

Tell your flock, Holy Father, that a most brilliant future awaits the Armenians.

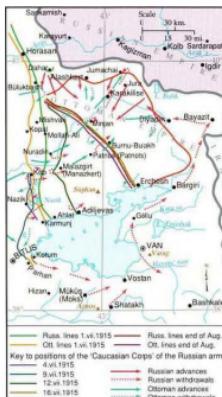
—Nicholas II to Katholikos George V, 1914

ARMENIA IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 24 OCTOBER 1914–30 OCTOBER 1918

Although the Turks had committed themselves to the Germans as early as August 1914, the First World War began for the Armenians on 24 October, when, after two months of hesitation, the Ottoman government, headed by Talaat Bey as the minister of the interior and Enver Pasha as minister of war, entered the conflict on the side of the Central Powers. Although most histories of the period neglect the Caucasian front, it was a major theater of war almost from the beginning of hostilities. While, for the Russians, the front in Eastern Europe was always the most important, their goals in Asia were never forgotten for a moment: the acquisition of Constantinople and the annexation of Turkish Armenia. For the Turks, their war aims in Cauca-sia consisted in the reconquest of the provinces of Kars, Batum, and Ardahan, lost to the Russians, who held them from 1878 to 1918, and the prevention of the loss of Turkish Armenia to anyone. What was not known, however, outside the deliberations of the Committee of Union and Progress, the ruling clique in Constantinople, was that there was a well-prepared plan in existence to frustrate the ultimate annexation of Armenia by any Christian power by the simple device of exterminating its Armenian population.

The First Turkish Campaign, 22 December 1914–12 January 1915

The Turkish campaign was launched in the dead of winter under the leadership of Enver Pasha himself. Emboldened by the news that the tsar had transferred his most experienced troops from Transcaucasia to fight in Eastern Europe, he planned to take the Turkish Third Army based at Erzurum and deploy it in a great flanking movement to seize Kars, Ardahan, and Batum. The first goal was to capture the frontier town of Sankamish, after which the way to Kars would be open. The campaign, however, was a total disaster almost entirely due to the effects of cold and



220. The Alashkert Campaign

disease on the poorly equipped Turkish troops. Of the one hundred thousand soldiers who marched against Sankamish and Olti, some eighty-five thousand perished or deserted, and Enver, abandoning his "Pan-Turkish Army" to its fate, was soon hurrying back to Constantinople. By 12 January, the prewar frontier had been restored. It was immediately after this, however, that the plan to annihilate the Armenians was put into effect (map 224). The scheme, in general, was accomplished with the greatest success, but it was interrupted at Van, where the local Armenians, realizing what was in store for them, took up arms to defend themselves. The Turks immediately laid siege to the town, at first under the command of a Venezuelan soldier of fortune, Rafael Nogales Bey, but toward the end under the personal direction of the Ottoman governor Jevdet Bey.

The Russian Revolution, 12 March–7 November 1917

After two and a half years of bloody war, with millions killed, thousands of square kilometers occupied by the enemy, two million refugees to care for, transportation, supplies, and morale collapsing, and mass desertions beginning among the troops, a simple shortage of bread in the capital resulted in the collapse of the tsarist regime (12 March 1917). A Provisional Government was immediately established. In Transcaucasia, the news of the Revolution was received with the greatest enthusiasm by all classes and races of the population, most of whom hoped for the establishment of a democratic Transcaucasian province within a Russian republic. The viceroy was recalled and a Russian "revolutionary government"—the Special Transcaucasian Committee (OZAKOM)—was dispatched to Tiflis. Impressed by the news from Russia, Enver Pasha directed his troops to reoccupy the vilayet of Bitlis. Only their unpreparedness for a major campaign prevented the Turks from moving further at this time.

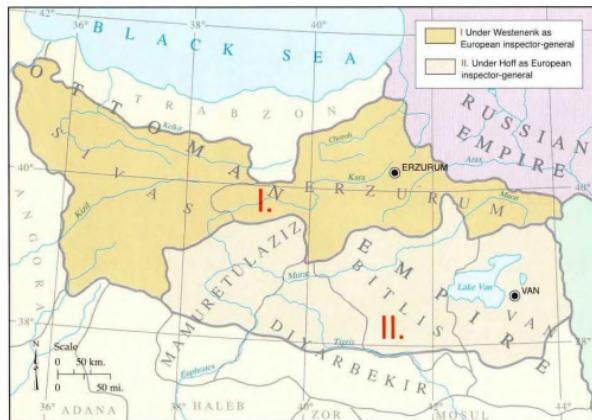
Meanwhile, in the following months, events moved swiftly. In October 1917, as the situation in Russia deteriorated under the unsound political and economic policies of the increasingly ineffectual Provisional Government, an Armenian National Congress was convened in Tiflis whose two hundred delegates represented, more or less fairly, the two million Armenians of the Russian Empire. Although the gathering solved no problems, it took two important steps by establishing the National Assembly as a sort of Armenian legislature and a National Council to serve as a kind of executive body. On 7 November, Lenin and his Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Party—a faction widely regarded as an unimportant extremist group—overthrew the Provisional Government and seized control of Russia. Except in Baku, however, where the Armenian Bolshevik Stepan Shaumyan (*Shahumyan*) organized a Bolshevik seizure of the oil city, Transcaucasia remained loyal to the Provisional Government. On 15 November, the Transcaucasian Commissariat was formed to act as a government to guide the area until the long-dreaded constituent assembly—a constitutional convention of representatives of every class and ethnic group in the old tsarist empire—could take place in Petrograd (as St. Petersburg had been renamed at the outbreak of the war). This was to decide on the form and structure of the new Russian Republic of which Transcaucasia fully expected to be a part.

The First Russian Campaign, 4 May 1915–31 July 1916

Word of what was happening at Van reached Transcaucasia, public opinion forced the authorities to dispatch the Fourth Corps of the Russian Caucasian Army, aided by the Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Armenian Volunteer Battalions, now organized into the "Armenian Legion," on a campaign aimed at Malazgirt and Van. On 4 May, the frontier was crossed, and on 18th, the insurgents at Van, almost at the end of hope, were rescued. The vanguard of the Russian army soon reached as far as Tatvan, hoping to relieve the beleaguered Armenians of Bitlis, Musch, and Sasun, but en route they met with a strong Turkish counterattack and were forced to withdraw. Upon arriving back at Van, the advance troops found that the rest of the army had already headed back to the frontier. Abandoning the town themselves, they ordered the civilian population to follow them. Van was evacuated on 31 July 1915, and, after terrible hardships, some two hundred thousand people, almost the entire Armenian population of the province, succeeded in reaching Russian territory. Ultimately, nearly three hundred thousand Turkish Armenian refugees would find their way to Russian Armenia. There, however, as conditions deteriorated into chaos over the next three years, they would find themselves engulfed by famine and epidemic.

The Second Russian Campaign, September 1915–July 1916

In September 1915, the Russian Army advanced once again. This second campaign continued through the winter, spring, and summer of 1915–1916, with the Russians taking Erzurum (16 February), Trebizond (18 April), Erzincan (25 July), and the Van area early summer, occupying almost the whole of Turkish Armenia. Bitlis and Musch were taken, but this time there were no Armenians left there to save. It was now that the rumor arose that the Russians, realizing what was happening in Turkey and seeing that it would be to their



219. The Abortive Partition of Turkish Armenia in 1914

One of the very first acts of the Transcaucasian Commissariat was the establishment of an armistice with Turkey. Negotiations began on 15 December, and a truce was signed at Erzincan three days later. The Turks, however, dissembled. In return for allowing Transcaucasia to keep the lands conquered by the Russians, they hoped to entice the region into seceding, after which they would be free to cut through directly to the Turks of Azerbaijan and Central Asia with no fear of Russian intervention. While the Commissariat equivocated, it became clear to the Turks that the Russian armies had by now totally disintegrated as deserting soldiers flocked homeward, and that the Caucasian front was defended solely by local troops: thirty-six hundred Georgians outside of Batum and about six thousand Armenians along a line running from Erzincan to Van. At the same time, atrocities committed upon the Muslim population by returning Armenians, horrified by what had been done to their own people, gave the Turks an excuse to intervene. In February 1918, the Turkish army, led by General Kizem Karabekir, launched a campaign to recover the territory lost to the Russians in 1916. Erzincan was occupied by 13 February, accompanied by a mass exodus of the remaining Armenian population, about half of whom were killed, wounded, or stricken by frostbite before reaching Mamahuton four days later. In Tiflis, a legislature known as the Transcaucasian *Sejm* (parliament) was hastily put together to authorize the Commissariat to negotiate a permanent peace. Its president was N. Chkhelidze, the noted Menshevik leader, who had served in the Petrograd Soviet. A delegation was duly sent to Trebizond on 2 March to negotiate a treaty, with instructions to cede everything taken by the Russian

armies in the war if necessary in return for autonomy for Turkish Armenia. On the day of its departure, however, news was received of the peace terms dictated by Germany at Brest-Litovsk and accepted by the Russians the following day.

The Independence of Transcaucasia, 22 April 1918

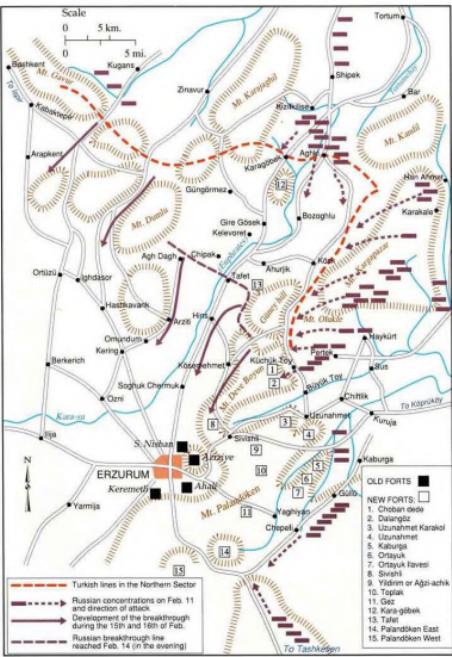
The Bolsheviks had attained power by promising to end the war, and their survival depended upon their being able to make good on the promise. Accordingly, in March 1918, Lenin had sent Leon Trotsky, his commissar for foreign affairs, to the town of Brest-Litovsk at the front to negotiate terms with the Central Powers. The results of these talks were embodied in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (16 March 1918), one of the most onerous ever imposed upon a defeated power. Among its disastrous terms, the one that concerns us here was the clause that returned to the Ottoman Empire not only everything that it had owned prior to the war, but additionally the provinces of Batum, Ardahan, and Kars, lost in 1878. At Trebizond, the Transcaucasian delegation refused to accept the terms of Brest-Litovsk, but the Turks had already taken Erzurum (12 March) even before the talks between Germany and Russia had begun, and they continued to advance.

By the time the negotiations at Trebizond had collapsed, it was clear that Turkey and Transcaucasia were at war. As Batum fell—the Turks welcomed by the local Muslim Georgian Ajars—the Georgian army retreated to Kutaisi, and the Azerbaijanis demanded that Transcaucasia declare its independence or else they would come to a private agreement with the Turks on their own. Faced with this situation, the Transcaucasian Sejm had no choice but to vote for complete severance of all ties with Russia (22 April). The prime minister of the new state was A. Chcheneli, the leader of the Georgian delegation at Trebizond, his government becoming official on 25 April. The Armenians under General Nazarbekian were determined to hold Kars, which was well stocked with munitions and other supplies. Chcheneli, however, ordered the Russian commander, General Deev, to cede the fortress-city to the Turks. The Ottoman army entered on 25 April, after which there followed a panic-stricken flight of the entire population accompanied by the same horrors that had attended the evacuations of Erzincan and Erzurum a few weeks before. Hovanessian explains Chcheneli's decisions, as they were upon realpolitik, including his acceptance of the terms of Brest-Litovsk, his declaration of Transcaucasian independence, and his cession of Kars, on the grounds that, as the leader of the Georgian people, he chose but to defend their interests in a time of the gravest national crisis.

The Turks recognized the new government of the Transcaucasian Republic on 28 April, and Hall Bey was sent to Batum to negotiate the peace. Some fifty delegates were sent out from Tiflis to represent the republic, the large number made necessary by the need to include representatives of every faction. The conference began on 11 May 1918 with the Transcaucasian delegation agreeing to the terms of Brest-Litovsk. The Turks, however, declared this treaty obsolete now that Transcaucasia was independent from Russia and demanded additional territorial cessions. The talks soon degenerated into wrangling, but, to make their point, the Turks had already invaded Eastern Armenia.

The Democratic Federative Republic of Transcaucasia

At this juncture, fearing a Turkish invasion of Georgia and detecting the increasing tensions between the Turks and their German allies, the Georgians sought aid from Germany. Forming a new cabinet, Chcheneli resorted negotiations with the Turks at Batum, ceding Kars to them and allowing them to enter Armenia and occupy Alexandropol (15 May). The German General Otto Von Lossow assured them that German protection would be available if they would but secede from the Transcaucasian Federation so that they could be dealt with as a separate entity. The Georgians agreed to do so, the Sejm dissolving itself on 26 May. A German flag was hoisted at Tiflis, and the Germans guaranteed the territory of Georgia as far as the boundaries set by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Once the Transcaucasian Sejm was dissolved, the Muslims of southeastern Caucasus declared their independence as well (27 May) and the Muslim National Council left Tiflis for Ganja ('Elizavetpol'), its temporary capital pending the recovery of Baku from the local Soviet. Fatali Khan Khoiskiy headed the cabinet under Turkish protection. Left to its own devices, a most unhappy Armenian National Council was forced to declare the independence of Armenia (30 May but retroactive to the 28th) under Minister-President Hovhannes Kachaz-



22. The Erzurum Campaign, February 1918

nuni. The cabinet arrived in Ervan on 19 July 1918. Indescribable conditions awaited it.

The Third Turkish Campaign, 4 May-June 1918

It was in these dark days of the Turkish invasion of the Transcaucasian Republic that the defense of Armenia fell to the brilliant General Nazarbekian. As twenty thousand civilians fled to Ervan and Tiflis, he and his motley army held the line, slowly retreating to Karakilisa (later Kirovakan; now Vanadzor). On 22 May, the Turks took Hamamuli ('Spitak'), and four Turkish divisions marched on Karakilisa and Bash Abaran, while groups I and II of the Turkish Caucasian Corps aimed at Sardarapat. A furious battle raged 24–28 May at Karakilisa, where the Turks were for once stalled. Meanwhile, near the villages of Sardarapat and Bash Abaran, only a few hours' march from Ervan, the Armenians successfully withheld a savage Turkish assault 21–24 May, forcing the Turks to retreat. Only the news of a truce concluded at Batum prevented the Armenians from marching on Alexandropol.

The Treaties of Batum

On 4 June, the conference held at Batum ended in the signing of three agreements. The first made peace between the Ottoman Empire and Georgia and guaranteed the frontiers of Brest-Litovsk; the second reduced Armenia to a virtual Ottoman vassal state; the third was a joint Turko-Armenian-Azerbaijani agreement on the ownership and use of the Transcaucasian Railway lines. By the terms of the first two of these treaties, Transcaucasia lost nearly 19 percent of its former territory, three-quarters of which was taken from the Armenian districts of Kars and Ervan. At Brest-Litovsk, the Turks acquired 25,900 sq. km. / 10,000 sq. mi. and 600,000 people; at Batum, they received another 20,720 sq. km. / 8,000 sq. mi. and 50,000 people, over two-thirds of whom were Armenians. As far as the Armenian Republic was concerned, it was reduced to 9,000 sq. km. / 3,475 sq. mi. containing 300,000 native Armenians, some 300,000 destitute and starving Armenian refugees, and about 100,000 Azeri Turks and other Muslims. The Turks were but a few kilometers from Ejmiatsin and Erevan. Armenia was completely at their mercy.

The Fourth Turkish Campaign, September 1918

After their setback at Sardarapat, the Turks turned their attention to their new protectorate in Azerbaijan, pressing on to the provisional capital of Ganja, where they were warmly received. At the same time, the British sent an expeditionary force under General Dunsterforce—the so-called Dunsterforce—whose true purpose has never been made clear. Ostensibly sent to prevent Baku from falling to the Turks, its actual goal seems to have been the ouster of the local Soviet, and once the latter was forced to desolve and the newly formed coalition of rightists known as the Centro-Caspian Dictatorship allowed the British to land, this goal was accomplished and the British made no attempt to save the city from falling to the Turks. On the other hand, there is no question that the British landed but fifteen hundred men while the Turks had mustered fifteen thousand for their assault on the city. As the Turks launched their final attack on the center of Baku on 14 September, the British forces, whatever their original purpose, had no other option but to reembark for Enzeli, taking with them many refugees as they could. Most of the Armenians of the city were left behind, however, and after a general massacre accompanied by pillage and rape, some twenty thousand Armenians are estimated to have been left dead. Had the war ended six weeks sooner, or the British chosen to defend the city for six weeks, all of this could have been prevented.

The End of the War, 30 October 1918

Although the First World War ended only on 11 November 1918, the Turks, by the Armistice of Mudros, had surrendered almost two weeks before. The Ottoman Empire was not occupied, however, and the Turkish government was allowed to maintain a military force. No provisions were made to protect the Armenians, and as the Turks retreated from Baku, Azerbaijan, and the Armenian Republic, they looted tons of foodstuffs and other supplies and left behind a trail of massacred civilians. For the Armenians, fresh horrors lay in wait, and one quarter of the population of the republic would not survive the winter that lay ahead.

The Sorrows of Armenia are as a shoreless sea.

—Armenian proverb

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE, 1915

The period between 1894 and 1921 was the most fatal in modern Armenian history. Although many movements, trends, and themes are apparent in these years and many events and developments took place, the one that was the most overpowering was the almost total annihilation, through massacre and deportation, of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire. Although many thousands of Armenians perished on the Russian side of the frontier and many Armenians died only indirectly in the aftermath, the one event which more than anything else has unified a people not given to unity, and has defined the Armenian self-image until the present day, has been what has come to be known as the Armenian Holocaust or simply as the Genocide.

The Antecedents

The use of massacres as a means of cowing minority subjects into accepting their lot is not a new one. The St. Bartholemew's Day Massacre of 1572 is one example in French history, and the treatment of American aborigines is another. But rarely in modern times, until the coming of Stalin and Hitler, was the method so widely or so successfully used as in the Ottoman Empire, which, as bankrupt morally as it was financially, could think of no better way to deal with its minority question than to eliminate the minorities or at least to terrorize them into submission by thinning their ranks through indiscriminate slaughter. In 1822, thousands of Greeks were massacred by the Turks on the island of Chios; in 1861, the massacres of Lebanese Christians led to the establishment of Lebanon as an autonomous enclave under a Christian governor within the empire. In July 1862, a minor skirmish in the mountain town of Zeytin, where the local Armenians had been granted autonomy in return for an annual tribute by Sultan Murad IV in 1618, led the governor of Marash to send a force of ten thousand troops against the enclave, which the natives successfully resisted. A delegation sent by the local Armenians to the sultan and another to France achieved nothing, and a government official was installed in Zeytin and its traditional privileges sharply curtailed. The Bulgarian massacres of 1876, however, led to an immediate response in the form of Russian intervention that brought about the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and the recognition of Bulgarian autonomy by the Treaty of Berlin the following year. Had the Armenian massacres been met by such determined action, history might have taken a different course. Tragically, they were not.

The Events in Sasum

The subordination of the Kurdish "valley lords" to Ottoman authority had been half-hearted in a few remote places, so that the local Armenian population was occasionally forced to pay official taxes while still rendering traditional tithes and forced labor to descendants of the Kurdish aghas of old. Such an area was the mountain region of Sasun (map 194), south of Mush, where several thousand Armenians lived, chiefly in the villages of Geleğuzan (78 Armenian houses; 4 Kurdish), Semal (48 houses), and Şenlik (38 houses) and in the thirteen hamlets of the vale of Talor (Arm. Dalarvög; about 450 houses). This unjust and intolerable situation led to resistance as early as 1889, heightened in 1891 by the appearance in Sasun of two Armenian revolutionaries. Justified or not, the results were rapidly deteriorating relations between the Armenians and the local Kurds. In the summer of 1893, nomadic Kurds, a plague to the settled population of whatever race, were allowed to come up from the plain round Diyarbekir for summer pasture, something forbidden for several years. In the course of that summer, some three to four thousand Kurds attacked the Armenians of Talor but were driven off. Eventually, a detachment of Ottoman troops was sent into the area to restore order, but only the coming of winter actually ended the affair. The following year the *kaimakam* (administrator) of the kaza of Kulp, accompanied by mounted *zaptiehs* (gendarmes), came to Talor seeking back taxes. Driven off by the Armenians when the official refused to protect them from Kurdish exactions, this set the stage for a government attack. The Armenians defended themselves for as long as they could at Geleğuzan and, when it fell, took to the rugged slopes of Mt. Andok. Eventually overrun by a force of about three thousand troops, a general massacre followed during which anywhere from nine

hundred to three thousand men, women, and children were slaughtered. All European attempts to investigate the Sasun affair and to obtain justice for the Armenians were frustrated by the central and local authorities alike.

The Massacres of 1895

One year later, the events at Sasun provoked the Bal Afai, a peaceful demonstration organized in Constantinople by the Hunchak Party on 30 September 1895, which inter alia called for an end to the evils in the interior and a reorganization of the six "Armenian" vilayets. All that the demonstration achieved, however, was a massacre in Constantinople itself (30 September–6 October). Even as the efforts of the European embassies brought calm to the capital, massacres, conducted with the complicity of soldiers, gendarmes, and local officials, broke out in the provinces, moving successively from town to town. The dates of the local massacres and the approximate number of victims are given by Walker: Trebizond, 8 October (920, plus about 200 villagers); Akhisar, near Izmit, 15 October (31); Erzincan, 21 October (260, plus 85 villagers); Bitlis, 25 October (530–800); Gümüşhane, 25 October (100 plus the inhabitants of eleven villages); Bayburt, 27 October (several hundreds); Urfa, 27–28 October (several hundreds); Erzurum, 30 October (350); Diyarbekir, 1–3 November (over 1,000); Arakir, 1–3 November (2,800); Malatya, 4–9 November (3,000); Kharperf, 10–11 November (over 500); Sivas, 12 November (1,500); Amasya, 15 November (1,000); Ayntab, 15 November (1,000); Marsivan, 15 November (150); Gürün, 15 November (many thousands); Kayseri 30 November (many hundreds), and, finally, Urfa again, a frightful slaughter taking place on 28

December, where, besides many killed in their homes, some 3,000 Armenians were burned alive in their cathedral. Only in Zeytin was an effective resistance made by the Armenians, who not only defended themselves throughout the autumn, but in November sallied forth from their mountains to sack the town of Anderith. A massacre at Zeytin was avoided only through the activities of the British ambassador and the international outcry over the massacres that had already taken place. Another isolated massacre at Van in June 1896 was thwarted when the Armenians took up a local defense. By the end of the year 1895, it was estimated that the number of victims of the massacres had reached some 100,000-200,000. The culpability of the Turkish authorities seems beyond question, so much so that Shaw in his pro-Turkish history of the Ottoman Empire makes no mention of the massacres of that year, preferring to ignore them rather than deal with the questions they might arouse. Equally responsible, however, were the great powers of Europe, which refused to take the necessary steps to guarantee the reforms promised by the central government but which the Porte neither wished nor had the ability to carry out.

The Massacres in Constantinople in 1896

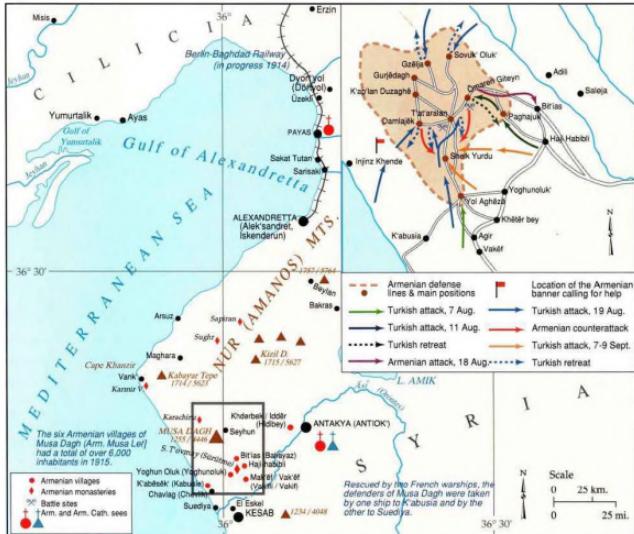
In order to draw the attention of the powers to the atrocities taking place in the East, a group of twenty-five Armenians of the Dashnak Party seized control of the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople for thirteen hours on 26 August 1896, threatening to blow it up if their grievances were not addressed and leaving only after receiving safe conduct to a French ship in the harbor. Their departure was immediately followed by a local massacre of Armenians in the commercial quarter of Galata and especially among the poorer classes of the city. The attacks, accompanied by widespread looting, soon spread to the quarters of Kasim Pasha and to the Armenian section of the Jewish quarter of Hasköy, where in both places the Armenian population was

almost completely wiped out. The killing stopped only when the British landed troops ostensibly to protect British life and property. In the two days of carnage, an estimated five to six thousand were killed, a horror followed by the emigration of many thousands of Constantinople Armenians in the following months.

The Massacres in Cilicia in 1909

Dissatisfaction with the rule of Abdul Hamid among Turkish officers trained in Germany and known as the Young Turks led to a coup that enabled them to seize power in Constantinople on 23 July 1908 and to restore the constitution of 1876. Civil liberties were proclaimed with equality of all before the law, and Muslims and Christians jointly engaged in public prayers at the graves of the victims of 1896. A brief counter-revolution led by the reactionary Society for Muslim Unity (SMU) followed, after which the *Ittihad* or Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the party which had managed the original coup, returned to power and removed Abdul Hamid. From this time onward the successive sultans were mere figureheads.

Incredibly misgoverned by a corrupt and fanatical *vall*, the province of Adana was ill prepared for the new era of constitutionalism. On 13 April 1909, a massacre began in the provincial capital that lasted for three days, and, despite the heroic efforts of the British vice-consul at Mersina, Major Wylie, who personally intervened in the city, an estimated two thousand people were killed in Adana itself and perhaps another fifteen to twenty thousand in the rural areas. Altogether some two hundred villages were destroyed in the plain. In a second outbreak of massacre at Adana on 25 April, some 4,823 houses were burned in a massive fire, of which 4,437 belonged to Greeks.



223. Musa Dagh. Scene of the Famed Armenian Self-Defense

to Armenians. The Armenian population of the town of Hamidiye resisted an onslaught of Turks for twenty-two days but were overwhelmed and all five hundred killed. In the mountains, however, the Armenians of Hajin successfully resisted a ten-day siege, while, near the coast, in the large Armenian village of Dörtyol, the Armenians also resisted a prolonged attack until, with the aid of the British acting consul at Alexandretta (Tk. İskenderun), the siege was raised. The responsibility for the massacres in Cilicia remains unclear. The CUP, the SMU, and the Armenians themselves have all been blamed and probably all had some share in the responsibility, but, even if justice was not fully done, a government investigation took place, after which thirty-four Turks were hanged (along with six Armenians) for their role in the events—the first time in Ottoman history that Turks were executed for killing Armenians.

The Genocide of 1915

Limits of space make it impossible to deal with the events of 1915 in any detail. All we can do is to try to outline the procedure and to determine its results. The purpose of the Genocide initiated that year was to put an end to the Armenian Question once and for all by ending the Armenian presence in the Ottoman Empire, and to do so without foreign interference, under the cover of war. The official excuse for the deportation of the Armenians (any massacre or attempt at massacre is resolutely denied by the Turks and their foreign apologists to this day) is that they were a disloyal or potentially disloyal element in the midst of a war zone (the same justification offered for the removal of the Japanese population of the West Coast by the United States government in 1942, albeit with considerably different results).

In carrying out the genocide of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, certain principles were generally observed:

1. The guiding intent underlying everything else was the policy of pan-Turkism: that Turkey would be inhabited or at least totally run by Turks.
2. The elimination of the Armenian population would be carried out under cover of war with national security as its rationale.
3. The first steps would be to eliminate the Armenian national leadership and to disarm the remainder of the population.
4. In eliminating the Armenian population, no distinctions were to be made on the basis of guilt or innocence, male or female, young or old, clergy or lay, soldier or civilian, urban or rural, rich or poor, Apostolic, Catholic, or Protestant. All Armenians, without exception, from bishops to beggars, were to be eliminated.
5. The able-bodied male population was to be disarmed and massacred at the beginning of the operation.
6. The women and children—whose outright massacre might horrify local public opinion and even alienate the Muslim clergy—were to be deported in such a manner as to secure their elimination along the journey.

7. Conversion to Islam was not to be an alternative to death. The operation was intended to be a slaughter based purely on ethnic considerations, that is, a genocide. (In practice, however, there were many forced conversions, especially of young girls carried off and of children taken into Muslim homes even though, in many cases, these converts were deported at a later date.)

8. Muslims were forbidden to shield Armenians (although some did so), and officials opposed to the measures or lacking in zeal were to be removed from office.

9. The deportations were to begin in the east, moving to the south and southwest, the later deportations being conducted, step by step, from the more westerly provinces. This would insure that the later deportees would have no knowledge or warning of what was happening further east and that they would pass through territories already emptied of Armenians.

10. The deportations would be conducted in the heat of summer, the worst time for the victims, with no provision being made for feeding the convoys or any preparations being made for their arrival at their destinations.

11. The destinations were to be the waterless tracts of inland Syria and Mesopotamia, where there would be no possibility of constructing life anew.

12. Since the local populations could not be relied upon to slaughter their neighbors, the action was to be carried out by the army and the local gendarmeries augmented by the arming of criminal elements and the calling in of irregular troops (*chettis*) especially drawn from the Circassian and Kurdish tribesmen.

Compared with the raw butchery of 1895, the massacres and deportations of 1915 were carried out with a precision that precludes any argument that they were not premeditated and sponsored by the government or that the Germans were not involved in the procedures at least on an advisory level.

Armenian Self-Defense

In spite of the element of surprise, the lack of arms, and the massacre of most of the able-bodied men, the Armenians, in rare instances, managed to defend themselves, successfully at Van, valiantly but futilely at Shabinkarahisar. At Musa Dagh, west of Antakya in the southernmost extension of Cilicia, the Armenian inhabitants of a half-dozen villages managed to defend themselves on the mountain for fifty-three days after 4,058 men, women, and children were rescued by a French warship, an episode immortalized in Franz Werfel's famous novel *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* (1934).

The Numbers Deported and Killed

The number of Armenians who perished in the Genocide of 1915 might seem to be a figure readily determined: one would simply subtract the number of survivors from the total number of Armenians living in the affected territories on the eve of the First World War. Unfortunately, however, neither of these figures is known. No adequate census was ever taken of the population of the six "Armenian vilayets" of the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians having as many reasons for wishing to hide their numbers as they had to exaggerate them, and the Turks having excellent reasons for wishing to keep the official figures as low as possible. As for the survivors, since most of them were to be found in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Iran—where no modern censuses were taken for many years after the events and no attempt was ever made to subtract the number of refugees from the total number of Armenians already resident—an attempt to determine the slain must ultimately fall back upon educated guesswork. Although the Turkish government claims that there were fewer than 1.5 million Armenians in the empire, most sources calculate between two and three million. It is somewhere in the vast no-man's-land of figures that one must seek the number of Armenian inhabitants of the areas affected by the deportations and massacres as well as the number who survived and, working from these figures, calculate the number that perished. Determining this figure is further complicated by the fact that so many people died of causes incidental to the actual massacres themselves, that is, the myriads who perished of starvation, exposure, and disease in the Armenian Republic after the war had ended, those who died of similar causes in refugee camps elsewhere, and the many isolated groups rounded up and shot during the Turkish campaigns through Cucavia and not as part of the general carnage that took place in the empire itself. Taking the period of the Genocide to extend from the initial killings in 1915 through the fall of Cilicia in 1921, a total figure of more than one million victims does not seem exaggerated.

Turkish Culpability

Until recently, the responsibility for the atrocities of 1915–1921 was placed by all observers squarely upon the Ottoman authorities. In recent decades, however, the Turkish government, supported by academics whose affiliation with Turkish-sponsored organizations or acceptance of other sources of Turkish funding all too often has placed them willy-nilly in the Turkish service, has attempted to deny the guilt and premeditation of the Ottoman government and even to insist that the Genocide never took place at all. Reduced to its essentials, the official Turkish argument is that (1) the Armenian population of the affected areas was never more than some eight hundred thousand strong, (2) subtracting the half-million Armenians who survived, only some three hundred thousand Armenians actually perished, (3) an equal number of Muslims perished in the same time and place—many at the hands of Armenians, (4) the Armenians, either openly disloyal or at least potentially so, were deported as a wartime precaution and there was never on the part of the government any intention of having them killed, and (5) while some three hundred thousand of these people may have perished, this was due to the harsh conditions of the time, unexpected attacks by Kurds, poor planning, and so on. As for the vast literature by eyewitnesses to the event of several nationalities describing the enormous numbers of people deported and killed, testifying to the cruelty and brutality of the procedures, and agreeing upon the culpability of the Turkish authorities, this is easily

explained away: The British, French, and Russian evidence, coming as it does from nations allied against Turkey, is naturally nothing more than wartime propaganda. All missionary evidence—even that of the Germans and, by extension, all Christian evidence—is to be rejected on the grounds that it comes from sources innately pro-Christian and hence pro-Armenian, anti-Muslim, and hence anti-Turkish. The Arab witness, too, is tainted, as the Arabs during the war were in rebellion against the Turkish government themselves. Above all, the witness of the victims themselves—the Armenian survivors—is to be totally rejected. Fortunately, however, in our search for the truth, we are told that we have one unimpeachable category of evidence, the only one beyond question: the testimony of the accused. Only the Turks have no reason to hide the truth; only their word can be accepted at face value. When the evidence of the postwar Constantinople trials is adduced to demonstrate Turkish admission of guilt in the years immediately after the events, this is dismissed as having been obtained under duress during the Allied occupation of the capital. It should be noted, however, that in all this attempt at what is revisionism at its best and falsification of history at its worst, the war of words has at least resulted in the publication of a number of documents and other sources not previously available, and thrown open the subject to scholarly and public debate. This being said, however, nothing can justify what was done to the Armenian civilian population of Anatolia between 1894 and 1921, nor the obstinate refusal of the Turkish authorities to acknowledge it, nor the attempts—especially those of their foreign supporters—to deny the dead their very existence or to defend the authors of their murder.

Impact

The Genocide perpetrated against the Armenian people in the years between 1894 and 1921 was until that time unprecedented in human history. One would have to journey deep into the annals of history to find anything to which it might be compared, while it was left to Stalin and Hitler in the 1930s and 1940s to achieve the distinction of having surpassed it. The impact of this atrocity upon the Armenian people has been profound; the ability to recover and to move beyond it is perhaps their greatest challenge in the years to come. Essentially this impact has taken the following forms:

1. About one-third of the Armenian nation was annihilated.
2. The Armenians were cleared from the six provinces of Turkish Armenia, the region now known as Eastern Anatolia, and, though largely inhabited by Kurds, an internationally recognized part of the Turkish Republic.
3. The Western Armenian cultural renaissance, centered in Constantinople and Smyrna, was brought to an abrupt and almost total end.
4. The Armenians suffered incalculable material losses in the form of land, homes, churches, monasteries, and schools, and in the destruction of historical monuments, art treasures, and movable property.
5. An enormous modern Armenian diaspora was created, with hundreds of thousands of Armenians being scattered throughout the Middle East, the Soviet Union, the United States, Latin America, and Australia.
6. The surviving Armenians were severely traumatized and, like the Jews a bare generation later, burdened with an agonizing sense of injustice and loss, aggravated by the pain of a survival mentality from which they have yet to recover. Moreover, many survivors in the West, who saw the massacre of their entire families, have lived to see the gradual "white massacre" of their descendants through intermarriage and other forms of assimilation—a process against which there seems to be no defense. Not until the sudden emergence of the new Armenian Republic in 1991 were the Armenians able to turn their attention to other matters beyond the disaster that overwhelmed the nation in the years 1915–1921.

Map 227 is based on the one presented by the Armenian delegation to the Versailles Conference in 1919 and must be examined in that context. While it seems certain that the massacres took place where depicted and that the deportations followed the routes indicated, the notion that the size of the circles can be taken to represent specific numbers of victims seems unwarranted. For this reason the sizes are given solely to show the relative numbers of victims in each locality, rather than concrete numbers.

The new government turned to the problems of a barren and isolated land, abounding with rocks and mountains, orphans and refugees, heartache and misery.

—R. G. Hovannian

THE FIRST REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA, 25 MAY 1918–2 DECEMBER 1920

The suppression of the Constituent Assembly in January 1918 and the disaster inflicted upon Russia by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk led to an armed uprising against the Soviet regime that rapidly escalated into a full-scale civil war. In this conflict, which lasted for almost three years, Russia, already torn by three years of war and a year of revolution, was ravaged beyond description. A similar fate awaited Armenia.

Government

The Armenian Republic lasted from 28 May 1918 to 2 December 1920 against insuperable odds. While never abjuring its socialist convictions, the ruling party, the Dashnaksut'yun, like most of the non-Bolshevik parties in the Russian Empire, was firmly committed to the principles of representative government, and Armenia remained officially a democratic, parliamentarian republic until the end. On the other hand, conditions in the country were totally unsuitable to parliamentary debate, and most decisions were made directly by the party leaders under emergency conditions. Yet in the midst of unparalleled difficulties, the government maintained its commitment to democracy, attempted to lay the foundations for a modern nation, and kept up an unflaging foreign policy designed to secure international recognition, foreign aid, and an American protectorate for the country, all while attempting to cope with famine conditions on a massive scale. Although homelessness, starvation, and disease characterized the first winter of its existence, when spring came in 1919 the republic had survived.

Territory and Population

Initially, the territory of the Armenian Republic consisted of less than the former tsarist province of Erivan. Although by the treaties of Batum the Turks had officially forced the Armenians to yield Akhaltsikali, Akhaltsikhe, and Surmali, as well as parts of Erivan and Ejmiatsin and the whole of Nakhichevan and Kars, all but the first two became parts of the republic (even if only in name) once the war ended and the Turks had retreated to the prewar frontier. The proposed, but never enacted, provincial reorganization of the republic's territory is shown on map 226.

No census was ever taken in the Armenian Republic, but its population is reliably estimated to have consisted in 1918 of some 800,000 Armenians, of whom about 500,000 were native Armenians, 300,000 destitute and starving refugees from Turkish Armenia, as well as more than 100,000 Muslims (chiefly Osmans, i.e., Ottoman, Turks in Kars, and Azeri Turks and Kurds everywhere else). Almost 20 percent of the population perished from famine, disease, and exposure during the first winter of the republic's existence.

Domestic Situation

No words can describe the conditions that existed in Armenia at the formation of the republic in the spring of 1918 other than to say that by the following winter, they were infinitely worse. Some 300,000 refugees, filthy, vermin infested, and starving, swarmed the country, perishing daily by the thousands from famine, exposure, and disease. Epidemics of cholera and typhus ravaged the population, all available seed for the next planting was devoured, and the average loss of livestock since the beginning of World War I came to some 68 percent. The few million rubles brought from Tiflis by the helpless and inexperienced government was soon exhausted and until the summer of 1919, the republic existed largely on foreign aid. At one time, the Armenian Near East Relief was feeding 25,000 orphans in Alexandropol.

Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of the Armenian Republic was based almost entirely on the achievement of three goals: (1) obtaining foreign aid to prevent its people from perishing, (2) securing international recognition so that the country would have a claim on the world as a formal member of the family of nations, and (3) placing Armenia under the protection of a specific foreign power. As the concept of the mandate sys-

tem arose after World War I, whereby nations not deemed ready for self-government were to be placed under the temporary tutelage ("mandate") of a foreign power, the Armenians increasingly turned their eyes toward the United States as their savior. There, Vahan Cardashian, aided by Armenianophile Americans and private organizations, attempted to convince the United States government that it had a moral obligation to take the tortured and ruined country under its wing. No one could even attempt to convince any country that it was to its economic advantage to do so. Although the United States sent surplus grain and other supplies valued at \$11 million to the Armenian Republic—a very large sum at that time—and the American Near East Relief saved thousands of Armenian lives, the mandate was rejected by the Senate on 1 June 1920 and Armenia was left to the mercies of Turkey and Soviet Russia. Locally, the Armenians, fearful of losing anything by default, embroiled themselves in a struggle with Azerbaijan for the control of Karabagh and with Georgia—the only potential ally that Armenia could possibly hope to muster in Caucasus—over possession of Akhaltsikali, Akhaltsikhe, and Borchal. A war broke out between the two republics during the last two weeks of 1918, and stopped only when the Allied powers arranged a truce and established a buffer zone in Borchal.

Foundations Laid

In spite of the critical situation in Armenia, the Armenian leadership took whatever steps it could—often only on paper—to lay the foundations for a modern nation: a parliamentary republic was declared, a coalition government was formed, a judicial system was drawn up, a national currency planned, compulsory universal education was decreed, a state university was established, and plans were initiated for a national theater and a state museum. Teams were sent out to study the soils and mineral deposits of the country and to catalog its historical and archaeological monuments. Many of the vaunted achievements of the Soviet period were based directly upon the initiatives of the government of the first republic.

The Azerbaijani Republic

The Azerbaijani Republic was in the hands of the Musavat "Equality" Party, which, strongly influenced by pan-Turkism, stood for the political, economic, and social regeneration of all Turkic peoples, for liberal, constitutional reforms, and for strong ties between Muslims both within and without the fallen Russian Empire. Its capital, originally established at Ganja (Elizavetpol'), was transferred to Baku in September 1918. On 27 April 1918, the Azeri communists in Baku demanded that the parliament of the republic cede power to the Bolsheviks. Immediately, the Red Army crossed the frontier and sped to the capital. After two years in power, the Musavat Party was driven out and, on 28 April 1920, a Soviet republic proclaimed. Soviet power would last unshaken in Azerbaijan for the next seven years.

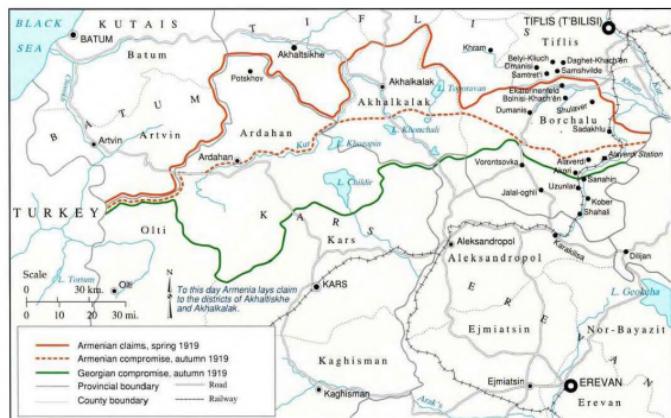
The Georgian Republic

The Georgian Republic, dominated by the Marxist Menshevik Party, had adopted a resolutely pro-German policy that led to the German occupation of the country in June 1918, an arrangement abruptly terminated by the German defeat in November. Thereafter, though in nowhere near as desperate a situation as Armenia, the country suffered from a severe inflation, widespread strikes, and a 50 percent drop in industrial production caused by the disruption in trade resulting from the chaos in Russia. A generally successful land

reform, however, avoided serious rural unrest. More serious problems were connected with Georgia's relations with Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the White forces of General Denikin in southern Russia, and with the difficulty in obtaining foreign recognition, exacerbated by its earlier pro-German stance. Ultimately, Georgia was occupied by the Red Army (12 March 1921), the last of the three Transcaucasian republics to be swallowed by the new Soviet Russia. As in Azerbaijan and Armenia, Soviet power was to endure in Georgia for the next seventy years.

The Treaty of Sèvres

The peace treaty that was signed at Sèvres, France, on 10 August 1920 provided for the establishment of a large, independent Armenian Republic, the exact boundaries for which were to be drawn by the American president, Woodrow Wilson (1913–1921), ultimately awarding some 42,000 sq. km. / 16,216 sq. mi. of the eastern Ottoman provinces to the existing Armenian state. Although these boundaries omitted all of southwestern Armenia (most notably the quintessential Armenian district of Kharpet), the Armenians were more than compensated by being assigned an outlet to the Black Sea through the Pontic coast from the old Russian frontier as far as Giresun, 400 km. / 250 mi. to the west, including the city of Trebisond. Economic considerations were given precedence over the wishes of the Greek population of this coast or those of the even more numerous Muslims living there. In any case, the treaty proved abortive, for it was never ratified by Turkey, and no treaty, no matter how carefully or honestly negotiated, is valid until the governments that dispatched the treaty's negotiators agree to accept what its representatives have contrived. As it happened, the Allies had waited far too long to get around to a peace settlement with Turkey, and the Treaty of Sèvres had been drawn up with the prostrate Ottoman Empire of October 1918 in mind rather than the newly resurgent Turkey under Mustafa Kemal. The oft-cited "Wilsonian frontiers" were not even made public until 22 November 1920, by which time the Treaty of Sèvres, which had authorized their determination, had been rejected by the new Turkey.



228. The Armeno-Georgian Dispute, 1919 (Courtesy R. G. Hovannian)



230. Armenian Claims in Caucasia (Courtesy Richard G. Hovannisian)

The Fall of the Armenian Republic

The sovietization of Azerbaijan and the rejection of the American mandate by the U.S. Senate in June 1920 sealed the doom of the Armenian Republic, and it is surprising that it lasted few months more than it did. The government was losing control of the situation, its money was worthless, and the oncoming winter promised to be almost as disastrous as the one two years before. In June 1920, the Armenian government had ordered the occupation of a part of the district of Olti; then under a local Muslim government. Using this as a convenient pretext, on 3 September, General Kiazem Karabekir led four Turkish battalions, which drove the Armenians out of Olti and, on the 28th, occupied Sankamish and the next day Kagizman. Armenian resistance delayed the Turkish advance on Kars while the Armenian government unsuccessfully attempted to secure a Georgian alliance and the intervention of Soviet Russia. On 24 October, a massive Turkish campaign was launched to seize Kars. Fierce fighting took place for several days and the Turks suffered some reverses, but then—and this has still not been satisfactorily explained—the Armenians abandoned Kars without fighting for the city itself, the Turks occupying it on 30 October. The usual disaster associated with a mass flight ensued, followed by the pillage, rape, and massacre of those who could not escape in time. As the Turks continued to advance, occupying Alexandropol, to which they moved their headquarters, they presented the beleaguered Armenians with an ultimatum which they were forced to accept. This was immediately followed, however, by a second more radical demand, the acceptance of which would have effectively meant the end of Armenia as a viable entity. Although at first the Armenians rejected this, when the Turks continued



231. Georgian Claims in Caucasia (Courtesy Richard G. Hovannisian)

to advance, they were forced to capitulate. The war ended on 17 November 1920, but as the terms of capitulation were being negotiated between Karabekir and Khalilian in Alexandropol, the Soviets decided to act to create their own Armenia to suit their own goals. Acting for Lenin, Stalin ordered Ordzhonikidze to move on Armenia, and Armenian Bolshevik troops entered the republic at Karavansarai (now Ijevan) on the 29th. In order to spare the possibility of a Turkish capture of Ejmiatshen and Erivan, should the Bolshevik forces not arrive in time, the Armenian coalition regime, as virtually its last act, signed the Treaty of Alexandropol, which was to set the western frontier of Armenia until the present day. On 2 December 1920, the Armenian government formally surrendered power to a new Bolshevik-dominated coalition. The Revolutionary Committee (Revkom), made up of Armenians from Azerbaijan, entered Erevan on 5 December and the CHEKA, the dreaded secret police, the following day.

The Soviet Republic that then emerged is today regarded as the second Armenian Republic; the present republic, established in 1991, as the third.

The Treaties of Alexandropol, Moscow, and Kars

These treaties together delineate or confirm the international frontier between Turkey and the Armenian Republic as it exists today. The first of the three is the Treaty of Alexandropol of 2 December 1920, which terminated the war between Turkey and the Armenian Republic. By the terms of this treaty (which was never ratified), the frontier between Armenia and Turkey was defined. The Treaty of Moscow, signed on 16 March 1921 between the Soviet and the Turkish governments, then delineat-

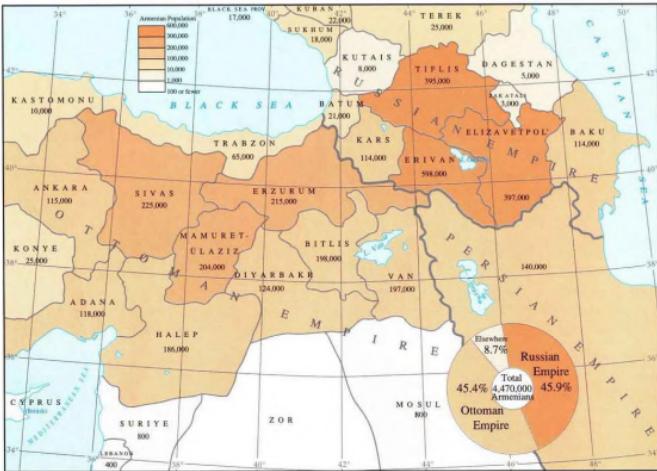


232. Azeri Claims in Caucasia (Courtesy Richard G. Hovannisian)

ed the entire frontier between the Turkish Republic and Armenia and Georgia. By the terms of this new treaty, the 1920 Armenian frontier with Turkey was not changed. Finally, on 13 October 1921, Soviet Georgia, Soviet Armenia, and Soviet Azerbaijan signed the Treaty of Kars with Turkey, whereby the three Soviet republics simply confirmed the frontier established by the earlier Treaty of Moscow.

Other Short-Lived Republics

The period of the three Caucasian republics saw the emergence of a number of even more ephemeral political entities that formed in the chaos between the fall of the tsar and the consolidation of Soviet power in Caucasia. These included (1) the anti-Bolshevik Mountain Republic in Daghestan (summer 1918–spring 1920), (2) the neighboring territory of the anti-Bolshevik Volunteer Army in northwestern Caucasia (9 January 1918–26 / 27 March 1920), (3) Karabagh (under a “people’s government,” November 1919–22 August 1920), (4) the Southwest Caucasian Republic at Kars (a short-lived Muslim entity), (5) the Arasdayan Republic (another brief Muslim venture in the Nakhchivan region, 26 January 1919–16 May 1919), (6) the Soviet republic of Mughan (a communist venture south of the Arax), and (7) most seriously, the Soviet Republic of Gilan (along the southwest shore of the Caspian Sea, May 1920–October 1921), that required considerable effort by the Iranian government to put down. In the same category as these must be counted the later Soviet-sponsored republics of Kurdistan and Azerbaijan in northeastern Iran in 1946. These, however, will be discussed in connection with map 237.



233. The Distribution of the Armenian Population in Caucasus, 1914

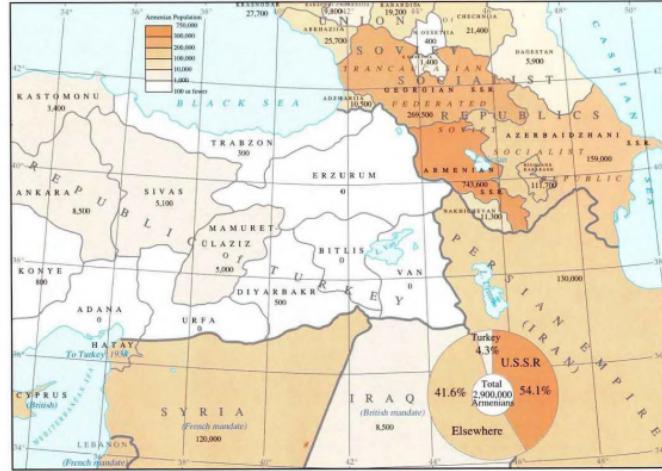
The Armenian Church in 1954

A comparison of this table with the one on p. 226 will demonstrate the impact upon the Armenian Church of the events of the First World War and the sovietization of the Armenian Republic. For the revival of the Armenian Church since 1954, see p. 288.

Diocese	Superior	Jurisdiction	Members	Pa.	Ch.	Ca.	Pr.
KATHOLIKOSATE OF EJMITSIN							
1. Erevan	Katholikos	Southern Soviet Armenia	1,500,000	47	33	—	—
2. Shirak	Bishop	Northern Soviet Armenia	150,000	12	5	—	—
3. Baku	Archimandrite	Soviet Azerbaijan	375,000	32	30	—	—
4. Tiflis	Archbishop	Soviet Georgia	650,000	20	14	—	—
5. Nor-Nakhichevan	Archimandrite	Rest of the USSR	70,000	8	7	—	80
6. Ispahan (Isfahan)	Archpriest	Southern Iran, India, & Indonesia	28,732	38	54	106	77
7. Tehran	Archpriest	Eastern Iran	71,500	28	21	850	1,400
8. Tabriz (Tabriz)	Archpriest	Northwestern Iran	38,600	25	27	700	1,525
9. Iraq	Archpriest	Iraq	13,125	9	7	1,422	—
10. Greece	Archpriest	Greece	9,100	7	13	341	400
11. Bulgaria	Archpriest	Bulgaria	25,200	10	12	—	340
12. Romania	Bishop	Romania	23,000	13	16	—	10
13. France	Archimandrite	France	160,000	23	17	9,300	3,000
14. Egypt	Archbishop	Egypt	37,100	13	9	4,100	550
15. N. America	Archbishop	(without California), Canada, Cuba, Mexico	150,000	47	42	820	4,300

16. California	Archimandrite	California	40,000	12	12	200	6,000
17. S. America	Bishop	South America	28,650	10	11	1,000	500
KATHOLIKOSATE OF CILICIA							
18. Berit (Beirut)	Katholikos	Lebanon	80,000	20	15	7,000	3,000
19. Beria	Bishop	Northern Syria	105,000	18	17	18,600	4,000
20. Damaras	Archimandrite	Southern Syria (Damascus)	7,500	4	3	450	240
21. Kibrit (Cyprus)	Bishop	Republic of Cyprus	4,000	3	5	50	250
PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM							
22. Yerusalem	Patriarch	Greater Jerusalem (Jerusalem, Kuds)	3,650	1	5	200	185
23. Joppa (Jaffa)	Archimandrite	District of Jaffa	600	2	2	—	—
24. Haifa	Archimandrite	District of Haifa	400	1	1	—	—
25. Amman	Archimandrite	Kgm. of Jordan	3,600	1	1	200	120
PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE							
26. Constantinople Patriarch (Istanbul)	Patriarch	Republic of Turkey	100,000	42	38	10,000	1,000
Totals (1954)							
Dioceses							
Armenian Church members							
Parishes							
Churches							
Armenian Catholics							
Armenian Protestants							

Note: Pa., parishes; Ch., churches; Ca., Catholics; Pr., Protestants. By 1978, the organization of the church had been modified and slightly expanded so that (1) under the katholikosate of Ejmiatsin there had been added the six dioceses of Australia / New Zealand, Canada, Eng-



234. The Distribution of the Armenian Population in Caucasus, 1926

land, India, Marseile, and Lyon, the two prelacies of Manchester and Austria, and the eight vicariates of Alexandria, Belgium, Crete, Ethiopia, Milan, Sudan, West Germany, and Zurich; (2) under the patriarchate of Jerusalem, the sees of Joppa (Jaffa) and Haifa no longer existed; (3) under the patriarchate of Constantinople, the four vicariates of Rumelis Hisar, Kayseri, Diyarbekir, and Iskenderun had been added; and (4) under the katholikosate of Cilicia had been added the diocese of Lebanon, the vicariate of Kuwait, and the dioceses of Western North America and Eastern North America / Canada, which had emerged alongside the existing North American dioceses still under Ejmiatsin, the result of an administrative schism in the Armenian Church that had its origins in 1934. The dioceses of Greece, Aleppo, Cyprus, and the three cities (Isfahan, Tabriz, and Tehran) had likewise passed under the jurisdiction of Cilicia for the same reason.

In 1978, the Armenian Church possessed seven monasteries under Ejmiatsin (Ejmiatsin, St. Hripsime, St. Gayane, St. Shoghakat, Khor Virap, St. Geghard / Ayvank, and St. Khach) at Eghegnadzor (all in Armenia), five under Jerusalem (St. James, the patriarchal see, Holy Savior, St. Zvartnots', St. Nikoghos in Jaffa, and St. Gevorg at Ramlah), two under Cilicia (the patriarchal monastery at Antilius and the patriarchal summer residence at Bik-Faya), and one under Constantinople (if one counts the patriarchal residence in Istanbul). Each of the four jurisdictions of the church possessed a seminary; a fifth, St. Nersess (sic) Seminary in New Rochelle, New York, served the needs of the Armenian Church in the United States.

Robert H. Hewsen

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A Historical Atlas

Christopher C. Salvatico
Cartographer-in-Chief

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Dedicated to
Ananias of Shirak
Armenia's First Scientist

On the Commemoration of the 1700th
Anniversary of the Conversion of Armenia
to Christianity in 301

ՄԵԽԱԿԻ ԾՆՈՐՀԱԿԱՆԻՑԻԹԵԱՄՐ

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Armenian Transliteration

(Unless indicated, all three, classical, Eastern, and Western, are identical.)

		<i>Classical Pronunciation</i>	<i>Eastern</i>	<i>Western</i>
Ա ա	A	as in far		
Բ բ	B	b		p
Գ գ	G	g	k	
Դ դ	D	d	t	
Ե ե	E	as in say (mod. as in let; initial ye)		
Զ զ	Z	z		
Ւ ւ	Ւ	as in let		
Ը ը	Ե	as in but (the <i>shwa</i> sound)		
Թ թ	T'	aspirated t as in time		t
Փ փ	Ճ	zh as in azure		
Ւ Ւ	I	as in <i>see</i>		
Լ լ	L	l		
Խ խ	X	kh as in Germ. <i>ach</i>		
Ծ ծ	C	pets (West. <i>sudsy</i>)	ts	tz
Կ կ	K	kid		g
Հ հ	H	a strong exhalation		
Ձ ձ	J	aids (West. <i>pants</i>)	dz	te
Ղ ղ	Լ	gh as Fr. <i>r</i> in <i>rose</i>		
Ճ ճ	Շ	as in chess (West. <i>just</i>)	ch	j
Մ մ	M	m		
Յ յ	Y	init. y (mod. h; intern. or final = y)		
Ն ն	N	n		
Շ շ	Շ	shall	sh	s
Օ օ	O	aw as in oral (mod. init. vo)		
Շ շ	Շ	church	ch'	c
Պ պ	P	p	b	
Ջ ջ	J	edge (West. <i>etch</i>)	j	c
Ռ ռ	Ր	Scottish trilled rr		
Ս ս	S	s		
Վ վ	V	v		
Տ տ	T	t		
Ր ր	R	r		
Ց ց	Շ	pants	ts'	t
Ւ Ւ	Վ	mod. final v		
Փ Փ	Պ'	aspirated p as in port (Gk. <i>ph</i>)		p
Ք Ք	Ք'	aspirated k as in kind		k
Օ օ	Օ	as in awning		
Ֆ ֆ	F	f		
Ա Ա	Ո	as in mood		
Ե Ե	Ի	as in few	iu	i
Ա Ա	Ա	as in cow (mod. paw)	օ	o

Georgian Transliteration

(Modern Georgian uses no majuscule letters but, following standard practice, this atlas uses them for the transliteration of proper names.)

ɔ	a	as in father
ð	b	
ʒ	g	
ʒ	d	
ɛ	e	
ɜ	v	
ʒ	z	
θ	è	as in stay (obsolete)
θ	t	aspirated t as in time
o	i	as in Fr. chic
ɔ	k	
ə	l	
ə	m	
ə	n	
ə	y	boy (obsolete)
ɔ	o	
ɔ	p	
ɔ	ž	zh as in azure
ɔ	r	
ɔ	s	
ɔ	t	
ɔ	w	classical Geo. as in
u	u	
ɸ	p'	aspirated p as in por
χ	k'	aspirated k as in kind
χ	gh	Fr. r as in rose
q	q	deep staccato k
š	š	shall
č	č	church
č	c'	aspirated ts as in pa
ɔ	i	aids
ɔ	c	pants
ɔ	č	as in just
ɔ	x	Gk. chi
ɔ	q'	aspirated q (obsolete)
ɔ	j	large
ɔ	h	weak breathing
ɔ	ö	as in host (obsolete)

Russian Transliteration

(This atlas follows the Library of Congress system but omits the ligatures.)

А	A
Б	B
В	V
Г	G
Д	D
Е	E
Ё	Eu as in Fr.
Ж	Zh as in azure
З	Z
И	I
Й	I
К	K
Л	L
М	M
Н	N
О	O
П	P
Р	R
С	S
Т	T
Ү	U
Ф	F
Х	Kh
Ц	Ts
Ч	Ch
Ш	Sh
Щ	Shch
ъ	"
ы	y
ь	"
Э	E
Ю	lu
Я	la

*Having both lost their functions, the "hard" and "soft" signs are given the same way.

Urartian Transliteration

As in English except for the following:

H as in Germ. *ach*

So it shall

Gas in small

Symbols

PHYSICAL FEATURES		ECCLESIASTICAL		MISCELLANEOUS	
▲	Mountain peaks	● ● ●	Armenian sees (katholikos / patriarch, archbishop, bishop)	..	Gates
) (Mountain passes	‡ ‡ ‡	Georgian sees	↑	Naval stations
—	Swamplands	● ● ●	Armeno-Albanian sees	✈	Airports
	Deserts and nature preserves	† † †	Chalcedonian sees (Greek Orthodox)	●	Lighthouses
▲ ▾	Rivers and tributaries	▲ ▲ ▲	Chalcedonian sees (Roman Catholic)	— —	Battle positions
—	Forests, waterfalls	▲ ▲ ▲	Chalcedonian sees (Armenian Catholic)	⌚	Classical theaters
—	Rivers and tributaries	▲ ▲ ▲	Chalcedonian sees (Chaldean Catholic)	● ●	Tombs, tombstones, khach'kars
LOCALITIES		▲ ▲ ▲	Nestorian sees (East Syrian)	● ● ● ●	Cemeteries (Christian or Muslim)
○	National capitals	▼ ▼ ▼	Monophysite sees (Jacobite / West Syrian)	— — — —	Fortified walls
○ ○ ○	Provincial, county, district centers	●	Armenian Protestant congregations	— — — —	BOUNDARIES
●	Cities	◆	Mонаstaries (colored by denomination)	— — — —	National boundaries
●	Large towns	● ●	Churches and chapels (colored by denomination)	— — — —	Provincial boundaries
●	Small towns	●	Pagan shrines	— — — —	County boundaries
●	Villages	◆ ◆ ◆	Mosques and synagogues	— — — —	District boundaries
■ ■	Large fortresses, small fortresses or forts	◆ ◆ ◆	Important Jewish communities	TYPOGRAPHY	
□	Fortress-capitals	◆ ◆ ◆	TRANSPORTATION	ARMENIA	
■	Stations on itineraries	— — — —	Main roads	SIVAS	Empires and countries
●	Seats of Armenian princes and meliks	— — — —	Secondary roads	Sivas	Provinces, principalities, vilayets, gubernias
●	Seats of Kurdish derebeys (valley lords)	— — — —	Railroads	Sivas	Counties (sanjiks, uezds)
●	Seats of Pontic derebeys	— — — —	Railroad stations	EREVAN	Districts (mahals, kazas, uchastoks, raions)
■ ■	Centers of Armenian and Kurdish confederations	— — — —	Bridges	DILIAN	Capitals and other cities
●	Wholly or partly Armenian inhabited villages	— — — —	Canals	Gors	Large towns
▼ ▼ ▼	Inscriptions (Urtalian, classical, Byzantine)	— — — —	ECONOMIC	Bmavot	Small towns
HISTORICAL EVENTS		■	Springs	Echmiatsin	Villages
WW 1840	Earthquakes with dates	□	Wells	S. Kaspel	Fortresses and large monasteries
[1441]	Dates of church councils	□	Oil wells	.. [Nineveh]	Forts and smaller monasteries
⊗ 1722 R/P	Battles with dates (victor on left)	—	Dams	KOSUR	Ruined sites
★ *	Uprisings and self-defensive actions (major, lesser)	—	Mining operations	Arat	Mountain ranges
(1064) P	Sackings or destructions with dates and perpetrators	⊗		Corn, silk	Mountain peaks
○ (364) P	Sieges with dates and perpetrators	⊗			Products

Map Abbreviations

A	Augustinian mission
(A)	Arewordik center
Aus.c	Austrian consulate
AB	American Board of Foreign Missions, major station
Ab	American Board of Foreign Missions, substation
Abp	Archbishop
AC	Armenian college (high school)
Ah	American hospital
Ao	American orphanage
AP	Armenian Protestant community
APc	Armenian Protestant Church (offshoot of the American churches)
APS	Important Armenian private school
As	Armenian Protestant school
Asem	American Protestant seminary
ASIC	Armenian Sisters of the Immaculate Conception mission (RC)
Ath	Armenian theater
B	Brothers of Christian Schools (RC)
Bel.c	Belgian consulate
Bp	Bishop
Br.c	British consulate
C	Carmelite mission (RC)
Cr	Crusader(s)
D	Dominican mission (RC)

DC	Disciples of Christ mission
F	Franciscan mission (RC)
FC	Franciscan Capuchin mission (RC)
Fr.	French consulate
FS	Franciscan Sisters mission (RC)
G	Roman Catholic gymnasium (high school)
Gh	German Lohmann Society hospital
Gk	Greek
Grm	German mission
Go	German orphanage
H	Hospital
It.c	Italian consulate
J	Jesuit mission (RC)
K	Kurds
Kath.	Katholikos
L	Lazarist mission (RC)
Mong.	Mongol
Met.	Metropolitan
MNC	Muslim spiritual director for North Caucasia
MTC	Muslim spiritual director for Transcaucasia
Mv	Mekhitarist mission from Venice (Armenian Catholic)
Mw	Mekhitarist mission from Vienna (Armenian Catholic)
Neth.c	Dutch consulate
Ott.	Ottoman
(P)	Paulician center
P	Persian
Par.	Parthian
Per.c	Persian consulate
Pdt.	Portuguese
(R)	Roman
R	Russian
Re	Russian consulate
RC	Roman Catholic
RCC	Roman Catholic college
RO	Russian Orthodox mission
SAN	Sisters of the Assumption of Nîmes mission (RC)
SJL	Sisters of St. Joseph of Lyons mission (RC)
SP	Scottish Presbyterian mission
SPT	Sisters of the Presentation of Tours mission (RC)
SSJA	Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition mission (RC)
(T)	Tondrakite center
Tk	Turkish
Tc	Turkish consulate
UP	United Presbyterian Church mission
U.S.	United States
Y	Yezidis

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books relevant to Armenia and Caucasia exist in a great number of languages, especially those concerned with the Armenians and their vast diaspora. In principle, only books in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, and Armenian have been included in this bibliography. As a rule, books in less accessible languages have been omitted, though certain major works in Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, Georgian, Turkish, Persian, and others have been entered to apprise the reader of their existence. Titles in non-Western languages, including Russian, have been translated as well as transliterated. The principles governing the transliteration of non-Western alphabets have been discussed in the Introduction above.

It should be kept in mind that the bibliography relevant to Armenian studies has reached a critical state where, were it not for the timely arrival of the computer, it would have soon become almost impossible to control it. Even were we to limit the present bibliography to the items relevant solely to Armenian history and historical geography, it would still become a list of titles beyond manageable proportions. Whatever our personal preference might have been in this regard, then, we have been forced to restrict the bibliography to the major works relevant to this atlas alone. In dealing with the vast travel literature generated over the past eight centuries, we have attempted to be exhaustive. In regard to the Greek, Roman, Armenian, and Georgian sources, we have tried to be the same. To conserve space, we have cited the classical, Caucasian, and Muslim sources by their author only (or by their titles if no author is known), with information given only on their major editions and translations. In regard to Armenian, Georgian, and even Russian secondary sources, however, we have limited ourselves to those immediately relevant to Caucasian history, ethnology, and historical geography. In doing so, we trust that we have overlooked nothing of major importance, especially in regard to historical geography, and little of secondary value. For users of this atlas seeking greater access to the literature, Burney and Lang's *Peoples of the Hills* (1971) and the English translation of Diakonoff's *Pre-History of the Armenian People* (1984) are the best sources for bibliographies of the prehistoric and pre-Urtar-ian periods. For classical Armenian authors, we direct the reader to R. W. Thomson's recent *Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD* (1995), which contains a complete listing of editions, translations, and commentaries for the works under consideration and which is current as of 1993. For the Georgian sources, the bibliography in Tournamoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (1963) was until recently the best reference for the ancient and medieval periods, with Rayfield's recent monograph (1998) a useful supplement. These have now been superseded by the bibliography in the Ph.D. dissertation by Stephen Rapp (1997). For Greek and Roman sources, the *Cambridge Ancient History*, though by now somewhat dated, is the best guide. The bibliographies in the articles in the marvelous *Aufstieg und Niedergang des Römischen Reiches* offer good updates to those in the *Cambridge Ancient History*; for Byzantine and Muslim texts the *Cambridge Medieval History*, although now also dated, is the obvious locus for the literature in question, though W. Kaeg's *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (1992) has an excellent bibliography of the Byzantine and Muslim sources for the Arab period, and looking up the names of individual authors in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1st and 2nd eds.), and the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* is always fruitful. For the Turkish source material, the bibliography in volume 4 of Sinclair's *Architectural Monuments of Eastern Anatolia* (1987–1990) is indispensable. For the early modern and modern Persian sources, as well as for many less accessible tsarist and Ottoman sources, the best references are G. A. Bournoutian's *Khanate of Erevan under Qajar Rule, 1795–1828* (2d ed., 1992), his English translation of Javanshir Qarabagh's *History of Qarabagh* (1994), and his recent anthology *Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia, 1797–1889: A Documentary Record* (1998). For the vast travel literature, we have combined below the bibliographies in Lynch (1961), in Brier and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (1985), and in V. Ghazaryan (1997), which together are nearly exhaustive, and we have included a few items that they have missed. R. G. Hovannissian's four-volume *Armenian Republic* (Los Angeles, 1971–1995) and his other works together contain a thorough survey of the vast literature relevant to the Armenian Question (1878–1923), including the Armenian Genocide, and are especially valuable for the archival materials of the various governments involved, as is V. Dadrian (1995, 1999), whose exhaustive bibliographies on the Genocide are especially valuable for Turkish documents and works relevant to the subject. The bibli-

ographies in the works of R. Suny cover the Soviet period. A vast quantity of modern Armenian and Russian literature is cited in the bibliographies of the official Soviet *Hay Zolordvi patmut'iwn* (*History of the Armenian People*) and the equally official *Haykakan sovetakan hanrapetut'iwn* (*Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia*); Georgian and Azeri materials in those of the corresponding Soviet Georgian and Soviet Azeri national histories and encyclopedias (all of which contain an equally vast amount of bibliographic information on the Russian specialist literature, both tsarist and Soviet). The works of Lang also provide good bibliographies on Georgia; that of Altstadt (1992) covers the literature on Azerbaijan. Finally, though this bibliography subsumes the vast historical-geographical literature found in the bibliographies of Tournamoff (1963), Adontz-Gargolian (1970), and Hewsen (1992), these remain valuable for the Greek, Latin, and Georgian sources, and for many works on ancient and medieval Armenia and Caucasia for which there was not room in the present bibliography.

Obviously, not every work listed in this bibliography was actually utilized in the preparation of this atlas (although a very high percentage of them were), nor were all of them actually used. The purpose of this compilation is to update previous bibliographies on the subject and to open up the literature to the researcher as it stood at the closure of work on the atlas in the year 2000.

Note: Scholar should be on guard when using Soviet and post-Soviet Azeri editions of Azerbaijani, and even Russian and Western European sources printed in Baku. These have been edited to remove references to the Armenians and have been distributed in large numbers in recent years. When utilizing such sources, the researcher should seek out the pre-Soviet editions wherever possible.

Organization

The bibliography is divided into ten sections: (1) General References (including chronologies, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and handbooks), (2) Bibliographies, (3) Periodicals and Serials, (4) Atlases, (5) Unbound Maps, (6) Manuscript Collections, (7) Collections of Sources (including anthologies, catalogs of manuscripts, and collections of colophons and of epigraphic and numismatic materials), (8) Sources, (9) Description and Travel, and (10) Secondary Works (including books, articles, government documents, and unpublished items).

It should be noted that the line between the travelers' accounts and descriptive works written by people after they have visited the region is a narrow one. The accounts of Brosset, Cuinet, the Thierry, and Sinclair, for example, all of whom toured the general region extensively, are treated as secondary literature because they were not written as step-by-step records of their travels but rather as distillations of the data gathered in the course of them. In some cases, not having seen the text in question, there being too few of them to warrant special treatment, although all such have been cross-referenced from the main part of the surname.

Armenian surnames present a problem because there is an Eastern and a Western Armenian spelling for each of them when utilizing the Latin alphabet. Here, each surname is entered in its Eastern form, except in cases where the author has already chosen the Western form as the one he uses in the Latin script. Again, all such surnames have been cross-referenced (e.g., Tašeān to Daschian, the author's own transliteration of his name). Similarly, Armenian names best known in their Western forms have been cross-referenced to their Eastern ones. For the orthography of Armenian surnames the Hübschmann-Méillet-Beneventer transliteration has been used, but Armenian names that would otherwise be unrecognizable in this system have been cross-referenced from the time in which they would appear in Library of Congress system (e.g., Khachaturyan, see Xac'tiryan).

A particular problem unique to Armenian concerns the spelling of Armenian surnames, which almost always end in the syllable -ean, a genitive form having the sense of 'of or from' and being the exact equivalent of the same termination in English (e.g.,

sectorian 'of a sect'; *itan* 'from Italy'). Usually rendered in the Latin alphabet as -ian, the Armenian spelling of this monosyllabic in the past, however, has been traditionally the equivalent -ean, which is not used in the Latin script because it would misconvey the actual pronunciation (which is -yan, not -ee-an). In the Soviet period, however, the official orthography of this termination was altered to -yan to reflect the actual pronunciation, and this is the way such Russian and Soviet Armenian surnames were normally Latinized when transliterating from Russian or Armenian texts. The result of all this is that in the West we now have Armenian surnames rendered as -ean (in the Armenian script), and as -ian and -yan (in Latin orthography). This has now been additionally confused by the fact that (1) the Soviet orthography was never accepted by Armenians outside of the Soviet Union, whether writing in Armenian or Western languages, and (2) this orthography has now been abandoned in the new Armenian Republic since independence has been achieved. While we have used -ian for names spelled that way in Western languages, and we have used -ean and -yan for those spelled, respectively, in traditional Armenian and Soviet Armenian, we have been forced to utilize -yan, as well, in cases where this is the transliteration used in Western texts translated from either Soviet Armenian or Russian, where the translators themselves used -yan. The reader's indulgence is requested in dealing with such inconsistencies as will be encountered below; we are happy that these rarely affect the order of names in the bibliography itself (e.g., *Manandian* precedes *Manandyan*). Note: the Library of Congress system renders the Russian letter ya as ia with a ligature. We have followed this system, though, as is now common, omitting the ligature.

Miscellaneous Notes

Descriptions, travel accounts, and secondary works in the bibliography marked at the end of the entry with an asterisk (*) contain important maps, although works not so marked may contain significant maps as well.

In the few cases where the author has had more than one work published in a given year, these are distinguished by letters attached to the date (e.g., 1980a, 1980b).

Reprints, second editions and translations of works have been indicated after the main entry.

Titles are capitalized according to the conventions of the languages in which they are written. Georgian does not capitalize at all.

Despite limitations of space, a few important titles (e.g., Cuinet, Lynch) have been entered twice because, by their nature, they fit into more than one category and could reasonably be expected to be found under either one.

In sections 1, 3, 6, and 7 below, certain abbreviations have been used for reference works and periodicals referred to in the bibliography. We have not thought it necessary to do this for travelers' accounts or secondary works.

Miscellaneous Abbreviations

AAS	Armenian Academy of Sciences.
AzAS	Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences.
GAS	Georgian Academy of Sciences.

1. GENERAL REFERENCES

BE	<i>Bolshaya entsiklopediya</i> . St. Petersburg, 1896.
BSE	<i>Bolshaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya</i> . 1st ed., Moscow, 1926. 3d ed., 1970–1978. Eng. trans., see GSE.
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> . 12 vols. Cambridge, UK, 1971–1992.
CHIr	<i>Cambridge History of Iran</i> . 7 vols. Cambridge, UK, 1968–1991.
CMH	<i>Cambridge Medieval History</i> . 9 vols. Cambridge, UK, 1911–1967.
DA	<i>The Dictionary of Art</i> . New York, 1996.
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i> . Paris, 1919–.
EB	<i>Encyclopædia Britannica</i> . 11th ed., London, 1910; 15th ed., Chicago, 1974.
EI	<i>Encyclopædia of Islam</i> . 1st ed. 4 vols. and supp. Leiden, 1913–1938.
EI2	<i>Encyclopædia of Islam</i> . 2d ed. Leiden, 1950.
EIr	<i>Encyclopædia iranica</i> . New York, 1985–.
Elt	<i>Encyclopædia italicana</i> . Milan, 1929–1938.
EJ	<i>Encyclopædia judæica</i> . Jerusalem, 1971.
ES	<i>Entziklopedicheskij slovar'</i> . Moscow, 1913.
EU	<i>Encyclopædia universalis</i> . Paris, 1968.
EWA	<i>Encyclopædia dell'arte</i> . Venice and Rome, 1958.

- EWC** Encyclopedia of World Cultures, Vol. 6, Russia and Eurasia / China. Boston, 1994.
- GSE** Great Soviet Encyclopedia. Eng. trans. of BSE, 3d ed. New York, 1973.
- HERE** Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. New York, 1955.
- HHSSTB** Hayotsyan, T. X., et al. Hayastani ew harak' ſrjaneri telanunneri baaran [Dictionary of the Toponyms of Armenia and the Neighboring Lands]. Vol. 1–A–D. Erevan, 1986. Vol. 2, Erevan, 1988.
- HSH** Haykakan sovietakan hanrapetutyan [Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia]. Erevan, 1974–1988.
- HŽP** Haykakan žolodrit patmutyun [History of the Armenian People]. Erevan, 1971–1984.
- IA** Islam Antiklopedisi. Th. ed. of the EJ, amplified in Turkish areas. Istanbul, 1940–(in progress).
- JE** Jewish Encyclopedia. New York and London, 1901–1912.
- LaG** La Grande Encyclopédie. Paris, 1885–1901.
- MAR** Mythology of All Races. Vol. 5, Armenia, Africa. New York, 1925.
- MERSH** The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History. Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1976–1995. Supplements, 1988–1993.
- MERSL** The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literature. (Renamed Modern Encyclopedia of East Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Literature from vol. 10.) Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1977–.
- NICE** New Catholic Encyclopedia. New York, 1967.
- NES** Novyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar'. St. Petersburg, 1904.
- ODB** Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. New York and Oxford, 1971.
- PW** See RE.
- RE** Pauly, G. Real-encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft . . . 890–1904. New ed. by G. Wissowa. Stuttgart, 1904–.
- SIE** Sovetskaya istoricheskaya entsiklopediya. Moscow, 1961–1976.
- TAVO** Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients. Wiesbaden, 1974–1990.
- WASU** Shaw, W., and W. Pryce. World Almanac of the Soviet Union. New York, 1990.
- YA** Yurt Ansiklopedisi. Geographical by province, 10 vols. plus general vol. on Turkey as a whole. Istanbul, 1981–1984.
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- See also the bibliographies in Luzbetak (1951), Bryer and Winfield (1958), HŽP (1971–1984), Toumanoff (1963), R. G. Hovannessian (1967, 1971–1996), Adontz-Garschan (1970), Sinclair (1987–1990, vol. 4), Attastadt (1992), Hewsen (1992), and Rapp (1997).
- 3. PERIODICALS AND SERIALS**
- A Ararat (New York).
- AAL Annual of Armenian Linguistics (Cleveland, Ohio).
- AC The Armenian Church (New York).
- AGBU AGBU Magazine (New York).
- AIM Armenian International Magazine (Glendale, Calif.).
- ANRW Die Aufstieg und Niedergang des römischen Welt (Berlin).
- AOASH Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica (Budapest).
- AP Arkhaion Pontos [Ancient Pontos] (Athens).
- Ar Armenia (Leipzig).
- ASSC Annual of the Society for the Study of Caucasia (Chicago).
- AzI Azerbaijan International (Sherman Oaks, Calif.).
- B Byzantion (Brussels).
- BAR British Archaeological Reports (Oxford).
- BEH Bamber Erevani Hamalsaran [Bulletin of Erevan University] (Erevan).
- BIM Bulletin de l'Institut Marr (Tiflis).
- BM Bamber Matenadaran [Bulletin of the Manuscript Repository] (Erevan).
- BK Bedi Kartilis [The Destiny of Georgia] (Paris, 1949–1966. See also Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes (Paris, 1987–).
- BSCAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (Univ. of London).
- BZ Byzantinische Zeitschrift (Leipzig).
- C Caucasica (Leipzig).
- CFHB Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae.
- CR Caucasian Review (Munich).
- CH Current History (Philadelphia).
- CSHB Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (Bonn).
- CSCO Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium (Louvain).
- DAA Documenti di architettura armena, 22 vols. (Milan).
- DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers (Washington).
- EHR English Historical Review (London).
- FHG Fragmenta historicorum graecorum.
- FS Folia Slavica (Columbus, Ohio).
- G Georgia (London).
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Leipzig, 1897–1941; Berlin and Leipzig, 1953; Berlin, 1954–.
- GJ Geographical Journal (London).
- GRBS Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies (Durham, N.C.).
- HA Handes Amorya [Monthly Journal] (Vienna).
- IANA Izvestiya Akademii nauk Armianskoi SSR [Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR] (Erevan).
- IJMES International Journal of Middle East Studies (Tucson, Ariz.).
- IM Imago Mundi (Stockholm and Leiden).
- JA Journal Asiatique (Paris).
- JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies (London).
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).
- JRGSS Journal of the Royal Geographical Society (London).
- JSAS Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies (Dearborn, Mich.).
- KSIA Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Arkeologii (Moscow).
- LCL Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.).
- LeM Le Muséon (Louvain).
- MBAH Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte (Münster).
- MIA Materialy i issledovaniya po arkeologii SSSR [Materials and Research on the Archaeology of the USSR] (Moscow).
- NC Numismatic Chronicle (London).
- NG National Geographic (Washington, D.C.).
- OT Orbis Terrarum (Wiesbaden and Stuttgart).
- P Pazmavép [Polyhistory] (Venice).
- PBH Palma-banarsiakan handes [Historico-Philological Journal] (Erevan).
- PO Patrologia Orientalis (Paris).
- PS Perekrejatskii sbornik (Moscow).
- RAss Reallexikon des Assyriologie (Berlin and Leipzig).
- REA Revue des études arménienes, 1st ser. (Paris, 1920–1933).
- REA N.S. Revue des études arménienes; new ser. (Paris, 1964–).
- REB Revue des études byzantines (Paris).
- REGC Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes (Paris; successor to Bédi Kartilis).
- RHA Revue Hittite et Asiatique (Paris).
- SA** Sovetskaiia arkeologija [Soviet Archaeology] (Moscow and Leningrad).
- T Traditio (New York).
- TAC The Armenian Church (New York).
- TAR The Armenian Review (Boston, then Watertown, Mass.).
- V Vostok (Paris, 1948–1949, only volume published).
- VANA Vestnik Akademii nauk Armianskoi SSR [Journal of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR] (Erevan).
- VDI Vestnik drevnei istorii [Journal of Ancient History] (Moscow).
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- AzTK AzAS. Azərbaycan Tərhi Khələfilə [Historical Atlas of Azerbaijan]. Baku, 1994.
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- Armenian Monastery of St. James, Jerusalem.
- Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford.
- University of California Research Library, Los Angeles.
- Georgian
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- Oriental Institute, St. Petersburg.
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AI

Antonine *Itinerary*. Ed. I. O. Cuntz. Leipzig, 1929.

AM

Ammannus Marcellinus. *Res gestae*. LCL.

Anas.

Anastasio the Librarian. *Historia ecclesiastica . . . ex Theophanies contracta*. Leipzig, 1865.

AV

Aurelius Victor. *History*. Ed. F. Pichlmeyr. Revised by R. Gründel. Berlin, 1970.

Cassius Dio. *Historiae Romanae*. LCL.

Epitome de Cæsaribus [ps.—Aurelius Victor]. Ed. F. Pichlmeyr. Revised by R. Gründel. Berlin, 1970.

Eut.

Eutropius. *History*. Ed. C. Santi. Leipzig, 1979.

Festus

Breviarius. Ed. J. W. Eadie. London, 1967.

Guido.

Guido. *Geography*. Ed. I. O. Cuntz. Leipzig, 1929.

Hist. Aug.

Historia Augustae. LCL.

Julian.

Julian the Apostate. *Panegyrics*. Ed. J. Bidez. Paris, 1932.

Justin.

Justin. *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogli*. Ed. F. Rühl. Leipzig, 1886.

Justinian.

Justinian. *Corpus iuris civilis: Novellæ*. Ed. R. Scholl and G. Kroll. 4th ed. Berlin, 1912.

Nor. dig.

Notitia dignitatum et administrationum. Ed. O. Seck. Berlin, 1876.

Oros.

Orosius. *Historia adversus Paganos*. Ed. C. Zangermeister. Leipzig, 1898.

OS

Oracula Sybillina. Ed. E. Holt. Leipzig, 1927. Trans. D. Magie. LCL, 1922–1932.

PL

Panegyrici Latini. Ed. E. Gallotier. Paris, 1949–1955.

Pliny.

Pliny. *Natural History*. LCL.

Pomp. Mela.

Pomponius Mela. *De chorographia*.

Poli.

Polybius. *Historiae*. LCL.

Polyenius.

Polyenius Strategemata. Ed. E. Wolflin and J. Meibner. Leipzig, 1887.

Polyenus. *Silvius. Lateralicus*. In *Nor. dig.*, 254–260, q.v.

Petrus Patricius. *Fragmenta*. FHG 4:181–191.

Ravenne. Anonymous. *Cosmographia*. Uppsala, 1951.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae. LCL.

Tacit. *Annals*. LCL.

Tacit. *History*. LCL.

TP

Tabula Peutingeriana. Ed. K. Miller. *Die Peutingerische Tafel*. Stuttgart, 1962.

Trogus Pompeius. *Historiae Philippicae*. In M. Junianus Justinus, ed.

O. Seel. Leipzig, 1935.

Verona Laterculus. In *Nor. dig.*, 247–253, q.v.

Zosimus. *Historia Nova*. Ed. L. Mendelssohn. Leipzig, 1887; repr., Hildesheim, 1963.

Armenian

AE

Abraham Erevanci [Abraham of Erevan]. *Patmut'iw patzazac'n*, 1721–1736? [*History of the Wars*, 1721–1736]. Erevan, 1938. Ed. S. Cemcemeany, Venice, 1977. Russ. trans., *Istorija vojn*, 1721–1736, Erevan, 1939; ed. S. Cemcemeany, Venice, 1977.

AK

Abraham Kreaci [Abraham of Crete]. *Patmut'yun* [*History*]. Erevan, 1973. Eng. trans., G. Bourouian, *The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete*, Costa Mesa, Calif., 1999.

See GG (Gregorian Cycle).

Armenian Chronicle (Arm. version of the *Georgian Chronicle*). Eng. trans., R. W. Thomson. *Rewriting Caucasian History* (Oxford, 1965), a comparison of the Georgian Chronicle with its medieval Armenian translation.

AN

Anastikos of Lastvert. *Patmut'yun* [*History*]. Ed. K. Yuzbašyan. Erevan, 1963. Fr. trans., M. Canard and H. Berberian, Brussels, 1973.

AS

Anania of Sirak. Over forty works on various scientific and mathematical subjects, for which see *Ananias in sec. 2*.

ASX

Aškaray cyo. [*Geography*]. Attributed first to Movses Xorenaci, then to Anania of Sirak. Long version, ed. R. H. Hewsen, Delmar, N.Y., 1994. Short version, ed. A. Abrahamyan, Erevan, 1944; repr., Delmar, N.Y., 1994.

AT

Arakel Tavzic'yan [Arakel of Tabriz]. *Patmut'iw* [*History*]. Erevan, 1963. Fr. trans., M. Grossi. In *CHA*, vol. 2.

BL

Girk' Yiroc. [*The Book of Letters*]. Tiflis, 1901; repr., Jerusalem, 1994.

BP

Buzandian Patmut'yun. Tiflis, 1913. Eng. trans., N. G. Garolan, Cambridge, Mass., 1989.

CIA

Corpus inscriptorum amercanorum / Divan hayimgrugyan. Vol. 1, *Ani*. Erevan, 1928. Vol. 2, *Goris, Sisiani us Lapirjan brâmmaren*. 1960. Vol. 3, *Vaycoj, Egnajor, Egajnor*; in *Azizbekov brâmmaren*, 1967. Vol. 4, *Gefarkun*; *Kamoy, Matosyan us Vardenis brâmmaren*, 1973. Vol. 5, *Arax*, 1982.

DB

Dawn Bék. or Patmut'yun. *aparanc woc* [*History of the Lapatarians*]. Ed. S. Arakelian. Venice, 1976.

DG

Davit of Gangk. *Penitential*. Arm. text with Eng. trans. by C. Dowsett, *CSCD*, vol. 2, 218–218 (1961).

Elise. *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*. Eng. trans., R. W. Thomson, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1982.

GA

Grigory Aksani. [Gregory of Aksani, formerly ascribed to Malakan the Monk]. *Patmut'yun us azot Nogatoc*. [*History of the Nation of Archers*]. Ed. K. Patakanian. Jerusalem, 1970. Eng. trans., R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, Cambridge, Mass., 1954.

GC

The Gregorian Cycle:

1. The text known as the Agathangelos:

Armenian text: *Agat'angeloy Patmut'yun Hayoc* [*Agathanglos, History of Armenia*]. Critical edition, ed. G. Ter-Mkrt'yan and S. Kanayean, Tiflis, 1909. Eng. trans., R. W. Thomson, *Agathanglos, History of the Armenians*, Ani, 1976.

Ag

Greek text: *La Version grecque ancienne du livre d'Agathange*. Critical edition, published by G. Latourette. Louvain, 1973.

Ageo

Georgian text: *Agat'angeloy Patmut'yun Hayoc* [*Agathanglos, History of Hippolyte*]. *LehM* 78 (1965), 119–172.

Ar

Arabic text in Mt. Sinai MS 395 (9th–10th cents.). Published by A. Ter-Lewondyan as *"Agat'angelos arabakan xmbagratu norayat bayragi* [*The Newly Discovered Text of the Arabic Agathanglos]*". *PBH*, no. 1 (60) (1973): 209–228.

Arabic text in Mt. Sinai MS 455 (12th–13th cents.). Published by A. Ter-Lewondyan as *"Agat'angelos arabakan nor xmbagratu bayragi* [*The New Arabic Version of Agathanglos*]. Erevan, 1968.

Vg

2. The text known as the Life of St. Gregory:

Greek text in Esorial Gk. MS X III (A.D. 1167). Published by G. Garitte in *Documents pour l'étude d'Agathange*, Vatican City, 1946.

Vo

Greek text in Ochrid MS 4 (10th cent.). Described and partially published by G. Garitte as *"La vie grecque inédite de saint Grégoire d'Arménie (ms. 4*

- Va d'Ochrida)." *Analecta Bollandiana* 83 (1965): 233–290.
Arabic text in Mt. Sinai Ms. 460. Published by N. Marin Zapiski Vostochno-greko Otdelenija Imperatorskogo Russkago Archeologicheskago Obschestva, vol. 16, St. Petersburg, 1905. Trans., G. Garitte, in *Documents pour l'étude d'Agathange*. Vatican City, 1946.
- Vk Kurskiy témén 38 in St. Mark. Jesuitum. Published in M. Van Estbroek, "Un courant témén de l'œuvre d'Agathange," *REAA N.S.* 8 (1971): 13–167.
- GM Grigor Magistros Petrusiani, *Tireré [Leter]*. Alexandropol, 1910.
- H-J Hasan-Jalâlîn Esaî Katholikos, *Patmut'wn Aljanîc* [History of Albania]. Šubl, 1838. Fr. trans., M.-F. Brosset, in CAM 2:193–220.
- Het (king) Hetum II, king of Armenia. [Chronological Poem]. Venice, 1773. Ed. and Fr. trans., E. Dularius. In RHC. Documents arméniens, vol. 1.
- Het (count) Hetum Patmîz [Haython the Historian, count of Koikos]. *Patmut'wn Tarafarad* [History of the Tartars]. Original dictated in Old French as *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient*. Arm. trans., M. Avergine, Venice, 1842. Arm. ed. and mod. Fr. trans., E. Dularius, in RHC. Documents arméniens, vol. 1.
- Het. [King] Hetum I of Koikos. Chronological History. Kirakos Ganjacevi (Cyrilicus of Ganja). *Patmut'wn Hayoc* [History of Armenia]. Ed. K. Melik: Ohzhanen. Erevan, 1961. Fr. trans., M. Brosset, in *Deux historiens arméniens*, St. Petersburg, 1870.
- Kor. Korian, Vark 'Mastec': [Life of Mastec']. Ed. M. Abelean. Erevan, 1941; repr., Cairo, 1954. Delmar, N.Y., 1985. Eng. trans. (from the modern Arm. trans. of M. Abelean). B. K. Noma, New York, 1964.
- tE Lewond Erec' [History of Armenia]. Eng. trans., Z. Azoumanian. *History of Lewond*. Philadelphia, 1982.
- tP Lazar Parpiac'i [Lazarus of Parpi]. *Patmut'wn Hayoc* [History of Armenia]. Ed. G. Tér Mirk'tean and S. Makhseyan. Erevan, 1904; repr., Delmar, N.Y., 1985. Eng. trans., R. W. Thomson, Atlanta, Ga., 1991.
- MA Mxitar Aneči [Mxitar of Ani]. *Mxitar Aneči: Matean aškharavép handis-aranč'*. Ed. H. G. Margaryan. Erevan, 1983.
- Mayr Mxitar Ayrianeči [Mxitar of Ayriawan]. *Patmut'wn [History]*. Ed. M. Emin. Moscow, 1860. Russ. trans., P. Katanov, St. Petersburg, 1869.
- MD See MK.
- MG I Mxitar Gob'. Chronicle. Eng. trans., "The Albanian Chronicle of Mxitar Gob'." *BSOAS*, vol. 21 (1958).
- MG II ———. *Girk' datanasi* [Law Code]. Ed. H. Torosyan. Erevan, 1975. Eng. trans., R. W. Thomson, in press.
- MK Movses Kalankatuci [Moses of Kalankat or of Dasxur]. *Patmut'wn Alukanic* [History of Albania]. Ed. V. Arakelyan and Movses Kalankatuci. Erevan, 1983. Eng. trans., C. J. F. Dowsett, Movses Dasxuranc'i: History of the Caucasian Albanians. London, 1961.
- MU Mat'ëos Ushkin' [Matthew of Edessa]. Chronicle. Jerusalem, 1869. Eng. trans., A. Dostorian, New York and London, 1993.
- MX Movses Xoreac'i. *Patmut'wn Hayoc* [History of Armenia]. Ed. M. Abelean and S. Yarutyan. Tiflis, 1913; repr., Delmar, N.Y., 1981. Eng. trans., R. W. Thomson, Cambridge, Mass., 1978.
- MŻ Man' Zamanagrun'yan [Minor Chronicles]. Ed. V. A. Hakobyan. Vol. 1. Erevan, 1951. Vol. 2. Erevan, 1956.
- NL Nersés Lambronači [Nersés of Lambron]. [Collected Works]. Venice, 1865.
- PB Pav'tos Buzandaci. See BP [Buzandaran Patmut'wnk].
- PSG Petros di Sardis Glanenc': Zəmanagrun'yan [Chronicle]. Eng. trans., C. O. Minasian, Lisbon, 1959.
- SA Samuel Aneči [Samuel of Ani]. *Hawak'munk' i groc' patmagrac* [Compilation of Historical Writings]. Vaharşapat, 1893. Fr. trans., M.-F. Brosset, in CHA, vol. 2.
- SAT Stepannos Alarik Tarawnci. *Patmut'wn tiezaakeran* [Universal History]. Ed. S. Makhseyan. St. Petersburg, 1885.
- Seb. Sebeos [Eusebius]. So-called *History of Heraclius*. Eng. trans., R. W. Thomson. Liverpool, 1999 (n. press).
- SE Simeon Katholikos Erevanc'i [Simeon of Erevan]. Janbr [Archive]. Russ. trans., Dzhambar, Moscow, 1958.
- SO Stepannos Orbelian. *Patmakan nashnigan Sisanak* [History of the State of Sivnuk']. Fr. trans., M.-F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Siouna*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1864, 1866.
- SS Smbat Sparapet [Smbat the Constable]. *Taregič'* [Chronicle]. Ed. S. Agelean. Venice, 1956. Fr. trans., G. Dédéyan, Paris, 1980.
- StŞ Stepannos Sahumean. *Entir patmut'wn Davit-Bék'i* [Select History of David-Bék'i]. Vaharşapat, 1871. Ed. L. G. Xat'ótrean, Los Angeles, 1988. Fr. trans., M.-F. Brosset, in CAM 2:223–255.
- SIS Stepannos Sivnuk'ci [Stephan of Sivnuk]. *Meknuk'wn Karakanin [Commentary on Grammar]*. In Dionysios Thrix, *Dionysios Frakiski*, ed. N. Adontz, 181–219. St. Petersburg, 1915.
- ST Stepannos Tarawnci [Asopli]. [Stephen of Tarawn, called Asopli]. *Step'anunc' Tarawnci'w patmut'wn kezkeran* [The Universal History of Stephen of Tarawn]. Ed. S. Makseyan. St. Petersburg, 1885.
- TA T'ovma Acroni. *Patmut'wn t'ovma Arznecc'yan* [History of the House of Arznecc']. Eng. trans., R. W. Thomson, Detroit, 1985.
- TM T'ovma Macop'ec'i [Thomas of Meope]. *Patmut'wn Lank'-T'amuray* [The History of Timur]. Ed. K. Shahnazaren. Paris, 1860.
- UU Utaraneh Ulyahçici [Utakene of Edessa]. *Patmut'wn Hayoc* [History of Armenia]. Vaharşapat, 1871. Eng. trans., Z. Azoumanian. History of Armenia, pt. 1. Fort Lauderdale, 1988, pt. 2. Fort Lauderdale, 1988 [sic].
- VA Vardan Arevičel': *The Great*. Eng. trans., R. W. Thomson.
- VP Vahram Rabun [Vahram the Priest]. *Ornavor patmut'wn [Rhymed Chronicle]*. Ed. and Fr. trans., E. Dularius. In RHC, 1:491–535.
- YD Yovhannès Draxanakertci [John of Draxanakert]. *Patmut'wn Hayoc* [History of Armenia]. Ed. M. Emin. Moscow, 1953; repr., Tiflis, 1912; Delmar, N.Y., 1988. Eng. trans., K. Maksudian. Atlanta, 1987.
- YM Yovhannès Mamikonian. *Patmut'wn Tarawny* [History of Tarawny]. Erevan, 1941. Eng. trans., L. Avoyan, Atlanta, 1993.
- ZA Zakaria Aquleci [Zacharias of Aqule]. *Ogrugrat'v [Diary]*. Erevan, 1938. Zakaria Sarkevag [Zacharias the Deacon]. *Charter of Yovhannavank*. Fr. trans., M.-F. Brosset, in CAM, 2:156–190.
- ZS II ———. *Historical Memoirs of the Sofis*. Fr. trans., M.-F. Brosset, in CAM, 2:1–155.
- ZG Zenob Glayac'i. *Patmut'wn Tarawny* [History of Tarawny]. Eng. trans., L. Avoyan, Atlanta, 1993.
- Georgian**
- Kart'lis c'xovreba [The History of Georgia]. Ed. Stephen Rapp. The Georgian Royal Annals and their Medieval Armenian Adaptation, 2 vols., Delmar, N.Y., 1998.
- For the large number of other Georgian sources, most of them little known and untranslated, and unavailable in the West, see the as yet unpublished doctoral dissertation of Stephen Rapp, Jr., *Imagining History at the Crossroads: Persia, Byzantium, and the Architects of the Written Georgian Past* (1997; available from UIU Dissertation Series, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106), whose bibliography of sources and secondary works is well nigh exhaustive.
- Arabic
- Abū Dulāf, Risâla [Travels in Iran]. Ed. and Eng. trans., V. Minorsky. Cairo, 1955.
- Abū'l-Fidâ, Risâla bi-Bûldân [Description of Countries]. Ed. M. Reinhard and M. G. de Slane. Géographie d'Abûdûla, Paris, 1840.
- Abû Salih. *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*. Trans. B. A. T. A. Evans. Oxford, 1865.
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- al-Bîrîni. *Chronology*. Ed. E. Sachau. Leipzig, 1878. Eng. trans., *The Chronicle of Ancient Nations*. London, 1879.
- ibn Faqîh. *Kitâb al-Bûldân* [Book of Countries]. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1885; repr., 1967.
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- Hârûn ibn Yâbyâ [or ibn Rusta]. *Kitâb al-A'laq al-Nâfi'a* [Book of Precious Things]. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1892. Fr. trans., G. Wiet, *Les atours précieux*, Cairo, 1955.
- ibn Haqûq. *Kitâb Sûrat al-Ard* [Book of the Configuration of the Earth]. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1873; repr. 1967. Eng. trans., W. Ouseley, London, 1800.
- al-Idrîsi. *Kitâb Nuzhat al-Mušâlik or Kitâb Rûrâj* [Book of Pleasant Journeys in Faraway Lands or Book of Roger (of Sicily)]. Fr. trans., P. A. Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, 2 vols. Paris, 1836–1940.
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- ibn Jubayr. *Târikh* [Travel]. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Leiden and London, 1907; repr., New York, 1973.
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- al-Mugâdadî. See Maqdîs.
- ibn Rusta. See Hârûn ibn Yâbyâ.
- al-Tabâri. *Te'rîk al-Rûsûl wa'l-Mulâk* [The History of Prophets and Kings]. Ed. J. Barth, T. Nödeke, and M. J. de Goeje. 15 vols. Leiden, 1879–1901; repr., 1964.
- Ya'qûb. *Tabârik al-Bûldân* [Book of Countries = Geography]. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1892; repr., 1967.
- Ya'qûb. *Mu'jam al-Bûldân* [Description of Countries]. Ed. H. F. Wüstenfeld. 6 vols. Leipzig, 1866–1973.
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- Hudûd al-Alâm [The Regions of the World]. Ed. V. V. Bart old [Bathold]. Leningrad, 1930. Eng. trans., V. Minorsky, 2d ed., London, 1970.
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- . *Matenâdran Parsâkan vaverâgerê*: *Kalvâdagzer*, 14–16 dd. [*The Persian Documents of the Matenâdran: Land Deeds of the 14th–16th Cent.*]. Erevan, 1968.
- Nâkîr-i Rustam inscription. See Herzelid, Paikuli.
- Paikuli inscription. See Herzelid, Paikuli.
- Sharaf al-Dîn Bilîsî [Shereffidin of Bitlis]. *Sharaf-nâmeh*. Ed. Vellaminov–Zemov, 2 vols. St. Petersburg, 1860–1861. Fr. trans., Charmoy. *Fastes de la Nation Kurde*, St. Petersburg, 1868.
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- Syria
- Bar-Hebraeus, Abû'l-Farâj. *Chronographi*. Arm. trans., *Patmagrûwn* [History], 3 vols., Vaharşapat, 1870. Russ. trans., M. D. Darbinian–Meklyan. *Khronika* [Chronicle], Moscow, 1969. Eng. trans., E. A. W. Budge, London, 1932.
- Dionysios of Tell Mahrâ. *Tell Mahrâ* [Chronicle]. Fr. trans., J.-B. Chabot. *La Chronique de Denys de Tell Mahrâ*, Paris, 1895.
- Ephrem Syrus. *Carmina Nisibena*. Ed. E. Beck. CSCO (1957).
- . *Hymni contra Julianum*. Ed. E. Beck. CSCO (1961–1963).
- John of Ephesus. *Ecclesiastical History*. Ed. E. W. Brooks. 2 vols. Paris, 1926. With Latin

- text as *Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia*, ed. E. W. Brooks, 2 vols., Paris, 1936; repr., Louvain, 1952.
- . *Lives of the Eastern Saints*. Ed. E. W. Brooks. PO 17 (1923): 1–307; 18 (1924): 513–698; 19 (1926): 153–285.
- Michael Syrus. *Chronicle*. Ed. and Fr. trans., J.-B. Chabot. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Paris, 1899–1904; repr., 1963.
- Rabbani Sauma. [*History*]. Fr. trans., M. Bedjan, Paris, 1888. Eng. trans., J. A. Montgomery. *History of Mar Jabalaiah*, Patriarch, New York, 1927.
- Turkish
- Eviya Çelebi. *Seyyahname*. Eng. trans. of part first, J. von Hammer. *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1834.
- Katib Çelebi [Haji Khalifa]. *Cihannüma* (1648–1657; unfinished). Constantinople, 1727. Completed by data from Abu-Bakr al-Dimashqi. Lat. trans., Norberg, Lund, 1818. Fr. trans., Armain, in Vivien de St. Martin, *Histoires des découvertes géographiques*, vol. 3, q.v.

9. DESCRIPTION AND TRAVEL

Travelers' accounts have been listed chronologically according to the year in which the journey was made with the date of travel, if known, placed in square brackets. Journeys involving more than one year are listed by the first year, with travelers journeying in the same year listed alphabetically by that year. In cases where the date of the journey is not known, the volume is listed by date of publication. With some exceptions, only Western European travelers are included.

Medieval (1200–1500)

- Rubruke, William of [Guillaume de Rubruquis] [c. 1240]. *Itinerarium: The Journey of William of Rubruke to the Eastern Parts of the World*, 1253–55 . . . with two accounts of the earlier journey of John Plan de Carpini. Ed. and Eng. trans., W. W. Rockhill, London, 1904. Also in R. Hakuyt, *Voyages, Navigations and traffiques of the English Nation*, vol. 1, Glasgow, 1903.
- Geoffrey of Langley [1292]. In *Desimoni, I conti dell'ambasciata al Chan di Persia in 1292*. *Af det Societé Ligure d'Ustria Patria* 13 (1884): 537–608.
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