930s, he joined the Committee of Hebrew Writers, assumed a leadership role in the Association of Hebrew Teachers, and was elected chairman of the Literary Council at the Bialik publishing house in 1935.

Concurrently, B.-Z. Dinur's political trajectory soared. By 1933, he was elected as a delegate to the Zionist Congress in Prague, representing the Workers' Party of Israel (Mapai). Following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he assumed the position of Minister of Education in Ben-Gurion's government, holding this office for five years. During his tenure,

B.-Z. Dinur formulated a cohesive standard for the Israeli education system, a legacy that endures to this day.

Science Organizer

Dinur's leadership qualities and skills honed during his tenure leading the social Zionist organization in Ukraine during the early 20th century proved invaluable after his immigration to Eretz Israel. He immediately set about organizing historical research within the Jewish enclave of Mandatory Palestine. Following his return in 1921, he dedicated himself entirely to uniting like-minded, ideologically driven Zionist historians [4].

His organizational efforts culminated in the formation of the Eretsisraeli Association, a cohort that included renowned historians and archaeologists such as Yitzhak Baer, Shmuel Yavin, Eliezer Lipa Sukenik, and Benjamin Mazar. This association essentially laid the groundwork for ideologically motivated historians, which later formed the backbone of the Humanities Faculty at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Bound by a shared idea, goal, and objectives, the historians of this association became known as the 'Jerusalem School.' Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, their scientific endeavors were dedicated to formulating a conceptual framework, methodologies, and principles through which all Jewish history could be interpreted from a Zionist ideological standpoint. In essence, the activities of the 'Jerusalem School' sought to align scientific research with the ideological and political objectives of Zionism, and, in specific terms, to search for a scientific substantiation of the main thesis of the Zionist narrative in Judaic studies, the essence of which is the thesis about the historical unity of the Jewish people and its inextricable, permanent connection with Eretz Israel. The genesis of the Jerusalem School initially emerged as an association rooted in Eretsisraeli ideals. Over time, this association found its nucleus in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, wielding influence over ac-

ademic research and educational directives in Mandatory Palestine. After 1948, it continued to shape the academic landscape in the State of Israel for more than three decades, largely credited to the pivotal role of Professor B.-Z. Dinur.

A seminal editorial piece penned by B.-Z. Dinur and his closest associate, Yitzhak Baer, featured in the inaugural issue of the magazine 'Zion' in 1936, served as a manifesto for Zionist historians. The journal's own history warrants detailed exploration. Initially launched by B.-Z. Dinur and Yitzhak Baer in 1924 under the Eretsisraeli Association's patronage, 'Zion' functioned more as an irregular almanac, sporadically published, and served as a printed medium for a small group of enthusiasts rather than a scholarly publication. It was not until 1936, 12 years later, that the journal began regular publication. Dedicated entirely to Jewish history-termed the history of the people of Israel in its Hebrew version-spanning from ancient times (Mikra, according to Zionist historiography) [18] to the contemporary era, 'Zion' rapidly ascended as a leading publication in Jewish studies, gaining international acclaim.

Despite being published under the Eretsisraeli Association's umbrella, 'Zion' retained its identity as the voice of the 'Jerusalem askola' or, more simply, the Zionist narrative in Judaica. The essence of this narrative was articulated by B.-Z. Dinur and Y. Baer in their programmatic article titled 'Magamateinu' (Our Approach), featured in the 1935 edition of 'Zion'. Initially, the Jerusalem School was formed as an association of Eretsisraeli. Subsequently, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem became its center. The Jerusalem School determined the goals and objectives of academic research and controlled the educational process, first in Mandatory Palestine, and after 1948 in the State of Israel for more than 30 years. Of course, the main role in the formation of this trend in Jewish historiography belonged to Professor B.-Z. Dinur.

An editorial article by B.-Z. Dinur and his closest associate Y. Baer in the first issue of the magazine 'Zion' for 1935 became a kind of manifesto of Zionist historians. The history of this scientific journal deserves separate consideration. 'Zion' began to be published by B.-Z. Dinur and Y. Baer back in 1924 under the auspices of the Eretsisraeli Association. But then it was more of an almanac, which was published irregularly, at best once a quarter, and was a printed organ of a small group of enthusiasts, rather than a scientific publication. Regular publication of the magazine began only 12 years later, in 1936. Published in Hebrew and entirely devoted to Jewish history (in the Hebrew version - the history of the people of Israel) from ancient times (Mikra, according to Zionist historiography) to modern times, from the mid-30s of the 20th century, this magazine became the flagship of research in the field of Jewish studies and very soon received international status. It is important to note, however, that still published by the Eretsisraeli Association, 'Zion' remained the mouthpiece of the "Jerusalem askola" or, more simply, the Zionist narrative in Judaica.

The essence of this narrative was presented by B.-Z. Dinur and Y. Baer in the programmatic article discussed above, entitled "Magamateinu" (Our approach), which opened the issue of the magazine 'Zion' for the year 1935 [1].

The central thesis of this, almost a manifesto of Zionist historiography, is succinctly put forth by Dinur and Baer: "Our fundamental stance on interpreting the past, which should guide the course of Jewish historiography and delineate the scope of historical inquiry, is encapsulated in this fundamental and essential assumption: Jewish history constitutes the history of the Israeli nation, an unbroken continuum whose significance has remained unyielding across epochs. Jewish history remains singular, unified by its consistent essence across time and space" [1].

The narrative created by these two undoubtedly outstanding historians was initially revolutionary and controversial for a number of reasons. Firstly, in an effort to unite the entire Jewish people over time and despite distances, Professor Dinur, in his works discussed above, divided the Jews into two antagonistic groups: the "Hebrew nation" or, in other words, Israel, and the "Galut" - exile. Moreover, each of these terms has an emotional connotation. The first is positive, and the second, respectively, negative.

Rejection by B.-Z. Dinur the Jewish shtetl in the Russian Pale of Settlement was projected by him onto the Jewish Diaspora as a whole. He sends to "galut" the entire diversity of Jewish culture, created over thousands of years by Jews in vast areas from Morocco to China. The uniqueness of the Jewish people, to which Professor Dinur devotes an entire chapter in the monograph "Israel in Exile," naturally loses much with this approach, since every Jewish community in the world has a rich cultural and historical heritage. However, B.-Z. Dinur is not worried about this circumstance, but about the task of implanting Zionism into the historical fabric, or more precisely, into the collective memory of Jewry. To do this, he, firstly, declares the connection of the Jews with Eretz Israel historically, existing at all times. Secondly, it makes this connection the main criterion for belonging to Israel ("Hebrew nation"). Finally, thirdly, he identifies the historical connection of the Jewish people with Eretz Israel and Zionism, the beginning of which B.-Z. Dinur dates back to 1700, when Yehuda Hasid immigrated with his followers to the Promised Land. B.-Z. Dinur declares this event in Jewish history a "new national era."

It is important to note that the thesis about the inextricable connection of the Jewish people with the Land of Israel became the foundation not only for the Zionist narrative of Jewish history, but also for the construction of a modern Jewish state in the historical Land of Israel. It is on this thesis that

the founding document of the State of Israel - the Declaration of Independence - is built.

Dinur projects his personal experience of breaking with the Jewish *shtetl* B.-Z. onto Jewish history, highlighting in it the messianic immigration to Eretz Israel, which he calls the "uprising in exile," as the starting point for the "national era" [5].

Understanding B.-Z. Dinur's role in Israeli historiography necessitates considering his approach, akin to his colleagues at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he intertwined ideology, politics, and scholarly pursuits. As highlighted by the renowned Israeli sociologist Uri Ram [15], "For him (Dinur), history was not solely a profession but more of a mission [14:131]". Clarifying whether historical science served as Dinur's mission or a means to address ideological matters remains complex. However, it is undeniable that "writing national history was an integral part of the broader national historical enterprise in which Dinur actively participated." Dinur's perspective on the historian's role was unmistakably evident in his published works and public speeches.

In the preface to the initial edition of his monograph "Israel in Exile" in 1926, Dinur articulated: "The purpose of the historian is to foster a sense of solidarity with one's nation." He envisioned this book as a catalyst for igniting a "historical consciousness" in readers, aligning personal identity with the collective identity of the nation (Uri Ram) [10]. He returns to this idea in his speech in the Knesset: the "I" of a nation exists insofar as it has memory, provided that the nation knows how to unite everything it has experienced into a single whole, and only on this condition does it exist as a nation, as a single whole [7:1352].

Dinur demanded from himself and his colleagues to awaken in readers a sense of national identity, a sense of common national destiny, national will, national unity and the desire for national action. It is important to note that

B.-Z. Dinur justified his involvement in historical engagement by asserting that the study of the past is inevitably perceived through the lens of the present, subject to constant change. He believed that historians could choose their perspective or have it imposed upon them, a decision he considered a personal choice.

His historical interpretations aligned with the principle ingrained in Israeli historiography, encapsulated in the adage "those days and this time." This approach dictated that historians analyze past events from the standpoint of the present, emphasizing the significance of certain historical occurrences while overlooking others. This principle guided Dinur in selecting and interpreting historical documents to construct his paradigm. G. Scholem underscored this aspect when critisizing Dinur's work, noting the tension between the objectivity of documents and the subjectivity inherent in their selection [12].

Critics, including the "new historians"*, rebuked Dinur for his relativistic approach, even as they employed similar methods in their own monographs. Nevertheless, Professor B.-Z. Dinur adeptly wielded history as a tool to advance the ideological and political objectives of his movement, recognizing its pivotal role in shaping the present and manipulating collective memory.

However, a notable omission in Dinur's historical purview was the failure to accord significant attention to pivotal events such as the Holocaust. He and his colleagues in the Zionist historiography circle viewed the Holocaust through the prism of the exile Jewry dogma, neglecting its profound impact on Jewish history and the future of Israel and Jewry at large. Dinur primarily perceived the Holocaust as a European historical phenomenon.

* Israeli historians, for example, Benny Maurice, who revised the legacy of their predecessors and, first of all, B.-Z. Dinur.

During his tenure as Israel's Minister of Education from 1948 to 1953 and later as President of the Yad Vashem memorial for the subsequent six years, Dinur displayed limited interest in the Holocaust. Instead, he actively engaged in internal political strife in Israel, focusing on his role as the chief historian of the ruling Social Zionist party. His primary focus was on crafting the monumental "History of the Haganah" [10] glorifying the military organization's role in Israel's resurgence [16].

Moreover, adhering to the same dogmatic perspective, Professor Dinur, as the president of Yad Vashem, initiated the publication of monographs extolling the heroism of Jewish partisans and ghetto rebels, particularly highlighting those associated with the social Zionist movement [3]. It is safe to say that Professor Dinur did not understand either the scale of the Holocaust or the historical significance of this tragedy.

In essence, B.-Z. Dinur's approach to Holocaust research delineated the Jewish populace into distinct groups: the heroic Zionist combatants who resisted Nazism, and the Galut Jews who, resignedly, met their demise in Nazi concentration camps like cattle bound for slaughter. Initially, these monographs were authored by young individuals lacking historical or academic backgrounds, whose formative years were spent in ghettos, concentration camps, or Jewish partisan units.

In summation, it is pivotal to recognize that Professor B.-Z. Dinur epitomizes the archetype of a Zionist historian who steered the trajectory of historical scholarship, initially in the Jewish enclave of Mandatory Palestine and subsequently in the State of Israel for nearly 50 years.

Dinur and his associates were ardent Zionists who amalgamated historical inquiry with political ideology. For them, aligning science with ideology and politics was intrinsic, with political objectives and ideology often prevailing over scientific rigor. Notwithstanding, Dinur received his education

at Europe's preeminent universities of his time, engaging in scientific research professionally without neglecting empirical evidence.

Criticism of Dinur's legacy, including within this article, is contextualized within today's perspective. While Dinur's contributions are subject to critique, it is crucial to acknowledge that he formulated his narrative utilizing the then-prevalent methodologies and theories of national historical narratives. Furthermore, his endeavors were primarily driven by a profound commitment to the welfare of his people, albeit interpreted through his individual lens. Ultimately, he was earnest in both his convictions and misconceptions. Lastly, his upbringing in the Jewish town of the Pale of Settlement significantly shaped his worldview, a facet apparent in his scholarly works.

Undoubtedly, B.-Z. Dinur stands out as an exceptional individual and scholar. Within Israel's history and Judaic studies, he remains an emblematic figure of his era.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Baer Y., Dinur B-Z. Our approach (Magamateinu), Zion, vol.1, booklet 1, 1935, p.1-5.
2. Barnai Y, Historiography and nationalism Trends in the study of Israel and it's Jewish Yishuv (634-1881), , 1995, Magnus, Magnes Press, Hebrew University Press, 256 p. (in Hebrew).
3. Conforti Y., Past Time: Zionist Historiography and the Design of National Memory, Jerusalem Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, 2006, 332 p. (in Hebrew).
4. Conforti Y., "The Question of Objectivity" and the Zionist Historians, Zion, Booklet 68, IV, 2003, p.467-496. (in Hebrew).
5. Conforti Y., Designing a nation Designing a nation / Yitzhak Conforti The cultural origins of Zionism 1884-1948,

https://online.flipbuilder.com/YBZ/zvtp/index.html#p=22 (accessed 04.12.2023).
6. Dinur Ben-Tzion, Mir, kotorogo ne stalo Gesharim, Moscow, 2008, 549 p. (in Russian).
7. Dinur Ben-Zion, Speeches in the 14th Knesset, May 18, 1953, p. 1352
8. Dinur Ben-Zion, "The Origin of Hasidism and its Social and Messianic Foundations", Ami, Jerusalem, 1956, p. 207-227 (in Hebrew).
9. Dinur Ben-Zion, Generations and Records: Studies and Essays on Israeli Historiography - vol. 4, Jerusalem, Mossad Bialik, 1978, p. 7. (in Hebrew).
10. Dinur Ben-Zion, Toldot Israel, Israel ba-Gola: Mekorot uTeudot [History of Israel, Israel in the Diaspora: Sources and Documents]. Dvir, 1926, 222 p. (in Hebrew).
11. Dubnov S., Kratkaya istoriya evreev (A Brief History of the Jews) Rostov, Feniks, 2008, 430 p. (in Russian).
12. Mor Altshuler, Dispute between Zion Dinor and Gershom Shalom http://www.jewish-studies.info (accessed 12.2023).
13. Rabbi Yehuda Halevi, Kusari, transl. by Golda Lipsh, Jerusalem Shamir, 1990, https://lib.eajc.org/books/%D0%BA%D1%83%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B8/ (acceded 04.12.2023). (in Russian).
14. Ram Uri, Those days and this time - Zionist historiography and the invention of the Jewish national narrative: Ben-Zion Dinur and his time. In: Zionism - a contemporary polemic. Ed: Pinchas Ginosar, Avi Barali, Sde-Boker, The Ben-Gurion Heritage Center, 1995, pp. 126-159. (in Hebrew).
15. Ram Uri, Israeli Historiography Revisited, History and Memory, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1995, pp. 91-124.

16. Sefer toldot ha-hagana,The book of Haganah history edited by Shaul Avigur and others, Chief Editor Ben Zion Dinur, vol. 2, "Mi hagana lemaavak " From defence to struggle, 1963, Or-am, 464 p. (in Hebrew).
17. Zionist Awareness of the Jewish Past: Inventing Tradition or Renewing the Ethnic Past Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2012, pp.155-171.
18. Weitz Yechiam, ed., From vision to revision, a hundred years of Zionist historiography, Jerusalem, Zalman Shazar Center for the Study of the History of the Jewish People, 1997, 406 p.

Vladimir Ruzhansky
Head of the Research Center for the Study of Israel, Judaism and the Jewish Diaspora, Yerevan, RA
ruzhanskij65@mail.ru
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-3590-0124

ՍԻՈՆԻՍՏԱԿԱՆ ՊԱՐԱԴԻԳՄԻ ՍԿԶԲՆԱՎՈՐՈՒՄԸ ՀՐԵԱԿԱՆ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄԵՋ. ԲԵՆ-ՍԻՈՆ ԴԻՆՈՒՐԻ ԱՇԽԱՐՀԱՅԱՑՔԻ ՈՒՍՈՒՄՆԱՍԻՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ

Վլադիմիր Ռուժինսկի

Բանալի բառեր՝ Իսրայել, սիոնիզմ, իսրայելական պատմագրություն, Բեն-Սիոն Դինուր, պատմություն, Էրեց Իսրայել, ենթամանդատային Պաղեստին:

1920-30-ական թվականները նշանակալից են եղել ժամանակակից հրեական պետության ստեղծման համար: Հենց այս դարաշրջանում է ձևավորվել հրեական պատմության սիոնիստական պարադիգմը, որը ծառայել է որպես հավաքական հիշողության հիմնաքար և ազգային ինքնության հիմք իսրայելցիների հաջորդական սերունդների համար:

Սիոնիստ պատմաբանների սկզբնական խումբը ըմբռնեց պատմական գիտության առանցքային դերը ազգային ինքնության ձևավորման գործում հատկապես հրեական պետության երիտասարդացման սիոնիստական նկրտումներն առաջ մղելու և նոր հրեական ինքնություն՝ իսրայելական ինքնություն, մշակելու գործում: Այս ձգտումներին հետամուտ լինելով՝ սիոնիստ պատմաբանները բախվեցին ահռելի մարտահրավերների, որոնք հիմնականում կենտրոնացած էին հրեա ժողովրդի միասնության և Իսրայելի երկրի հետ նրանց հարատև կապի հաստատման վրա հիմնված գիտական հիմնադրամի վրա, որը հայտնի է որպես Էրեց Իսրայել:

Սույն հոդվածը փորձում է ուրվագծել այս դարաշրջանում սիոնիստ պատմաբանների որոշիչ գծերը՝ հենվելով հրեա նշանավոր գործչի՝ պրոֆեսոր Բեն-Սիոն Դինուրի վրա, ով ջանում էր

ներդաշնակեցնել գաղափարական հավատարմությունը գիտական ճշմարտության հետ:

Հոդվածում մանրամասն դիտարկվում են հրեական պատմության մեջ սիոնիստական պատմությունը պարունակող հիմնարար տարրերը:

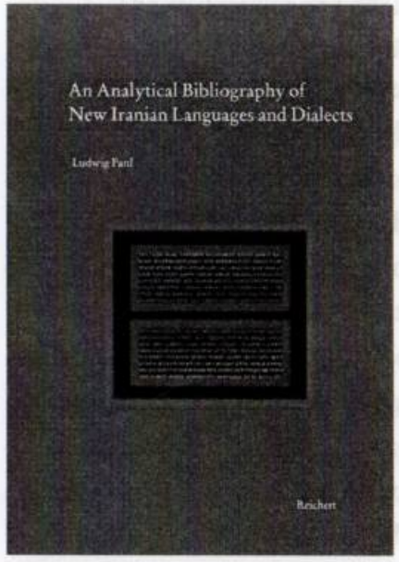
ԳԻՏԱԿԱՆ ԿՅԱՆՔ

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

DOI: 10.52837/27382702-2023.3.2-131

LUDWIG PAUL (WITH THE COOPERATION OF PEJMAN FIROOZBAKHSH), AN ANALYTICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW IRANIAN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS. BASED ON PERSIAN PUBLICATIONS SINCE CA. 1980, WIESBADEN: "LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG", 2022, 444 PP.*

Artyom Tonoyan, Hakob Avchyan



Over the past 40-45 years, numerous articles and monographs have been published in Iran, focusing on both Iranian and non-Iranian languages and dialects spoken within the country. During this period, works have also been published in Iran on Iranian languages and dialects spoken outside the country, encompassing regions such as Turkey, Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, among others. However, a significant portion of the works from both groups does not always capture the attention of non-Iranian researchers. This partial lack of visibility can be attributed to objective factors such as unavailability and language barriers. Additionally, subjective rea-

* The article was submitted on December 11, 2023.

sons, including a relatively lower interest in scholarly literature published in Iran, contribute to this oversight. One underlying factor for this reality could be a certain viewpoint, regarding the quality of publications in the East (perhaps partially fair in the past, but requiring a completely new approach today), prevalent in Western and Russian academic circles for at least the last two centuries.

This bibliographic book is distinguished by the following points in terms of time frame and content:

1. An extensive bibliography is already available to non-Iranian scholars and researchers living outside Iran, encompassing almost all the literature on Iranian and non-Iranian languages spoken in Iran, as well as on languages and dialects spoken outside modern Iran, published in Iran during 1979/1980-2021 (p. 12).

2. This book fills the bibliographic gap existing in this field for the years mentioned above. As the author notes, the bibliographic lists by Nawabi (1987) and Schmitt (1989) ceased in the mid-1980s (p. 12).

3. In addition to the list of works printed in Iran, constituting approximately 98% of this book, the author includes data on some Persian translations from Russian of little-studied Iranian dialects, as well as works published outside Iran, mainly in Afghanistan and Tajikistan.

4. A concise but significant list is also provided to researchers, encompassing literature published in Western languages in the West related to Iranian languages and dialects (pages 24-31). As the author states, the inclusion of this list aims to fill the bibliographic gap that emerged after Schmitt's (1989) book (p. 24). Therefore, works published after 1985 were selected for this book (see page 24).

This bibliographic work makes a significant contribution to the field of Iranian linguistics and dialectology for the following reasons:

1. It provides specialists engaged in the study of any Iranian language and dialect spoken in Iran with an almost complete list of literature published in the country. This not only facilitates the work of dialectologists and linguists in the initial stages of their research by simplifying the search for previously published works and compiling a comprehensive bibliography but also helps prevent the unintentional repetition of research already published in Persian, which may be unknown to a broader academic audience.

2. The entire bibliographic list, meticulously compiled and presented in transcription with accompanying translations of titles, proves to be an invaluable resource for researchers unfamiliar with the Persian-Arabic writing system.

3. The systematic and analytical approach taken in compiling the bibliographic lists proves truly beneficial for researchers looking for literature on specific languages or dialects. The divisions are not only based on glottonyms but also on the basic components of language. As a result, researchers can efficiently locate works related to, for example, Kurdish phonology, grammar, or lexicon (see the structure and subdivision details on pages 18-20).

4. Additionally, the book alphabetically lists all the literature (pages 288-433), enabling readers to easily access extensive individual lists from Iranian linguists and dialectologists. For instance, the dialectical works of Īrān Kalbāsī are found on pages 343-345, and publications of ʻAlī Ašraf Ṣādeqī related to Iranian languages and dialects are listed on pages 398-400.

Prof. Paul's work is an exceptionally significant contribution to the field of Iranian dialectology, serving as a valuable gift not only to his Iranian colleagues but also to everyone engaged in Iranian dialectology at large. This presented bibliographic list opens up opportunities for new discussions and

research on topics such as "Linguistics in Iran after the Islamic Revolution", "Is there "Orientalism" in the field of Iranian Linguistics?" and "History of Iranian Linguistics", among others. Particularly in terms of the latter, the limited literature available to the Western reader requires updating.

An unpublished work referenced in Taleghani's article has the potential to be a significant contribution to the study of the history of Iranian linguistics. This lies in its ability to unveil the contributions of Iranians and assess the current state of Iranian linguistics in Iran, especially if its temporal scope is expanded from 1983 to the present day.

Given that the works related to the Persian language are not listed in this book, it can also serve as a good example for compiling a bibliographic list of works published in various directions and methods of studying Persian in the Persian language after Islamic Revolution [1, 2, 3, 4].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Karimi, S., A History of Linguistics in Iran (unpublished), 1983, University of Washington, apud Taleghani, 2009.
2. Nawabi, M., A Bibliography of Iran. Vol. VII, Linguistics, Khajeh Press, Tehran, 1987.
3. Schmitt R., ed. Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum, Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag, 1989.
4. Taleghani A., "Persian Linguistics in the Twentieth Century", Iranian Studies. Vol, 42(2), 2009, pp. 275-284.

Artyom Tonoyan
Yerevan State University, Chair of Iranian Studies,
Institute of Oriental Studies NAS RA
ORCID: 0000-0002-8740-730X
artyom.tonoyan@ysu.am

Hakob Avchyan
Yerevan State University, Chair of Iranian Studies
ORCID: 0000-0002-5764-2640
hakob.avchyan@ysu.am

LUDWIG PAUL (WITH THE COOPERATION OF PEJMAN FIROOZBAKHSH), AN ANALYTICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW IRANIAN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS. BASED ON PERSIAN PUBLICATIONS SINCE CA. 1980, WIESBADEN: "LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG", 2022, 444 PP.

Արտյոմ Տոնոյան, Հակոբ Ավչյան

Մոտավորապես վերջին 40-45 տարիների ընթացքում Իրանում հրատարակվել են մեծ թվով հոդվածներ և մենագրություններ՝ նվիրված հիմնականում Իրանում խոսվող իրանական և ոչ իրանական, բայց մասամբ նաև Իրանի տարածքից դուրս, այդ թվում՝ Թուրքիայում, Ադրբեջանում, Աֆղանստանում, Տաջիկստանում ևն, խոսվող իրանական լեզուներին և բարբառներին, որոնց մի մասը ոչ իրանցի հետազոտողների ուշադրության կենտրոնում հայտնվում է ոչ միշտ՝ օբյեկտիվ (անհասանելիություն) և սուբյեկտիվ պատճառներով (լեզվին տիրապետելու խնդիր, համեմատաբար նվազ հետաքրքրություն Իրանում լույս տեսնող մասնագիտական գրականության նկատմամբ, որի հիմքում ընկած պատ-

ճառներից մեկը նախորդ դարերից արևմտյան և ռուսական արևելագիտական դպրոցներում տիրապետող որոշակի արևելագիտական հայացքն է և, մասնավորապես, այդ ուսումնասիրությունների որակի առնչությամբ կարծրացած կաղապարը):

Պրոֆ. Լուդվիգ Պաուլի հեղինակած մատենագիտական այս աշխատանքը ժամանակային սահմանների և բովանդակության առումով առանձնանում է հետևյալով՝

1. Արդեն նաև ոչ իրանցի և Իրանից դուրս ապրող հետազոտողների տրամադրության տակ է այնպիսի ծավալուն մի մատենագրություն, որը ներառում է Իրանում խոսվող իրանական և ոչ իրանական, ինչպես նաև ժամանակակից Իրանի սահմաններից դուրս խոսվող լեզուներին և բարբառներին վերաբերող գրեթե ամբողջ գրականությունը՝ հրատարակված 1979/1980-2021 թվականների ընթացքում Իրանում (էջ 12):

2. Այս գրքով փակվում է մատենագիտական այն բացը, որն առկա էր այս ոլորտում վերևում նշված տարիների առնչությամբ: Ինչպես հեղինակն է նշում, Նավաբիի և Շմիտտի մոտ մատենագրական ծավալուն ցանկերը կանգ են առնում 1980-ականների կեսերի վրա (էջ 12):

3. Բացի Իրանում տպված աշխատանքների ցանկից, որոնք կազմում եմ այս գրքի հիմնական մասը, այսինքն՝ մոտավորապես 98%-ը, հեղինակը ներառել է նաև քիչ ուսումնասիրված իրանական բարբառներին վերաբերող որոշ պարսկերեն թարգմանություններ՝ արված ռուսերենից, նաև աշխատանքներ, որոնք հրա-

տարակվել են Իրանից դուրս՝ հիմնականում Աֆղանստանում և Տաջիկստանում:

4. Հետազոտողների տրամադրության տակ է դրվել նաև մեկ կարևոր ցանկ, որը ներառում է իրանական լեզուներին և բարբառներին վերաբերող՝ Արևմուտքում արևմտյան լեզուներով լույս տեսած գրականությունը (24-31 էջեր): Ինչպես հեղինակն է նշում, այս ցանկի ներառման նպատակը եղել է Շմիտտի (1989 թ.) գրքից հետո առաջացած մատենագիտական բացի լրացումը (էջ 24): Հետևաբար, այս գրքի համար ընտրվել են այն աշխատանքները, որոնք լույս են տեսել 1985 թվականից հետո (տե՛ս էջ 24):

Մատենագիտական այս աշխատանքը կարևոր ներդրում է իրանական լեզվաբանության և բարբառագիտության ոլորտում հետևյալ առումներով՝

1. Իրանում խոսվող իրանական որևէ լեզվի և բարբառի ուսումնասիրությամբ զբաղվող մասնագետների տրամադրության տակ արդեն կա նաև Իրանում լույս տեսած գրականության գրեթե ամբողջական ցանկ, որը ոչ միայն հեշտացնելու է բարբառագետի և լեզվաբանի գործը՝ իր հետազոտության առաջին՝ նախկինում հրատարակված աշխատանքների որոնումների և ամբողջական մատենագիտության կազմման փուլում, այլ նաև զերծ է պահելու նախկինում պարսկերենով լույս տեսած և լայն մասնագիտական լսարանի համար անհայտ մնացած որևէ հետազոտության կրկնության հավանականությունից:

2. Ամենայն բծախնդրությամբ և ուշադրությամբ կազմված մատենագիտական ամբողջ ցանկը տրված է տառադարձությամբ և վերնագրերը ուղեկցող թարգմանություններով, որը մեծ օգնություն է պարսկա-արաբական գրին ոչ վարժ հետազոտողների համար:

3. Չափազանց օգնող հանգամանք է նաև այն, որ մատենագիտական ցանկերը կազմված են մեթոդական և վերլուծական այնպիսի մոտեցմամբ, որոնք հեշտացնում են հետազոտողի աշխատանքը որևէ լեզվի կամ բարբառի վերաբերյալ գրականություն փնտրելիս: Բաժանումները կատարվել են ոչ միայն ըստ լեզվի և բարբառի անվանման, այլ նաև ըստ լեզվի բաժինների: Հետևաբար հետազոտողը կարող է շատ արագ գտնել այն աշխատանքները, որոնք, օրինակ, վերաբերում են քրդերենի հնչյունաբանությանը, քերականությանը կամ միայն բառապաշարին (կառուցվածքի և բաժանման մասին տե՛ս 18-20 էջերում):

4. Գրքում տրված է ամբողջ գրականությունը նաև այբբենական հերթականությամբ (288-433 էջեր), ինչը թույլ է տալիս ընթերցողներին գտնել ծավալուն անհատական ցանկեր իրանցի լեզվաբաններից և բարբառագտներից (տե՛ս, օրինակ, Իրան Քալբասիի բարբառագիտական աշխատանքները 343-345 էջերում կամ Ալի Աշրաֆ Սադեղիի՝ իրանական բարբառներին վերաբերող գործերը 398-400 էջերում):

Պրոֆ. Պաուլի այս աշխատանքը չափազանց կարևոր ներդրում է իրանական լեզուների և բարբառների ուսումնասիրության ոլորտում և թանկարժեք նվեր ոչ միայն իրանցի գործընկերներին,

որոնց աշխատանքները այս գրքով դառնում են ավելի տեսանելի, այլ ընդհանրապես իրանական բարբառագիտությամբ զբաղվող մնացած բոլորին: Ներկայացված մատենագիտական ցանկը առիթ է նաև նոր քննարկումների և հետազոտությունների համար այնպիսի թեմաների շուրջ, ինչպիսիք են «Բարբառագիտությունն Իրանի Իսլամական Հանրապետությունում հեղափոխությունից հետո», «Կա՞ արդյոք օրիենտալիզմ իրանական լեզվաբանության ոլորտում», «Իրանական լեզվաբանության պատմություն» և այլն: Հատկապես վերջինի առնչությամբ արևմտյան ընթերցողի տրամադրության տակ եղած սակավ գրականությունը կարիք ունի թարմացման: Թալեղանիի հոդվածում հիշվող մի աշխատանք, որ մնում է դեռ անտիպ, կարող է չափազանց կարևոր ներդրում դառնալ իրանագիտության պատմության ոլորտում, հատկապես եթե ժամանակային առումով լրացվի և հասցվի մեր օրեր:

Այս գիրքը կարող է նաև դառնալ օրինակ Իրանում հետհեղափոխական շրջանում պարսից լեզվով պարսկերենի ուսումնասիրության տարբեր ուղղություններով ու մեթոդներով լույս տեսած աշխատանքների մատենագիտական ցանկի կազմման համար, քանի որ այս գրքում բուն պարսից լեզվի մասը բացակայում է:

DOI: 10.52837/27382702-2023.3.2-140

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE "SOUTH CAUCASUS: CURRENT CHALLENGES TO STABILITY AND SECURITY"*

Gohar Iskandaryan

Keywords: Caucasus, Iran, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Georgia, security.

On November 28, 2023, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia (hereinafter NAS RA) organized an international conference entitled " South Caucasus: Current Challenges to Stability and Security" that took place in the meeting hall of the NAS RA.

The international conference was held within the framework of the topic "Transformation of the South Caucasus power balance and the Artsakh war of 2020: trends of regional developments under the new geopolitical realities" (code 21T-5F218) financed by the Higher Education and Science Committee of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports. The group has been conducting research since 2021. As a culmination of their efforts, a collective monograph presenting the findings will be published in 2024.

The head of the thematic program is Gohar Iskandaryan (PhD, Associate Professor). The group consists of Alen Ghevondyan (PhD, Associate Professor), Menua Soghomyan (PhD, Associate Professor), Kristine

* The article was submitted on December 11, 2023.

Melkonyan (PhD, Senior Researcher of the Department of Turkey of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA), and Liana Petrosyan (PhD, lecturer at the Chair of Iranian Studies of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of YSU).

Academician-secretary of the Division of Armenology and Social Sciences of NAS RA, Member of Academy Yuri Suvaryan welcomed the participants of the conference. "Changes are happening in the world now. A transition from a unipolar world to a multipolar world is taking place. These changes bring forth acute geopolitical tension, especially among major powers. Taking advantage of the busyness of major powers, some countries are trying to solve their problems. And perhaps that is one of the reasons that there is a security threat in the South Caucasus and this conference is going to address these issues", - Yuri Suvaryan said in his speech. He mentioned that the ambitions of Turkey and Azerbaijan regarding Armenia should also be deliberated in that logic. "Those countries have tasks that they planned a hundred years ago with the creation of the Azerbaijani state by Turkey. Today they are trying to achieve those pre-planned tasks. This thought should lead us to a remarkable idea: to have an independent state, one must also have a long-term political plan or strategy. Our academic conference has serious problems to discuss, as well as commitments to make them academically relevant and elaborate", - said Yuri Suvaryan.

Mohammad Asadi Mohaved, Advisor of the Culture Center of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, welcomed the participants of the conference, specifically noting: "I hope that the outcome of this conference will support the stability and security of the region because we believe that such discussions among elites can be very effective. We have gathered here today to discuss the important issues of security and political stability, as well as the issues of economy, cultural development, and peace. It is known that the lack of security and stability brings many challenges for the society."

Deputy of the Mejlis of the Islamic Republic of Iran Robert Beglaryan noted: "After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the relations between Iran and Armenia have been positive and based on mutual trust, therefore both stable and developing. However, in the process of development, economy has always been inferior to politics, and a serious gap was noticed especially after the Second Karabakh (Artsakh) War. After the 44-day war, the relations between the two countries entered a new phase, which has and will continue to have a multilateral character, due to the alarming geopolitical turmoil. The presence and role of regional neighbors and countries outside the region have created and will create challenges. "The title of this conference has included the existence of challenges and, naturally, the conference will address them even if limited to a few", - said Robert Beglaryan and added that such events are extremely important so that the state system and decision-making centers of both countries are aware of each other's views and concerns, and become acquainted with world perceptions and the style and formulation of policies. I would like to emphasize that, in my opinion, it is crucial for the Islamic Republic of Iran to understand what perspective Armenia sees for Iran-Armenia relations, how it perceives Iran's role in the security domain of the region, how the Republic of Armenia reacts to Iran's security policies and priorities in keeping the region peaceful", - said Robert Beglaryan.

Gohar Iskandaryan, Head of the Department of Iran of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, spoke on the topic "The New Developments taking place in the South Caucasus: A View from Armenia".

Alibeman Eghbali Zarch, Director of Eurasian Studies of the Islamic Republic of Iran, delivered a speech on the topic "Geopolitical effects of the current developments in South Caucasus".

Anna Ohanyan, professor of Stonehill College in Massachusetts, USA, presented a report entitled "A Supercontinent or a Sinkhole? The Promise and the Perils of Eurasian Continentalism for Word Order".

Karen Khanlari, MP of Iran's 9th and 10th Mejlis, professor of the Islamic Azad University, presented a report called "Geographic definitions of Armenia in Islamic sources".

YSU associate professor Alen Ghevondyan delivered the report "The Change in the Balance of Power in the South Caucasus and the Security Challenges of Armenia".

Kristine Melkonyan, senior researcher of the Department of Turkey of the Institute of Oriental Studies NAS RA, presented the report "Turkey's Commercial and Economic Relations with Russian Federation (2002-2020)".

YSU associate professor Menua Soghomonyan delivered the report "The Theoretical-Conceptual Basis of the Study of the Geopolitical Architecture and Dynamics of the South Caucasus".

Motahari Hosseyni, a researcher at Payam-e Noor University of the Islamic Republic of Iran, presented the report "The Historical Origins of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflicts over Karabakh".

In the second part of the event, associate professor from ASEU Suren Parsyan delivered a report called "The Development Problems of Armenia-Iran Trade and Economic Relations".

Yeghia Tashjian, Senior Research Assistant at the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut, made a presentation entitled "Russia, INSTC, Regional Trade Interconnectivity, and Armenia".

Liana Petrosyan, a lecturer at the Chair of Iranian Studies of the Faculty of Oriental Studies YSU, gave a speech on the topic "The Deepening of Armenia-Iran Cooperation after the 44-day War".

Garik Misakyan, a lecturer of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of YSU, spoke about the following topic: "The Tool for Spreading the Iranian "Axis of Resistance" Ideology: On the Example of the Republic of Azerbaijan".

Director of the Armenia-Iran Cooperation Development Fund Pooya Hosseini presented the topic "The Role of the South Caucasus in Regional and International Developments and Competition".

Zhanna Vardanyan, an analyst of the Orbeli Center, presented the last report of the day entitled "The position of the Turkic speakers of northwestern Iran in the Artsakh War of 2020".

The work of the conference continued on November 29, which took place in the Department of Iran of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA. During the round table discussion, the participants summarized their studies and drew up a new working program, according to which the research group should develop scenarios of political developments and present them to the relevant bodies.

The international conference was organized by the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA with the support of the Higher Education and Science Committee of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports of the Republic of Armenia within the framework of code 21T-5F218.

ՄԻՋԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ԳԻՏԱԺՈՂՈՎ «ՀԱՐԱՎԱՅԻՆ ԿՈՎԿԱՍ. ԿԱՅՈՒՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԵՎ ԱՆՎՏԱՆԳՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԱՐԴԻ ՄԱՐՏԱՀՐԱՎԵՐՆԵՐԸ»

Գոհար Իսկանդարյան

Բանալի բառեր՝ Կովկաս, Իրան, Թուրքիա, Ադրբեջան, Վրաստան, անվտանգություն:

2023 թ. նոյեմբերի 28-ին ՀՀ Գիտությունների ազգային ակադեմիայի նիստերի դահլիճում ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտը կազմակերպել էր «Հարավային Կովկաս. կայունության և անվտանգության արդի մարտահրավերները» խորագրով միջազգային գիտաժողովը:

Միջազգային գիտաժողովն անցկացվեց «Հարավկովկասյան ուժային հարաբերակցության փոխակերպումը և արցախյան 2020 թ. պատերազմը. տարածաշրջանային զարգացումների միտումները աշխարհաքաղաքական նոր իրողությունների ներքո» (21T-5F218 ծածկագրով) թեմայի շրջանակում, ինչը ֆինանսավորվել է ՀՀ կրթության, գիտության, մշակույթի և սպորտի նախարարության Բարձրագույն կրթության և գիտության կոմիտեի կողմից: Թեմատիկ խմբի անդամները երեք տարի շարունակ ուսումնասիրություններ են իրականացնելու և ծրագրի ավարտին՝ 2024 թ.,

տպագրելու են կոլեկտիվ մենագրություն, որում ամփոփված կլինեն ուսումնասիրության արդյունքները:

Թեմատիկ ծրագրի ղեկավարն է պատմական գիտությունների թեկնածու, դոցենտ Գոհար Իսկանդարյանը, խմբի կազմում են ԵՊՀ դոցենտներ Ալեն Ղևոնդյանը, Մենուա Սողոմոնյանը, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի Թուրքիայի բաժնի ավագ գիտաշխատող Քրիստինե Մելքոնյանը, ԵՊՀ արևելագիտության ֆակուլտետի իրանագիտության ամբիոնի դասախոս Լիանա Պետրոսյանը:

Գիտաժողովի մասնակիցներին ողջունեց ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Հայագիտության և հասարակական գիտությունների բաժանմունքի ակադեմիկոս-քարտուղար, ակադեմիկոս Յուրի Սուվարյանը: «Հիմա աշխարհում տեղի են ունենում փոփոխություններ: Միաբևեռ աշխարհից անցում է կատարվում բազմաբևեռ աշխարհի: Այս փոփոխությունները բերում են աշխարհաքաղաքական սուր լարվածություն հատկապես խոշոր տերությունների միջև: Օգտվելով խոշոր տերությունների զբաղվածությունից՝ որոշ երկրներ փորձում են լուծել իրենց խնդիրները: Եվ թերևս դա պատճառներից մեկն է, որ Հարավային Կովկասում իսկապես կա անվտանգության սպառնալիք, և այս գիտաժողովը պետք է անդրադառնա այս հարցերին», - իր ելույթում ասաց Յուրի Սուվարյանը: Նա նշեց, որ Հայաստանի վերաբերյալ Թուրքիայի և Ադրբեջանի նկրտումները նույնպես այդ տրամաբանության մեջ պետք է դիտարկել: «Այդ երկրներն ունեն խնդիրներ, որոնք ծրագրել են դեռ հարյուր տարի առաջ Թուրքիայի կողմից Ադրբեջան պետության ստեղծմամբ:

Ահա այսօր իրենց ծրագրով նախատեսված խնդիրները փորձում են լուծել: Այս միտքը պետք է մեզ մի ուշագրավ գաղափարի բերի՝ անկախ պետություն ունենալու համար պետք է ունենալ նաև երկարաժամկետ քաղաքական ծրագիր կամ ռազմավարություն: Մեր գիտաժողովն ունի լուրջ խնդիրներ քննարկելու, դրանք գիտական առումով կարևորելու և մշակելու հանձնարարականներ», - ասաց Յուրի Սուվարյանը:

Իրանի Իսլամական Հանրապետության դեսպանության մշակույթի կենտրոնի խորհրդական Մոհամմադ Ասադի Մոհավեդը, ողջունելով գիտաժողովի մասնակիցներին, մասնավորապես, նշեց. «Հույս ունեմ, որ այս գիտաժողովի արդյունքը կաջակցի տարածաշրջանի կայունությանը և անվտանգությանը, քանի որ մենք հավատում ենք, որ էլիտաների միջև նման քննարկումները կարող են լինել շատ արդյունավետ: Մենք այսօր այստեղ հավաքվել ենք քննարկելու անվտանգության և քաղաքական կայունության կարևոր հարցը, ինչպես նաև տնտեսության, մշակույթի զարգացման և խաղաղության հարցերը: Հայտնի է, որ անվտանգության և կայունության պակասը բերում են շատ մարտահրավերներ հասարակության համար»:

Իրանի Իսլամական Հանրապետության Մեջլիսի պատգամավոր Ռոբերտ Բեգլարյանը նշեց. «Խորհրդային Միության փլուզումից հետո Իրան և Հայաստան հարաբերությունները եղել են բարիդրացիական և փոխադարձորեն վստահված, ուստի և՛ կայուն, և՛ զարգացման միտում ունեցող: Սակայն այդ զարգացման գործընթացում միշտ էլ տնտեսականը զիջել է քաղաքականին,

ինչի լուրջ բացը նկատվեց հատկապես Ղարաբաղյան 2-րդ պատերազմից հետո: 44-օրյա պատերազմից հետո աշխարհաքաղաքական տագնապաբնույթ եռուզեռից ելնելով՝ երկու երկրների հարաբերությունները թևակոխեցին նոր փուլ, որն ունի և դեռ կունենա բազմակողմանի բնույթ: Տարածաշրջանի հարևանների և տարածաշրջանից դուրս երկրների ներկայությունն ու դերակատարությունը ստեղծել են և ստեղծելու են մարտահրավերներ: Այս գիտաժողովն իր վերնագրում ներառել է մարտահրավերների առկայությունը, բնականաբար, կանդրադառնա դրանց՝ թեկուզև սահմանափակվելով քանիսի վրա, - ասաց Ռոբերտ Բեգլարյանը և հավելեց, - նման միջոցառումները չափանզանց կարևոր են, որպեսզի երկու երկրների պետական համակարգն ու որոշում կայացնող կենտրոնները տեղյակ լինեն միմյանց հայացքներից և մտահոգություններից, ծանոթանան աշխարհընկալումներին և քաղաքականությունների մշակման ոճին ու ձևավորմանը: Պիտի ընդգծեմ, որ, ըստ իս, այս պահի դրությամբ Իրանի Իսլամական Հանրապետության համար շատ կարևոր է, որ ընկալի, թե Հայաստանը ինչ հեռանկար է տեսնում Իրան-Հայաստան հարաբերությունների համար, ինչպես է ընկալում Իրանի դերը տարածաշրջանի անվտանգային տիրույթում, Հայաստանի Հանրապետությունն ինչպես է արձագանքում Իրանի անվտանգության քաղաքականությանն ու առաջնահերթություններին տարածաշրջանը խաղաղ պահելու հարցում»,- ասաց Ռոբերտ Բեգլարյանը:

Գոհար Իսկանդարյանը հանդես եկավ «Հարավային Կովկասում տեղի ունեցող նոր զարգացումները. հայացք Հայաստանից» թեմայի վերաբերյալ զեկուցմամբ:

Իրանի Իսլամական Հանրապետության Եվրասիա հետազոտությունների տնօրեն Ալիբեման Էղբալի Զարչը հանդես եկավ «Հարավային Կովկասում ընթացող զարգացումների աշխարհաքաղաքական ազդեցությունները» թեմայով զեկուցմամբ: ԱՄՆ Մասաչուսեթսի Սթոնհիլլ քոլեջի պրոֆեսոր Աննա Օհանյանը ներկայացրեց «Գերմայրցամա՞ք, թե՞ խորխորատ. համաշխարհային կարգի եվրասիական կոնտինենտալիզմի հեռանկարներն ու վտանգները» զեկուցումը: «Հայաստանի աշխարհագրական բնորոշումներն իսլամական աղբյուրներում» զեկուցմամբ հանդես եկավ Իրանի 9-րդ, 10-րդ Մեջլիսի պատգամավոր, Իսլամական Ազատ Համալսարանի պրոֆեսոր Կարեն Խանլարին: ԵՊՀ դոցենտ Ալեն Ղևոնդյանը ներկայացրեց «Ուժային բալանսի փոփոխությունը Հարավային Կովկասում և ՀՀ անվտանգային մարտահրավերները» զեկուցումը: ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի Թուրքիայի բաժնի ավագ գիտաշխատող Քրիստինե Մելքոնյանը ներկայացրեց «Թուրքիա-Ռուսաստան առևտրատնտեսական հարաբերությունները (2002-2020թթ.)» զեկուցումը: ԵՊՀ դոցենտ Մենուա Սողոմոնյանը ներկայացրեց «Հարավային Կովկասի աշխարհաքաղաքական ճարտարապետության և դինամիկայի ուսումնասիրության տեսական-հայեցակարգային հենքը» զեկուցումը: Իրանի Իսլամական Հանրապետության Փայամ Նոր համալսարանի գիտաշխատող Մոթահարի Հուսեյնին ներկա-

յացրեց «Ղարաբաղի շուրջ հայ-ադրբեջանական հակամարտությունների պատմական ակունքները» զեկուցումը:

Միջոցառման երկրորդ մասում զեկույցներով հանդես եկան ՀՊՏՀ դոցենտ Սուրեն Պարսյանը. «Հայաստան-Իրան առևտրատնտեսական հարաբերությունների զարգացման հիմնախնդիրները» զեկույցով, Լիբանանի Բեյրութի Ամերիկյան համալսարանի գիտաշխատող Եղիա Թաշճյանը հանդես եկավ «Ռուսաստանը, Հյուսիս-Հարավ միջանցքը, տարածաշրջանային տնտեսական փոխկապակցվածությունը» զեկուցմամբ: Հաջորդիվ ելույթ ունեցավ ԵՊՀ արևելագիտության ֆակուլտետի իրանագիտության ամբիոնի դասախոս Լիանա Պետրոսյանը «Հայաստան-Իրան փոխգործակցության խորացումը 44-օրյա պատերազմից հետո» թեմայով: ԵՊՀ արևելագիտության ֆակուլտետի դասախոս Գարիկ Միսակյանն էլ հանդես եկավ «Իրանական «դիմադրության առանցք» գաղափարախոսության տարածման գործիքը. Ադրբեջանական Հանրապետության օրինակով» զեկուցմամբ: Նրան հաջորդեց Հայաստան-Իրան համագործակցության զարգացման հիմնադրամի տնօրեն Փույա Հոսեյնին «Հարավային Կովկասի դերը տարածաշրջանային և միջազգային զարգացումներում և մրցակցությունում» թեմայով: Վերջինը զեկույցով հանդես եկավ Օրբելի կենտրոնի վերլուծաբան Ժաննա Վարդանյանը «Իրանի հյուսիս-արևմուտքի թյուրքախոսների դիրքորոշումը 2020թ. Արցախյան պատերազմում» թեմայով:

Գիտաժողովի աշխատանքները շարունակվեցին նոյեմբերի 29-ին, որը տեղի ունեցավ ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի Իրանի բաժնում: Կլոր սեղան քննարկման ժամանակ մասնակիցներն ամփոփեցին իրենց աշխատանքները և կազմեցին աշխատանքային նոր ծրագիրը, ըստ որի պետք է հետազոտող խումբը մշակի քաղաքական զարգացումների սցենարներ և դրանք ներկայացնեն պատկան մարմիններին:

Միջազգային գիտաժողովը կազմակերպվել է ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի կողմից ՀՀ կրթության, գիտության, մշակույթի և սպորտի նախարարության բարձրագույն կրթության և գիտության կոմիտեի աջակցությամբ 21T-5F218 ծածկագրի շրջանակներում:

ՀԱՅԵՐԵՆ ԵՎ ՌՈՒՍԵՐԵՆ ԱՅԲՈՒԲԵՆՆԵՐԻ ԼԱՏԻՆԱՏԱՌ ԳՐԱԴԱՐՁՈՒՄՆԵՐ

THE LATIN TRANSLITERATION OF THE ARMENIAN AND RUSSIAN ALPHABETS

Հայերեն	Armenian Transliteration	Русский	Russian Transliteration
Ա ա	A	А а	A
Բ բ	B	Б б	B
Գ գ	G	В в	V
Դ դ	D	Г г	G
Ե ե	E	Д д	D
Զ զ	Z	Е е	E
Է է	Ē	Ё ё	Yo
Ը ը	ə	Ж ж	Ž
Թ թ	t‘	З з	Z
Ժ ժ	Ž	И и	I
Ի ի	I	Й й	Y
Լ լ	L	К к	K
Խ խ	Kh	Л л	L
Ծ ծ	c‘	М м	M
Կ կ	K	Н н	N
Հ հ	H	О о	O
Ձ ձ	Dz	П п	P
Ղ ղ	Ǧ	Р р	R
Ճ ճ	č‘	С с	S
Մ մ	M	Т т	T
Յ յ	Y	У у	U
Ն ն	N	Ф ф	F
Շ շ	Š	Х х	Kh
Ո ո	Vo	Ц ц	Ts
Չ չ	Č	Ч ч	Č
Պ պ	P	Ш ш	Š
Ջ ջ	J	Щ щ	Šč
Ռ ռ	ŕ	Ъ	“
Ս ս	S	Ы	Y
Վ վ	V	Ь	‘
Տ տ	T	Э э	Ē
Ր ր	R	Ю ю	Yu
Ց ց	Ts	Я я	Ya
Ու ու	U		
Փ փ	p‘		
Ք ք	k‘		
և	Ev		
Օ օ	O		
Ֆ ֆ	F		

ԲԱՆԲԵՐ ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏԻ

(պարբերականը մինչև 2021 թ. կոչվում էր «ՄԵՐՁԱՎՈՐ ԵՎ ՄԻՋԻՆ ԱՐԵՎԵԼՔԻ ԵՐԿՐՆԵՐ ԵՎ ԺՈՂՈՎՈՒՐԴՆԵՐ») ՄԱՏԵՆԱՇԱՐ

BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

(Until 2021 the periodical was named “The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East”) Series of Publications

1. Արևելագիտական ժողովածու, հատ. I, Եր., ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ հրատ., 1960, 402 էջ:
   Journal of Oriental Studies, vol. I, Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1960, 402p.
2. Արևելագիտական ժողովածու, Հատ. II, Եր., ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ հրատ., 1964, 380 էջ:
   Journal of Oriental Studies, vol. II, Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1964, 380p.
3. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. III: Արաբական երկրներ: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1967, 237 էջ:
   The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. III. Arab countries. Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1967, 237p.
4. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. IV, Իրան: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1969, 232 էջ:
   The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. IV, Iran. Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1969, 232p.
5. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. V, Թուրքիա: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1970, 452 էջ:
   The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. V, Turkey. Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1970, 452p.
6. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. VI, Արաբական երկրներ: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1974, 439 էջ:
   The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. VI, Arab countries, Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1974, 439p.
7. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. VII, Քրդագիտություն: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1975, 385 էջ:
   The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. VII, Kurdish Studies. Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1975, 385p.

8. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. VIII, Իրան: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1975, 409 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. VIII, Iran. Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1975, 409p.
9. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. IX, Արաբական երկրներ: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1978, 401 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. IX, Arab Countries. Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1978, 401p.
10. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. X, Թուրքիա: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1979, 334 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. X, Turkey. Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1979, 334p.
11. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XI, Իրան: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1982, 350 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XI, Iran. Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1982, 350p.
12. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XII, Թուրքիա: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1985, 278 էջ:
T he Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XII, Turkey. Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1985, 278p.
13. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XIII, Քրդագիտություն: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1985, 287 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XIII, Kurdish Studies. Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1985, 287p.
14. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XIV: Արաբական երկրների ներքին և արտաքին քաղաքականության ժամանակակից պրոբլեմներ: Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1987, 317 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XIV. Current issues of the domestic and foreign policy of Arab countries, Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1987, 317p.

15. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XV, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1989, 344 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XV, Yerevan, ASSR AS publishing house, 1989, 344p.
16. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XVI, Եր., ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Գիտություն» հրատ., 1996, 270 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XVI, Yerevan, "Gitutyun" publishing house of NAS RA, 1996, 270p.
17. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XVII, Եր., ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Գիտություն» հրատ., 1998, 240 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XVII, Yerevan, "Gitutyun" publishing house of NAS RA, 1998, 240p.
18. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XVIII, Եր., «Զանգակ-97» հրատ., 1999, 248 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, Yerevan, vol. XVIII, "Zangak-97" publishing house, 1999, 248p.
19. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XIX, Եր., «Զանգակ-97» հրատ., 2000, 280 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XIX, Yerevan, "Zangak-97" publishing house, 2000, 280p.
20. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XX, Եր., «Զանգակ-97» հրատ., 2001, 352 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XX, Yerevan, "Zangak-97" publishing house, 2001, 352p.
21. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXI, Եր., «Զանգակ-97» հրատ., 2002, 408 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXI, Yerevan, "Zangak-97" publishing house, 2002, 408p.
22. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXII, Եր., «Զանգակ-97» հրատ., 2003, 336 էջ:

The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXII, Yerevan, "Zangak-97" publishing house, 2003, 336p.

23. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXIII, Եր., «Զանգակ-97» հրատ., 2004, 568 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXIII, Yerevan, "Zangak-97" publishing house, 2004, 568p.

24. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXIV, Եր., «Զանգակ-97» հրատ., 2005, 536 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXIV, Yerevan, "Zangak-97" publishing house, 2005, 536p.

25. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXV, Եր., «Զանգակ-97» հրատ., 2006, 480 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXV, Yerevan, "Zangak-97" publishing house, 2006, 480p.

26. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXVI, Եր., «Ասողիկ» հրատ., 2007, 316 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXVI, Yerevan, "Asoghik" publishing house, 2007, 316p.

27. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXVII, Եր., «Էդիթ Պրինտ» հրատ., 2009, 272 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXVII, Yerevan, "Edit Print" publishing house, 2009, 272p.

28. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXVIII, Եր., «Զանգակ-97» հրատ., 2011, 352 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXVIII, Yerevan, "Zangak-97" publishing house, 2011, 352p.

29. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXIX, Եր., «Զանգակ-97» հրատ., 2014, 352 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXIX, Yerevan, "Zangak-97" publishing house, 2014, 352 p.

30. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXX, Եր., «Գիտություն» հրատ., 2016, 276 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXX, Yerevan, "Gitutyun" publishing house, 2016, 276p.

31. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXXI, Եր., «Գիտություն» հրատ., 2018, 248 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXXI, Yerevan, "Gitutyun" publishing house, 2018, 248p.

32. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXXII/1, Եր., «Գիտություն» հրատ., 2019, 345 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXXII/1, Yerevan, "Gitutyun" publishing house, 2019, 345p.

33. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXXII/2, Եր., «Գիտություն» հրատ., 2019, 367 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXXII/2, Yerevan, "Gitutyun" publishing house, 2019, 367p.

34. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXXIII/1, Եր., «Գիտություն» հրատ., 2020, 534 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXXIII/1, Yerevan, "Gitutyun" publishing house, 2020, 534p.

35. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, հատ. XXXIII/2, Եր., «Դասո պրինտ» հրատ., 2020, 310 էջ:
The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, vol. XXXIII/2, Yerevan, "Daso print" publishing house, 2020, 310p.

36. Բանբեր Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի, I/1, Եր., «Վառմ» տպագրատուն, 2021, 204 էջ:
Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies, I/1, Yerevan, "Varm" publishing house, 2021, 204p.

37. Բանբեր Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի, I/2, Եր., «Վառմ» տպագրատուն, 2021, 238 էջ:

Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies, I/2, Yerevan, "Varm" publishing house, 2021, 238p.

38. Բանբեր Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի, II/1, Եր., «Բուֆի Փրինթ» տպագրատուն, 2022, 178 էջ:

Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies, II/1, Yerevan, "Copy Print" publishing house, 2022, 178 p.

BULLETIN
OF THE INSTITUTE OF
ORIENTAL STUDIES

VOLUME III, ISSUE 2

ԲԱՆԲԵՐ
ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏԻ

ՀԱՏՈՐ III, ՀԱՄԱՐ 2

Տպագրված է «ՔՈՓԻ ՓՐԻՆԹ» տպագրատանը:

Չափսը՝ 70x100 1/16: Տպ. մամուլը՝ 10:
Տպաքանակը՝ 70: