

ARMENIA AND THE
NEAR EAST

BY

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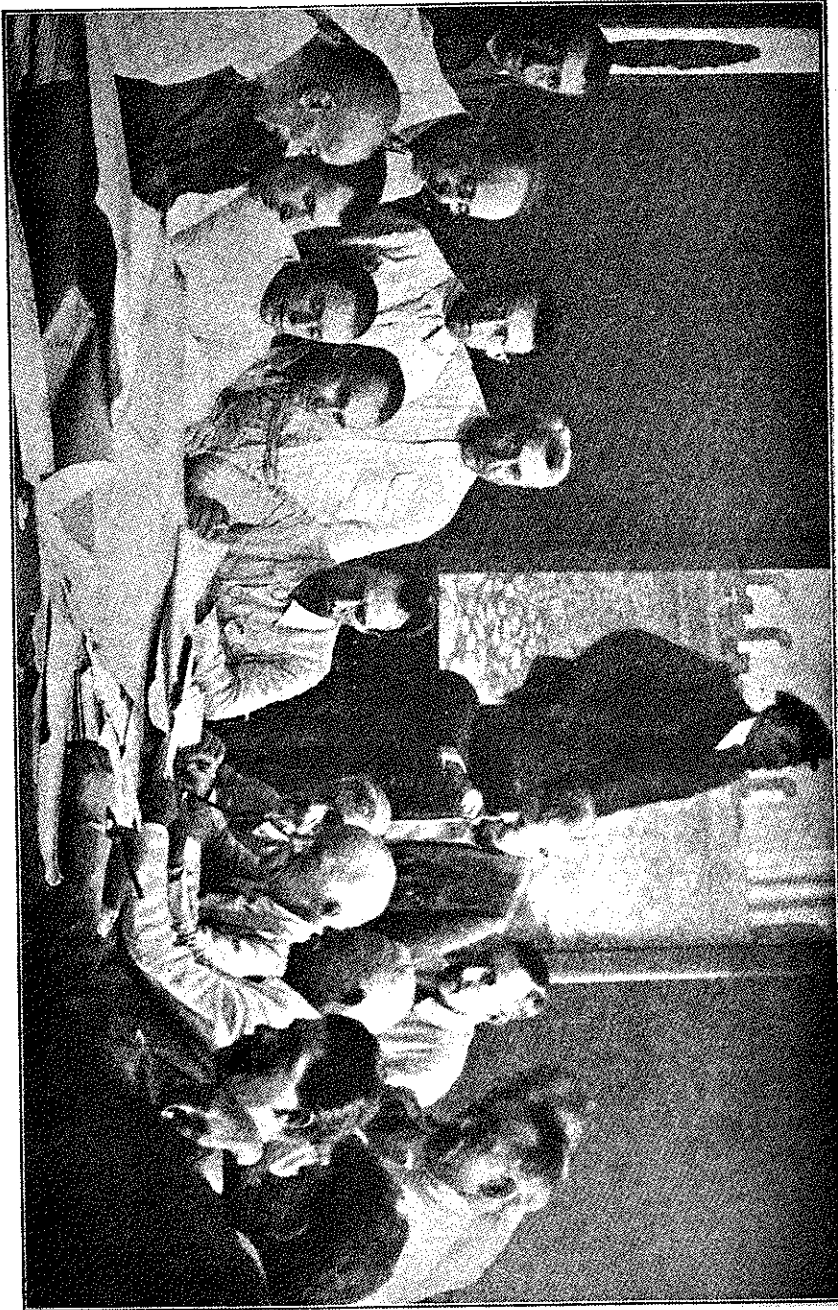
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FOREWORD

AFTER the Council of the League of Nations had repeatedly discussed whether something could not be done for the Armenian refugees, who were living in great destitution in various countries, it requested the author of this book, as the League's High Commissioner for Refugees, to take up this case with the rest. Realizing the burden of responsibility that such an arduous task would involve, I declined; but was ultimately persuaded to try what I could do in co-operation with the International Labour Bureau. The Assembly of the League placed at our disposal a sum to defray our expenditure in making the necessary investigations and doing other preparatory work.

The representatives of the Armenian refugees had submitted to the Council of the League a project for transferring fifty thousand refugees to the so-called Sardarabad desert, in the Republic of Armenia, which was to be irrigated and cultivated; and they had asked the League to try to raise the necessary money, estimated at one million pounds sterling. It was obvious that before forming any well-founded opinion on this or any other plan for transferring refugees to Armenia and settling them there, the details would have to be studied on the spot by our own experts. It seemed highly desirable to find some such solution; for by so doing one might hope to do something, at least, to procure for the Armenians that "national home" which the Western Powers of Europe and the United States of America had pledged themselves to give to the Armenian nation, and of which the League of Nations had repeatedly held out a prospect.

We decided to send a commission to Armenia. The mem-



Kurgelian Engineer Englisher Ershigian Quisling Nansen Dupuis Lo Savio Carle

THE COMMISSION WORKING WITH THE ARMENIAN GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE

bers were: Mr. C. E. DUPUIS, an English engineer, formerly adviser to the Egyptian Ministry of Labour, and a first-rate hydraulic expert; Monsieur G. CARLE, who was recommended by the French Ministry for Agriculture, and had had much experience, particularly of subtropical agriculture; and the Italian engineer, Signor Pio Lo SAVIO, an expert in hydraulic constructional work, who was recommended by the Italian Commissioner for Emigration. Captain V. QUISLING, a Norwegian, was the secretary of the commission, and the present writer was its head. I avail myself of this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to my kind and indefatigable colleagues for their efficient and self-sacrificing work throughout our journey, and for their invaluable collaboration.

In a letter to M. Tchitcherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs under the Soviet Government in Moscow, I asked leave for the commission to go to Erivan and make the necessary investigations in Armenia. The answer was very courteous, but laid down two conditions. First, we must not come as representatives of the League of Nations, which the Soviet Government did not recognize. In the second place, our investigations must be carried on in co-operation with a committee appointed by the Armenian Government. To these conditions we agreed. We were cordially and hospitably received by the Government at Erivan; and its committee of able engineers facilitated our work in every way, making our interesting stay in Armenia even more profitable than we had expected. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all our friends in that country for their many kindnesses.

Accounts of the investigations made by our commission, and the proposals based upon them, will be found in our various reports to the League of Nations. They have been collected in a little book published by the Secretariat at Geneva

and entitled *A Scheme for the Settlement of Armenian Refugees. General Survey and Principal Documents*, Geneva, 1927.

In the following pages I have endeavoured to give some idea of our journey, our work, our impressions of the country and its people, and our proposals. If these proposals can be carried out I am convinced that they will be the beginning of a new era of development in Armenia, and will do a great deal to make the future happier for its gifted people and its numerous refugees.

The last two chapters give a brief summary of the history of the Armenian nation. I feel sure that no one can study the story of this remarkable people without being profoundly moved by their tragic fate. In spite of a disheartening consciousness of the defects in my presentation of their case, I hope that the facts themselves will speak from these pages to the conscience of Europe and America.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN.

LYSAKER,
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CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF ARMENIA.¹

Generation on generation,
Like the long dark billows
They roll on and cease to be,
While Time slowly dies.

Ah, why these holocausts of anguish, woe, and pain?

J. P. JACOBSEN.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INFORMATION REGARD-
ING THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF ARMENIA.²

THE oldest known evidence of human inhabitants of Armenia is a skeleton which was found, together with a flint implement,

¹ Outlines of the history are given in H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia*, vols. i and ii, London, 1901; J. de Morgan, *Histoire du peuple Arménien*, Paris, 1919; Åge Meyer Benedictsen, *Armenien*, Copenhagen, 1925. See also Haik Johannissian, *Das literarische Porträt der Armenier*, Inaug.-Diss., Leipzig, 1912; Joseph Burt, *The People of Ararat*, London, 1926; H. F. Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. v; H. Zimmerer, *Armenien*, 1905, and vol. iii; H. Winkler, *Armenien*, 1901.

Information regarding the history of Armenia before the Armenians may be found in Lynch, *Armenia*, vol. ii, 1901; and especially in C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, vol. i, 1910, vol. ii, part i, 1926, and particularly vol. ii, part ii, which has not yet been published. See also the same author in E. G. Klauber and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Geschichte des alten Orients*, 3 Aufl., 1925, in L. M. Hartmann, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. i.

The sources for the early history of Armenia are Agathangelos (chiefly regarding the introduction of Christianity), possibly written about A.D. 452-456, though parts of it are earlier; Faustus of Byzantium, who wrote about A.D. 395-416; Moses of Khorene, who wrote in the fifth or sixth century (according to some authorities still later); Elise, in the latter half of the fifth century; Lazar of Pharbi, in 505-510; Sebeos, in the seventh century, and others.

For more recent times see especially A. N. Mandelstam, *La Société des Nations et les Puissances devant le Problème Arménien*, Paris, 1925; Johannes Lepsius, *Deutschland und Armenien*, 1914-1918, *Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstücke*, Potsdam, 1919.

On Armenian architecture, see J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, vols. i and ii, Vienna, 1918.

² For the information given below regarding the latest archæological researches, including important discoveries about the Armenian Stone and Bronze Ages, I am indebted largely to the information which my friend Dr. J. Bedelian, professor at the University of Erivan, collected and sent me from his colleagues, Dr. S. Ter-Hakobian, librarian of the Scientific Institute at Echmiadzin; E. Lalajan, director of the Armenian State Museum at Erivan; and A. Kalantar, professor of archæology at Erivan University. I avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude to these gentlemen for their valuable assistance.

at a depth of 6 metres in the Zanga Valley when the power-station was being built in 1925 (cf. p. 222). Professor A. Kalantar,¹ of Erivan, holds that it dates from early Palæolithic times and belongs to the markedly long-skulled race of the Aurignac type that is found in Brünn (and Galli-Gill). A great number of remains of civilization dating from many thousands of years later—from the younger Stone Age (Megalithic)—has been found by Armenian antiquaries in the country round the volcano Alagöz (in 1924),² and in the country round Novo Bajazet, near the Gökcha Lake (especially in 1926). Stone houses, fortifications, caves, and graves have been discovered. The remains belong to a markedly long-skulled race who lived in these regions in the latter part of the Stone Age (since 3000 B.C.), and probably earlier, as well as throughout the Bronze Age, and possibly on to the middle of the second millennium B.C. This long-skulled race had a comparatively advanced civilization even in the Stone Age, with a well-developed system of irrigation and a widespread water-worshipping cult, with remarkable representations of "Vishap," typifying a fish-like giant, the water-god. They had also inscriptions in a hieroglyphic script of a hitherto unknown kind, which Armenian investigators have recently succeeded in deciphering.³

In the Bronze Age the long-skulled people in Armenia had a highly developed metal civilization, apparently peculiar to themselves. Only in the tracts near the southern frontier have finds been made which show the influence of Mesopotamia.

The Babylonians called the mountainous country in the north, east of the Upper Tigris, by the name of *Gutium*, and the peoples inhabiting it must have been united in a single kingdom even before 2500 B.C., as there is an extant inscription of one of their kings dating from that time.⁴

It was here, too, in this northern mountainous country that the Babylonians made their Noah, Atarkhasis (or Xisu-

¹ Professor Wischnieffski in Leningrad has measured the skeleton. His and Kalantar's description of the find will soon be published.

² Cf. A. Kalantar, "The Stone Age in Armenia," in the review *Norsk*, Nos. 5 and 6, which will soon appear in an English translation.

³ According to information received by letter from Professor A. Kalantar.

⁴ H. Winckler, of Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. iii, pp. 11, 126 ff., 1901.

thros, according to Berossos), strand in his ark in a land called Nizir, while the Jewish version of the same legend in Genesis makes the ark strand on Ararat.¹

The Gutians conquered Babylonia and twenty-one of their kings reigned over it for one hundred and twenty-four years (*circa* 2447-2323).² Gutium may have been situated in or near the south-eastern part of what was later Urartu and Armenia.

It is not until more than a thousand years after this time that we read in Assyrian inscriptions of these regions, possibly including the country a little farther to the north, west of Lake Urmia, around Lake Van, and farther on to the west. They were then inhabited by the Naïri peoples, against whom the Assyrian king Salmanassar I and his son Tukulti-Nimurta I waged war at the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C. Tiglath-Pileser I defeated the united armies of the Naïri kings about the year 1110 on the plain of Manazkert, north of Lake Van.³

During the succeeding centuries one of the Naïri kings must have become powerful enough to dominate the others, or else a new conquering people immigrated, probably from the west, for an inscription of the Assyrian king Assurnasir-pal (885-860 B.C.) alludes for the first time to *Urartu* (the Ararat of the Bible) as a kingdom in this region near Lake Van. In a short time his kingdom grew more powerful, gradually extending over the same regions as the Armenia of later days. Several Assyrian inscriptions related that Salmanassar III (860-825) waged war against King *Aram* of Urartu.

In the numerous inscriptions of the Urartu people that still survive they call themselves *Khaldians* (Khaldini),⁴ deriving the name from their god Khaldis, as the Assyrians called themselves after the god Assur. The whole country was

¹ On the Babylonian flood, see E. Suess, *Antlitz der Erde*, vol. i, pp. 29 ff., 1885. See also Klauber and Lehmann-Haupt, *Geschichte des alten Orients*, p. 86.

² Cf. Klauber and Lehmann-Haupt, *Geschichte des alten Orients*, 3rd edition, p. 92; in L. M. Hartmann, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. i, part i, 1925.

³ Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, vol. ii, p. 13, 1910; vol. ii, pp. 115 ff., 595.

⁴ This name must not be confused with that of the Semitic Chaldeans in Babylonia, with whom the above-mentioned people had no connection.

Khaldia, the god's country, and its capital was Khaldina, the god's city. They had a remarkably complete theocratic constitution. Tushpa (the Assyrian Turuspa), afterwards called Van, by Lake Van, was the capital, apparently founded about the year 830; and King Sardur I (II) erected a castle near it on the isolated craggy hill overlooking the plain. On the steep face of the rock he and subsequent kings had long inscriptions hewn, telling of themselves and their deeds. Numerous inscriptions of various kings have also been found elsewhere in the country. Sardur I (II) still calls himself "king of Nairi" in an inscription in the Assyrian language, as does also his successor *Ispuinis* in one inscription (in Khaldian), though in another he is entitled "King of Biaina," the name of the country which was afterwards corrupted to "Van." The Khaldian kings who succeeded him simply call themselves kings of Biaina.

The inscriptions are in Assyrian cuneiform script. The earliest—those of King Sardur—are in the Assyrian language, but the later inscriptions are in Khaldian, with one or two in both languages. The Khaldian language, which is little known, but has been partially deciphered in the last few decades,¹ was neither Arian nor Semitic; it was related to the language of the Mitanni.² Like the latter, the Khaldians and possibly also the Protokhetiti, may have belonged to the group of Subari, and they came from Asia Minor (Cappadocia). It would seem that the Mitanni founded the Assyrian empire; at any rate the first known rulers of Assyria had Mitannic names.³ As already mentioned (p. 85), the Khaldian language seems to have certain features resembling Georgian. Lehmann-Haupt holds that there may have been Indo-European blood in the ruling classes among the Khaldians.

The kings of Biaina became so formidable that for a time

¹ The honour of interpreting the language is shared by Stanislaus Guyard, Professor A. H. Sayce of Oxford, Professor D. H. Müller, Dr. Valdemar Belck, and Professor Lehmann-Haupt. The two last have made important finds which have more than doubled the number of known Khaldic inscriptions.

² It has been suggested that the name *Mitanni* may be explained as consisting of the Georgian *mi'a* + the suffix *ani*, meaning mountain people. Cf. C. G. v. Wesendonk, *Ueber georgisches Heidentum*, p. 34, Leipzig, 1924.

³ Cf. Lehmann-Haupt in L. M. Hartmann, *Welgeschichte*, vol. i, part i, pp. 104, 145.

they even threatened to wrest the "world empire" from Assyria, and the Assyrian kings had to work hard to defend themselves. One of the most notable kings of the Khaldians was *Menuas*. He extended his dominion northwards and conquered a large part of the valley of the Araxes north of the Ararat Mountains, and later, after the petty kings in this fertile region had been expelled, his son *Argistis I* founded, in the first half of the eighth century B.C., the city of *Arnavir* on a site near the present village of Tapa Dibi, on the plain north of the Araxes (cf. p. 137). His son, *Sardur II (III)*, enlarged the city and increased its power—presumably by extending and improving the irrigation system, and constructing larger canals from the Araxes.

The Khaldians were experts in constructing watercourses and irrigating, an art which they may have inherited from the earlier long-skulled people. They dammed lakes, regulated the amount of water carried by the rivers, and conducted the water across the plains by canals to irrigate cornfields and vineyards; and by this means they were able to cultivate the land. Many of their irrigation systems are still in use, and are vital to the very existence of the population. King *Menuas* constructed a large canal 70 kilometres in length to carry water from a mountain stream to the plain near Van, which was thus irrigated, enabling a flourishing "garden city" to grow up there. This canal, which is now, curiously enough, called *Shamyram-su* (Semiramis's river), is still, after more than 2,730 years, indispensable for the existence of the people living in that fertile region. King *Rusas I* cultivated another part of the Van plain by damming an artificial lake and distributing the water by means of a canal; this irrigation system is still in use, and there are many others. The Khaldians also made roads and bridges; moreover, they were clever builders, and especially efficient as stone-masons and stone-workers. They were skilful in preparing iron and other metals, and clever metal-workers and smiths. Possibly they were identical with the later Khalybi,¹ who played such an

¹ The Khalybi in Little Armenia were conquered by Zariadres (after 189 B.C.; cf. Strabo, XI, 14, 5), and driven away to the coast of the Black Sea west of Trebizond, where they lived in Strabo's time.

important part in antiquity on account of their skill in working iron, and from whom the Greeks derived their name for steel.

Judging from the distribution of the Khaldian kings' inscriptions in different parts of the country, their realm must have stretched from the lands around Lake Van north-eastwards to Lake Gökcha, north-westwards to Erzerum, westwards across the Mush plain and the Taron Valley to the Euphrates near Malatia, south-westwards and southwards into Syria, and south-eastwards to the country south of Lake Urmia. These are the same regions that subsequently made up the kingdom of Armenia.

At the end of the eighth century B.C. Urartu was fiercely attacked by the Indo-European Cimmerians, who advanced through the Caucasus from the north and threatened Assyria as well. About the year 670 B.C. the Cimmerians were pushed westwards into Asia Minor by their eastern Indo-European (Iranian) neighbours, the Ashkuza people (i.e. the Scythians), who had come southwards east of the Caucasus along the Caspian Sea. Then Urartu was attacked by Ashkuza and other peoples, until at length the Khaldian kingdom in Van was crushed by the Indo-European Medes under Cyaxares; the royal castle on the cliff called Toprak-Kaleh, near Van, was destroyed and burnt to the ground, probably before 585 B.C., and Rusas III, the last of the Khaldian kings, may have lost his life on the same occasion.¹ About the year 612 the Medes, Scythians, and Babylonians had destroyed Nineveh.

The first time we hear of Armenia (Armina) as the name of the country is in the Persian King Darius Hystaspes's inscription on the cliff at Behistun (or Bisutun), dating from *circa* 521. It is written in three languages (Old Persian, Elamitic-Anzanic, and New Babylonian), and tells, *inter alia*, of the suppression of insurrections in Urartu; but this Assyrian name is replaced by *Armaniya*, *Armina*, and *Harminiuara*. The fact that this name suddenly appears, and is henceforth the only one used both for the country and the people, seems to show that in the period that had elapsed since the last mention of Urartu and Khaldia (Biaina) in the Assyrian and Khaldian inscriptions, another people—the Armenians—had entered and

¹ Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, vol. ii, pp. 462 f., 685 f.

occupied the country in the sixth century B.C. About eighty years later Herodotus (484–424) uses the name Armenia of the country north of Assyria,¹ stating that the Euphrates forms the boundary between Cilicia and Armenia, and that this country extends for fifteen days' journey (stations), or 56½ parasangs, eastwards, evidently to the region near Lake Urmia. The Armenians may thus have occupied the whole of that country before his time.

Herodotus says that the Armenians were descended from the Phrygians, and that the latter came from Europe, where they “were called Brygians as long as they dwelt beside the Macedonians.”² They “have the greatest wealth in cattle and fruit of all the peoples I know,” and the Armenians “are wealthy in cattle likewise.” This agrees remarkably well with what we may conjecture to have been the facts. The ancient Armenian language was Indo-European, and most nearly allied to the middle western (Slav-Lettish) group. The language of the Phrygians was also Indo-European, related to Thracian. Both peoples lived largely by keeping cattle. Probably they lived at an earlier period in the Balkans, and after a time crossed over the straits, especially perhaps the Bosphorus (the ox-ford?), to Asia Minor, chiefly, we may suppose, at the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennium B.C. At that time—*circa* 1900—Troy, which had had a long-skulled population all through the third millennium B.C., was taken by a short-skulled Indo-European people, possibly the Phrygians; and it is not impossible that some at least of the Trojans against whom the Greeks fought in the *Iliad* belonged to that race. Paris and Priam might be Phrygian names. These Indo-European peoples who invaded Asia Minor had horses and chariots, which gave them a great superiority in battle.

At the same time we find a powerful people in Cappadocia called the Khetites (Hittites), who also possessed horses, and who won themselves an extensive kingdom. They penetrated Syria and pressed on as far as Babylon, which they took and sacked about the year 1726 (or possibly 1756) B.C. Their language had a strong admixture of Indo-European, and the

¹ Cf. Herodotus, i, 194; v, 52.

² Herodotus, viii, 73; v, 49.

ruling classes may have been to a large extent short-skulled Indo-Europeans. At this period—from the end of the third millennium B.C.—other new tribes, probably for the most part short-skulled Indo-Europeans, invaded Thessaly and Greece.¹ There is every indication that there was unrest in the Balkan peninsula; powerful barbarian peoples had come from the north, and some of these had introduced the Indo-European language into Greece.

Apparently it was not till the fourteenth century B.C. that one or more short-skulled peoples crossed in large numbers to Crete, chiefly, no doubt, from the south of Greece. Perhaps, as we shall see later, it was at about the same time, or a little earlier, that short-skulled people drove out the older long-skulls in Armenia. Somewhat later the Armenians may have settled in Cappadocia, possibly in what remained of the Khetite (Hittite) kingdom, alongside of the Phrygians, with whose help they may have expelled the Moshi (cf. p. 84).

The origin of the name Armenia is unknown; but in the regions which may previously have been inhabited by the Armenians we come across several places called Armenion or Arminion. Strabo (XI, 4, 8, and 14, 12), mentions the town of Armenion near Lake Boibeis in Thessaly. The *Iliad* (II, 2, 734) mentions an Ormenion in Thessaly, which Strabo (IX, 5, 18) calls Orminion. In Bithynia in Asia Minor there was a mountain called "Orminion oros"; at Sinope there was the harbour of "Armene"; by the sources of the Halys (now the Kizil Irmak), in what is now the Sivas district, there was a mountain called "Armenion oros." An inscription of the Khaldian King Menuas mentions in connection with his campaigns in the west a place-name *Ur-me-ni* (-*u-hi-ni*), which corresponds to the Greek Orminion; and his son Arzistis speaks of the "town" (?) of *Urmani*.² It seems, therefore, that as early as the eighth century B.C. the Armenians inhabited the mountainous country near the sources of the Halys, west of Urartu (Khaldia), or what was afterwards Great Armenia.

As the power of the Khaldians was gradually broken down

¹ Cf. Emil Smith, *Hellas für Homer*, pp. 175 ff., Oslo, 1926.

² Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, vol. ii, p. 692.

by the attacks of the Indo-European tribes on the north and east, the Armenians, possibly with remnants of related peoples, the Treres (from Thrace), and the Cimmerians, migrated into their country and partially displaced them—the Khaldians retiring into the mountains—or intermarried with them, at the same time introducing their own language. When Xenophon crossed Armenia with the "ten thousand" (401 B.C.) there were still warlike tribes of Khaldians, whom he wrongly calls Chaldeans (*χαιδαῖοι*), in the mountain tracts on the frontier of Armenia.¹ He describes them as being independent and bellicose, evidently more warlike than the Armenians. Probably remnants of them survived for a long time in various border districts.²

When the Armenians came to Urartu they may have been predominantly herdsmen (cf. p. 177), whereas the Khaldians were farmers and gardeners with a highly developed technique of irrigation. The subsequent civilization of the Armenians would thus become a combination of the two modes of livelihood. We may infer that they were farmers as well as herdsmen in the time of Herodotus from the fact that he states (I, 194) that round boats made of willow covered with hides were used in the country. In these boats they transported wine, sedge, and other produce down the river to Babylon, where the cargo was sold. The largest of these vessels could carry cargoes weighing up to 5,000 talents, i.e. 130 tons. Strabo (XI, 14, 4) says that Armenia has fertile valleys, such as the plain of the Araxes and others, where there is a superabundance of corn and agricultural produce; moreover, horses are bred largely, there are gold and other mines, and the people are wealthy (XI, 14, 9-10).

The Armenians called themselves *Haï* (plural *Haïkb*), and their country *Haïots Jerkir*, afterwards Iranianized to *Haï-astan* (the place or country of the *Haï's*). In the parts near Lake Van the name was pronounced *Khaï*. Its origin is uncertain. Jensen would derive it from the name *Hati*, applied to the Hittites, as "t" between two vowels is dropped

¹ *Anabasis*, iv, 3; *Cyropædia*, iii, 1, 34; iii, 2, 7-10; iii, 2, 17-26.

² Lehmann-Haupt, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 710, 715 ff., 722. Lynch, *Armenia*, vol. ii, p. 68 f., 1901.

in Armenian. But this derivation may be uncertain. The same name occurs also in many place-names, such as Haiots-dzor (the valley of the Haïs), near Van, the ancient Khaldian capital, Haikapert (the fortress of the Haïs), Haikazor, Haikavan, Haikashen, etc.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ORIGIN.

Like all the modern peoples in Western Asia the Armenians are a mixture of several races ; but they are more homogeneous than most of the near-Asiatic peoples, the large majority of them having the easily recognized characteristics of the strongly marked race which has been called Western Asiatic, Armenoid, or Armenian.

The race in question is tall and of a slim build ; the head is decidedly short-skulled (index, 85-87), and remarkably high, especially from the ear to the crown, the back of the head being curiously flat, as the line of the neck continues straight up ; the skull is not particularly wide, but can nevertheless contain a brain of considerable size on account of its exceptional height. The face is long and narrow (face index, 92-94) ; the nasal ridge is high and narrow, often in an almost continuous line with the forehead, and with a fleshy and somewhat hooked tip ; the forehead is of medium width, high, and rather sloping, the chin generally weak, with the profile receding in a line from the upper lip downwards. The complexion is of a light-brown, resembling sunburn ; the hair soft, often wavy, and brownish-black ; there is a thick growth of beard and hair, both on the head and on the body ; and the eyes are dark brown. Characteristic of the race, and especially of the Armenian people, are its tenacious vitality and exceptionally high birth-rate. In Western Asia the race is widely distributed, forming an important element of the various peoples inhabiting Asia Minor, the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and North Arabia ; while it is also found in mixed types eastwards in Persia as far as India.

It bears so strong a resemblance to the so-called *Dinaric* race in Europe that it is impossible to distinguish between

them ; the two races must be regarded as branches of the same stock. The Dinaric, however, has been partly mixed with other European races ; it is very widely distributed in the Balkan Mountains (the Dinaric Alps), Albania, Montenegro, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia. Of the Southern Slav peoples in these countries (except the Bulgarians, originally a Finnish people, who entered the Balkans later) it forms the-bulk. It is found in the Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps, and sporadically in Austria, South Germany, Czechoslovakia, here and there in Switzerland, in North Italy, in the midlands and south of France, etc., and also in Ukraine.

F. v. Luschan¹ and several other scholars hold that the west-Asiatic (Armenian) race was indigenous in Asia Minor, whence it spread in all directions. At a later date people of the dark, long-skulled race entered from the south and people of the fair Nordic race from the north, and intermingled more or less with the Armenoid people. If this hypothesis is correct, the Dinaric race must have immigrated at an early date from Asia Minor into the Balkan Peninsula, and thence spread over Southern Europe. But later on there were migrations in the opposite direction of Indo-European peoples like the Phrygians, Armenians, Treres, and other Thracian tribes, who passed from the Balkan Peninsula to Asia Minor. There has been a strong tendency to assume that all these Indo-European or "Indo-Germanic" immigrant peoples belonged essentially to the fair, long-skulled Nordic race, whose Nordic characteristics soon largely disappeared as a result of admixture with the Armenoid aboriginals, though the languages remained intact. But all this seems very doubtful. For one thing, the peoples who spoke the Indo-European languages belonged to different European races, and even in those days the peoples of Europe must have been largely of mixed race. For another, it is extremely unlikely that a people coming from the Balkan Peninsula and with a language from the very parts inhabited by the Dinaric short-skulls would belong—to any large extent—to the Nordic race. On the contrary, there are

¹ F. v. Luschan, "The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xli, London, 1911.

indications which seem to show that the peoples who migrated from there between the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennium B.C., both to Asia Minor (where the long-skulled Trojans were dispossessed by a short-skulled and probably Indo-European people about 1900 B.C.), and to Greece, were short-skulled (cf. p. 233).

As regards Armenia we know now that the short-skulled Armenoid race immigrated into the country after a long-skulled race who inhabited the country in the Stone and Bronze Ages. At the museum in Erivan I saw some of the crania from that early period, and they were all typical long-skulls. Not till iron begins to appear in the graves do we find short-skulls. Mr. E. Lalajan, director of the State Museum in Erivan, has excavated more than five hundred graves in the Novo-Bejazet district near Lake Gökcha, the bulk of these dating from the Bronze Age. They contained typical long-skulls (index, 653-739). In Georgia, too, and in the Caucasian regions, extending from the Kuban country to the eastern parts of Asia Minor and farther south, a similar long-skulled race seems to have been widely distributed and in sole occupation before the incursion of the later short-skulled peoples. According to Armenian students of the subject, the sole supremacy of the long-skulls in Armenia began to decline in the first half of the second millennium B.C., and by the middle of the millennium the country was peopled by short-skulls.¹ It is not at all improbable that this change was connected with the developments in producing iron and making iron weapons in Asia Minor at approximately the same time, or possibly in the fourteenth century. These new weapons obviously gave the short-skulled Armenoid people of Asia Minor a great advantage over the long-skulled and smaller bronze men in the west, whom they easily conquered. And in this connection it should be remembered that the later Khaldians in Armenia (as well as the Khalybes) were particularly clever smiths and workers in iron and steel.

We may probably assume that the early long-skulled peoples in Armenia and the countries of the Caucasus belonged

¹ According to information received in a letter from Dr. S. Ter-Hakobian, librarian of the Scientific Institute at Echmiadzin.

to a race which was the same as the Mediterranean or Afghan race.¹ The latter was dark-haired and comparatively short and slight in build. It was originally distributed over the Mediterranean countries, Egypt, North Africa, Crete, many of the Greek islands, the south of Greece, and farther to the west. In Asia it was distributed over Arabia, and eastwards to Persia and Afghanistan. The Arabs and several of the original Semitic peoples belonged to this race, as did also the Israelite immigrants into Palestine, and probably the Phœnicians. The northern Arabic-speaking tribes and the Druses, Maronites, etc., have a strong admixture of Armenoid blood. This applies in a particularly high degree to the Jews; it is the source of the so-called Semitic appearance, with the hooked Armenoid nose, which in reality is not Semitic at all. On the coast of Asia Minor we meet with the long-skulled race in Troy in the third millennium B.C.; but the extent of its earlier distribution elsewhere in Asia Minor is unknown. In view of its wide distribution at an early date in the east, south, and west, we might expect it to have extended at that time over the interior of Asia Minor and Syria; at present, however, there have been no systematic investigations of prehistoric graves in those regions, and failing these we can reach no definitive conclusion.

The circumstance that kings and gods on Hittite reliefs of the second millennium B.C. are undoubtedly of the Armenoid type is not of the evidential value that Luschan holds it to be. These reliefs are sufficiently late for us at least to expect that there had been an immigration by then of the short-skulled race. Further, they unquestionably represent the type of the ruling class, which, as we know, was immigrated Indo-European. According to these reliefs it would have been markedly Armenoid.

According to Luschan's investigations a very considerable percentage of dark long-skulls may be found in the present-day Turkish-speaking population of Western Asia. But it seems more reasonable to suppose that these long-skulled people are descended from an original people of the Mediterranean race than that they entered the country at a later epoch, which

¹ Cf. Halfdan Bryn, *Menneskerasene og deres utvikling*, pp. 125 ff., Oslo, 1925.

would be the reverse of what happened in the neighbouring lands of Armenia, Georgia, Troy, Crete, etc.

It is, nevertheless, remarkable that in the ancient Sumerian reliefs and sculptures from the beginning of the third millennium B.C. and later, the Sumerians generally differ from the Semites in having Armenoid faces with the big curved nose and high nose-bridge continuing in the line of the sloping forehead, sometimes also with a weak receding chin.¹ In shape, on the other hand, the heads do not resemble the high Armenoid short-skulls, but look rather long-skulled. How much weight should be given to these facts it is difficult to decide. That the Armenoid type is found later on Assyrian reliefs is of less importance, as the Assyrian empire may have been founded by Mitanni from Asia Minor (cf. p. 230).

We do not know who the short-skulled peoples were who dispossessed the long-skulls of Armenia at the beginning of the Iron Age, but they may possibly have included the Nairi peoples, who are first referred to in Assyrian inscriptions of the thirteenth century B.C. as living in Southern Armenia, near the Urmia and Van Lake, and who are mentioned with the Khaldians at a later date. These peoples evidently entered from the west. In a relief of a battle with the Khaldians—the Assyrian King Salmanassar III's (860–825) bronze plate on the gate at Balavat—the Khaldians are represented as two different kinds of people, large men and dwarfs, the latter always under the protection of the former.² The meaning of this seems to be that there was a ruling people, probably of the tall, short-skulled Armenoid race, and a smaller subject people, probably of the earlier long-skulled race, of whom some still survived, though they afterwards disappeared, leaving little trace of themselves in the later population of Armenia.

After the Khaldians the Armenians likewise immigrated from the west, chiefly in the sixth century B.C. Like the former, they belonged to the Armenoid race, but they spoke an Indo-European tongue. Their forefathers evidently came

¹ Cf. the pictures in L. W. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, pp. 40 ff., London, 1910. See also Eduard Meyer, *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, Abhandl. d. k. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1906.

² Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, vol. i, p. 306; ii, p. 681 f.

to Asia Minor from the Balkan Peninsula; they may have lived near Thessaly, where there are still people of the Dinaric race. In Cappadocia they intermingled with people of Asia Minor who were also Armenoid short-skulls, and possibly with remnants of Treres, Cimmerians, and other Indo-European tribes. Some of the latter may have been mixed with the fair Nordic race. No doubt the Armenians and Phrygians themselves were to some extent of mixed race before they left Europe; they were mainly Armenian (Dinaric), but had possibly a tinge of Nordic blood in their veins. It is also possible, however, that the traces of the Nordic race, and perhaps of the Alpine race, found among the Armenians, are due to later admixture. Among other evidence it may be noted that more than half (53 per cent.) of the West Kurds examined by Luschan in the mountain districts of Kurdistan were fair, with light-coloured eyes and long skulls.¹ But the Kurds presumably immigrated comparatively late, long after the peoples of Armenian race.

Another point worth noticing is that the numerous tribes and peoples who now speak the Caucasian language—both North and South Caucasian—are on the average short-skulls, more or less Armenoid in type. We must suppose that they immigrated after the earlier long-skulled race whom they dispossessed. Their language is related neither to the Indo-European nor to the Semitic tongues; on the other hand, it may be related to some of the earlier languages of Asia Minor, possibly forming a special language-group with these. It looks as if the short-skulled Armenoid peoples had been very long in Western Asia, and they may have lived there alongside of peoples of the long-skulled race. But in addition there were other peoples of the Armeno-Dinaric race who immigrated from the Balkan Peninsula and whose language was Indo-European.

ORGANIZATION AND RELIGION.

The Armenian people was divided into two main classes: a proprietary upper class, the nobility who owned the land

¹ F. v. Luschan, *op. cit.*, p. 229. See also the same author's *Völker Rassen sprachen*, p. 91 f., Berlin, 1922.

and were lords (*sepub*), and a lower class of peasants and labourers who were vassals (*shinakan*), working on the land or as craftsmen. The peasants paid dues to the nobles and feudal lords, and served under them in war; but they were free men, able to move about as they pleased, and there does not seem to have been any serfdom of the sort that existed to some extent in Georgia. In addition, the clergy formed a class of their own, with extensive lands which belonged to the Church and to its more important offices. In course of time yet another class—the citizen class—came into being in the towns. The community was based on the “great family,” which, with its head, sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren, formed a natural labour unit, often consisting of nearly a hundred members. This was not unlike the Georgian system (cf. p. 88). The Armenians may have brought it with them from Europe, where it continued in force down to recent times, especially among the Southern Slavs, Serbians, etc.

Armenia seems never to have formed a really united State; it was rather a series of cantons, with fertile valleys and plains separated by high mountain ranges; these cantons were inhabited by separate tribes, partly composed of different stocks, and it is impossible to say with certainty what proportion of them was really Armenian. Each tribe was under an hereditary chief, who belonged to a powerful family owning extensive lands, and ruled it with practically unlimited power. It is characteristic that several of the most powerful families were of non-Armenian origin. One example was the *Artsruni* family in Van, which was of Khaldian descent, perhaps originally Assyrian (?). The *Mamikoni* family, which gave Armenia its noblest champions of liberty, came from the east and was possibly of East Parthian origin, and related to the royal family of the Arsacids. The powerful *Bagratid* family liked to be thought Jewish, but was more probably of Medo-Persian descent.

At the head of the State was the king, as the chief ruler and war-lord; but he was usually more or less dependent on the tribal chiefs, whose power, especially if several of them joined forces, was often equal to his own. Gradually a feudal

system developed after the Persian pattern. The powerful nobles, called in Armenian *nakharars*, became vassal-princes or feudal lords, who lived in their own strongholds and governed their lands independently in all domestic matters, but paid annual tribute to the king; and were bound to follow him in time of war at the head of their own troops, chiefly consisting of well-trained horsemen.

This highly developed feudal system had obvious weaknesses, but had certain strong points as well. It greatly diminished the country's belligerent power, as it prevented the people from feeling that they formed a real political unit, and from joining forces in times of peril to resist enemies from outside. It often led to inner dissensions among the feudal lords, to an even greater extent than in Georgia. But, on the other hand, so long as the powerful Nakharars in their strongholds could defend and retain their freedom, it was difficult for foreign rulers to establish any firm footing in the country; and notwithstanding the outward dependence of Armenia, these feudal lords were for a long time able to save the country and its population from destruction by the way in which they upheld the local independence of their lands at home. In the thirteenth century, however, the Nakharars more or less disappeared, and this, so far as Armenia's political existence was concerned, was the beginning of the end.

A decisive factor in the whole history of the Armenian people was the exposed position of their country. The Armenian highlands formed a very valuable coign of vantage for warlike expeditions both to the east and west, and accordingly the possession of this key position was considered of great importance by the World Powers on either side in their constant wars with each other. But the very situation which involved the country in so many political struggles may have had certain material advantages. The important caravan routes from Persia, India, and Babylon naturally came to pass largely through Armenia to the Black Sea, where the busy port of Trebizond was situated. Through being continually in contact with this stream of world trade the Armenians probably became efficient traders at an early date; and the frequent visits of foreign travellers would encourage handi-

crafts and industries. Moreover, their country was fertile, and furnished products of commercial value; as we have seen, their trade expeditions to Babylon are mentioned already in Herodotus.

The Armenians, therefore, found it comparatively easy to acquire wealth, and this, together with their great fecundity, accounts for the amazing staying-power which enabled them to survive the repeated devastations of their country. They sought shelter from their enemies in their inaccessible mountains, and when the invaders retired they could return to their lands to make a fresh start, unless the necessary system of irrigation had been too thoroughly destroyed for them to repair it again. In the latter event they had to migrate, and the land became a desert once more. Even in Strabo (XI, 14, 10) we read of their wealth, which was so great that Tigranes was able to pay Pompey (see below) the enormous sum of six thousand talents in silver. It must have been this prosperity that enabled the people, or their Church and rulers, in spite of constant wars, to carry on vigorous building activities and develop a remarkably high standard of architecture. No doubt their constant intercourse with foreigners also gave them new impressions and inspirations which had a stimulating effect upon their intellectual life.

The geographical position of the country may thus have helped to develop certain outstanding national traits. On the one hand the constant presence of armies in their valleys and plains accustomed them to oppression; but with their stubborn vitality they never abandoned hope, and set to work again and again to recover the lost ground. On the other hand, their industry and thrift combined with their skill in trade and handicrafts made them specially suited to get on wherever they went, and enabled them to form colonies in foreign countries, where, however, their cleverness has not always earned them the esteem of the native population. A people subject to continual oppression and persecution is apt to develop characteristics which are not altogether attractive.

Although circumstances compelled the Armenians to carry on many wars, they do not seem to have been a conspicu-

ously warlike people like their Georgian neighbours after they settled in Armenia. Their tastes lay more in the direction of comfort and the pursuits of peace. Xenophon (in 401-400 B.C.) describes them as peaceable, well-to-do, and very hospitable, whereas his *Anabasis* and the romance *Cyropædia* (cf. p. 235) describe the Khaldians as warlike, poor, and independent. The latter lived a poverty-stricken life in the mountains, and were to some extent dependent on what they could get by looting.

Religion.—The religion of the Armenians has drawn its inspiration from a variety of sources. Their chief divinity in early times was apparently *Anahit*, the goddess of fertility, who was the mother of the people, the golden mother, or sometimes the immaculate virgin goddess. Originally she was evidently the goddess of the fertile soil, who had been worshipped ever since the third millennium B.C. in Asia Minor and the countries of the eastern Mediterranean—equivalent to the *Rhea* of Greek legend, the serpent-goddess of Crete, perhaps also called *Da* (cf. the Greek *Da Mater* = *Demeter*), the *Cyrene* of the Ægean, the *Cybele* of the Moshi and Phrygians, and the *Ma* of Cappadocia and Pontus. The Persians also had a goddess *Anahita*, called in the *Avesta* (Yast V) *Ardvi Sura Anahiti*, i.e. the “tall, strong, immaculate,” who is described as a noble young virgin with a golden crown of stars and a golden robe adorned with thirty otter-skins. She is the goddess of fertile water—of the primal source up among the stars from which all rivers flow—in other words, the personification of the fertilizing power of water; but also the war-goddess, who drives in a chariot drawn by four white horses (wind, rain, clouds, and hail—compare the white horses of Mithras). Possibly she grew out of a combination of Anahit, whose cult came in from the west, and a Persian river goddess *Ardvi Sura*. Anahit (*Anaitis*) was also worshipped in Lydia and Pontus, where according to Strabo (XII, 3, 37) she had a wealthy and esteemed shrine at Zela. She may be identical with the Semitic goddess *Anat*. Under later Hellenic influence she was sometimes classed with the Greek virgin goddesses Artemis and Athene. Not impossibly it is the same idea of a pure

virgin goddess that survives in the Virgin Mother of God of the Christian religion.

As the goddess of fertility, however, she was also associated with reproduction, and possibly with the Assyrian Istar (Astarte); Strabo (XI, 14, 16) tells us that her rites, especially at the great temple at Akilisene near Eres (Erzinjan), included prostitution, to which even the highest nobility sent their virgin daughters, who afterwards "married, and no man had any hesitation in wedding such a one." This form of worship is very probably of Semitic origin (cf. Herodotus, i. 199).

The Armenians evidently got their more important gods of a later date from the Persians. *Aramazd* became in course of time the chief deity, being either the father or the husband of Anahit. His son was called *Mihr* (i.e. Mithras, originally Indian), and his daughter *Nune* or *Nana*, probably adopted from the Assyrians. The god of strength, war, victory, and hunting was the snake-killer *Vahakn*, evidently the same as the Persian dragon-slayer Verethraghna (the Greek Artagenes). He was afterwards associated with Hercules. *Astghik* (or *Astlik*) was the goddess of beauty and love, and her sacred flower was the rose. With *Vahakn* she gave birth to "fire." She may derive from the Assyrian *Istar* (Astarte), the sensual goddess of love and reproduction (the Greek Mylitta), who is mentioned in a Khaldian inscription (of King Menuas) in Armenia as early as *circa* 800 B.C. Other gods were *Tiur*, the god of wisdom, and *Barshamin* the sun god, who was doubtless Assyrian. Of Armenian and possibly Khaldian origin were in all probability the god *Vanatur* (lord of the new year) and the worship of the Sun and Moon.

Earliest Poetry.—Even in heathen times the Armenians probably had poetry, with songs, popular legends, and even a great heroic epic, though only a few fragments of this latter survive. They had no script of their own before the Christian era. Their heathen coins have Greek characters on them; and the court and upper classes probably had a certain amount of Hellenic culture, especially under the Arsacid kings.

ARMENIA UNDER THE ARTAXIAD AND ARSACID DYNASTIES.

Not long after the immigration of the Armenians the country came under Persian sway in the latter half of the sixth century, being ruled by two satraps. When the Persian empire fell into the hands of Alexander (331 B.C.), Armenia may have remained comparatively independent for a time, though subsequently it was partially subject to the Seleucid kings of Syria. When the power of the latter was crushed by the Roman victory over Antiochus the Great in 189 B.C., the two satraps seized their independence, Zariadres in Little Armenia on the Upper Euphrates, and Artashes (Artaxias) in Great Armenia and the Ararat country around the Araxes. They successfully consolidated and enlarged their respective kingdoms. Artashes founded the town of Artashat (Artaxata), north of the Araxes, and south-west of the present town of Erivan; with only a short break it remained the capital of the country for three and a half centuries.

Under the succeeding kings of the Artaxiad dynasty the country seems to have prospered. But it had now a dangerous enemy on the east in the Persian empire of the Parthians, which also had seceded from the Seleucid empire. Under the warlike King Tigranes II (Tigranes the Great, 95-55 B.C.) Armenia reached the zenith of its power, and embraced even larger territories than Urartu in its proudest days. He united Great and Little Armenia into one kingdom, and in alliance with his father-in-law, the adventurous King Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus, waged war against Rome herself. He extended his dominion to the Caspian Sea in the west and Cappadocia in the east; while in the south he pressed on across the Taurus Mountains, on the southern side of which he built a new and magnificent capital which he called Tigranokerta, and populated with war prisoners "from twelve Greek towns that he had destroyed."¹ He reduced the country as far as Edessa (Urfa), and extended his sway on the south-east as far as Judæa.

Eventually, however, Mithridates was defeated by the Romans under Lucullus in 72 B.C. Thereupon he took

¹ Strabo, XI, 14, 15.

refuge with his son-in-law, with the result that Lucullus attacked the latter also, routing his army in 69 B.C. near Tigranokerta, which was captured and destroyed. In 65 B.C. Tigranes was forced to capitulate to Pompey. He now lost the large dominions that he had conquered, but was permitted to retain Armenia under Roman suzerainty, in order that it might serve as a strong buffer-state against the Parthian empire. The country thus became inextricably involved in the continuous struggle for supremacy between the two great World Powers of the west and the east, a stroke of ill-fortune which proved disastrous for the Armenian people.

The Arsacid Dynasty.—After kings of the Artaxiad family had ruled over Armenia until the commencement of our era, a period of confusion followed, during which various adventurers of foreign extraction endeavoured to seize the throne. Finally, in A.D. 52, Tiridates (Trdat) I became king. He belonged to the Parthian family of the Arsacids, and was the brother of the King Vologeses of Persia. After some opposition Rome consented to recognize his title under Roman suzerainty, and the Emperor Nero himself placed the crown upon his head in Rome. From that date kings of the same dynasty ruled Armenia for several centuries. Their sympathies were apt to be with their Parthian neighbours on the east, but Rome watched their policy with wary and jealous eyes, and the country suffered again and again from wars and hostile incursions, being even for a short time, in A.D. 115–116, reduced to the position of a Roman province. In A.D. 163 the capital, Artashat, was destroyed by the Roman general Priscus, and a new town was built on the plain of the Araxes; this was the later capital Vagharshapat, now usually called Echmiadzin after its famous monastery.

When the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids in Persia was overthrown about the year 226 by the Sasanids, the Armenian King Khosrov I invaded Persia to avenge his kinsman. His army included nomads from the other side of the Caucasus. The King of Persia was defeated, and with the help of Rome Khosrov made several successful inroads into Persia, until he was assassinated at the instigation of the Persian king. Armenia now came under Persian influence for a time, and an

attempt was made to enforce the adoption of the Sasanid State religion, which was the later form of the Avesta teaching and fire-worship.

Meanwhile Khosrov's son Tdrat (or Tiridates), who was still a child, had been saved, and was apparently brought to Rome, where he is said to have distinguished himself as a warrior, whose remarkable feats and exceptional strength were afterwards celebrated in popular legend. It seems that soon after the Persians were defeated by Odenath, Prince of Palmyra, *circa* A.D. 265, Trdat returned to his own country, with Rome's support, to claim his father's throne. He expelled the Persians, consolidated his power by various successful campaigns, and became famous as one of the most remarkable hero-kings of Armenia, Trdat III, "the Great."

The Advent of Christianity.—Trdat adopted Christianity as the State religion, apparently about the year 280. This faith must have been introduced into Armenia at an early date, probably by Syrian missionaries from Edessa, and even in the second century there may have been many Christians in the land. Trdat was apparently a devout worshipper of the ancient gods of his country, anxious to defend them both against the fire-worship of the hated Sasanids and against the Christian religion. But eventually the Apostle of Armenia, Gregory the Illuminator, appeared on the scene, and Trdat was converted by a number of improbable occurrences. The later ecclesiastical authors' legendary accounts of his conversion, and the events connected with it, do not seem to contain much historical truth. According to these, Gregory was the son of Anak, the Parthian who murdered Trdat's father, and he, too, was a refugee. He found his way to Cappadocia, the ancient country of the Armenians, and was given a Christian education at Cæsarea. Learning of his father's crime, he resolved to expiate it, sought out Trdat in his place of exile, and, after serving him faithfully without revealing his identity, accompanied him when he returned to Armenia. One day, however, a serious difficulty arose; the king having commanded Gregory to make an offering of garlands in the temple of the goddess Anahit near Eres (Erzinjian), the latter refused to betray the God of the Christians. The upshot of

this conflict was that Gregory was confined in a cave near Artashat, where, with the help of a Christian widow, he managed to live for thirteen years until he was fetched back, to become the apostle of the Armenians after the king had been convinced, by humiliating experiences and a terrible illness, of the victorious power of the new religion (cf. p. 214).

Presumably the statement that Gregory was given a Christian education in Cappadocia is historically correct. Whether the story of the king's conversion is true or not, a ruler in his position would have had weighty political reasons for adopting Christianity: it would serve as a powerful weapon against the influence that the Sasanids exercised in the country by means of the doctrine of the Avesta, which they had established as the religion of the State in Persia. Moreover, there seem to have been many Christians in the country who, being notorious for their clannishness, would be able to give valuable support to the crown, which needed strengthening over against various independent feudal lords. Powerfully backed, then, by the king, Gregory the Illuminator was in a position to found the Church of Armenia, and that country was actually the first to adopt Christianity as the religion of the State.

The antagonism and the struggle between the old heathenism and the new faith which replaced it cannot have been as embittered and irreconcilable as the ecclesiastical writers of later times would have us to believe. Christianity was evidently propagated to no small extent by making use of the ancient shrines, places of sacrifice and sacred groves for the worship of the new god, and by adapting the ideas of the older to the requirements of the new religion. The goddess Anahit—the immaculate—could be identified with the Virgin; Aramazd, the Lord of Wisdom, with God the Father; the mighty Vahagn with His Son; and the sacred fire with the tongues of fire which descended upon the heads of the apostles. Numerous striking survivals of the ancient heathen sacrificial customs may still be encountered in Armenia, connected with the Church services and festivals, and they bear unmistakable testimony to the way in which the old

religion merged in the new. Moreover, we are told that Gregory expressly chose sons of heathen priests as bishops of the newly founded Church. Christianity was even less opposed to the religion of the Avesta than it was to the myths of the more primitive gods. Zarathustra, in fact, paved the way for Christianity in several respects, and his religion contributed largely to its actual content. But undoubtedly Trdat propagated the new faith to a large extent by force, and this would be strongly resented by the powerful Nakhhar families. It must have taken a long time for Christianity to penetrate every part of the mountain districts, where heathenism could count upon the ready support of Persia.

The king appointed Gregory Patriarch or Katholikos of the whole country, and his consecration was performed by the Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. The high office thus created became hereditary in Gregory's family, and evidently its powers were the same as those invested in the heathen high priest; it was also hereditary in the family of the latter, who resided at Artashat in Taron (near Mush)—the place to which Gregory returned after his consecration in Caesarea, and where he built the mother church of Armenia after destroying the three famous temples, or possibly the triple shrine, of Anahit, Vahagn, and Astghik.¹ This ancient heathen place of sacrifice was the see of the Katholikos up to the year 402, when he moved to Vagharshapat. No doubt the power of the heathen high priest in Armenia would correspond to what Strabo (XII, 2, 3) tells us about the temple of the goddess Ma, or Artemis Tauropolos (= Anahit) at Comana in Cappadocia, the earlier home of the Armenians. The priest there ranked next after the king, and usually belonged to the same family (cf. p. 91). He presided over the temple and the servants of the temple, of whom there were more than six thousand of both sexes when Strabo visited it. There were extensive lands belonging to the temple, from which the high priest derived his revenues. Strabo mentions something similar in regard to the temple at Comana in Pontus (XII, 3, 22, and 34-36) and that of Anaitis at Zela (XII, 3, 37).

¹ Another instance of a triad of divinities, a common conception in the East (cf. p. 88), and one which evidently lives on in the Trinity of Christianity.

In addition to absolute power over the Church and all its affairs the Katholikos acquired a large measure of temporal authority. The riches of the old temples, their lands and other property, were given to the churches, which were also endowed with new estates. In course of time the Church came to own no fewer than 12,000 farms, and was able to raise an army of 5,470 horsemen and 3,807 foot. To Gregory and his family the king gave large estates in fifteen provinces, including several princely castles. And at assemblies of the grandees of the country the Katholikos took precedence of them all. Up to A.D. 374 every new Katholikos was consecrated by the Archbishop of Cæsarea and was nominally under him, but this did not in any way detract from his position and power in Armenia. Afterwards he became an entirely independent patriarch, subject to no ecclesiastical authority either inside or outside his country; he acquired an enormous influence over the whole nation, and has ever since been regarded as its supreme spiritual head and guide. The Katholikate, as we have seen, was hereditary in Gregory's family. If there were no heir, or the Katholikate became vacant for other reasons, a new Katholikos was elected not at first, by the clergy, but by the king, the army, and the leading men of the realm. After the Katholikos Sahak died in 438 his successor was chosen by a Church assembly, in which the laity were also represented; but in course of time the electoral power was vested in the bishops.

We are told that Gregory and Trdat built numerous churches in different parts of the country. It is typical of the conditions in those days that the churches were usually fortified like castles; first, strong walls were erected round the close where the church was to stand, and then, when these were complete, the church itself was built. Of Gregory's son, the Katholikos Verthanes, we read that he celebrated Mass in the church at Ashtishat while it was being besieged by two thousand pagans outside its great walls. The records tell us nothing about the shape of the earliest churches.

Trdat probably died somewhere about A.D. 314-320. The story runs that his death was brought about by a conspiracy

among the nobles, who disliked his forcible method of introducing Christianity.

The Last Arsacid Kings.—When King Narseh of Persia declared war upon the Roman Empire, probably because it supported Trdat, he was defeated, and had to accept humiliating terms in A.D. 297, by which he ceded to the Emperor Diocletian considerable territories south of Armenia, while the latter country was placed under Roman protection. Subsequently, however, the kings of Persia made repeated attempts to bring Armenia under their sphere of influence, and apparently none of Trdat's successors on the throne of Armenia was a sufficiently strong personality to cope with the difficulties that arose through the conflicts between the two great neighbouring empires. Their frequently vacillating policy, due to uncertainty as to which of the competing powers could give the highest rewards and the best guarantees of safety, weakened, as time went on, both the country and the crown. Internal dissensions with the Church and the nobles were a further cause of weakness. Had there been a wise co-operation between the ecclesiastical power and the crown—as was the case in Georgia (cf. p. 91)—the latter would have been materially strengthened, and with it the country as well; but unfortunately these disagreements developed into open quarrels between the kings and the patriarchs, and two of the latter were murdered by the kings, who nevertheless lost ground continually, while the influence of the Katholikate was augmented by several powerful patriarchs.

By these internal feuds, in which the potent Nakharar families took part, the kingdom was materially weakened externally. The later ecclesiastical writers, who are our only sources, naturally praise the representatives of the Church and lay all the blame on the depravity of the kings; but it is not improbable that the Church gradually sought to obtain more than its share of power in the State, besides appropriating an unreasonable amount of land. This division of power, in temporal things, was impracticable and bound to lead sooner or later to serious friction. The responsibility must be placed at the door of King Trdat, who made the initial mistake of giving Gregory's family and the Church too much temporal power.

Under Trdat's son *Khosrov (Chosroes) II*, known as the Little (d. *circa* 342), several powerful Nakharar families carried on feuds and rebelled against the king, with the result that at last he put them all to death and confiscated their lands. Then the country was invaded and laid waste by an army composed of Iberians (Georgians) and Albanians (Caucasian tribes) under King Sanesan. Khosrov and the Katholikos had to flee, but in the end the invaders were driven out by Khosrov's generals, Vache Mamikonian and Vahan Amatunian. Sanesan was killed and his head was brought to the king, who wept bitterly over him, for though an enemy he was one of the Arsacids. Khosrov built the town of Dvin as a residence for himself, adorned it with palaces and castles for hunting and recreation, and planted woods round it. He also transferred to it the inhabitants of Artashat.

Meanwhile Persia had got a powerful king, Shapur II, known as the Great (310-379). He was still in his cradle when he came to the throne, but on reaching man's estate he set himself the task of avenging Narseh's humiliating defeat at the hands of the Romans. It is recorded that his army attacked Armenia, but was defeated near Lake Van by Khosrov's forces, possibly aided by the imperial troops. In the reign of Khosrov's son, *Tiran II* (342-350), the bitter conflict between the heads of the State and the Church began, and it went so far that the king, whom the Katholikos Yusik had forbidden to enter the church on account of his sinful life, had the primate flogged to death. Although Tiran does not seem to have been at war with Persia, we read that a Persian satrap seized him by a treacherous stratagem and had his eyes put out; afterwards, when a large Persian army invaded Armenia, it was routed by an imperial army, which captured the Persian king's harem.

The blind king Tiran refused to take the burden of government upon himself again, so the emperor placed his son *Arshak II* (350?-367) on the throne. The ecclesiastical writers' unfavourable accounts of this king are obviously much biased; he seems to have been in many ways an able man who was alive to the inner weakness of his country, and evidently did much to strengthen the crown and the kingdom.

But towards the Roman Empire and Persia his policy was vacillating. At one time, when he seems to have had a quarrel, possibly of an ecclesiastical nature, with the emperor and the Greek Church, he entered into an alliance with the Persians, and his armies, under the capable generalship of Varsak Mamikonian, penetrated far into Asia Minor and defeated the Roman army. Later, however, Arshak deserted the Persian king Shapur and resumed friendly relations with the emperor. But he had quarrelled with the powerful Katholikos Nerses, and in consequence of this breach his position at home had been weakened, and many of the nobles were hostile to him. When, therefore, after the death of Julian the Apostate in 363, the Romans had to make peace with the Persians on humiliating terms, which included a promise not to help Arshak, his position became very difficult. However, he resisted Shapur's attacks for some time, until he fell into a trap laid for him, and, in spite of Shapur's sworn promise that his person would be respected, was put in silver fetters and imprisoned in the "Castle of Oblivion." As for his loyal companion, the brave Varsak Mamikonian, Shapur had him flayed alive, after which his skin was stuffed with straw and sent to the captive king in prison. Arshak's queen, the beautiful Pharanzem, of the noble family of the Siuni, defended herself bravely in the fortress of Artagers for fourteen months, after which she had to capitulate. Shapur allowed her to be publicly violated in the sight of the army until she died of the atrocities to which she was subjected. Some years later Arshak is said to have committed suicide in prison.

The king and his much-feared general Varsak having thus been disposed of, terrible massacres took place in Armenia, apparently under the personal direction of Shapur. Thousands of Armenians of both sexes were driven together and trampled underfoot by elephants. Vagharshapat and other towns were sacked and razed to the ground, and great numbers, including the Jewish colonies, were carried off into captivity. Christians were persecuted, fire-altars set up, and it seems that several of the chiefs, like Merushan Artsrunian of Van, were fire-worshippers and well-disposed towards the Persians.

These events took place about A.D. 367. Shapur's persecution of the Christians in Persia and Armenia was due to political considerations rather than to religious fanaticism. Christians were naturally favourable to the Christian State of Rome, and therefore it was good policy to exterminate them.

Arshak's son *Pap* (368 ?-374) succeeded to the throne with the emperor's help, and assisted by the imperial troops he managed to drive his enemies out of the country. We read that Varsak Mamikonean's son, the mighty war-lord Musheg, avenged his father and his people, defeated the Persians, destroyed the fire-temples of the Magicians, and burned alive those of their priests who fell into his hands. He had many Persian leaders and princes flayed, and stuffing their skins with straw, exhibited them on the battlements. But when Shapur's chief queen and other ladies of his harem fell into Musheg's hands he treated them chivalrously and sent them back to Shapur, escorted by a bodyguard of Persian war-prisoners. Evidently this was meant as a contrast to Shapur's cruel treatment of noble Armenian ladies, which is depicted in the most lurid colours.

King *Pap* was also successful in subjugating the Nakharars, who had deserted his father, and, like the latter, he did his best to strengthen the central power of the crown. But he could not avoid coming into collision with the perhaps unduly powerful *Katholikos Nerses*, and the upshot seems to have been that the king poisoned this primate with a loving-cup which he gave him at a banquet intended to mark their reconciliation. He closed the convents, and let it be known that he thought marriage a more profitable vocation for the nuns. He confiscated five-sixths of the Church lands, which had augmented to a fantastic extent, and even then he was of the opinion that enough was left to support the clergy. Moreover, he reduced their numbers, holding that one priest and a deacon would be sufficient for each village. Much of this seems reasonable enough. But even King *Pap* vacillated in his foreign policy. Eventually, having defied the emperor, he was enticed to the Roman general Terentius and cut down from behind while sitting intoxicated at a banquet held in his honour (A.D. 374).

In succession to *Pap* the emperor allowed Arshak II's nephew, *Varasdat*, to be crowned king (374-377); but after he had had the prominent general Musheg assassinated he was ousted by the powerful Manuel Manikonean. The country was soon divided in support of rival pretenders to the throne, aided by the emperor on the one side and the King of Persia on the other. Ultimately, when the Emperor Theodosius made peace with King Shapur III in A.D. 387, Armenia was partitioned between them. The western portion of the country—Little Armenia and its capital, Karin (Erzerum)—fell to Rome; while the eastern portion—Great Armenia, with the Araxes Valley, Ararat, Taron (Mush), the Van region, etc.—fell to Persia. For a short time nominal kings of the Arsacid royal house were allowed to reign over Great Armenia, but after 428 the province was governed by a Persian satrap known as the *marzpan*, while Little Armenia was ruled by a Roman prefect after the first nominated king died.

This settlement was of far-reaching historical importance. Whereas a powerful and united Armenia under East-Roman suzerainty might have formed a strong bulwark against the subsequent advance of Islam, this vital gate of entry now fell into the hands of the Oriental Powers, and the way was left more or less open.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

While the kingdom of Armenia thus collapsed, the Church, as we have seen, was strengthened by the work of several able patriarchs, among whom special mention may be made of *Nerses I* (353-373) and his son *Sahak (Isak) the Great* (circa 390-438). Churches were built, numerous monasteries were founded to serve as centres of ecclesiastical learning and popular instruction, schools were established in every district to promote education, and much beside. Most important of all for the national consciousness and culture was the fact that in *Sahak's* time, about the year 404, the Armenians obtained a script of their own, invented by the monk *Mesrop*, which comprised thirty-six letters, mostly adapted from the Greek alphabet; and a school of translators was set up, who

translated the Gospels, the Old Testament and various ecclesiastical writings from Greek and Syriac into Armenian. This national script alienated the Armenians from the Byzantine Greek Church and Byzantine learning—to which they were always in some degree antagonistic—and prevented them from being absorbed. A very important step was taken, moreover, by Sahak, who, on a visit to Constantinople, obtained leave to introduce the Armenian written language into Byzantine Little Armenia. This kept alive an ecclesiastical and intellectual connection between the two parts of the country, which had otherwise been separated.

The evolution of the doctrines of the Armenian Church was a curious one. According to teaching originally derived from Syria, Christ was evidently a sinless Man who only became God's Son at His baptism. This is the heretical teaching of the Patriarch Nestorius, which spread from Syria and Mesopotamia to Persia, India, and China. John the Baptist was regarded with special reverence in the early Armenian Church; his bones were the first relics brought to the country by Gregory, and many churches and monasteries were dedicated to him (*Karapet*).

But the Council of *Nicæa* in 325 laid down the doctrine that Christ and God were One. This was accepted by the Church of Armenia—as it is said by Gregory himself, who was still alive—and the step thus taken was decisive for the future. The Armenian Church was not represented at the Councils of Constantinople in 381 and Ephesus in 431, but it accepted the doctrines they enunciated, including the dogma that the Holy Ghost was of the same nature as the Father and the Son, but proceeding only from the Father; and it likewise associated itself with the condemnation of the Nestorian teaching regarding the dual personality of Christ.

Then came the Council of *Chalcedon* in 451, and again the Armenian Church could not participate in the proceedings because of the ruthless persecution of Armenian Christians by the Persian king Yesdegerd II. At this council the mystery of Christ was defined once for all in the rather ambiguous formula: "Christ according to the Godhead is of one nature with the Father, according to His humanity is, apart from

sin, of one nature with us. This one and the same Christ is recognized in two natures indissolubly united but yet distinct."

When the unfortunate Armenians who had survived the horrors perpetrated by the Persian fire-worshippers found a respite from their tribulations they convened a council of their own at Vagharshapat in 491, and solemnly condemned the formula of Chalcedon. This meant a complete breach both with Byzantium and Rome, and the schism has continued to this day. Throughout their troubled history the Armenians adhered to the Monophysite doctrine of a single person and one divine nature of Christ, refusing to countenance the idea of two natures; but at the same time they bitterly opposed Eutyches, the irreconcilable antagonist of the Nestorians, who taught that the body of Christ could not have been of the same nature as ours, whereas the Armenians held that He was in all respects Perfect Man.

These fine-drawn theological controversies have rent asunder the Christian world and destroyed the lives of thousands of innocent people to whom these theological definitions were nothing but empty words. In the East they helped to pave the way, at a later date, for the advance of Islam. They alienated Armenia from the Byzantine and the West Roman Empires and from the numerous Christian communities in Persia. Over and over again the Greek Church of Byzantium tried, by every means in its power, to cajole or compel the Armenian Church to acknowledge its supremacy and accept the formula of Chalcedon. But the Armenian people were always on their guard against these attempts. It is strange to see how the Armenians, who politically have always been weakened by domestic dissensions, have invariably closed their ranks when any danger has threatened the doctrines of their faith or the independence of their Church.

UNDER PERSIAN AND ARAB RULE.

When the Persian king Yezdegerd II tried forcibly to impose Mazdaism (the teaching of the Avesta) upon the Armenians as the only true religion, they rose in revolt in

A.D. 449 under the leadership of Vartan Mamikonean. At first Vartan fought several successful engagements against the Persians. Then there was a pitched battle against a greatly superior Persian army at Avarair, near the east frontier of the country, in 451. After a heroic struggle, in which the Persians suffered great losses, Vartan and several of his principal leaders fell. The Persian army won a dubious victory, but was badly crippled. Smaller engagements followed, in which several more Armenian leaders lost their lives. In the end, however, religious freedom was secured, and the Church and faith of Armenia were saved; but not before the Katholikos and several other clergy had been taken as prisoners to Persia and executed there.

Peace ensued for a time; then, with the recurrence of persecution and compulsion, there was a fresh rising led by Vartan's nephew, *Vahan Mamikonean*. He was repeatedly victorious in engagements with the Persians in 484; eventually they came to terms; and Vahan, having been appointed *marz pan*, governed the country successfully for a quarter of a century (485-510). Naturally Vartan and Vahan Mamikonean are popular heroes in the eyes of the Armenians.

The Arabian Conquest.—When the lengthy struggle between Byzantium and Persia for supremacy in Western Asia ended (as already mentioned on p. 92) in the defeat and destruction of the Sasanids in A.D. 627 by the Emperor Heraclius, the Arab hordes pressed forward instead, conquered Persia, and invaded Armenia. The Armenians were supported by Byzantium, which, however, tried to turn the opportunity to account by subjecting the country, and especially the Church, to itself; but this the Armenians resisted with vigour. After the most harrowing struggles Armenia was obliged to submit to the Arabs some time between 654 and 661, and became a province under the Khaliphate, administered by Arab governors. But though the Arabs had forcibly and within a short time introduced Islam into Persia and eradicated Mazdaism, they apparently soon gave up the idea of introducing it into Armenia, where they allowed the people to enjoy comparative religious freedom, in spite of sporadic cruelties and acts of oppression.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the seventh century,

even to some extent including the period of the Arab invasion, was a time when building flourished in Armenia, particularly under the Katholikos Nerses III Shinogh (641-661; cf. pp. 144 ff.). Many fine churches were erected, but the Armenian domed structure probably reached its highest perfection in the church at Zvarthnotz (cf. pp. 142 ff.), which Nerses built in spite of the Arabian attacks.

The Arab governors or emirs resided in Dvin, where the Armenian Katholikos also had his residence. The Arabs were chiefly interested in taxing the people and squeezing them to the utmost; they did not interfere much with domestic affairs or administration, and left the churches and monasteries in peace. But the position of the country under a foreign yoke was naturally humiliating. Even at an earlier date there had been large emigrations—both voluntary and compulsory—to the countries of the Mediterranean, the Near East, and Persia, and these continued. There were also frequent revolts against the Arabs, especially whenever Byzantium achieved any success in its struggle with the Khaliphate. The insurrections were organized by the Armenian grandees in their castles, but as a rule there was little unity in their counsels, and the risings were soon suppressed. Then for a brief period the leading men agreed to act together, and a serious rebellion broke out, which at first was crowned with success at a time when the Byzantine forces were simultaneously driving back the Arabs. But the tide turned. Byzantium had to make peace on humiliating terms, and stern punishment was meted out to Armenia (A.D. 785).

THE BAGRATID DYNASTY.

After a while a new period of Armenian insurrections set in, and *Sembat Bagratuni* distinguished himself as a leader until he was taken captive to Bagdad, where he met his death on the rack because he refused to recant (*circa* 856). But in course of time the power of the Khaliphate was weakened by the Turkish onset from the east, while simultaneously Byzantium flourished under a succession of able emperors, who were partially of Armenian origin. In 859 *Ashot*

Bagratuni, son of Sembat, was appointed by the Khaliph to be prince of Armenia. In 885, or thereabouts, he assumed the title of king; the Khaliph sent him a royal crown, and he received another from the emperor Basil I, who seems to have been of Armenian lineage.

Armenia was now governed for nearly two hundred years by kings of the Bagratid family. Nominally they acknowledged, at any rate at first, the supremacy of the Khaliph, but to all intents and purposes they were independent. In many arduous wars waged with varying success, chiefly against their Muhammedan enemies, but also against Byzantium, they managed to hold their own, notwithstanding embittered dissensions with rebellious nobles and not a few other misfortunes and calamities. They extended their dominion to a large part of old Armenia, as well as to Vaspurakan, near Lake Van, which was ruled by Artsruni chieftains, who were often in jealous opposition to the Bagratids, and eventually assumed the title of kings of that region. Those were harsh times, and the combatants, even if they were Christians, often showed little mercy to one another. When the powerful king *Sembat I* (890-914) defeated and took prisoner a number of rebellious Nakharars, he put out their eyes and committed them to the safe keeping of the emperor of Byzantium and the king of "Colchis" (Imeretia). Perhaps this was more humane than executing them.

The kingdom of the Bagratids attained the zenith of its prosperity under the three kings, *Asbot III* (951-977), *Sembat II* (977-989), and *Gaghik I* (989-1020). The stronghold of Ani (cf. p. 110) was adopted as the capital, and its fortifications strengthened, a massive wall with a number of towers being built on the north-east, where it was accessible and not protected by deep gorges. Numerous churches, monasteries, palaces, and castles were built in and near the town and elsewhere in Armenia. Here, again, it is striking that notwithstanding the frequent and destructive wars, the builder's art entered upon a new era of prosperity, great activity being displayed in erecting a large number of fine buildings. But obviously the kings, the clergy, and the aristocracy initiated these building enterprises, no doubt largely at the expense of

the lower classes. The national culture was an upper-class culture, in which the other inhabitants of the country and the dwellers in the towns had little or no part, for their houses were evidently simple in the extreme, and little now remains of them, whereas innumerable ruins of the finer buildings still survive. The latter serve at least as a notable testimony to the vitality and capabilities of the Armenian race.

The Armenian Katholikate led at this time a somewhat roving existence. In 931 it removed from Dvin to Akhthamar, an island in Lake Van; then in 959 to Argina, north of Ani; and in 992 to Ani, which was its seat until 1072.

After the death of Gaghik in 1020 the kingdom was divided between his sons *Johannes Sembat* (1020-1041) and *Asbot IV* (1021-1040). Factious dissensions arose among the noble and the petty kings, of whom there were now four, in Vaspurakan, Aghvan, Kars, and Lori respectively; the national power of resistance was sapped, and that at a moment when a new danger was threatening the country, for the Seljuk Turks, who had obtained the ascendancy in the East, were pressing on, drawing ever nearer and nearer. These uncivilized hordes, who came swarming over the mountains and plains, their long hair waving in the breeze, with innumerable bowmen who outmanœuvred the Christian soldiery armed with swords and lances, were sinister foes indeed. The rich country of Vaspurakan was first attacked, and after suffering a defeat its king, Senekherim Artsruni, was so disheartened and apprehensive that he handed over his kingdom with its 72 strongholds, 8 towns and 4,000 villages to the emperor of Byzantium, in return for permission to settle with his people near the town of Sebastia (Sivas), in Asia Minor, where he thought he would be in safety. We are told that he migrated thither about the year 1021, accompanied by 14,000 men, besides women and children.

Ani was taken and sacked in an unexpected attack by the kings of Georgia and Abkhazia, both of whom were Bagratids; then the valley of the Araxes was overrun and devastated by the Seljuk hordes under their prince *Toghrul bey*, a grandson of Seljuk. The Armenian nobles showed themselves incapable of making a united stand against the invaders, and King

Gaghik II of Ani (1042-1045) was at war with Byzantium, which ought to have been a trustworthy ally against the Turks. After a series of battles fought with varying success, in which the Armenians defeated both the Seljuks and the imperial army, King Gaghik was enticed to Constantinople by imperial promises, while the imperial forces attacked Ani, which capitulated. Armenia now became, like Vaspurakan, a Roman province with a Byzantine governor, and the deluded king was allowed to have a country in Cappadocia and a palace in Constantinople. Thus ended the glamorous rule of the Bagratids in Armenia. In Lori the Bagratid dynasty continued in power until the thirteenth century.

But not even Byzantium could check the hosts of Seljuk Turks who pressed on under the leadership of Toghrul bey. One raid followed another; they advanced to the upper valleys of the Euphrates, to Arzen (near Erzerum), to the forests of Pontus, and even to Sebastia, where Senekherim, the king of the Artsruni, had thought himself safe. His sons now fled for their lives. The Turks paused when they caught sight of the numerous white cupolas of the church, which they took to be the tents of the enemy; then the order was given to pillage the town, and the streets ran with blood.

Meanwhile the Byzantine Church was doing its best to subject the Armenian Church and induce it to renounce the Monophysite doctrine of the nature of Christ. But on this point the Armenians remained adamant, and these attempts at coercion only served to exasperate them.

Then, in 1064, after a raid on Georgia (p. 92), the Seljuk Turks, led by Alp Arslan, their new and enterprising sultan, appeared before the gates of Ani. After a siege lasting twenty-five days the Turks swarmed into the splendid city of "a thousand and one churches," every man holding a knife in each hand and a third in his mouth, and the inhabitants were "mown down like grass." After this disaster the defence collapsed in 1071, when the Emperor Romanos was defeated and taken prisoner by Alp Arslan at Manazkert (Melazkert), north of Lake Van, and the struggle for Armenia came to an end. The country now passed into the hands of the Turks and the Kurdish Emir of Karabagh. In the twelfth

century it was for short periods under the protection of the Georgian kings David the Renovator and George III. On several different occasions they took Ani, but it was recaptured by the Kurds. Then, in the reign of Thamara, the city was attacked unexpectedly by the Emir Ardebil of Azerbaijan, and its inhabitants put to the sword. Even after this, Ani seems to have recovered; but a crowning disaster occurred in 1239, when Jenghiz Khan's ferocious Mongolian bands sacked the place, while in 1319 an earthquake wrecked many of its splendid buildings. The complete desertion of the city, however, only happened at a somewhat later date.

To-day the beautiful ruins of Ani, steeped in memories of a proud era in Armenia's history, and slowly crumbling into dust in the stillness of the desert, are a symbol of man's love of building up and pulling down—relics of a highly gifted race forgotten in the hustle of the Western world.

ARMENIA UNDER THE TURKS AND THE PERSIANS TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

In the critical times which recurred so often in Armenia, even as far back as the fifth century, bodies of Armenians emigrated to various parts of Asia Minor or still farther to the coast towns of the Mediterranean and Europe, where they founded colonies. Emigration increased during the Seljuk inroads of the eleventh century. Small new Armenian kingdoms, as we have seen, sprang up in Sivas and Cappadocia; and the king of Kars settled with his people farther to the north, close to the stronghold of Tramentov, near Amasia.

The Kingdom of Cilicia (1080-1375).—Many of the nobles made their way to the Taurus Mountains in the west and south-west, and to the country west of the Euphrates. Here, in Cilicia, where the fertile country had been partially depopulated on account of the Arab devastations, they founded in 1080, under their chief Ruben, an independent kingdom hostile to Byzantium, which sought to suppress their heretical State and reduce their Church to subjection. Strengthened by new contingents of Armenians and by a friendly alliance with the Crusaders, who came to Cilicia in 1097, this new kingdom of capable Armenian colonists grew and flourished;

and for three centuries the Cilician barons retained their independence, although surrounded by enemies and continually engaged in warfare both against the rising power of the Turks and against Byzantium. In vain the Byzantine Greek Church and the Church of Rome tried blandishments or threats; the Armenians of Cilicia, like their kinsmen, would neither give up their Monophysite doctrine nor their Church.

The history of this Cilician kingdom is one succession of the most romantic and extraordinary occurrences. For any people to be able, after so many terrible misfortunes, to migrate elsewhere, and then establish and maintain a flourishing new kingdom for three centuries on alien soil and among hostile nations, is evidence of unique vitality. But in the course of time it was weakened by inner dissensions, and in 1375 Sis, the capital, was taken by the Egyptian Mamelukes after a romantically heroic defence led by its last king, Leon VI. Nevertheless a free and independent remnant of this Cilician kingdom, with its independent Armenian Church, survived until our own times at Zeitun, up in the Taurus Mountains.

Mongolian, Persian, and Turkish Inroads.—About the year 1223 Jenghiz Khan's Mongolians swept across the borders of Armenia, plundering wherever they went, and for nearly a hundred years they were more or less masters of the country. In the middle of the fourteenth century East Armenia was taken by the Persians, while West Armenia fell into the hands of Turkish beys. Then, in 1387, Timur Lenk's savage Mongol hordes fell upon the country and devastated it for a number of years, burning towns and villages, and giving no quarter, until they drew off again to Turkestan in 1403. Among all the horrors of the early history of Armenia the memory of Timur and his predatory bands stands out as the most sinister.

Armenia became once more a bone of contention between two opposing Powers and the favourite field of battle in their wars. These Powers were now the two chief Moslem States: Persia on the east, and on the west Turkey, taking the place of Byzantium. East Armenia was again mainly under Persia, while West Armenia was under Turkish domination. In order to increase this power in the depopulated areas, Sultan Selim I summoned from Kurdistan, in 1514, numbers of

Kurdish nomads with their cattle, and settled them in several places around Lake Van, south of Ararat, and near Erzerum. The tribesmen were Moslems, but hostile to the Persians; they and their khans became and long remained the real masters of the country, developing into what were virtually robber bands, which exacted self-imposed taxes, and fleeced or carried off as they pleased the unfortunate Christians, who were not allowed even to carry arms.

After the war between Persia and the Turkish empire had gone on for some time without any definite result, the two Powers made an agreement in 1639 which involved a fresh partition of Armenia. The Arax country with Echmiadzin, the seat of the Katholikate, and the country in the north, corresponding more or less to the present Armenian republic, was assigned to Persia, while the rest of old Armenia fell to the share of the Turks. This demarcation of the frontiers remained unaltered for nearly two hundred years, although the country was again devastated in wars between the Turks and the Persians.

Under the Turks.—In the Armenian people's long tale of woe the most woeful chapters are concerned with the time when the Armenians were under Turkish rule. To their Muhammedan "masters" the Christians were slaves and chattels, whom Allah had given to the faithful, and who were quite outside the pale of the law. The evidence of an infidel—i.e. a Christian—against a Moslem was invalid in the law courts; nor could he defend himself against violence and robbery, because no Christian was allowed to carry arms. This, of course, gave the Kurds and other marauders a pretty free hand. As Christians could not do war-service for Allah, every male between the ages of eight and sixty had to pay a specially heavy tax in addition to all the other taxes and dues. Furthermore, there was the "boy tax" which the sultan exacted from the infidels; this consisted in taking every year thousands of boys, aged between four and eight, from Christian families, in order that they might be circumcised and brought up as Moslems to form the standing army of Janissaries which for long was Turkey's most formidable weapon against the Christians.

Such treatment does not in the long run develop the best characteristics of a nation. The independent, proud, and high-spirited are either killed or forced to leave the country. Meek submission is the only way to get on, or, at any rate, to live in peace. But the curious thing in this instance was that the oppressed were far superior to the "ruling race" in intelligence, capacity, and knowledge, except, perhaps, as soldiers. Trade and finance passed into the hands of the Armenians or of the Greeks; the writers, tax-gatherers, interpreters, and other State officials were also Armenians; and they were the best craftsmen, builders, and engineers, who usually constructed the larger houses, bridges, and mosques for the Muhammedans.

Of decisive importance in strengthening the nationalism of the Armenians throughout these centuries was the fact that the great nobles, who had always been the natural leaders and the backbone of the people, had to a large extent been exterminated or had left the country during the disastrous wars of earlier days. Accordingly the Church had to be the mainstay and support of the people. Turkish rule had at least one merit: it did not interfere with the religion and culture of the Armenians; and the Persians showed the same tolerance. The Katholikos at Echmiadzin was the supreme head of the people; but as he was under Persian rule, the Armenian patriarch at Constantinople administered the affairs of the Turkish Armenians, and was responsible to the Sultan. This patriarchate was established as early as the year 1461 by Muhammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople.

The great monasteries, both in Persian and in Turkish Armenia, served as the civilizing influences of the nation. Within their walls were the spiritual workshops where the books were written and copied out that fostered the faith, and to some extent the thought and poetry, of the people. Here were the country's only schools, and here, too, the clergy were prepared for their ministry. In these monasteries the people received comfort and spiritual nourishment; and they often sought asylum within the strong walls in days of persecution and pillage.

At this time the old popular poetry of Armenia came into vogue again. The Armenian minstrels went from village to

village, singing to the accompaniment of a *sax* (violin) songs which were partly religious, but which also told of the life of the people, of joy and sorrow, battle and murder, nature and love. These minstrels were patronized by the monastery of Surb Karapet, at Taron, near Mush, where they held competitions every year. Here there had once been the famous old place of sacrifice with its three heathen temples; and St. Gregory built the first Armenian church there, at Ashtishat. The custom went back, no doubt, to pagan times; the patron saint of singers was now John the Baptist (Karapet), but he inherited his title from the gods of heathenism.

Out of this popular cult of poetry there arose several poets of real merit. Already in the twelfth century the Katholikos *Nerses Klayetsi*, known as *Shnorhali* (i.e. the graceful), wrote fine poetry in the language of the people, in addition to hymns and religious works. In the thirteenth century, under the Mongols, a remarkable poet appeared who called himself by the pseudonym of *Frik*, and who strikes many a deep chord in telling of joy, suffering, and sorrow, as well as in satirizing the futility of life. Another poet of importance, who perhaps may be placed in the fifteenth century, was *Nahabed Kutjak*. He loves to depict the gloom of sorrow and suffering, but can also use brighter colours when painting the joy of life. In all this Armenian poetry there is an undertone of wistful melancholy.

In other directions also, notably in architecture and art, the intellectual life of Armenia bore fruit during these centuries. As a Turkish writer expresses it, Armenians left their artistic stamp upon magnificent mosques both in Anatolia and in European Turkey, and upon various kinds of applied art. Most of the artistic and intellectual achievements in that strange and mentally apathetic empire can be traced to the Armenians; they were actors and clowns on the Turkish stage, they were Turkey's public singers and musicians, and to a large extent they even created Turkish music.

The Mekhitarists.—Of great importance for the rise of Armenian intellectual culture were the so-called Mekhitarists, an order founded by the monk *Mekhitar* (i.e. the comforter) *Manuk* from Sivas, who first lived with his fellow-monks at

Constantinople and Morea, and then went, in 1715, to Venice, where he was allowed to settle on the lagoon-island San Lazaro. Here he built a stately monastery. The monks had gone over to the Roman Church as early as 1712, but this did not prevent them from collaborating with their Armenian kinsfolk. They set up a printing-press of their own, and established another monastery with a printing-press in Vienna in 1811, after having it for some time in Trieste (after 1773). Mekhitar and his brethren carried on remarkably comprehensive activities, printing and publishing in the Armenian language all kinds of books and other works, original and in translations. This gave rise to a renaissance of Armenian civilization, thought, and self-consciousness; developed the modern literature of the country; and raised the standard of popular culture, not least by providing good translations of Western European literature and science. Mekhitar Manuk certainly did wonders in arousing his down-trodden countrymen.

THE ARMENIANS AND CIVILIZATION IN OTHER LANDS.

It has been the tragedy of the Armenian people that although they have invariably shown the most distinguished ability when in foreign service, they could never administer their own country successfully for any length of time. In Byzantium many of the leading men, and often, strange to say, the most capable administrators and generals, were Armenians, like the Emperor Justinian's famous general Nerses—who conquered Italy for him, but was afterwards burnt alive—and Johannes Kurkuas (920-942), the victorious commander-in-chief against the Arabs. At various times able emperors of Armenian extraction ruled over the Byzantine empire in troublous days, upholding and consolidating its diminished power; among them may be mentioned the emperors Mauricius, Heraclius (whose father was Armenian), Bardanes (Philippicus), Artavasdes, Leo V, Basil I, Romanus, Lakapenus, Johannes Tzimiskes, Basil II (the *Bulgar Butcher*), and others. A number of empresses also came from Armenia. In this way, therefore, the Armenians exerted a decisive and

strengthening influence upon the destinies of this world-empire throughout a lengthy period.

But with all their ability the Armenians could not save their own country. Though they had a strong feeling of the spiritual unity of their people, shown among other things by the way in which they invariably closed their ranks in defence of their Church and its doctrine against all Greek Orthodox or Roman Catholic attempts at oppression, they never felt that completely unifying and absolutely compelling love of country and people which is the foundation of all political unity and freedom. This was probably due in the main, as has been suggested elsewhere (p. 242), to the physical formation of their country, which divided the people up into isolated valleys and districts. These fractions of the nation, under chiefs of their own, looked upon themselves more or less as separate entities, and their mutual dissensions greatly reduced the national power of resistance to enemies from without.

Another important factor which tended to weaken the nation was the frequent and extensive emigration already described (p. 265), which drained the country of much of its best blood. Nature has obviously endowed the Armenians with that desire to travel and see the world which is often found in gifted races, and the force of circumstances has more than gratified their wish. Again and again from the earliest times the incursions of hostile hosts have driven out large numbers and scattered them over other lands. Moreover, some of the Byzantine emperors, such as Mauricius (582-602), Phocas (602-610), and Basil II (976-1025), transferred whole populations—Phocas transferred 30,000 families—from the subjugated territories of Armenia to Thrace and Macedonia, in order to strengthen the country against enemies from beyond the Danube or against the Bulgarians.

In many of the countries to which they came the Armenian emigrants founded larger or smaller colonies; and they brought with them efficiency, enterprise, and prosperity. Those who went eastwards settled in Persia, India, the Sunda Islands, and China; while in the west they entered Syria, Egypt, and the Mediterranean countries, where they formed colonies in most of the larger coast towns. They also emi-

grated to Poland (100,000), Galicia, Moldavia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Italy, etc. Mass emigrations took place after the Seljuk-Turk invasion in the eleventh century and after the Mongolian invasion at a later date.

These numerous and extensive emigrations reduced the Armenian population at home, so that whole regions of fertile country were nearly depopulated or greatly impoverished, while Kurdish nomads occupied the mountains and Turks, Tatars, and Kurds settled in the valleys and on the plains. Where the Armenians had previously been the sole occupants, or greatly in the majority, the population now became extremely mixed.

Although constant intercourse with foreigners in the caravan trade may have had an intellectually stimulating effect, Armenia was not very promising soil for the growth of a high standard of general culture. The country was divided up into small centres of culture with an inadequate system of communication. The population consisted mainly of peasants—who can never serve directly as emissaries of high intellectual progress. The development of the arts presupposes a class of people in easier circumstances who have more leisure, and are not always tied to the plough; and it requires towns as smaller or larger centres of culture, where intellectual life is more vigorous, and where there is an easier interchange of thoughts and ideas, with, as a rule, more demand for them. Armenia was lacking in town centres of this description; the large monasteries formed for the most part the foci of intellectual life. Moreover, the country was cut off from the sea and had no ports. Naturally, therefore, many of the more gifted spirits went abroad to larger centres of culture with better opportunities, such as Byzantium and other towns of the West, and probably also the chief cities of the Persian empire. Here their intellectual abilities could develop more freely and benefit others, but unfortunately they were lost to their own country.

But, on the other hand, the isolation of the Armenian highlands gradually fostered in the people a more distinctive national culture and a stubborn, often fanatical, adherence to what was their own. This found expression not least in their

religion and in their Church, which never at any time surrendered its independence. Through their in many ways independent development, moreover, this gifted people made valuable contributions to the evolution not only of Byzantine, but also of West-European civilization. Even at quite an early date the Armenians, who were the first people to adopt Christianity as the State religion, seem to have carried on extensive activities in promoting ecclesiastical learning outside their own country. We are told that before the sixth century—even the fourth is named—seventy Armenian monasteries had been established in Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine, in addition to many monasteries in Egypt, at Sinai, in Alexandria, and in the Thebaid.¹ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there were many Armenians in Egypt. Mention has already been made of the important part they played in the history of Byzantium.

With the Germanic nations of the North, too, the Armenians have had a remarkable connection. It is probable that the Goths received their first Christian teaching, at any rate partly, from them. As Sophus Bugge has shown, there are several Armenian elements in the Gothic of Ulfilas's translation of the Bible. This may be because his grandparents² came in A.D. 257 to South-west Russia, brought thither by the Goths as war-prisoners from Cappadocia, the former home of the Armenians, where numbers of Armenians still lived. Gregory, the apostle of Armenia, was being brought up there at about the same date. The Goths near the Black Sea apparently had another connection with Armenia, probably through Armenian traders and missionaries. Various characteristics of their mode of building, which they brought with them to Bulgaria and Western Europe, seem to indicate Armenian influences. It is also remarkable that even down to the end of the West-Gothic supremacy in Spain there were Gothic princes with Armenian names, such as Artavasdes (*circa* A.D. 710).³

This Armenian influence may also have extended as far

¹ Cf. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 730 ff.

² Ulfilas was born in A.D. 311.

³ Cf. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 728 f.

north as Scandinavia, and may explain, among other things, certain similarities between our burying-places and *bauta* stones—for instance, in Bohuslen and Blekinge—and the Armenian churchyards and gravestones. There was also a connection later on. As Professor Magnus Olsen has pointed out to me, Are Frode tells in his *Islendingabok* (chap. viii), of three *ermiskir* (i.e. Armenians), Peter, Abraham, and Stephen, who came all the way to Iceland, and stated that they were Armenian bishops. Their rule of life was “in many ways less strict than Bishop Isleiv’s (A.D. 1056–1080), wherefore they were beloved of evil men, until Archbishop Adalbert sent his letter to Iceland forbidding people to receive (God’s) ministry from them, and saying that some of them were excommunicated, and that all had come without his leave.”¹ These *ermiskir* were probably Armenian missionaries who had made their way to Iceland. It was just at the time when the frequent inroads of the Seljuk Turks into Armenia had given rise to mass emigration to different parts of the world. They had taught their Gregorian doctrine, which, of course, was heretical, and were therefore very naturally excommunicated by the Catholic archbishop.

The evolution of architecture in the Middle Ages seems to have been indebted to the Armenians for several important ideas and inspirations. As early as the end of the third, and especially in the fourth and fifth centuries, many churches were built in Armenia; but even before that time, in the second century, churches were built in Syria (Edessa) and also east of the Tigris at Arbela. These were generally long churches of the basilica shape, and similar ones may also have been erected at an early date in Armenia and Georgia; apparently there is a fourth-century basilica at Nekressi. But these countries soon seem to have evolved a native style of church, characterized especially by the square edifice with a central dome (cf. p. 214). This style is most nearly related to the architecture of the East. The Armenians probably came first under the Median and then under the Persian domination; later they were in close contact with the Parthian empire,

¹ Cf. Hungrvaka, ch. 2; Biskupa sögur 1. See also Konrad Maurer, *Die Bekehrung des norwegischen Stammes zum Christentum*, vol. ii, p. 586 f., 1856.

whence they obtained their Arsacid dynasty. It followed that the princes and nobility had always Parthian sympathies, and neither the Sasanids, nor Rome, nor Byzantium could ever win their sympathy. Naturally this left its stamp on the architecture. The square building with a dome may have developed from the heathen temples of an earlier date (cf. p. 214). One relic indicating a connection with these would seem to be the previously mentioned plinth with high steps surrounding the outside walls of the Armenian churches (cf. pp. 78 and 145), and see also the illustrations on pp. 208, 213, which almost certainly correspond to the high plinths with flights of steps that led up to the old places of sacrifice and temples. There is no parallel construction in the churches to the south (Syria) or to the west (Asia Minor), or in those of Europe.

The central dome of the Armenians is unquestionably Eastern, and probably came originally from Persia.

When the development of ecclesiastical architecture set in in the countries of the West—apparently several centuries later—it drew much of its inspiration from the East—not only from Byzantium, but more directly from Western Asia: Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Georgia; and this Eastern influence was doubtless received largely from Syrian and Armenian immigrants. In the Romanesque architecture there are numerous peculiarities which were used at a very early date in the East, apparently earlier than in Europe. The heavy piers in addition to columns, the arched frieze, and the Romanesque (cubical) capital; false arcades and tall, slender, false columns outside the church; the trumpet-shaped porch, with arches and pilasters behind each other leading inwards, which is so characteristic of mediæval art in Europe—all these features are found at a very early date in Armenia. The decorative use of light and dark stone in stripes and layers may have been borrowed by the Armenians from the Khaladians; afterwards it was largely used in Italy, especially at Genoa and Florence. Barrel vaulting, which replaced the wooden roof of the basilica, came from Mesopotamia, while the dome above a square structure became the most striking feature of Armenian and Georgian architecture. This con-

struction, which was quite distinct from the ancient Roman domed edifice, found its way to Europe already in the early Middle Ages; as previously suggested (p. 35), it may have furnished the idea for St. Sophia, and it spread westwards, probably through the instrumentality of Armenian emigrants, and very likely in connection with the Goths. There are several churches and baptistries, which are typically Armenian in style, in Athens, North Italy (Milan), France (Germigny-des-Prés, near Orleans), and several other places; and this construction was much used in the numerous churches on Mount Athos.¹ The style of building with a central dome attained its highest development in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the work of masters like Brunelleschi, Alberti, Leonardo, Bramante, and Vignola (the Church of Jesus at Rome), and its fruits may be seen in the cathedral at Florence and the dome of St. Peter's. There are plans and sketches by Leonardo which bear such a striking resemblance to the Armenian churches with their domes and supporting niches that it is difficult to imagine that he could have designed them without first-hand knowledge of these buildings.²

With regard to the current opinion that it was Byzantium that influenced the architecture of Armenia rather than the reverse, it may be remarked that the Church of Armenia, founded long before that of Byzantium, was always bitterly opposed to the latter after the Council of Chalcedon; moreover, Armenian architecture is sharply distinguished from the Byzantine style by its austerity, its sparing and discreet use of ornamentation, and especially by its dislike of religious images of any kind. It presents a striking contrast to Hellenic art and feeling, being connected, on the contrary, with the religious conception which found expression in the teaching of Zarathustra, namely the idea that the deity or the divine beings were supernatural, abstract concepts which could not in any way be embodied in or represented by human forms. It springs from a deeper and more serious religious sentiment in people whose religion is more spiritual and less materialistic than that of the more easygoing inhabitants of large civilized towns. The Jahve-worship of the Jews, and later on the

¹ Cf. Strzygowski, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 766 f.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 863 ff.

faith of Islam, likewise dispensed with images. This aversion from images left a deep impression upon the history of Byzantium, where the controversy about images (726-843) raged like a purifying storm in an atmosphere of much discreditable superstition. The controversy was fomented by Armenian influences, and was carried on more particularly by the emperors whose ancestors came from Asia Minor and Armenia. It represents a movement in the Christian Church which leads right on to Luther and the Puritans.

To Gothic architecture, the greatest creation of the Middle Ages, the Armenians appear also to have contributed inspirations of fundamental importance. It can no longer be denied that many of the features which are most characteristic of Gothic architecture were used in Armenian churches and other buildings several centuries before the Gothic style was evolved in Europe. This is particularly well illustrated by the cathedral at Ani,¹ a long church with three aisles, the walls and roof of which are still standing, unless the last earthquake has destroyed them. It was completed in the reign of King Gaghik I, in A.D. 1001, by the noted builder Trdat, who also erected the cathedral of Argina, farther to the north by the Kars-chai, in the same style.² In 989 Trdat was summoned to Constantinople by the Emperor Basil to restore St. Sophia, which had been damaged by an earthquake.

As regards the cathedral at Kutais, mention has already been made (p. 96) of its resemblance to the later Gothic churches in Europe; and the same thing applies even more to the cathedral at Ani, which was built at a somewhat earlier date. The style of the latter appears to be transitional from typical Armenian to Romanesque Gothic, and it has several of the most characteristic features of Gothic, including pointed arches and clusters of columns. The resemblance is so striking that some authorities on the history of art, convinced that Gothic is entirely European in origin, argue that this cathedral must have been restored in the thirteenth century by builders from Western Europe. But the facts cannot be explained away in this fashion. Even if we had not convincing evidence of

¹ See Lynch, *Armenia*, vol. i, pp. 371 ff.; Strzygowski, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 184 ff.

² Cf. Strzygowski, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 590 ff.

the antiquity of the church in its final shape, there are similar "Gothic" features in a more or less developed form in many other churches of the same and of earlier date in Armenia.

The development of this style of church probably came about as follows. The long church with Mesopotamian barrel vaulting was adopted from the south, and this was combined with the square-domed church, with its outer surrounding lobby and four piers standing by themselves in the middle. Thus arose the three-aisled church. The most ancient church of the kind may have been St. Gregory's church at Dvin, erected at the beginning of the seventh century and destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth century.¹

Specially Gothic features in the cathedral at Ani and in other churches of the same shape are :

The constructional use of the *pointed arch*, especially in the four main arches which join the four piers and support the central dome. The pointed arch is also found in non-ecclesiastical buildings, such as the castle at Ani. *Clusters of columns*, the logical development of which can be traced step by step from the original four corner piers supporting the dome. These clusters of columns on the piers are also connected with clustered columns on the pilasters on the walls. *Ribbed vaulting*, of which there are indications in several Armenian churches and monasteries. And lastly, mention must be made of the visible strengthening of the walls that bear the weight of the central dome by *supporting niches*. This is the same constructional idea that we find in the flying buttresses of Gothic architecture, and it may have led up to that development.

These first beginnings of Gothic may have come to West Europe with the large numbers of Armenians who scattered over its various countries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Another important connection may have been through the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which maintained lively intercourse with the Crusaders after the close of the eleventh century, and through them came into touch with the West of Europe as well. Thus Gothic architecture, the great new

¹ See Strzygowski, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 163 ff.

contribution of the Middle Ages to the world's culture, may have received early and important inspirations from this small but gifted people at a time when they were engaged in a desperate struggle against the overwhelming forces of their enemies.