

Dedicated to the blessed memory of my beloved teachers,
devotees of Turkology, my uncle

**Garnik STEPANIAN and
Anatoly JELTYAKOV (St. Petersburg)**

**ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ԱԿԱԳԵՄԻԱ
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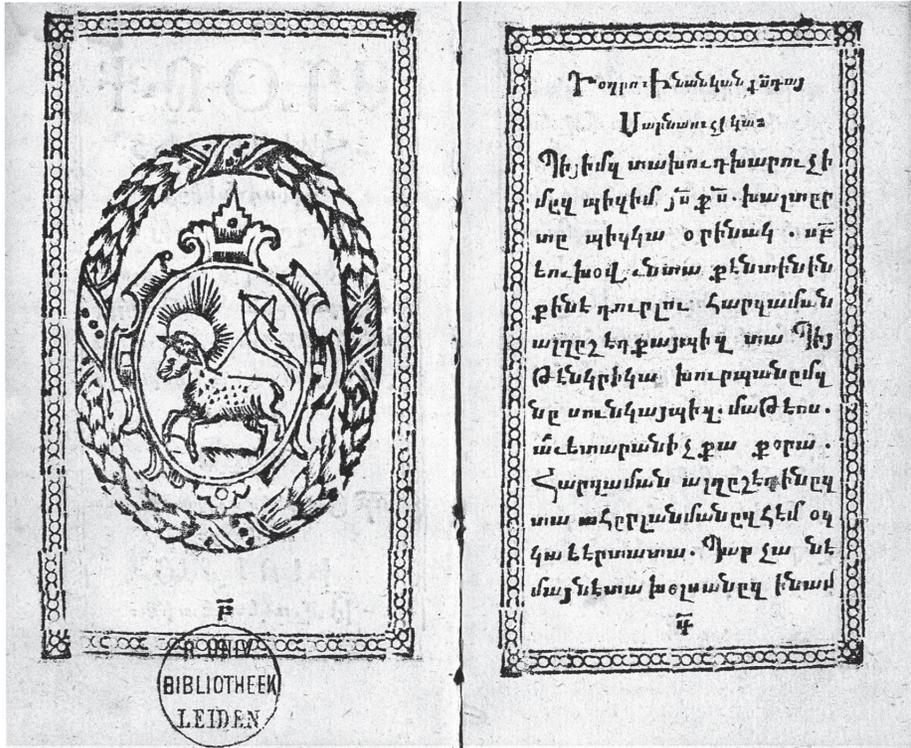
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**THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES**

HASMIK STEPANYAN

**ARMENO-TURKISH
LITERATURE**

YEREVAN – 2023



Livre de Prières arméno-coman





Hakob Meghapat

XVI cc



Hovhannes Myuhendisyan

1810-1891



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S 887 ARMENO-TURKISH LITERATURE

The book is dedicated to the study of the Armeno-Turkish literature throughout the entire period of its existence in handwritten (14-19 Cent.) and printed (1727-1968) forms.

The subject of the source study includes original and translated Armeno-Turkish belletristic, religious-dogmatic, historical and philosophical literature, works of the missionaries, didactic and scientific-popular books and plays created for Turkish performances of the theatrical troupes.

Examined were the historical and socio-political prerequisites and reasons of the origination, development and decline of such literature with a special emphasis on its great mission in bringing the western Armenians of the Turkish speaking provinces back to their national traditions and Apostolic church and re-learning of their almost forgotten mother tongue. The contribution of Armeno-Turkish literature into the cultural life of the Ottoman Empire, development of the modern literary Turkish language and creation of the enlightenment literature and dramatic art is undeniable.

Studied were over 2000 titles of printed books published in the course of 250 years in about 50 cities round the world, as well as the cultural, social and historical value of 120 periodicals.

The book is based on the research and source study of the Armeno-Turkish literature published in 2001.

The book is assigned for scholars interested in or dealing with the Armeno-Turkish literature, the handwritten or printed periods of its existence and the periodicals of the time being.

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**TURKISH IN ARMENIAN TRANSLITERATION
BASED ON THE WESTERN ARMENIAN PHONOLOGY**

u - a	լ - l	n - o	փ - p
բ - p	խ - h	չ - ç	ք - k
զ - k	ծ -	պ - b	օ - o
դ - t	ղ - g	ջ - c	ֆ - f
ե - y, e*	ն - n	ր - r	ւ - v
զ - z	ձ -	ս - s	խ - ü
է - e	ղ - ğ	վ - v	տօ - ö
ը - ı	ճ - c	ւ - d	ւն - ö
թ - t	յ - y, h**	ր - r	
ժ - j	ն - n	ց - ts	
ի - i	շ - ş	ւ - u	

*Before a vowel it is read [j], and before a consonant it is [c].

** At the beginning of the word [h], and in other cases [j].

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FOREWORD

Armeno-Turkish Literature (literature in Armenian transliteration of Turkish) as an integral part of Armenian culture was a result of heavy social-political situation, in which the western Armenians occurred. Over 500 years they had been living under the Turk domination. It was an unusual allegiance of an indigenous nation in its homeland, with its own millennial long culture suffering under the lengthy and heavy pressure of the military-feudal sultanate driven in addition by religious fanaticism. The Turk rulers not only appropriated the material values created by Armenians (and other peoples of the Empire) as the physical product of their work but tried also to exterminate or misappropriate their spiritual values, through assimilating and Islamizing them.

Armeno-Turkish literature appeared as a means of struggle for self-preservation against the forced assimilation. Over five centuries of its existence this deeply national phenomenon turned into such a mighty multigenre and independent cultural branch, which did not only justify its assignment but became a factor that served other peoples of the Ottoman Empire playing a role in their development and education.

In its essence this literature was as independent, multifaceted and comprehensive as needed to represent all sides of the western Armenians' life like the original Armenian culture and literature would do.

This study is dedicated to the contribution of the Armeno-Turkish literature into the history of Armenian culture and the cultural life of Armenians and other peoples of the Ottoman Empire.

There are many peoples and nations whose literary works are simultaneously written in two - native and foreign languages. Thus, the 9-13th cent Persian historiographers wrote a huge number of treatises both in Persian and Arabic. There is a rich Persian literary heritage in India. Arabic as the language of science served a lot of peoples in the medieval East, like Latin in the West served the Europeans. Many nations wrote and are still writing in foreign languages - in French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Italian though each of them bears the imprint and fancy of their homeland. It is worth noting that alongside the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish literature there was also literature in Kipchak, Kurdish and Arabic languages in Armenian transliteration, which, being mainly void of social-political ground did not play any big practical role.

Turning back to Armeno-Turkish literature we should state that it is characterized by emphasized, intrinsically Armenian national character. Armenians differ from other peoples creating in the abovementioned languages by the fact that Armeno-Turkish literature was not conceived as the basic, moreover the only form of literary expression of Armenians' intellectual development. It was created by Armenians as a means of communication not only for those who did not speak Armenian, but also for those who partially mastered Armenian. Creation and development of Armeno-Turkish literature proceeded in parallel with the development of the originally Armenian literature and

did not depend on its tides and ebbs. Instead it depended on the heavy social-economic and political conditions of Western Armenia.

Continuing the centennial traditions of its cultural heritage the Armenian literature has been developing and has reached the Modern Era in two independent literary languages - eastern and western Armenian.

Although Armeno-Turkish literature naturally lags behind the original Armenian literature both in quantity and quality it is still integral part of Armenian literature that has found an autonomous way of expression.

To understand, moreover to evaluate the importance of Armeno-Turkish literature we need to investigate the historical preconditions, which led to its creation.

Existing for centuries under the Ottoman rule the western part of Armenians was permanently facing the policy of forced assimilation, which did leave consequences even if it was not crowned with complete success. Free of the massacres and persecution had been mainly those who converted to Islam (sometimes only in pretence) and changed their nationality. In such cases there was a saying: "No matter how an Armenian converts to Islam, in Muslim's eyes he remains an Armenian with *haram* (foul) bones"¹.

By the middle of the 19th century hundreds of Armenian villages with ancient monasteries and churches around were gradually deserted without even a trace of Armenians there.

The greatest disaster for all Christians (Armenians included) of the Ottoman Empire was *devshirme* (levy of Christian boys), that represented the mandatory collection of Christian boys assigned mainly to Janissaries (*yenicheri*) troops. Islamization and the Muslim fosterage of the boys - the victims of such enrollment, were a misfortune and disaster for all Christian subjects of the Empire. This tragic reality was reflected in the historiographic chronicles and lamentations by **Grigor of Daranagh, Simeon the Pole, Thaddeus of Sebastia** et al. Contrary to it this tragedy received heroic nuances in the descriptions of such Turkish historiographers as, e.g. **Ibrahim Pechevi**². According to Armenian sources, specifically, **Anonymous of Sebastia** *devshirme* (or the "blood" tax) was imposed in 1519 based on the edict of Sultan **Selim I**³.

Referring to **Pechevi** and his sources some modern Turkish historians state that *devshirme* extended only on the Turkified Christians arguing that Christians in those regions were Turkophone. Naturally the Turkish historians turn blind eyes on the fact that under the threat of cutting their tongue or being burnt alive, or castrated

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- 1 Gülçiçek Günel Tekin. Beni Yıkamadan Gömün, Kürtler Ermeni Soykırımını Anlatıyor, İst.2013 , p. 206.
 - 2 Turkish Sources Relating to Armenia, Armenians and other Peoples of Transcaucasia (Թուրքական աղբյուրները Հայաստանի, հայերի և Անդրկովկասի մյուս ժողովուրդների մասին. Հ. 1. Երևան, 1961, էջ 34).
 - 3 See: Small Chronicles, vol 1, compiled by V. Hakobyan. See also M. Zulalyan. "Devshirme" in Ottoman Empire According to Turkish and Armenian Sources (Մանր ժամանակագրություններ 13-17դդ., հ.1, կազմեց Վ.Ա. Հակոբյան, Երևան 1951, էջ169: Տես նաև՝ Զուլալյան Մ. «Դեշիրմե»-ն Օսմանյան կայսրությունում ըստ թուրքական և հայկական աղբյուրների: Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես. Երևան, 1959, N 2-3, էջ 328-333).

Armenians and Greeks in many provinces were compelled to speak only Turkish⁴.

To make an ordinary funeral the Christians had to receive a license from the mullahs. Receiving this humiliating license, which read: "To get rid of the disgusting stench, to remove this worthless flesh out of the city and throw it into a pit" was mandatory⁵.

Not to throw the remains of Constantinople Patriarch **Grigor of Caesarea** (Kayseri)⁶ somewhere out of the city Armenians were compelled to sell his rich library and give a bribe for receiving a license to bury him in the churchyard⁷.

Those who converted to Islam got exemption of a number of taxes and certain privileges or advantages as compared with others. Many people forcibly converted to Islam continued remaining covert Christians. Modern Turk scholars dealing with the history and culture of the peoples once inhabiting in Turkey as well as their literature written in Turkish but mainly in their own alphabet do not always present the material in question keeping to the scientific requirements. For example, presenting the Greco-Turkish literature called "Karamanlidis" some scholars (*Robert Anhegger, Melküre Mollova*) begin with mentioning two ways of existence of the Turkish speaking Greeks. The first of them are *Christian Turks* - descendants of those living in the Byzantine Empire 1500 years ago. The second are Greeks living in the Turkish territory that willingly dropped the Greek language and accepted Turkish as a mother tongue. After the invasion of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed II when the Greek and Armenian Patriarchies and the Jewish Hakhamat had been established that part of population started learning Greek and using Greco-Turkish. Until that they even desired to conduct religious ceremonies in Turkish and the religious Greco-Turkish literature was designated for that purpose even though it did not fully reflect the Turkish phonetics⁸.

Contrary to Armeno-Greek, the Armeno-Kurdish literature was created for certain

4 M. Zulalyan, Western Armenia in the 16th-18th cent). A number of similar facts are mentioned in "Tatev" annuary Published in Arm., in Aleppo, 1912, p. 5 - 34. (Զովալյան Մ. Արևմտյան Հայաստանը 16-18դդ. Երևան, ԳԱ հրատ., 1980. էջ 19-85)

5 Memories of Ambassador Morgenthau, Const., 1919, in Arm. (Դեսպան Մորգորնթաուի յիշատակները, Կ.Պոլիս, 1919, էջ 242). See also: Gor Yeranean, Verbal Stories of the Kurds about the Armenian Genocide, Beirut (according to Gülçiçek Tekin's book "Kurds tell about the Armenian Genocide); Gülçiçek Günel Tekin. Beni Yıkamadan Gömün, Kürtler Ermeni Soykırımını Anlatıyor, (Bury me Unwashed. Kurds Tell about the Armenian Genocide), Belgian University Press, Stambul, 2013, p. 260 (Գոր Երանեան, Հայոց Ցեղասպանութեան Մասին Քրդերի Բանատըր Պատմութիւնները (Հստ Գիւլչիչէք Թեքինի «Քրդերը Պատմում են Հայոց Ցեղասպանութեան Մասին» գրքի) Հայկազեան Հայագիտական Հանդէս, Պէյրութ, 2015, հ. ԼԷ, էջ 843-47).

6 Grigor II of Kesaria, periods of patriarchy: 1601-08, 1611-1621, 1623-26 (Գրիգոր Բ Կեսարացի).

7 B. Kyuleserian. Patriarch Kolot Hovhannes, Vienna (Բ.Կիւլեսերեան, Կոլոտ Յովհաննէս պատրիարք, Վիեննա, 1904, էջ 79).

8 Robert Anhegger. Karamanlı Türkçesi. İst.,Tarih ve Toplum,1984, N 4, s.2: Armeno-Greek prayers and poetry are kept at Matenadaran n. a. M. Mashtots (Matenadaran): manuscript # 631, 4618, 5954, 7117, 7316, 7716, 8728. Two of them: 7117 and 7316 contain the "Holy God" prayer in Armeno-Greek and Armeno-Kurdish, Armeno-Syriac, Armeno-Georgian, Armeno-Persian, Armeno-Arabic and Armeno-Kipchak. Several samples of "Our Father and Salute to Thee" have reaches us in Armeno-Greek. See: The Vienna Matenadaran, 9th-10th cent., man. 876. It contains a glossary occupying half a page "In Armenian, Greek, Turkish, Latin" E.g. տն -տէննս, ճինս, յունարէն՝ հէօս, տիաֆօրա, տանկերէն ֆինս, ֆաարլ.

objective. Since there was almost no alternative the Kurdish literature was mainly in Armenian letters. Owing to Armenian scribes we have access to the samples of handwritten and printed Kurdish texts⁹, authored partly by Armenians and printed in Armenian printing houses. Armeno-Kurdish manuscripts contain vocabularies, prayers, and samples of the folklore, such as parables, riddles, sayings and songs that represent a certain ethnographic value¹⁰.

Part of the printed Armeno-Kurdish literature is connected with the activity of the missionaries of various American and European monastic orders in the Ottoman Empire, who translated the Bible, Gospels and theological books and published them in different languages (including in Armeno-Kurdish). The other part of Armeno-Kurdish literature is an expression of educational mission. It is represented by Armenian and Kurdish textbooks, alphabets and dictionaries assigned for making the Kurds and Yezidis literate and authored by **Mkrtich archimandrite Tigranian** and **Petros Amirkhanian**.

Reverting to Turkish scholars dealing with Armeno-Turkish studies we should state that the manner of "creating history" (turkification of history adopted by the Turkish Historical Society) is obvious at least since the republican period of Turkey. Origination of **Armeno-Turkish** and **Armeno-Kipchak** literature is attributed to Armenians who resettled in Western Ukraine, Poland and Crimea from Ani after the 10th cent and from Iran in the 13th cent, as well as Ottoman Armenians. Armeno-Kipchak dates a little earlier and does not differ much from Armeno-Turkish. It is a special field of study that is in the focus of attention of many European scholars (*Jean Deny, Tadeusz Kowalski, Omelyan Pritsak, Edward Tryjarski, E.Schütz, Andreas Tietze*). Turkish scholar **Talat Tekin** connects the creation of Armeno-Kipchak with the cooperation and close relations between the Turks and *nomadic* Armenians within the Kipchak Turkic state of the 13th century Crimea who abandoned their mother tongue and adopted the Kipchak language¹¹. The author notes that there are numerous handwritten or printed literary texts in Armeno-Kipchak (Old Tatar) kept at the archives of Ukraine and Poland¹², especially at Kamenets-Podolsk and other centres of Armenian culture. Despite the tendency of turkifying the values such articles of Turkish scholars still deserve attention regarding the subject of study.

9 Matenadaran Manuscripts # 737, 771, 4618, 5066, 7117, 8049, 10036 are in Armeno-Kurdish. The number of printed Armeno-Kurdish books known to us exceeds 10. The New Testament and Gospels, which were distributed by missionaries free of charge were published in Armeno-Kurdish in Constant in 1850, 1857, 1861, 1866, 1868, 1872, 1891, 1910, 1911.

10 Manuscript 10036 represents a songbook recorded in 1869-81 by Sargis Kyurdoghlian - the scribe and singer from the village of Eshtia, Akhalkalak. In the specialists' opinion they were created by Faghiye Tayra, a famous medieval Kurdish philosopher and poet. Of interest are also the Kurdish songs "Tagh Dne Khanmana" included into the collection compiled in Baghesh in 1680-1719. Armeno-Kurdish phrase-book of the 11th century was published by an Armenian printing house of Jizmejjan in 1942 in Aleppo. Spiritual songs were translated and published by Ghazar Ter Ghazarian. The Kurdish textbook with grammar and dictionary by Hakob Momjian was published in Beirut in 1949.

11 Talat Tekin. Ermeni Alfabesiyle Türkçe. İst.,Tarih ve Toplum,1984, N 4, s. 6-9.

12 A sample of Armeno-Kipchak printed book is the "Prayers of the Christian Communities" published by Hovhannes Karmataneants in 1619 in Lviv (1067 + 552 p.) and kept at the Leiden University Library, Netherlands. A great number of Armeno-Tatar books come from the Polish colonies.

Armeno-Tatar and Armeno-Kipchak literature is an integral part of the Armenian culture and has a certain historical and philological value. It is a variant of Armeno-Turkish literature, which originated back in the 13-14th centuries. Manuscripts kept in different libraries and private collections of the world are quite numerous. Manuscripts mainly dating from the 16th century that have reached us from the partially Turkophone Armenian communities of Western Ukraine and Poland referred to Armenians and reflected their everyday life and activities. They are represented by homily books¹³, biblical parables, Books of Judgment (by Mkhitar Gosh with the translation of 10 Chapters, which (with the permit of the kings of Poland) governed the life of the local Armenian communities) ecclesiastical and ceremonial manuscripts, prayers, Books of Hours, Psalters, Martyriums, community charters, copies of documents relating to officials relations with the rulers of the given region, church registers, nuptial and birth registers, grants or honorary diplomas, receipts, stock books, accounting ledgers, and finally short stories (of Khikar, etc.), poems, glossaries, etc¹⁴.

Armeno-Kipchak manuscripts are represented by dictionaries, Books of Hours, books of prayers, Book of Judgment, medical manuals. Of special importance were the grammars and dictionaries of the Kipchak language¹⁵. In his highly valuable monograph on Armeno-Kipchak literature published by a well known orientalist and armenologist **U. Dashkevich** (Lviv) argues, opposing the Ukrainian scholar **Garkovets** that this literature is an important part of the Armenian culture, which greatly influenced the codification of certain monuments of both Armenian and Kipchak literature thus contributing to their history and preservation¹⁶. The opinion that Armeno-Kipchak was created by Kipchakified Armenians is inadmissible as the people of big historical and cultural potential could not forget it and descend to the level of a nomad tribe with no writing and literary tradition. Just the opposite, they used the Kipchak language as an instrument for communicating with their milieu, turning that language into a mirror reflecting their history for the time being. Use of Kipchakian by Armenians may be also explained by the fact that the dialect of Ani Armenians was too complicated

- 13 As witnessed by Hr. Ajarian in 1860-61 Anton archimandrite LehaHayots (of Polish Armenians) wrote an Armeno-Tatar Preaching book in three volumes. It testifies that preaches in the Armenian churches of Eastern Europe were often read in Turkish, like those in the Turkophone Armenian communities of Western Armenia.
- 14 For Armeno-Tatar manuscripts see: Kaiser Bibliothek in Vienna, Man. N 13(1580Ä.) and 3(1638Ä.). See also the Library of the Vienna Mkhitarist Convent, Man. # 468 (1575), 559 (1583), 446(1608); Man. 525 (1618); 447(1643); 479 (1660); 480 (1661); 536(16th cent.); 1300 (18th cent.), 1609(18th cent), etc. See also Man. N1731 and 9789 in Matenadaran, Yerevan.
A large collection of printed Armeno-Kipchak literature (Old Tatar) written in Kamenets Podolsk and other Armenian cultural centres is kept at the archival funds of the Ukraine and Poland.
- 15 NAS of Kazakhstan published two valuable manuscripts of the Matenadaran representing them as **the first unique monuments of the Kazakh culture**. Namely: the Dictionary by Lusik archimandrite and the Armenian-Kipchak phrasebook by Avetik commented and edited by a Ukrainian scholar A. Garkavets. See: Гаркавец А.Н. Кыпчакское письменное наследие. Памятники духовной культуры. Алма-аты: KASEAN; БАУР, 3 том. 2007. — 912 с. See also Matenadaran Man.N 3522, The Grammar of the Kipchak language, Lvov, 1634, 353 pages and Man. 3883, Grammatical Words of the 16th cent, 383 pages; Man. 3521 "A letter to Dioscoros", dtd 1609, 220 pages, etc.
- 16 Я.Р. Дашкевич. Армяно-кыпчакский язык XV-XVII вв. В освещении современников. *Вопросы языкознания*. М. 1981/5.

and difficult for Armenians coming from Iran and the primitive Kipchakian served as an acceptable means of communication, consolidation and cohabitation between them.

Armeno-Turkish literature was not created for the major part of the Armenian people, but for those Armenians who, losing their own language still preserved their faith - Christianity. Only in the middle of the 19th cent, during the epoch of Tanzimat the Armenians got a relatively broad possibility of opening secular national schools. About half a million Armenians living in Western Armenia or in the Ottoman provinces with the Turkish majority remained Turkophone preserving their national traditions. Long decades of Armeno-Turkish publications, understandable for such Armenians and enabling them to be drawn into the national arousal and intellectual upsurge should pass until a new generation internalized Armenian. This was the fact accounting for the appearance of so many Armeno-Turkish manuscripts and especially printed literature consisting of hundreds of religious and theological, historical, original and translated books, and, later on, newspapers and magazines.

The 19th century was a period of such a qualitative and quantitative flourishing of Armeno-Turkish literature that attracted the foreigners' attention. First were the Turks since the language was their own and, as they confessed, the Armenian alphabet was much easier to learn than the complicated graphics of the Ottoman Arabic.

In his History of the Armenian Language famous armenologist-linguist **Hr. Ajarian** wrote: "Certainly the Turkish domination did not affect all of them in the same way and with the same force, but the influence was much stronger in central places, and relatively weaker in places far away from the centre and in Armenia proper. From this point of view we may divide all Armenians to three categories:

1. Those who fully lost Armenian language and became Turkophone under the Turkish influence;
2. Those who although preserved the Armenian language but spoke with numerous Turkish borrowings;
3. Those whose Armenian did not contain too many borrowings."¹⁷

Armeno-Turkish translations of the European literature attracted the attention of other Turkophone peoples inhabiting in the Ottoman Empire (Greeks, Bulgarians, Jews, Albanians, etc.), which also facilitated involving the Turkish society into the European events and affairs of the Modern Era.

Printed Armeno-Turkish books have a vast geography. For different reasons they were published in various cities of the Ottoman Empire and out of its borders. The number of Armeno-Turkish books printed in the course of over 250 years in about 50 cities and more than 200 printing houses over the world exceeds 200 titles. Each printing- and publishing house had its own identity, social-political or religious propensities, literary and educational goals, a circle of preferred subjects and interests. Research of

17 In The History of the Armenian Language, vol. 2 (in Arm.) Hr. Ajarian compiled a detailed list of the provinces and settlements populated by Armenians. See: ԱճԱՐՅԱՆ Հ. Հայոց լեզվի պատմություն. Հ2, Երևան, 1951, էջ 255-295:

over 2.5 centuries old history of the printed Armeno-Turkish literature shows that the life of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire as well as in the Near East, Europe, America or wherever else was quite diverse. Only in Constantinople Armeno-Turkish books had been published by about 85 Armenian printing houses. Besides there were other publishers with their own printing houses at the Mkhitarist Congregations on San Lazaro isle in Venice, in Trieste and Vienna. Many valuable books were published at the printing house of St. Jacob monastery in Jerusalem, later in Beirut, Syria, Egypt, France, America, Bulgaria, Malta, Russia, Moldova, etc.

The study of Armeno-Turkish literature is important for the following considerations:

- a. Alongside with the press this literature had a huge influence on readers promoting their intellectual development and taste and drawing them into the achievements of the West European thought;
- b. Armeno-Turkish literature was very versatile in respect of its contents and genres. The latter had a broader circle of readers since it expanded out of the national frames introducing such literature to the Turks and other peoples mastering Turkish thus acquiring an important cultural significance in the entire region;
- c. A branch of this literature served the purposes of expanding the scope of activities of various Roman Catholic, Evangelical and Protestant missions among Armenians while the other branch had been actively fighting against their propaganda;
- d. Armeno-Turkish literature (particularly fiction) deserves attention also for its linguistic peculiarities: the presence of some Armenian lexicon and styles, the imprint of the national Armenian mentality, turned Armeno-Turkish into an interesting source of study by the linguists dealing with armenology and turkology. Specifically fiction was translated based on popular spoken Turkish. It was a peculiar mixture of "vulgar" (kaba türkçesi) and literary "post-Ottoman" Turkish. For this kind of democratizing the Turkish language craved all notable Turk enlighteners in the 19th century and later. The language of translations was fully understandable even nowadays proving the high sense of language by Armenian translators and dictionary compilers and their contribution into the creation and formation of modern literary Turkish¹⁸.

With strengthening of the flow of foreign travelers, servicemen, diplomats and missionaries into the Ottoman Empire Armeno-Turkish did not escape their attention since it could serve all the Turkophone peoples of the Empire contributing to their development and culture. Part of the travelers including a considerable number of

18 The Turkish scholars mention that fact with gratitude. See: Yaşar Şimşek, *Ermeni Asıllı Türk Dilcileri ve Bunların Çalışmalarına Genel Bir Bakış. Araştırma Görevlisi, Kırkkale Üniversitesi, Fen-Ede. Fak., Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü*. YENİ TÜRKİYE 60/2014. These articles mention the contribution of the Armenian linguists and dictionary compilers from Constantinople and Russia. *Agop Dilaçar, Edvard Vladimiroviç Sevortyan (Moscow), Pars Tuğlacı, Kevork Pamukciyan with their works about language, linguistics, grammar, etymology and vocabulary, Lazar Zaharoviç Budagov(Kazan University), Artin Handoğlu, Sevan Nişanyan, Bedros Keresteciyan, Karekin Deveciyan, Anton Tıngır, Krikor Sinapyan, Armenak Bedevyan, Bedros Zeki Garabedian, Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano*.

German, French, Italian anthropologists were not only interested in it but made it a subject of scholarly study.

Finally the study of Armeno-Turkish literature may enable to uplift an entire field that is not yet fully investigated, namely the educational role of Armenians in the cultural life of other peoples of the Empire. Of special interest is the fact that through the translated Armeno-Turkish literature the progressive ideas of the West infiltrated not only into the Armenian but also into the milieu of other peoples, specifically the Turkish circles disseminating liberal-constitutional and revolutionary ideas in the outdated militarist-feudal Turkish tyranny. Undoubtedly Armeno-Turkish literature influenced the formation and development of the new generation of Turkish writers and public figures. Most important was the collaboration of Armenian theatrical troupes with the Turkish enlighteners who advocated for constitutional reforms in the Ottoman Empire and the development of secular cultural life of the Turkish society.

Armeno-Turkish literature developed during ca six centuries, from the 14th century almost up to our days. It passed a peculiar way depending on the historical destiny of Armenians on the one hand and on the political and social-economic cataclysms in the life of Armenians on the other hand.

There are two stages in the development of Armeno-Turkish literature: handwritten and printed. The handwritten stage lasted about six centuries (from the 14th to the 19th cent). The printed stage lasted about 250 years. Each of these stages had its own specifics:

- a. The handwritten stage of Armeno-Turkish was rich in content and involvement. It included a huge section of the *ashughs* (bardic) poetry, versatile and multigenre ethnographic literature, Gospels, religious and theological texts, admonitions and sermons, martyrdoms and martyrological stories, as well as scientific manuscripts relating to chemistry, medicine, maths, astronomy, stockbreeding, fiction and historical works, etc.
- b. Opposite to the handwritten stage of Armeno-Turkish, the printed Armeno-Turkish literature had been much broader regarding the subjects. During the first century of its existence printed were mainly religious-dogmatic works and admonitions. Over a century since 1727 to 1840 Armeno-Turkish literature served mainly the Catholic missionaries for propagation among Armenians. After the middle of the 19th century printed Armeno-Turkish literature entered the second phase of development. Characteristic of that period was aspiration for secular themes. The 1850s-1870s were relatively favorable for the Armenian political life and Armeno-Turkish literature was greatly conducive to the spiritual uprising and revival of the spirit of the national liberation in Turkophone Armenians and generally to the awakening of the public thought in the Ottoman Empire. Publications of the said period display about ten genres including fiction (original or translated), historical and historical-theological works, educational literature, publicistic, philosophic treatises, scientific and scientific-popular books, textbooks, dictionaries, Codes of Law, judicial acts, theological publications, various cookbooks and advertising, children's literature, etc.

Even in the cruelest years of Abdul Hamid's tyranny when publishing books and articles aimed at developing the national consciousness was strictly prohibited Armeno-Turkish literature managed to implement its public duty - the national, cultural, socio-political mission of consolidating the Armenian people. The period of decline of the Armeno-Turkish literature began on the verge of the 19th-20th centuries.

This study is mainly based on the investigation of Armenian, Armeno-Turkish and Turkish sources. In this regard it is important to study the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish press, handwritten and especially printed books, including the chronicles, records, laws and memories of the literary and theatrical figures. The richest collection of various sources including hundreds of handwritten Armeno-Turkish texts and collections of the 14th-19th centuries is kept at the Yerevan Matenadaran n. a. M. Mashtots. A significant part of the Armeno-Turkish manuscript heritage is kept at the Armenian spiritual centers of Jerusalem, Istanbul, Venice and Vienna. These manuscripts contain chronicles, original works of religious nature, healing manuals, collections of *ashugs'* songs, original and translated works relating to various branches of science, which had been created or copied and illustrated in different Armenian spiritual and cultural centres. This abundant Armeno-Turkish literature has not yet received the due attention.

Multiple documents and data associated with Armeno-Turkish literature and its creators are kept at the archival funds of the Yerevan Museum of Literature and Art n. a. Y. Charents and the Nubarean Matenadaran in Paris. The archives of such famous literary and public figures as **A. Chobanian, T. Azatyan, H. Tumanian, S. Davtyan**, et al., are still awaiting a due study.

Of special value for the purpose of investigating Armeno-Turkish literature are the complete sets of periodicals in Armenian and particularly in Armeno-Turkish, which had been published since the middle of the 19th century. Various sides of the Armenians' life are illustrated by the yearbooks of the "Holy Savior National Hospital in Constantinople and "Gavrosh". Still another - **Teodic's** annualy "A Yearbook for All" (*Amenun taretsuyts*)¹⁹ was published by the famous philologist **Theodoros Lapjinean (Teodic)** in 1907-1929. These illustrated volumes in letterpress printing published in collaboration with almost all outstanding figures of Armenian culture and science, contained also translated articles and represented specific encyclopaedias, the entries of which have not lost their scientific value till now. Besides the periodicals published in Constantinople helpful are also those published in Tiflis, Beirut, Aleppo, Paris and Boston.

Armeno-Turkish periodicals existing for about 150 years constituted the integral part of the Armenian press. Only in the 1850-s -1890s published in Constantinople were over 100 Armenian periodicals, 54 of which in Armeno-Turkish. This issue was best studied by a known philologist specializing in the field of the western Armenian theatre **Garnik**

19 Teodik's annualy was first published in 1907 in Constantinople. In 1924-29 it was published in Paris, except the volume of 1926 published in Venice. In 1912 a Constantinople Armenian scholar Arsen Earman published the 1900-1910 yearbooks of the "Holy Savior National Hospital in Istanbul" with their lists and directories in small format.

Stepanyan²⁰. Such periodicals as *Manzumei Efqear*, *Terjemane Efqear*, *Myunatiyi Erjiya*, *Mejmaaye Havatis*, *Zohal* were highly popular and had been published in large print run for years, had a large number of subscribers and many correspondents in different provinces, as well as abroad and had been read by different nations. Some of these newspapers, namely, *Manzumei Efqear* was published in 1866-96, 1901- 1909, 1912- 1917 (for about 40 years). Since 1901 when **Karapet Panosian** - the license owner and editor of that daily retired because of disease, to 1917, upon 30 years of being published in Armeno-Turkish it came out mainly in Armenian still containing some articles in Armeno-Turkish. It was a national, political, literary and economic daily. Subscription might be done in Constantinople, as well as in provinces and abroad. The said periodicals represent an inexhaustible source for investigating all sides of life in the Ottoman Empire, its social-economic and political situation, the national liberation movements of the peoples under the Turk domination, etc. Like other Armeno-Turkish periodicals *Manzumei Efqear* became a daily mirror reflecting the multifaceted Armenian life and almost all problems annoying Istanbul - beginning with the cultural and national problems and ending with sanitary conditions of the cities, public utilities, general eastern backwardness, which could cause infectious diseases. Criticized were the vices wide spread among the youth - gambling, womanizing, foppery and idleness. It was seriously concerned with the future of the youth publishing numerous articles about education and reading rooms, various events organized by the youth and performances. In the staff's opinion it would be expedient if the Armenian young men occupied with generally useful work, paid the military dues and received exemption from the military service for educational activities among their own people. Articles on provinces, such as traveler notes or correspondent reports provide vast information about the nature, historical sites, ethnography, national and religious traditions, social-economic conditions, persecutions of the Armenians and other peoples in the given province. Publication of letters received from various provincial centres (Mush, Van, Tokat, Partizak, Hajn, etc.) revealed the ruling willfulness, robbery, atmosphere of terror and evidenced about complete anarchy and lawlessness.

The abovementioned periodicals were likened to the French ones of the time being. The paper columns: Foreign Life, Inner Life, National, Commercial, News, School, Religion, Books, Theatre, Provincial News, Announcements, etc., published articles that were the only source of information for numerous readers. Translated from the European periodicals were many articles on the history and ethnography of the foreign states, their historical persons, modern conditions, culture, political figures, their science, army, even the budget and political and economic life.

Just like in France many of Armeno-Turkish newspapers had a special loose leaf where they continuously day after day published some famous (mainly French) novels, sometimes authored by Armenian and even Turkish writers. Owing to it Armeno-

20 G. Stepanian, the Armenian Armeno-Turkish Press (in Arm.) (Գ. Ստեփանյան, Հայաստան բուրքերեն հայ մամուլը. («Հայ պարբերական մամուլի պատմությունից» հ.1, Երևան, 1963). See also: Zhirayr Danielean, In the Labyrinth of Philology and several other interesting articles in the same book (Ժիրայր Դանիելեան, բանասիրութեան բաղիղներուն մէջ, Երևան, 2011, էջ21-87).

Turkish periodicals had numerous subscribers not only in big cities, but also over the Empire and not only in Armenian circles. Reading and discussing the paper articles in tearooms and coffee-shops was quite usual. The prestige of some Armeno-Turkish periodicals was so high that the progressive intellectuals of other nations, specifically the Turks, not only learnt the Armenian alphabet and read these papers²¹ but also collaborated with them.

Armeno-Turkish press was not homogenous. It expressed the ideas of different social strata, presented different political or religious movements. The title of the newspapers was often accompanied by the terms defining their nature: political, national, liberal, official, philological, literary, critical, scientific, educational or commercial, economic, public, technical, and children's, cultural, satirical, illustrated, etc., etc. Some papers had logos. For instance the logo of *Neva or Setai Ermenean* weekly was: "With the programme of making the Armenian voice heard by the Turk circles". Its chief editor was **Mihran Abikian** (1855-1938) - a linguist-turkologist, the author of many Ottoman Turkish (Armeno-Turkish and Ottoman) textbooks.

In addition to number of Armeno-Turkish newspapers there were numerous Armenian periodicals, which contained large sections in Armeno-Turkish for Turkophone readers. Some of the periodicals were bilingual, sometimes trilingual... To such periodical belonged those edited by **N. Ibekyan** (*Birdy*), **H. Vardanean** alias Hovsep Pasha (*The Press*), **M. Ayvatean** (*Ararat*), **S. Svajean** (*The Bee*), **H. Paronean** (*Theatre*), etc. As we already mentioned the Armenian periodical press (both in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish) is an inexhaustible source for investigating different periods of life of the peoples subjected to the Ottoman Empire, particularly the real conditions of the western Armenians' life. Most important of them was **Teodic's** "*Type and Letter*" (Const., 1912). Nevertheless it has not yet been favored with the due attention of the specialists.

Study of the Armeno-Turkish literature presupposes the comprehensive investigation of all its branches. The bibliographies of printed books and periodical press compiled by H. Stepanyan were published by the Armenian National Academy of Science in 1985 and 1987 already. The list of printed books includes not only the catalogues of Armenian books and contemporaneous periodicals printed in various periods. It is also based on the catalogues of various Armenian printing- and publishing houses and bookstores worldwide, as well as on the museum and archive materials kept at the Armenian spiritual centres, Mkhitarist congregation and Protestant publishers of Armenian or foreign descent.

Very important for evaluating the Armeno-Turkish press and publishing are the works of the well known orientalists of the Soviet period - Prof. **Anatoly Jeltyakov**, of St. Petersburg University and professor **Yury Petrossian**, the former director of the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies dedicated to the study of the history of printing and publishing in the Ottoman Empire and their role in the surge of enlightenment

21 "Learning Armenian letters the Turkish readers fluently read the press of the Manzumei Efqear type", wrote the Turk scholar Metin And in his monograph on the Turkish theatre in the period of Tanzimat. (Metin And. *Tanzimat ve Istibdat döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu 1839-1908*. Ankara 1972. S.36. See also: M. And. *Tanzimat...*)

movements. The linguistic characteristics of Armeno-Turkish were studied by the great linguist **Hr. Ajarian** in his famous Comparative Grammar.

Relatively well studied is the field of the bardic (*ashughs*) poetry compiled in handwritten Armeno-Turkish collections and printed songbooks. The poems were discussed and partly published by the specialists in study of literature and ethnography. Monographs and articles dedicated to some of the bards were published by **M. Taghiadean, Gh. Alishan, V. Emin, St. Balasanean, H. Gatrjean, G. Zarphanalanean, M. Abeghyan, A. Chopanean, St. Malkhaseants, L. Mesrop, H. Berberean, G. Tarverdean, G. Levonian, S. Mnatsakanian, H. Sahakian, Sh. Grigorian, A. Shahsuvarian**, et al., as well as by German scholars **Enno Littmann** and **Otto Spis** and Turkish **Fuad Koprulu**, and lately **Turgut Kut, Sabri Koz**, et al. Interesting information about the initial phase of the printed Armeno-Turkish literature and the motives of its spreading is contained in the works of an Istanbul philologist **Gevorg Pampukchean** dedicated to the activities of the intellectuals connected with Armeno-Turkish manuscripts and books: Constantinople Patriarchs **Hovhannes Kolot, Hakob Nalean, Zakaria of Kaghzvan, Nerses Varzhapetean** and a notable western Armenian publicist **Hovhannes Teroents**. The printed Armeno-Turkish book was always present in **G. Bambukchean**'s bibliographical works on the Constantinople Armenians' printing. The contribution of the former Head of the Council and librarian of the Constantinople Patriarchy into the study of Armeno-Turkish manuscripts and printed books and presentation of that literature to the Turkish scholarly circles is really immeasurable. In 2002-2003 the bilingual publishing house in Istanbul "Aras" issued the four volume posthumous edition of **G. Bambukchean**'s works in Turkish.

During the past fifty years certain authors and compatriots' unions published a number of works on the mostly Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Besides historical, geographical and social-economic descriptions part of such works contains abundant factual data concerning the infiltration and activity of various missionary groups, the government, Armenian Roman Catholic and Protestant communities and their relations with the Armenian Apostolic Church, their cultural, educational and printing activities. These books also contain numerous records, literary works, a rich ethnographic and photographic material in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish; at that Armeno-Turkish data come from the volumes dedicated to such Turkophone provinces as Arabkir, Eudocia, Aintap, Sebastia, Adana, Kharberd, Caesarea, Stanoz, Yerznka and Zeytun.

Armeno-Turkish literature is often mentioned in the works, memories and articles of Turkish historians of theatre, namely **Ahmed Refik, Burhan Arpaghi, Baha Durderi, Vasfi Reza Zobu, Ahmed Fehim bey, Muhsin Ertoghrul, Metin And**, and an Italian researcher of the Turkish theatre **Adolfo Talasso**.

During the Hamidian rule when Armenian performances had been prohibited the language of the theatre was Armeno-Turkish for long. Armenian troupes, who performed the plays, staged also Turkish performances using Armeno-Turkish. The texts and roles of the Turkish performances were in Armeno-Turkish. While learning

their roles the first Turk actors in Armenian troupes used Armeno-Turkish. The plays written, translated or adapted by Turkish enlighteners were also in Armeno-Turkish. This is evidenced by the Turk theatre expert **Metin And** who compiled a list of 366 plays performed by Armenian troupes in Turkish (in Armeno-Turkish writing). The librettos of three operettas by Tigran Chukhajian were also in Armeno-Turkish. They were successfully used by the Turkish troupes at the initial stage of their activity in the republican period. In more detail see the chapter dedicated to the theatre.

At the end of the 19th beginning of the 20th century, especially in the course of the World War 1 the number of Armeno-Turkish readers decreased, accordingly decreased the number of Armeno-Turkish books and periodicals. Armeno-Turkish completed its main mission.

In the 20th century published for the last generations of the Turkophone Armenians that survived the Genocide and spread over the world were mainly booklets of preaching content.



CHAPTER 1

SOCIOPOLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL PREREQUISITES OF THE FORMATION OF ARMENO-TURKISH LITERATURE

In the 15th-18th centuries Western Armenians were subject to indescribable persecutions and forced assimilation, which resulted in the outflow of Armenians into the Crimea, Poland, Romania, Hungary, France and other countries.

The threat of physical extermination was ever hanging on the head of all Christian subjects of Turkey and Persia. Sultan Mehmed III (1595-1603) with no serious reason ordered to exterminate 700 Christians²². We know about the massacre of 40 000 shi'ites, mainly Kurds, killed by the order of Selim I (1512-1520). Trying to enforce his idea of "one state, one people, one religion" he was preparing to exterminate also the entire Christian population of the Empire but dropped that idea because Sheykh-ul-Islam managed to convince him arguing that imposing capitation tax on them would be much more useful²³.

Killing a Christian by a Muslim required no reason. It was evidenced by cases of the forced conversion of Christians in places with the Turkish majority. Islamized Christians bore two names - a Turkish one and their own. At home and in family circles they spoke their language, while out of home - only Turkish.

As compared with the "faithless" the Muslims had unlimited rights and privileges. Forced islamization and levy of Christian boys were a horrible threat to Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire. They were cruelly tortured if refused²⁴.

The Armenian population had to pay about 100 different taxes, which were collected in the cruellest way. If some of them had ten sons, the tax was due for each even if any of them emigrated. "There were brigands everywhere, robbery, massacres and violence everywhere", - wrote **Simeon of Poland**²⁵.

"The Turkish feudals tolerated the Christians and Jews just because they yielded much more profit than their coreligionists. Christians and Jews were permitted to live as the sheep and bees would be - against their milk and honey", - wrote the French author of

22 Grigor of Daranagh. Chronicle, Jer., 1915 (in Arm.) (Գրիգոր Դարանաղցի. Ժամանակագրություն, Երուսաղեմ, 1915, էջ 10).

23 Leo, History of Armenia (in Arm.) (Լեո. Հայոց պատմություն, Երևան, 1946, հ.3, էջ 175).

24 Grigor of Daranagh. Chronicle, p. 15.

25 Simeon of Poland, Travel Notes, Vienna, 1935 (Սիմեոն Լեհացի. Ուղեգրություն, Վիեննա, 1936, էջ 153-154).

the 17 century **Michel Le Febvre**²⁶.

Numerous scholars have pointed at the lack of any rights for non-Turkish population of the Ottoman Empire, their turkification, islamization, various persecutions against them. Illustrative in this regard is the history of a Jakobite Syrian, head of the Kharberd Syrian Church Father **Elia of Kharberd**. The "History of the Colophon Left by Father Elia" is an excellent source telling about the unbearable situation of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire²⁷ from the middle of the 16th to the middle of the 17th Century. There are many sources about the destruction or robbery of Christian churches, or turning them to mosques, or taking them from one people and giving to another. Sometimes when the Turks were short of money levied from Christians for building a mosque they ordered to destroy the Christian churches. Sometimes heads of communities managed to save this or that church from destruction through providing the missing sum, or repairing such churches. Sometimes the churches were ruined just under the false pretext that having more than two churches in the same settlement was prohibited.

A little different was the state of Armenians in Constantinople where they had relatively more freedom, were incomparably less exterminated or displaced. Owing to it Constantinople attracted numerous religious and cultural figures not only from Western, but also from Eastern Armenia.

Constantinople united many famous Armenians whose activities greatly contributed to the development of the Ottoman literature, culture, science, trade and other spheres of life.

In May 1453 sultan Mehmed Fatih (the Conqueror) II occupied Constantinople. To re-populate his new capital the sultan deported numerous Armenians from their settlements and brought them to Constantinople.

Through bringing non-Greek (Armenian) population into the capital the sultan intended to create a counterbalance to dense Byzantine population there.

In autumn, a few months after the conquest the first groups of Armenian resettlers arrived in Constantinople. In the days of Mehmed Fatih II and his successors Armenians were displaced from Ankara, Kafa, Eudocia, Akn, Cilicia, Arabkir, Baberd, Trapesund, Tokat and other regions occupied by the Turks.

Since the period of Mehmed II already Armenians were involved into the building works undertaken by the sultan, for instance in the construction of Rumeli Hissar fortress²⁸. Especially large number of Armenians were brought to Constantinople in

26 Michel Le Febvre. *Estat présent de la Turquie*. Paris 1675, p.217; See also Leo. *History...*, vol. 4, p. 233.

27 Actually it is a *kondak* or letter written in Armenian for begging alms during his trip of protest to Constantinople, the extended sample of which has not preserved. It was published by Hrachya Ajarian with the list of perdonal names and borrowings in a large article (54 pages) -in three issues of "Ararat" periodical in 1908-09 (Մ.Էջմիածին, Մայր Աթոռի սպարան). See also: "Histoire Père Elie de Kharpout", trad. K.J.Basmadjian, 1911, "Révue de l'Orient Chrétien", 337-379, 55-67p.

28 It is witnessed by the Turkish historian of Armenian descend Çark. See: Rh.Y.G.Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler, 1453-1953*, İst., 1953, s.4.

the period of **Jelālī** rebellions of the 16th-17th centuries, when their number exceeded 50 000.

Thus the formation of a considerable Armenian colony in Constantinople is attributed to the 15th-16th centuries though a small Armenian community existed in Constantinople since the Byzantine period²⁹.

After the conquest of Constantinople the sultan issued a special edict about appointing **Kenarios** the Patriarch of the Greek community (*rum milletī*). At first the term Greek included not only the Greeks but all the followers of the Orthodox Church - the Bulgarians, Serbians, Moldovans, Valakhians and the entire non Orthodox Christian population of the Empire.

Then Mehmed II decided that concentrating such a huge power as Christian population in the hands of one person, namely the Greek Patriarch was dangerous and unreasonable.

So by the edict of 1461 Mehmed II established the Armenian Patriarchal See in Constantinople, which became the greatest event in the life of western Armenians after the conquest. In 1478 the sultan's friend bishop **Hovakim** became the spiritual leader of Armenians and moved from Bursa to Constantinople. His spiritual and political power spread not only on Armenians belonging to the Illuminatory Church, but also on Georgians, Albanians, Syrians, Copts, Ethiopian/Abyssinian monophysite orthodox churches. Division between the Armenian and Greek churches was based simply on dogmatic differences, without taking into consideration the national characteristics, since the Quran divides the people not by their nationality but by faith. As witnessed by Turkish historian **Ahmed Refik and A. Ubichini**³⁰ the Jewish community headed by its spiritual leader *Hakham-bashi* having altogether equal rights with the Greek and Armenian Patriarchies was established in 40 years after the conquest of Constantinople.

The system of these three religious communities was traditionally kept by the sultans over the centuries for serving their expansionist goals on the one hand and for keeping the Christians far from the foreign influence and in obedience, on the other hand.

What other purpose could the establishment of Armenian Patriarchy in Constantinople pursue? Both the western and eastern Armenians had a common spiritual pastor - the Catholicos of All Armenians with the See in St. Echmiadzin where the Patriarchy moved from Cilicia in 1441. Since Echmiadzin was under the Persian control, establishing the Armenian Patriarchy in Constantinople occupied by the sultan would assist subjecting the Armenian population to the Turkish rule. The Patriarch was not only a spiritual leader. He was the representative of Armenians in the Empire. The Patriarch was responsible for Armenians before the Sublime Porte, at the palace and government. The Armenian Patriarchy of Constantinople had certain rights and duties before the sultanate. According to the *berat* (edict) issued to Armenian Patriarch **Grigor Basmajejan** on June 3, 1764 (the longest of this kind) "the Patriarch of Constantinople had a right to solve

29 Siruni (Jololian). *Polis and its Role*, vol. 4, Beirut (Հ.Միբունի, Պոլիս և իր դերը, 4h. Բեյրութ, 1965-87թ.).

30 Siruni, *ibid.*, p. 204, See also: А. Убичини и П. де Куртейль, *Современное состояние Оттоманской империи*, С.-Петербург, 1877, стр. 164.

the spiritual problems of the Armenian population in Anatolia and Rumelia, choose or dismiss the leaders, heads of congregations and play the decisive role in marriages, divorces and other civic matters. The Patriarch settled the problems connected with church lands, wills and guardianship. He sent his legates to collect the church dues and presents; submitted the complaints received from provinces to the sultan or his chancellery. The Patriarch punished or sought the punishment of the "stray sheep" lost in heresy. The Patriarch was the person to permit the erection of churches and monasteries in the capital, opening of schools, pre-school classes, printing- and publishing houses³¹.

Despite a number of privileges the Armenian Patriarchs were not exempt from taxes and duties payable to the sultans.

A notable armenologist **Ghukas Injijian** proved that gifts and duties given to the sultan's treasury were governed by a special regulation³².

Besides the duties the Patriarch had to make precious gifts to the sultan on various occasions³³.

Since the Armenian Patriarchy of Constantinople represented not only the spiritual but also the temporal power for western Armenians and disposed of large material resources, there was always a cruel struggle for the Patriarch's throne. It was not accidental that sometimes the wealthy secular electors - *amiras* did not elect the patriarch so that they could be considered the *locum tenens* and thus exercise all rights of the Patriarch. Naturally the sultan's government was interested in the frequent change of the patriarchs as in the event of each replacement the government could levy a certain sum to the treasury. Beginning with 1600 and until the ascension of **Hovhannes Kolot** (Shorty) in 1715, during 115 years, the Patriarchal throne passed to 55 clerics almost 60-70 times with a 2 or 3 year term of service in average. In addition one and the same person ascended the throne several times. Thus patriarch **Karapet of Caesaria** took the throne 5 times, **Davit Areveltsi (of Orient)** - 4, **Hovhannes Khul** (the Deaf) - 3 times, etc³⁴.

To pay the taxes and gifts to the treasury the Patriarch was in his turn compelled to collect the taxes from western Armenians. Thus each religious leader had to pay 600 *ghurush* to the Patriarchy, 200 *ghurush* - from Ankara, the same amount - from Tokat, Diarbekir, Urfa, Sebastia, Trapesund, Gyumushkhane, etc³⁵. However, despite all persecutions and heavy taxes the Patriarchy managed to play an essential role in the political and cultural life of western Armenians, often serving as the only protector of Armenians against the consistent and everlasting lawlessness and violence. Existence of the Constantinople Armenian Patriarchy testified to the influence of the Armenian community both in the capital and in provinces. To a large extent it was facilitated by

31 Armenian History, vol. 5 (Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. 5, Եր., 1974, էջ 302-303); Фадеева И.Л. Официальные доктрины в идеологии и политике Османской империи /Османнизм -панисламизм/ XIX-начало XXвв. М., 1985, с. 7-9.

32 Injijean Ghukas, Geography of the Four Sides of the World (Ինճիճեան Գուլաս. Աշխարհագրութիւն չորսից մասանց աշխարհի, Վենետիկ, հ.5, էջ 117.

33 Matenadaran n.a. Mashtots, Man. N 10716, History of Turkey (Թուրքիայի պատմություն, էջ25բ.

34 Siruni, ibid., p. 55.

35 Injijian, Geography, vol. 5, p. 117.

the economic activities of Armenian merchants, artisans, trapesites (usurers). Some of them, like **Andreas** - an Armenian baker of the 15th century, were so recognized that entire neighborhoods (*Andreas mahallesi*, etc.) and springs had been named after them. Such well-established Armenians made their contribution into the economic, political and cultural life of the Empire, which is evidenced even by Turkish sources.

It is a common knowledge that since the 17th century the foreign and internal trade in Turkey was mainly in Armenian and Greek hands. "Armenians very often dedicate themselves to commerce, - wrote **Muradja D'Ohsson**, - Just they and not the Muhammedans are the organizers of rich caravans. Every year Armenians head to various regions of Asia to distribute there the commodities from the four sides of the world"³⁶. Armenians traded under extremely heavy conditions since "Turkey was full of brigands that wandered in large groups along the roads waiting for merchants. When they met rich merchants they robbed and very often killed them", wrote **J. B. Tavernier**³⁷. In the 18th Cent already the ships of Armenian merchants anchored at the costs of Europe on the one hand, and at those of India, on the other. According to **Ghukas Injjian** the main commodities acquired in Europe consisted of Russian furs and fur coats, which ensured a huge annual profit. Instead the merchants gave their goods or exchanged them with pearls. They bought cloth, metal and artisan production from England and Germany. According to Francophone Armenian historian and diplomat Muradja D'Ohsson before the World War the volume of their trade with France exceeded the trade with other countries wherefrom they brought cloth, gold, silver, golden and silver threads for embroidering smart clothing, bands and fine textiles, iron artifacts, etc³⁸...

Foreign trade was not of just economic nature. Commercial activity presupposes the knowledge of foreign languages, brains and experience, which played an essential role in the penetration of the European way of life, mentality and diplomacy into the Ottoman Empire. They were the bearers of progressive ideas of the time that introduced the products of industry, agriculture, science and culture to the Empire. All of this left its influence on the life of the backward Ottoman Empire.

If trade and diplomatic services were the monopoly of certain Armenians, the majority of their compatriots were occupied with crafts. It was not strange. As indicated by a Bulgarian scholar **N. Todorov**: "Until the end of the 18th century the domineering nation was beyond the frames of development of the general productive forces, which left its imprint on the entire social and political life of the Ottoman Empire"³⁹.

Armenians occupied an important place in trade and crafts. According to Constantinople Armenian philologist **Harutyun Mrmryan**⁴⁰ Armenians dealt with manufacturing cloth, silk and woolen textiles, tulle-making (curtain lace), socks trade, engraving, jewelry, watch-making, owned small manufactories or tailor and furrier ateliers and

36 D' Ohsson M. Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman. Paris 1790, V.4, p.204.

37 Armenian History, vol 4, p. 291.

38 Gh. Injjizn, *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 5.

39 Тодоров Н. Балканский город XV-XIX веков. М., 1976, с. 410.

40 Mrmrean H., The Old Turko-Armenian Merchant Class ad Merchants (Մրմրեան Հ. Թուրքահայոց հին վաճառականութիւնը և վաճառականները. Կ.Պոլիս, 1910, էջ 17).

smith workshops (*esnafs*). In addition to the abovementioned there were Armenian bakers, viniculturists, engravers, spinners and manufacturers of woolen, silk and linen textiles, hatters, locksmiths and potters, as well as bookinists, clerks, hair dressers, bath owners, pharmacists, physicians, cooks, antiques traders, shoe makers, dyers, tinsmiths, innkeepers, golden thread embroiderers, carpenters, etc. with the offices, shops or *khanes* at the markets or elsewhere⁴¹ Beginning with the 19th century the guilds of Armenian artisans were actively involved into the fight for national autonomy.

Highly respected in the Ottoman Empire, particularly in Constantinople were the *amira* clans⁴². The **Dyuzean, Yusufean, Dadean, Noratunkean, Serverean, Jezairlean, Khorasanjean, Mirijanean, Pishmishean, Arpiyaren, Chobanean, Cherazean, Balean**⁴³ and other *amira* clans played a great role in the economic life of the country. For many years they headed the Imperial Mint, Imperial Jewelry workshop, Gunpowder manufactory and Armory. For long years *amira* **Mkrtich Jezairlean** headed the Customs Office at the port of Constantinople, where 20 000 Armenians (mainly from provinces) had been working under his command. Two valuable Armeno-Turkish manuscripts "On the Customs Tariffs" that reached us from the Jezairlean period represent a great interest⁴⁴.

Without going into further details concerning the role of *amiras* we should still note that they were the buds of bourgeoisie in the Ottoman Empire. As regards the social-economic aspects of their activities - they had both positive or progressive and negative impact.

For Armenians Constantinople was the city of high aspirations of thousands of migrants coming from the western Armenian provinces in a hope of finding some means of living and avoiding massacres. In the 18th century the number of these poverty stricken and hungry resettlers in Constantinople reached 100 000. They came with their habits and traditions, dialects and folklore differing from those of the capital and it was where the class antagonism began deepening. The Armenian national and public agenda was dictated by amiras, while the newcomers working under their command could not even

41 Poghos of Kaghzvan, Chronicle, pp. 337-338 and 554-555 (in Arm.) See in: Hakobyan V.A., Small Chronicles of the 13th-18th Centuries (Հակոբյան Վ.Ա. «Մանր ժամանակագրություններ 13-18-րդ դդ. Եր. հ.2, 1956), and Matenadaran, Man. N 10069, p. 61a; See also Abrahamyan V. A., Crafts in Armenia (Արքահամյան Վ.Ա., Արհեստները Հայաստանում, Եր, 1956, էջ 252).

42 *Amira* (from Arab. *Amir*) - a high ranking title conferred only on Armenians on the Palace service (Palace bankers, merchants, jewellers, watch makerd, architects, painters, etc.).

43 Zardarean V., Monument, vol. 1, Constantinople, 1910 and In Memoriam, Cairo, 1939 (in Arm.). See also: Azatean T., Akn and the Residents of Akn, Constant., 1943; Menevishean G., Genealogy of the Noble Clan of the Dyuzeans, Vien. 1890 (Չարդարեան Վ. Հուշարձան. հ.1, Կ.Պոլիս, 1910: Նույն հեղինակի Յիշատակարան, Կահիրե, 1939. ինչպես նաև՝ Ազատեան Թ. Ալն և ակնցիք, Կ.Պոլիս, 1943: Տես նաև՝ Մենեվիշեան Գ. Ազգաբանությունն ազնվական զարմին Տյուզեանց, Վիեննա, «Հանդես ամսօրյա» 1890, էջ 209-216, 230-234). Pamukcayan K. Noradunkyan Ailesi. İst., Tarih ve Toplum, 1988, N.49,s.40-42; Pamukciyan K. Kayserili Hassa Mimarý Ohannes Amira Serveryan İst.,Tarih ve Toplum, 1987, N.46, s.23-29; see also the list of amiras compiled by us in H. Stepanyan, The Contribution of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire (in Arm). (Հ.Ստեփանյան, «Հայերի ներդրումն Օսմանյան կայսրությունում», Եր., 2011, էջ 233-239).

44 Tariff Guide of the Customs Office of Constantinople, Matenadaran, Man. N 8015 -10 pages and 8016 - 12 pages (Մակագոյց Մաքսատանն Կ.Պոլսոյ, Մ ձեռ. 8015, 10 թերթ և ձեռ. 8016, 12 թերթ); Oshakan H., The Panorama of the Armenian Literature, Jer., 1945 (Օշական Հ. Համայնապատկեր արեւմտահայ գրականութեան, հ.1, Երուսաղեմ, 1945, էջ 174).

lay claims to participating in national matters. Making use of their influence the amiras competed with each other both in the fields of economic and cultural activities⁴⁵, which helped to transform Constantinople into one of the centres of Armenian culture in the beginning of the 17th century already. Development of the Constantinople Armenians' cultural life was mainly connected with the establishment of schools, publishing, literature, fine arts and, of course, architecture.

The first schools in Istanbul opened in the 17th century but not for long. The first regular school for 100 pupils was founded by the Patriarch of Constantinople **Hovhannes Kolot** in 1719 at the Armenian neighborhood of Skyutar. Teaching at school were the Patriarch himself, **Baghdasar Dpir** - a cultural figure and poet, **Ghukas Kharberdean** - historiographer and translator, **Gaspar Dpir of Sebastia** et al. Many spiritual and cultural figures including the Patriarch **Hakob Nalean** were the graduates of that school.

Hovhannes Kolot (1678-1741) is deemed to be the founder of the Constantinople literary school. Owing to him the Armenian literature of the 18th - 19th centuries was greatly enriched. In parallel with spiritual education the students received comprehensive education in poetry, prose and music. The Patriarch being a famous pedagogue himself founded the first Matenadaran (Bibliotheca) in Constantinople⁴⁶. In 1741 **Hakob Nalean** (1706-1764) following the last will of his tutor **Hovhannes Kolot** became the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople⁴⁷. At the same year he moved the school from Skyutar to Gumgapu, where it was known as the Main School (*Mayr dpratun*). Highly regarded at the end of the 18th century was the school of Patriarch **Hakob of Mtzbin**, which educated a number of notable figures of Armenian culture. At the same period owing to the efforts of Patriarch **Zaqaria of Kaghzvan** there opened the first parochial schools in the neighborhood of Constantinople.

Another greatest contribution of the Constantinople Armenians into the cultural life of the country was the establishment of printing houses and publishing.

The first Armenian printing house in Constantinople was opened in 1567 by **Abgar of Tokhat** (= of **Eudocia**, ca 1520-1572) who started publishing activities in 1565 in Venice yet. The first book "Small Grammar or Alphabet" was printed there in 1567, then came out the "Parzatumar" (Arythmetics), "Book of Hours" and "The Liturgy" (in

45 Amiras opened secular schools of the European type, free of charge, with contemporaneous curricula and laboratories for scientific experiments. Taught at such schools were European languages. Opened were also female schools and professional colleges. By the middle of the 19th Cent over 2000 children had been studying at 151 Armenian schools. The children from wealthy families usually received home education or studied at private schools in Europe. Amiras established hospitals where physicians educated at the European universities had been working. The upper class founded benevolent unions, printing huses, funded publishing and performances, opened orphanages and elderly asylums, etc.

46 Currently the National Library of Galata (neighborhood og Istanbul).

47 For the first time Hakob Nalean ascended the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople in 1741 and ruled until 1749. In 1749 and until 1752 he was elected the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Returning to Constantinople in 1752 he became the Patriarch for the second time and ruled until hid deah in 1764. (See G. Pambukchean, Patriarch Hakob Nalean 1706 - 1764, His Life, Works and Students (Գ.Քամպուքեան, Յակոբ Նալեան Պատրիարք 1706-1764. կեանքը, գործերը և աշակերտները. Ստամբուլ, 1981).

one volume - 1568); later "Mashtots", and so on. Over a century later another printing house established by **Yeremia Chelebi Kyomurjian** (1637 - 1695) in 1677 printed two books. No other books had been published in Constantinople until the end of the 17th century. In 1698 by the efforts of **Grigor of Marzvan (Merjanzade Grigor Dpir of Marzvan - 1735)** and **Astvatzatur Dpir of Constantinople (1670-1747)** publishing was re-started. The former mastered type casting and printing. Using the cliché bases of **Yeremia Chelebi Kyomurjian** he casted new bases and in 1694 founded a new typography, which published 11 books in the course of 40 years of its existence. In 1698 Astvatzatur Dpir of Constantinople splitting from Grigor of Marzvan founded his own printing house, which published 43 books in the course of 50 years. His son **Hovhannes** continued his work until 1776. At the beginning of the 18th century, in 1701 **Mkhitar of Sebastia (1676 - 1749)**, the founder of the Mkhitarist Catholic Congregation in Venice, published a number of books in Constantinople. At the beginning of the 19th century the number of Armenian printing houses in Constantinople reached 25.

The Constantinople Patriarchs Hovhannes Kolot of Baghish, Hakob Nalean, Zaqaria of Kaghzvan **Pokuzean (1719 -1799)**, **Baghdassar Dpir** - a famous writer, pedagogue and publisher (1683 -1768), et al.⁴⁸ greatly contributed to the development of printing.

Especially important was the 130 year long activity of three generations of the **Arabean** family. Continuing his father's - **Hovhannes Astvatzatrean's** (- ca 1810) printing business **Poghos Arabean of Abuchekh (1742-1835)** was over 70 years publishing books, was appointed the Head of the Palace printing house. Besides the new Armenian types he created the first Ottoman types; casted Georgian types and founded a printing house in Tiflis (on the invitation of the Georgian king **Heracles II**). He was highly appreciated by sultan Mahmud and honored with the order of "Press"⁴⁹.

Despite the appearance of printed books in the second half of the 16th century the art of calligraphy and miniature painting still continued to exist depending on the rapid development of literature in the 17th century. However, copied at that period were mainly the Gospels, highly valuable from the artistic point of view.

In the 16th - 17th centuries the Constantinople school of miniature was represented by a big number of artists standing out for juicy colors and finesse of the drawing whose manuscripts attract by elegant and beautiful calligraphy. One of the most important Constantinople miniaturists of the first half of the 17th century was **Hakob of Akn**, a poet, calligraphist and painter. Perfectly mastering the technique of the Cilician and Crimean schools of miniature and combining them with the achievements of the European art Aknetsi created a series of original miniatures, which were later copied in Constantinople and other colonies. The 18th century miniature made room for painting, which entered the period of flourishing. If until the 18th century the position of the Palace Painters was the monopoly of the Persian masters, beginning with the 18th century it passed to the

48 The Arabian publishers printed about 180 book titles and a periodical "The Byzantine Messenger" in 1849-50 («Սուրբառնայի Բիզանդական» պարբերականը 1849-50թթ.). The activity of the publishers shall be discussed in the third part of Chapter 2, dedicated to the origination of Armeno-Turkish printing.

49 Teodic's work "Type and Letter" (Const., 1912) is dedicated to the issue of printing.

Armenian clan of **Manas**. In the 1730-s one of its representatives – **Rafael Manas** (1715-1780) received education in Italy. According to Constantinople Armenian historian **Muradja D’Ohsson (Ignatios Tosunian, 1740-1807)**, "He was the most gifted among all of his brothers in art, therefore he was considered the Rafael of his generation"⁵⁰. (Not to be confused with his namesake, 1769 graduate of Hakob of Mtzbin’s school.)

Since the beginning of the 18th century the Palace architects were of Armenian descent⁵¹. The activity and the place of the Balean and Servereans amira dynasties in the buildup of Istanbul was studied in a number of monographs⁵².

Revival of the Constantinople Armenian culture was to a large extent connected with the development of literature. The most prominent role in this field was played by **Grigor of Daranagh** (1578 - 1643), Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean (1637-1695), Hovhannes Kolot (1678-1741), Hakob Nalean (1706-1764), Gevorg Mkhlaime (1681-1758), Baghdassar Dpir (1683-1768), et al.

The Constantinople Armenian literary school founded by them served a basis for the Armenian enlightenment movement in the second half of the 19th century. Almost all of them had direct connection to Armeno-Turkish literature and publishing. Therefore we need to present their social-political activities and literary heritage connected with the Armeno-Turkish printing business in more detail.



50 D’ Ohsson M. *Tableau Général de l’Empire Ottoman*. Paris 1790, V.2,p.243. See also: Stepanyan G., *The Manase Painters*; Sargsean A., *The Manases. The Family of the Armenian Painters of the 18th-19th centuries*;

Ghazaryan M. *Armenian Fine Arts in the 17th-18th Cent*; Ter-Stepanyan Armen, *Portrayist Rafael Manas* (in Arm. - Ստեփանյան Գ.Խ. Նկարիչ Մանասները: Բանբեր ԳԱ հասարակական գիտությունների, Եր. 1963, հ. 12, էջ 77-82: Սազրզեան Ա. Մանասներ-18-19-րդ դարերի հայ նկարիչների գերդաստանը, (Ընդարձակ տարեցույց Ս.Փ. ազգային հիվանդանոցի, Կ.Պոլիս, 1933թ. էջ 52-57: Գևորգյան Մ. Հայ կերպարվեստը 17-18րդ. Ե., 1974, էջ 137: Տեր Ստեփանյան Արմեն. Պատկերահան Ռաֆայել Մանաս, Գրական թերթ, Ե.1983, նոյ.25); See also: Sarkisian A., *Pages d’Art Arménien*. Paris 1940, p.97-101. Tuğlacı Pars. *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Batılılaşma Dönemi ve Balyan ailesi*, Istanbul 1981.

More information about the Manas family is provided by G. Toderini’s work “Delle’ Abate Giambatista Toderini. “Letteratura Turchesca”, Venice, 1787, republished two years later in French: L’Abbe M.Toderini. *La literature des turcs*, Paris, 1789, p.60-61. The author - an Italian abbey and traveller visited Constantinople and lived there during five years (1781-1786). He was personally acquainted with Rafael Manas’ son and visited his studio. See: Bülent Aksoy. *Rahip Toderini ve Eseri Üstüne*. “Tarih ve Toplum” 1987, N.454 s. 42-44. A part of the valuable collection of one of Abdul-Hamid’s grandsons was put on the auction sale in Paris in 1995, the catalogue of which listed (among other valuable paintings) three or four small size works of two representatives of the Manas dynasty.

51 Keomurjean Ye., *History of Istanbul* (in Arm. Քեոմուրճեան Ե. «Ստամբուլյայ պատմութիւն» Վիեննա , հ.1, էջ 213 և հ.2, էջ 493). See also Alboyajian A. *History of Armenian Kesaria* (in Arm. Ալպոյաճեան Ա. Պատմութիւն հայ Կեսարիո,Կահիրե, 1937, էջ 15-35; Chamchean, *History of Armenia* (Չամչեան Մ. Հայոց պատմութիւն,Վենետիկ,1786,հ.3,էջ 807).

52 Tuğlacı Pars. *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Batılılaşma Dönemi ve Balyan ailesi*, Istanbul 1981. Poghossean Ye. *The Balean Dynasty* (in Arm. Պողոսեան Ե. , Պալեան գերդաստանը, «Հանդես ամսօրյա»։ Վիեննա, 1970-1973թթ.).

CHAPTER 2

HANDWRITTEN ARMENO-TURKISH BOOKS

By the will of fate the Armenian manuscripts are scattered over the world. The catalogues of various depositories (Matenadarans), museums, libraries and private collections known to us list a considerable number of Armeno-Turkish manuscripts, the majority of which is kept at the Matenedaran n.a. Mesrop Mashtots in Yerevan. This rich legacy including folklore, historiography, fiction, religious admonitions, theology, ecclesiastic and scientific texts embraces a period of six centuries. The manuscripts were written or copied in Constantinople, Tigranakert, Ktuts Desert, Bayazet fortress, Adrianapolis, Eudocia, Karin, Sebastia, Van, Ankyura, Zeytun, Prusa, Gyumushkhane, Petersburg, Echmiadzin, Astrakhan, Crimea, Calcutta and elsewhere.

The thoughts, wisdom, experience, joy, wit, sorrow and suffering, dreams and wishes of Armenians' centennial culture expressed in Turkish in the Turkophone Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire were committed to paper in Armeno-Turkish. Therefore it is not surprising that not a single sample of Armenian folklore has reached us from certain provinces in Armenian. Currently this fact is cunningly used by Turkish scholars presenting many samples of Armenian folklore as their own (among other things). However, just the sensitive circumstance of being in Turkish language promoted the further dissemination of such literature among the multinational Ottoman population and furthered its influence on and interaction with the creative thought of other cultures.

The prevalent part of Armeno-Turkish manuscripts consists of the *ashugh* (bardic) lyrics and folk literature.

The roots of Armenian bardic (*ashugh*s' *gusans*' - *aşiks*, or *ozans* - bards, minstrels) literature come from centuries, long before the establishment of the Turkish state. There are many studies and anthologies dedicated to the early and medieval Armenian literature created by *gusans* and *ashughs*, which enable tracing the process of its development, confronting it with Armenian and correctly perceiving the Armeno-Turkish songs (lyrics) and their variants. G. Levonyan listed over 400 *ashughs* of the 17th - 19th centuries who created both in Armenian and in Armeno-Turkish⁵³.

It is admitted in scientific literature to divide the *ashughs* to two types: those who created and performed their songs unprepared under the accompaniment of some instrument were called "*Meydan şuarasi*" and those who prepared and wrote their songs

53 Armeno-Turkish song lyrics and samples of folklore are represented in over 180 manuscripts kept at Matenedaran. See: G. Levonyan, Armenian Ashughs and Their Art (Գ. Լևոնյան, Հայ աշուղները և նրանց արվեստը, Ե., 1944, էջ 34).

beforehand were called "*kalem şuarası*"⁵⁴. However it is difficult to tell the distinction between the latter as they often had to perform straightaway.

Spiritual fathers being often tempted by the verses written on secular or popular themes not only refined their texts and melodies and turned them to spiritual chants but also created secular poems themselves skillfully disguising them under the spiritual veil or just wrote down the folk lyrics, part of which have reached us in handwritten collections. Moreover, adopting the folk literary traditions they wrote folk lyrics in spoken language, which radically differed from Classic Armenian (Grabar) - the language of the Church. In Turkophone provinces the clergy sometimes created in Turkish written in Armenian letters. New Armenian verses were often laid on some popular melody for the purpose of promoting the Armenian song. The samples of the Turkish folk poetry preserved in Armeno-Turkish manuscript collections of folk poetry enable following the development of the classical (or Divan) and folk literature. The Divan Turkish literature, which imitated the affected and elevated style of the Arabic and Persian mystic texts, was written and developed at the court and as a rule was far and strange to the people.

The divan literature did not express the realia and social situation of the time. It is impossible to find any contemporary of the author in the texts that did not go out of the frames of traditional structural canon. Just a few of such poets enjoyed popularity.

Lords of the world, kings and sultans had the court singers whom they protected, loved or sometimes even bewared of their wit. Some of such singers living in the luxury of smart palaces longed for communication with the people and nature where they could find spiritual comfort and liberty from any bonds. They came out of the boundaries of a palace singer creating in accordance with strictly classical traditions, berhymed the worldly love, troubles and joys of the people, sometimes threatened or rebelled against the palace and were cruelly punished for it.

Along with the Turks there were Armenian palace singers as well loved and appreciated at the court. For instance **Keşişoghli** was the singer of sultan **Abdul Mejid** or **Ilfetin** - the singer of sultan Mehmed, et al.

Armeno-Turkish handwritten poetry collections contain the names that entered the history of Turkish literature as representatives of the classical Turkish literature though their language, specific details characteristic of the Armenian mentality, the content and the structure of rhymes provide a ground to suggest an Armenian background of their authors. In the works of the Turkish specialists in the history of literature (**Ahmed Qabaqlu**, **Vasfi Mahir Qojaturk**)⁵⁵ the names of these very authors along with their biographies and portrays in Turkish attire are mentioned as Turkish *aşiks* of the period in question. The critical scholarly study of Armeno-Turkish ashugh poetry collected in the manuscripts could introduce clarity into the issue of the nationality of such authors and lead to some revaluation. Consideration should be taken of the fact that

54 Alboyajean A., The History of Armenian Caesaria (Ալպոյաճեան Ա. Պատմութիւն հայ Կեսարիոն, Կահիրէ, 1937, էջ 1554). Ahmed Kabaklı. Türk Edebiyat. Ankara, 1967, s. 139, 633.

55 Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk. Türk Edebiyat Tarihi. Ankara, 1970, s.426, 474,498,584.

the majority of ashughs bore Persian names. Secondly, the same name could be borne by several ashughs; and thirdly the same ashugh could have several names. Thus, the 19th century ashugh **Zaruri** upon winning the famous ashugh **Tyujjari** at the ashughs' competition was given the name of **Keşişoghli** ("the son of a Christian priest"), which he changed to Zaruri. Being close to a Turkish bei he was introduced to sultan Mehmed II whom he straightaway berhymed a verse. Besides the smart award from the sultan he received a new sobriquet **Shavzi**⁵⁶.

The Armeno-Turkish bardic literature was studied by notable German orientalists **Enno Littman**⁵⁷ and **Otto Spis**⁵⁸, et al. In his works a well known Turkish scholar **Fuad Köprülü**⁵⁹ mentioned three Armenian ashughs who wrote in Armeno-Turkish: **Mesihi Ermeni**, **Sarkis Zeki (Nurlean)** and **Mirza Khan**. Another ashugh, a certain **Vardan** who was much more talented than the three abovementioned is remembered by **Köprülü** with respect⁶⁰. Most known among numerous Constantinople Armenian ashughs who wrote both in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish were **Izzet Ulvi** and **Ahmed Rasim**. Two other Armenian ashughs of the 16th century - **Vardan** and **Mejnun**⁶¹ were mentioned in the letter of **Jusuf Nabi**.

Listed below are the names of Armenian ashughs of the 18th-19th centuries taken from the Armeno-Turkish song-books: **Bahari**, **Setaei**, **Akyahi**, **Mekshufi**, **Zaeifi**, **Jehti**, **Shukhi**, **Yomr**, **Shagiri**, **Tanziri**, **Abiti**, **Fasli**, **Nebati**, **Hashimi**, **Garuni**, **Mavzuni**, **Sarkhoshoghlu**, **Mejnuni**, **Dehri**, **Irfani**, **Ravzia**, **Nevni**, **Nihadi**, **Vehbi**, **Jyutayi**, **Nazir**⁶², **Abraham**, **Karaj oghlan**, **Dallaq Murad**, **Doni**, **Miskin**, **Burji**, **Petrji oghli**, **Ovch Navasi**, **Mamad**, **Ghambar oghli**, **Allaverdi**, **Mahmud**, **Harutyun of Salmast**, et al⁶³. Armeno-Turkish lyrics is still in the focus of the scholarly interest⁶⁴.

56 Alboyajean A., Ibid. (Ալբոյաճեան Ա. Պատմութիւն հայ Կեսարիոն, Կահիրե, 1937, էջ 1556); We had a chance of following the series "Turkish Language and Literature" on the Turkish 4th TV program where the Armenian ashughs in question were represented along with the samples of their lyrics in modern Turkish graphics.

57 Enno Littman. Das Malerspiel, Sitzungsberichte der Heiderger Academie der Wissenschaften, Fil. Hist., Kl. 1910; idem. Ein Turkisches Stereitgedicht über die Ehe, "Bildärini Evil ile Bekjaryn dasitani". /dans "A volume of Oriental Studies presented to "Professor Edward G.Browne". pp. 269-284.

58 Spies Otto. Esman und Zejdshan. "Ein türkischer Volksroman aus Kleinasien nach einem armenisch-türkischen Druch Antohropos, t. XX, 1925.

59 Fuad Köprülü. Türk Edebiyatının Ermeni Edebiyat üzerindeki Tesirati. Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırmaları. Ankara, 1966, s. 239-269.

60 Amiryann Kh., On the Issue of Misinterpreting the History of Armenian Culture (Ամիրյան Խ. Հայ մշակութի պատմության նենգափոխման հարցի շուրջը, Երևան, «Սովետական գրականություն» ամսագիր, 1972, հ. 3).

61 Fuad Köprülü. Ibid.

62 Matenadaran, Man. N 6438.

63 Matenadaran, Man. N 9003.

64 Numerous pieces of Armeno-Turkish lyrics are kept at the archive of an Istanbul Armenian intellectual Toros Azatyan, at the Museum of Literature and Art n.a. Ye. Charents, section 6, vol. 78-80, 536 pages. Our contemporary an Istanbul Armenian philologist and expert in manuscripts published the Anthology of Armeno-Turkish Poetry in Latin script (Kevork Pamukciyan. Ermeni Harflı Türkçe Elyazma Eski Bir Cönk, İst., 1984; Föklör ve Etnografya Araştırmaları, N 1.). Armeno-Turkish bardic poetry was the subject of research of another Istanbul Armenian philologist K.P.Amiryan, who had

Travelling throughout the multinational Ottoman Empire the ashughs sang (mainly under the accompaniment of *saz*) played and performed both their own and others' music. And since Turkish was understandable to all nations it was natural that the ashughs performed mainly in Turkish even though they came from the Armenian speaking provinces⁶⁵.

Most beautiful in Armeno-Turkish song-books are the samples of love lyrics, proving the centennial wisdom that the most perfect of the feelings - love is above any social, class, national and religious barriers and prejudices even when it revolts against the millennial customs and traditions.

Notable in the lyrics are the following structural variants:

- One line is in Armenian, the other - in Armeno-Turkish (sometimes mixed with Arabic);
- One of the lines represents the translation of the above line, or the lines follow each other without translation. Thus Armenian *debide* stanzas or quatrains are followed by Armeno-Turkish *debide* stanzas or quatrains. Even in Armenian poems - *hayrens* the text is sometimes interrupted by Armeno-Turkish words, thoughts or separate quatrains, which are continuing the content or simply represent the translation of the above lines.

The verses, authors of which along with the time of their creation are unknown, constitute such a considerable number that their publication would require too many thick volumes. The majority of them have certain literary value.

Many verses authored by **Hovhannes of Yerznka (16th cent)**, **Hovhannes of Tlkuran (15th cent)**, **Thaddeos of Kolon-of Tokhat (16th cent)**, **Nahapet Kuchak (15-16th cent)**, **Catholicos of All Armenians Grigoris of Aghtamar (1512-1544)**, **Naghash Hovnatana (1661-1721)**, **Baghdassar Dpir (1713-1768)**, et al. have reached us in Armeno-Turkish. As a matter of fact some of the Armenian ashughs enjoyed popularity and recognition among the multinational population of the Ottoman Empire, beginning with common people and ending with the palace. There were cases when an Armenian ashugh highly popular with the people was buried in the Turkish cemetery under the pretext that he

published a number of articles upon repatriating to Armenia. His articles confirm that famous ashughs Hitabi (18th Cent), Sekyahi (19th Cent), Mesturi and Tyurabi (19th Cent) were of Armenian descent. See: Amiryana Kh. P., The Theme of Love in Turkophone Ashughs' Songs (Ամիրյան Խ.Պ. Միտո թեման բուրբալեզու հայ աշուղների երգերում. («Արևելագիտության հարցեր» ԵՊՀ ժողովածուի 1-2 համարում, Եր. 1983, էջ 230.) A brilliant sample of a bilingual love lyrics - "Lyrics Recited by Grigor", which is characteristic of the Armeno-Turkish bardic lyrics, has been first translated and published by us in the academic collection "Oriental Source Studies" («Արևելյան աղբյուրագիտություն» ԳԱ ժողովածուի մեջ (Ե, 1888, էջ 83-98). See: Matenadaran, Man. N 2394 p. 182a-184a.

65 The ashughs competitions usual in the life of the Empire played a favourable role in propagandizing and great popularity of the lyrics of Armenian ashughs. These competitions were organized as festivals and were held on some solemn occasions. Naturally not all of the participants were gifted or talented. Some of them performed their own works, the others preferred singing the songs of other authors. In both cases the competitors came out of the frames of accepted rules. In their person we see the gatherers and reproducers of the folklore who spread it throughout the Empire by performing their songs. It refers to all genres of the popular art.

allegedly converted to Islam at his deathbed. A case like that happened with the 19th century ashugh **Talebi** (aka **Tyurabi**) of Caesaria (aka **Hajji Karapet**)⁶⁶.

The phases of development, the impact and interaction of the Armeno-Turkish poetry may be figured out only upon its detailed investigation. Armeno-Turkish song/poetry collections contain several quatrains, gazels and beyits, the authors of which most probably were not Armenians.

Numerous labor songs have reached us in Armeno-Turkish. Songs were performed at the pagan or Christian festivities (round dance songs performed on Palm Sunday, Shrove, Vardavar, Ascension day). Distinct theatricality inherent to the part of such songs enables to reconstruct certain rites and holy days to the last detail. Quite picturesque in this regard were the wedding songs consisting of numerous parts. Each ceremony was accompanied by a suitable song. Besides the theatrical touch songs relating to family life contain the centennial experience and philosophy. This genre includes mild and tender lullabies, nursery rhymes, especially colorful satirical songs where the main characters are the daughter and mother in laws.

Ashughs were inseparable satellites of the wars or rebellions⁶⁷ that left the detailed description of events and heroes. The rebel songs represented aggressive and invigorating marches. Even in Armenian speaking provinces such songs were frequently sang during the campaigns, battles or encounters in Turkish for the Turks to hear. Many songs were written based on the standoff, which revealed the nature of the fighting opponents. The adversary's features in these songs differed depending on differing circumstances. He could be haughty, boastful and unbecoming against the coward or flattering and cowardly while meeting the brave. Political and satirical songs were promptly made and quickly forgotten since they referred to a specific event, historical figure or circumstance. As a rule the songs of this type did not keep to any structural canons.

The ashughs sang at the feasts, during the journeys or pilgrimage under the accompaniment of tambura⁶⁸. Of great value are the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish songs relating to historical events⁶⁹.

66 Alboyajean, *The History...*, p. 1561.

67 The ashugh songs were called differently in different provinces. Thus in Zeytun the battle and pastoral ashugh songs were called *avach*. Of interest in this respect are the following manuscripts a. The Lyrics, included into the list of the manuscripts from Tebris compiled by H. Ajarian and b. "Zivistan Misili akhr zamantay" - a poem dedicated to the Heroic Battle of Van, consisting of 15 pages with parallel Armenian and Armeno-Turkish versions. (Հ.Աճառեան, Յուզակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Թարիլի. Վիեննա, 1910, ձեռ. 25 ա, 10 էջ հայատառ թուրքերէն. և ք. «Զիվիստան միսիլի ախլըր զամանտայ» (Վանի հերոսամարտի մասին պատմական տաղ).

68 The tanpura, also referred to as tambura and tanpuri, is a long-necked plucked three string instrument, distinct of Arabo-Persian *jnar*. (See: S. L. Lisitsian, *Ancient Dances and Theatrical Performances of Armenians* (Մ.Լիսիցյան, Հայ ժողովրդի հինավուրց պարերը և թատերական ներկայացումները, Ե. 1958, հ.1 էջ 152-153). In his monograph *The History of Balu-Havav Village Tigran Papazian* (in Arm. Տիգրան Փափագյան, «Պատմութիւն Բալու Հաւաւ գիւղի» (Բեյրութ- 1960) presented an Armeno-Turkish political song relating to the exile of of valdalic Sharif Bek, which was sung by the Turks too (p. 233). The book also contains excellent examples of Armeno-Turkish threshing time songs.

69 After the fall of the Byzantine Empire emperor Konstantin's niece Sophie Paleolog, one of the last

The folk songs performed on various occasions (including sad and misfortunate) are the most sincere and spontaneous expressions of the folklore. Armeno-Turkish rover songs are full of nostalgia and pessimism rather than hope of happy return or good income. Such songs refer to the mother, father, relatives or bride waiting for the rover rather than rover himself. Part of such songs is full of anguish, which naturally transforms into the damnation on persons being the cause of their misfortune. For instance:

Կեօզիւնիւն ըլլող սեօյիւնսիւն	Աչքիդ լույսը մարի	May the light of your eyes die down
Ճիլերիւն աթեշ տիւշսիւն	Հոգիդ կրակ ընկնի	Let your soul burn in fire
Օճաղըն պատսըն	Օջախդ կործանվի	May your hearth (family) be destroyed
Էվին պաշընա երխըսըն:	Տունդ գլխիդ փլվի	Let your house crash on your head.

Songs about disasters and lamentations relating about the bitter, unhappy and gloomy days were sang at the spot according to certain commonly accepted content and structural forms⁷⁰.

Verses referring to other folklore genres mainly result from the customary long winter evening gatherings for entertainment where folk tales and stories had been told. Parables, fables, sayings⁷¹, fairy tales⁷², lotteries⁷³, arithmetic, tongue-twisters, versified riddles and parable-riddles⁷⁴, poems⁷⁵, fortune telling⁷⁶, stories intertwined with singing⁷⁷. Prevalent in this genre was the metric form.

The other side of the everyday life and popular beliefs were superstitions represented by versatile incantations and spells commonly written in Arabic letters. Therefore it is not surprising to see the Arabic and Persian texts obligatorily attached to Armeno-Turkish incantations⁷⁸.

descendants of the dynasty settled in Italy and in 1472 married the Russian Tzar Ivan III and moved to Moscow. Thus, through his wife Ivan III became the legal heir of the Byzantine throne. That marriage had greatly inspirited all Christian peoples. The Bulgarians even laid a legend. See: Легенда о дядо Ивана. История Болгарии. Т.1 Москва 1954 с.179-180, p. 119. The same history is the theme of the folk lyrics “Angunia” beginning with the line “I Saw a Queen”. The historical associations are based on Agathangelos. Historical grounds for creating this song by Baghishetsi - about the Armenians established in Rome from the time of Tiridat and their role in the Crusaders campaigns is in need of further research (p. 275-276).

70 Matenadaran, Man. N 3300.

71 Topchean H. Bibliography of the Armash Cloister Manuscripts (Թօփնեան Յ. Յուզակ ձեռագրաց Արմաշի վանքին, Վենետիկ, Ս.Ղազար, 1962). Man. N 158, p 2a-163b, the Fox Book (163 fables) («Աղոնսագիրք»); See: Matenadaran, Man. N 5941, 1400, 2163, 8048.

72 Topchean H. Ibid., Man. 157. The 17th century Manuscript (Matenadaran N 6657) “Tuti Name” about maymun, khojast and the parrot is the Turkish-Armenian variant of the Persian fairy tale.

73 Ibid., Man. N 1675, 10264.

74 Ibid., Man. N 3830, 3998, 9117, 9404, 10097.

75 Ibid., Man. N 10262, 5941.

76 Ibid., Man. N 9074, 6657.

77 Ibid., Man. N 9906, 10284.

78 Ibid., Man. N 9906, 10284

It seems logical that performing exclusively Armenian or their own works the narrators and ashughs could hardly win the respect, love and popularity in such a multinational country as Ottoman Empire. They played a huge role in spreading, performing, elaboration of the multigenre folk literature of other nations and in creation of their new versions. This is evidenced by the alternative versions of the parallel Persian, Armeno-Persian, Tatar, Greek, Hebraic, Latin, Hungarian (Magyar), Armeno-Kurdish, Ottoman, Armeno-Arabic, Moldovan texts attached to their Armenian variants.

Besides the samples of the song lyrics authored by the ashughs of other descent Armeno-Turkish manuscripts contain many examples of the folklore of other nations. Appearance of the romances so popular in the East in Armeno-Turkish manuscripts proves that they were narrated, sung and admired in Armenian environment and recorded there in Armeno-Turkish. The stories of Shah Ismail, Asli and Karam, Ashugh Gharib, Kyor Oghli, Khan Choban and Tahir Mirza were abundantly alternated with songs⁷⁹.

Armenians were not at liberty to use their mother tongue, especially in places with the Turkish majority. Just in such places the Armeno-Turkish spiritual metric works had been created with the intent of preserving in Armenians the loyalty to their nation and to Armenian Apostolic Church, stimulating faith and preventing conversion and assimilation.

The earliest Armeno-Turkish samples of spiritual and religious-didactic literature are represented by blessings and prayers dating back to the 16th-17th centuries⁸⁰.

Besides the manuscripts relating to daily religious ceremonies there are Armeno-

79 Matenadaran, Man. N2842, 7318, 9003. This love story was later published in Armeno-Turkish and had numerous new editions. These publications are currently in the focus of attention of the Turkish scholars. See: Turgut Kut's articles on it.

80 Matenadaran, Man. N 362, 1644, 1679, 1856, 2274, 3506, 5613, 8469. Notably a 13th Cent Manuscript of Kirakos of Gandzak's (1201-1271) "History" contains a list of 50 Tatar words with their explanations. This glossary seems to be the first record of Tatar language in Armenian historiography. Gandzaketsi described the devastation of many towns and villages by the Tatar-Mongols as well as about Armenian-Tatar relations (See: Kirakos of Gandzak - The Glossary (Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, «Պատմութիւն Հայոց», Ե.1961, էջ 270-275, բառարան). Two other Armeno-Tatar manuscripts N 2412 - 3546 are kept at the manuscript funds of the Krakow Czartorisk Museum n.a. Prince Bulav (Handes Amsorya - «Հանդէս ամսօրեայ», 1887, էջ 55-57). The first is the Book of Hours containing psalms and prayers. The second - contains a psalm, blessing, prayer and a colophon. There are Armeno-Tatar manuscripts in the Keiserliches Bibliothek and among the manuscript of the Mkhitarist Convent in Vienna. See: H. Tashean, The List of Armenian Manuscripts in Keiserliches Bibliothek in Vienna and The List of Armenian Manuscripts in the Mkhitarist Convent in Vienna of the same. (Տես Յ. Տաշեան, Յուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց կայսերական մատենադարանին ի Վիեննա, Վիեննա 1891 և Յ. Տաշեան, Յուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Սյուրբարեան մատենադարանին ի Վիեննա, Վիեննա 1895). As a rule the Armeno-Tatar manuscripts containig hagiographies and the copies of antenuptial agreements are quite understandable since they do not differ much from Armeno-Turkish.

Turkish spiritual poems⁸¹, religious-didactic stories⁸², martyrdoms⁸³, admonishments, sermons⁸⁴, hagiographies⁸⁵, astrology⁸⁶, liturgy⁸⁷, samples of the church records⁸⁸, copies of nuptial agreements⁸⁹, receipts and inventories⁹⁰, speeches⁹¹, religious chants⁹², etc.

Of interest are the books for healers, e.g. a three-partite handwritten medical book of the 18th century⁹³ translated from Italian and consisting of three sections: physiology; disinfection and diagnostics. All other medical books contain chapters concerning the healthcare, human anatomy, healing properties of the plants and medicines.

The most outstanding figure in the field of Armenian natural science and medicine was **Amirdovlat of Amasia** (1415-1496), the author of over ten valuable scientific works based on long personal experience and profound knowledge of natural science and foreign sources. His voluminous work "The Good of Medicine" is the richest compendium of natural science containing the description of the curative properties of 1700 plants, animals and metals, and precise amounts and receipts of medical preparations.

Being a highly educated man and mastering a number of foreign languages Amirdovlat of Amasia was an adept of humanistic ideals who called for infinite self-perfection and equal treatment of the poor or wealthy patients. Being the court physician of sultan Mehmed Fatih he compiled a multilingual dictionary "Useless for Ignorant/or the Uninformed" (*Angitats Anpetn*) for five languages including Armeno-Turkish⁹⁴. Traditions laid by Amasiatsi were observed by other Armenian scientists⁹⁵. The next

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- 81 Matenadaran, man. N 5084, 1823, 3443, 6744, 8277, 8469, 8504, 9138, etc. See also Torgom Archbishop Gushakean. The List of Armenian Manuscripts from the Holy Sign Cloister in Sebastia (Թորգոմ արքեպ. Գուշակեան. Յուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Ս.Նշանի վանոց ի Սեբաստիա, Վիեննա, 1961. ձեռ. 228 (Յիսուս Ռոլի Ներսիսի Շնորհալոյ, հայերէն և հայաստան թուրքերէն կրօնական տաղեր, 1772թ.)
- 82 Tashchean H., The List of Armenian Manuscripts in the Mkhitarist Convent in Vienna, Man. 447; See also: Matenadaran Man. N 9705, 10136 and Father Nerses V. Akinean, The List of Armenian Manuscripts of the Rector of Levonean Armenian College in Rome (Հ. Ներսես Վ.Ակինեան. Յուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց քահանայապետ Լեւոնեան հայ վարժարանի ի Հռոմ, ձեռագրեր 35(102), 61, 62, 46).
- 83 Matenadaran, Man. N 2861, 6744, 8504.
- 84 Ibid., Man. N 5084, 7868, 9073, 9643, 10061.
- 85 Ibid., Man. N 1670, 6703, 9117, 10036. 2065 (the Book of Sermons by Grigor of Tatev).
- 86 Ibid., Man. N 8823, 9008, 9717.
- 87 Ibid., Man. N 2906, 6817, 7543.
- 88 Ibid., Man. N 4656.
- 89 Ibid., Man. N 517, 1670, 1856, 2861, 3476, 5043.
- 90 Ibid., Man. N 2614, 7265.
- 91 Tashchean H., List of Armenian Manuscripts in the Mkhitarist Convent in Vienna, Man. 441.
- 92 Keshishean, The List of Armenian Manuscripts from the Matenadar of Zmmar Monastery, Man. N 176 (17th Cent), The Book, Which Preaches about the Afterlife by a Jesuite Cardinal Ghukas Pinelosta. (Քէշիշեան, Յուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Չմմարի վանքի մատենադարանին, ձեռ. 176(ԺԸ դ.). Գուկաս Փինէլոստա Յիսուսեան կարդինալի «Քիթապ, քի անտէ սէօլէնիլեր կէլէճէթ օմուրտէն օրթու» (Գիրք՝ յորում ճառի զհանդերձեալ կենաց):
- 93 Matenadaran, Man. N 2065. See also: Torgom Archbishop Gushakean, the mentioned work, Man. N 228, Jesus Son by Nerses Shnorhali (religious verses in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish). Bilingual texts were mainly translations from Latin, Italian and Arabic.
- 94 Matenadaran, Man. N8048.
- 95 Ibid., Man. N 1129, 5538, 8048, 8099, 9504, 10012.

generations of scientists left interesting works on embryology, anatomy, healthcare and theoretical studies. Armeno-Turkish collections of receipts⁹⁶ and manuscripts on curative properties of the plants⁹⁷ are rather numerous.

Of interest is the manuscript of 1753 - "The History of Discovery of America"⁹⁸ translated in Jerusalem from Armeno-Turkish to Armenian by **Hovhannes of Caesaria** on the order of Constantinople Patriarch Hakob. Nalean.

Unlike the Armenian manuscripts on science the Armeno-Turkish ones are incomparably poorer not only in number (about 40) but also in the scope of interest.

The development of alchemy in Armenia was mainly connected with the research of the curative properties of the minerals and plants. Any success in the field of various crafts and metal working was duly recorded in Armeno-Turkish manuscripts. Instructions for preparing ink⁹⁹ and dyestuff¹⁰⁰ greatly facilitated the tradition of the carpet weaving.

Manuscripts on chemistry¹⁰¹, arithmetic¹⁰², astrology¹⁰³ and agriculture¹⁰⁴ stem from the 17th century. Of exceptional interest for studying the social-economic life of Turkey are the tariff indices of the Constantinople Customs office¹⁰⁵.

There are about 20 Armeno-Turkish historical manuscripts, almost all of which were later published. The majority of such historical works as the "Kyatib Chelebi"¹⁰⁶, "The History of Alexander of Macedonia"¹⁰⁷, "The History of Nadir Shah"¹⁰⁸, "The History

96 Hakob Anasian's "On Four Armeno-Turkish Healing Books at Maenadaran" contains an article about the translations from the Arabic and Italian Healing books. (Հակոբ Անասյան «Մասունադարանի հայատառ բուրբերեն չորս բժշկարանների մասին». Ստամբուլ, «Շողակաթ» համդես, 1977, էջ 100-108). See also: Matenadaran, Man. N 9711 (18th cent) consisting of three parts dedicated to the diagnostic and thereapy.

97 Matenadaran, Man. N 459, 4026, 8102, 9559, 9583, 9665, 9711, 9878, 10244, 10346, 10347.

98 Pambukchean, Hovhannes Patriarch Kolot and His Students (Բամպուքճեան Գ. , Յովհաննէս Պատրիարք Կոլոտ եւ իր աշակերտները, Ստամբուլ, 1984, էջ 162.) and N. Bishop Bogharean, The Main List of the manuscripts of St Jakobs Monastery, Man. 14 (Ն.Եսպ. Պողարեան, Մայր ցուցակ ձեռագրաց սրբոց Յակոբեանց. Երուսաղեմ, 1966. ձեռ. 14).

99 Matenadaran, Man. N 459, 1387.

100 Ibid., Man. N 9677.

101 Ibid., Man. N 131, 6463, 10183.

102 Ibid., Man. N 524

103 Ibid., Man. N 6420, 9713.

104 Artoreits Gir. (Արտորէից գիր.) See Man. 159 (134 pages of all kinds of useful agricultural advices with the Directory on p. 136-147. See also: Topchean H. The Lish of Armash Cloister (Թօփճեան Յ. Յուցակ Արմաշի վանքին, Վենետիկ, Ս.Ղազար, 1962).

105 Matenadaran, Man. N 8015, 8016.

106 The work of the 17th cent. historian Kyatib Chelebi "A Gift to Seniors About Travelling by Sea" («Թուխֆեթ ուլ քիպար ֆի էսֆար ուլ քիխար» - Շնորհ մեծերին ծովային ճանապարհորդությունների մասին) was transliterated to Armeno-Turkish "for being easily read" by Hovhannes of Kesaria in 17 1760 (Jerusalem, Man N 2066, 144 pages. See: G. Pambukchean, Ibid. (Գ.Բամպուքճեան, Յովհաննէս Պատրիարք Կոլոտ եւ իր աշակերտները, Ստամբուլ, 1984, էջ 161).

107 Matenadaran, Man. N 6891 (transliterated to Armeno-Turkish by Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean).

108 Ibid., Man. N 2722. Most probably this manuscript of 1797 was written by the 18th Cent chronicler - the Catholicos Abraham of Crete in Echmiadzin (1734-1737), who participated in the coronation ceremony of Nadir Shah, wrote the chronicle of his time with the detailed description of all events,

of King Ludovic"¹⁰⁹, "The History of the Ottoman Kings", "The Prediction of the Ottoman King's Vezier Raghıb Pasha"¹¹⁰, "The History of Foncianos"¹¹¹ refer to the history of the neighboring countries.

Interesting from the historical point of view are the Armeno-Turkish odes published by G.Pambukchean¹¹². They were written by four Armenian authors and dedicated to sultan Mehmed II known for his relatively pro-Armenian position.

The treatises preserved in Armeno-Turkish manuscripts continue the traditions of Armenian religious-dogmatic literature. There are works that contain interesting didactic reflections, metric descriptions and information for reading written by authors who mainly mastered foreign languages and were connoisseurs in theology, history, philosophy, antique literature, accountancy and natural science.

Armenians who adopted Catholicism estranged from their nation and were assimilated. A vivid example to it was the rapid decay of the mighty Armenian community in Poland after the forced conversion of the Polish Armenians to Catholicism by Nikol Torosovich at the end of the 16th century. Part of them moved from Poland, while the other part was assimilated. Thus the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish anti-Catholic literature was created to fight against the Catholic proselytism. The study of such literature is very important from the historical and literary points of view.

Religious-dogmatic treatises pursued certain political purposes and occupied an important place in fighting against the penetration of Catholicism into the West Armenian reality. The anti-Catholic historical-dogmatic literature is represented by such works as: "The History of Gregory the Illuminator"¹¹³, "The History of Yeghia of Kharberd"¹¹⁴ and "The Life story of Dashtik, the Miniaturist" by Baghdassar Dpir¹¹⁵, the work of Grigor of Daranagh (1576-1643)¹¹⁶, "The Book of History against the Pope Worshippers"¹¹⁷,

including the coronation and the first years of Nadir Shah's rule. It seems the manuscript in question is an Armeno-Turkish version of an extract from that chronicle relating to Nadir Shah.

109 Ibid., Man. N 10247.

110 Bogharean, Ibid. Manuscript 14. Matenadaran, Man. N 2864.

111 Father Nerses v. Akinean, The List of Armenian Manuscripts at the Armenian Hotel in Rome's St Vlas... (հ.Ներսէս Վ.Ակինեան.Յուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Հռոմի հայոց հիւրանոցի ի ս.Վլաս եւ քահանայապետ Լեւոնեան հայ վարժարանի ի Հռոմ. Վիեննա, 1961.ձեռ.35, 1798թ.).

112 Kevork Pamukciyan. İkinci Sultan Mahmud' a Dair Ermeni Harflı Dört Manzum Methiye. Ankara 1991. Belleten, cilt LIV4 s. 211. G. Pamukjian's commentaries and Turkish translation of Abraham of Ankyura's work "The Conquest of Constantinople" (25 pages) are still unpublished. See: Abrahamean Karo "An Untimely and Irreplaceable Loss - Gevorg Pambukjian (Աբրահամեան Կարօ. «Վաղահաս ու անփոխարինելի կորուստ մը՝ Գեորգ Բամպուքճեան» (1923-1996): Անթիլիաս, «Հասկ», 1995-1996թթ, էջ 659-670).

113 Bogharean, Ibid. Manuscript 14. Matenadaran, Man. N 2864.

114 Father Nerses v. Akinean, The List of Armenian Manuscripts at the Armenian Hotel in Rome's St Vlas..., Man. 35, 1798.

115 Ibid, Man. N 8049. Kevork Pamukciyan. İkinci Sultan Mahmud' a Dair Ermeni Harflı Dört Manzum Methiye. Ankara 1991. Belleten, cilt LIV4 s. 211.

116 Ibid, Man. N 9704, p.1a-5a.

117 Ibid, Man. N1911.

messages¹¹⁸, poems about Jerusalem¹¹⁹, etc¹²⁰.

Notable among the bilingual manuscripts is the historical poem "The Poem about Archimandrite Tovma, the Patriarch of Constantinople Who Was Assassinated", written in 1657 on the occasion of assassination of the Patriarch **Tovma of Aleppo** through his vicars¹²¹. The poem is anonymous, written in first person and is unique among the Armeno-Turkish works of the kind. The Patriarch was the spiritual leader of western Armenians endowed also with political power and that is why he was the target of permanent struggle for the throne, as shown by the death of Tovma Archimandrite.

Works on the history of Armenian churches occupy an important place in Armenian historiography. The life of Armenians in the cities, especially in Constantinople, concentrated around the Armenian churches. Data on the destruction, arson and reconstruction of the churches are overwhelming. Quite informative from this point of view is the work of Grigor of Daranagh "The Story of How the Turks Took St. Nickolas Church Away from Armenians and in a Year Gave Them the Church of Holy Archangels in its Stead" (p. 5b-10b) and "Another History of the Same Holy Church by Archimandrite Grigor, named Paronter, Who Was Once the Patriarch of Jerusalem in the Year 1631. He Wrote Thus of What Happened to Him and Whatever He Saw about the Palace of the Church of Holy Archangels". In the former the author tells about the reconstruction of the Church of Holy Archangels after being arsoned in 1622. The second story attributed to the same Grigor of Daranagh describes how the Turks fraudulently took St. Nickolas Church from Armenians and turned it to a mosque. Then the Turks took another church from the Greeks and gave it to Armenians instead of the one turned into mosque. The connoisseur of the Constantinople Armenian literary sources Armen Ter-Stepanian brings a number of arguments to refute the authorship of Archimandrite Grigor, named Paronter, thinking that it was also authored by Grigor of Daranagh¹²².

There were cases when the sultan's palace provoked premeditated conflicts between the Christian nations of the Empire usually because of taking a church or monastery from one people and giving them to another. The purpose of such policy was seizing as many churches from the Christians as possible on the one hand, and disallowing their unification against the sultan's power through bringing tension between the Christian peoples, on the other hand.

118 Ibid, Man. N 4494

119 Babken co-regent Catholicos Kyuleserean. List of the Manuscripts at the Armenian national Library of Galatia (Բաբգեն արքունակից Կաթողիկոս Կիլիկիայի. Յուզակ ձեռագրաց Գալաթիոյ ազգային մատենադարանին հայոց. Անթիլիաս, 1961. ձեռ. 265 և 229).

120 The manuscript of Petros Kyulalean's Armeno-Turkish translation of Narek (538 pages - 1904) is kept at the Museum of Literature and Art n.a. Ye. Charents. The translation was made from the modern Armenian version rendered by Kasimi (Misak Gochunean) the editor-in-chief of the last Armenian period of the "Manzumei Efqear" daily.

121 Matenadaran, Man. N 7717, p. 128-129b. First published by us in the collection "Eastern Source Studies" (ԳԱ Արևելյան աղբյուրագիտություն ժողովածու, Երևան, 1988, էջ 83-98).

122 Matenadaran, Man. N 9703 p. 16a-16b and 9704, p. 5b-10b and p. 1a-5a. See: Ter Stepanyan Armen, Armenian Literature of Constantinople in the 15-18th Centuries (Տեր Ստեփանյան Արմեն. Առասանդումաղղի հայ գրականությունը 15-18-րդ դդ: Երևան, 1985, (թեկնածուական դիսերտացիա) էջ 32).

While writing about the Armeno-Turkish literature it is impossible to avoid mentioning the Armeno-Turkish version of "Khikar's Conversation" - a rare and fascinating literary monument born most probably in the Assyro-Babylonian milieu of the 7th Cent BC, which was translated from Armenian for Turkophone Armenians¹²³.

The most important source for investigating the history of the Christian, Muslim and Armenian communities in Constantinople are the works of **Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean** written in Armenian quite densely mixed with Turkish and in Armeno-Turkish both in metric and prosaic forms. The only love poem of Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean is the lyrical "History of Timo"¹²⁴, telling about the love between a Christian Timo and a Jewish girl Mrgata. The style of the tragic final of the poem resembles the chivalric poetry though by structure the general rendition is likened to folk songs¹²⁵.

Another well known and most loved medieval chivalric novel "The History of Paris and Vienna" has been translated in its time to many languages and reached us in the Armeno-Turkish translation of Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean¹²⁶. The latter had also translated "The Psalms of David the Prophet" (1692)¹²⁷, "The History of Alexander the Great" (Kitab Hikayei Jahangir Iskender Zulkarneyn)¹²⁸ and the Bible¹²⁹ from Armenian to Armeno-Turkish.

Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean left also the Book of Sermons¹³⁰, the Concise Hagiography¹³¹, The Testament of Crucification of Jesus Christ (in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish)¹³²,

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- 123 The History and Admonishments of Hikar, the Wise Man. Academic edition by Art. Martirosyan («Պատմութիւն եւ խրատք Խիկարայ Բմաստնոյ, գիրք Ա.» (գիտական հրատարակությունը Ա.Մարտիրոսյանի), Երևան, 1969, էջ 303-325 «Ալիմ Խիկարն սոյլատիկի նասիհաթ» (գտնվում է Ջմնատի վանքում, ձեռ. 413)
- 124 Matenadaran, Man. N 1456, p. 3a-25a. See also: Sahakyan Hasmik, On an Unpublished Poem of Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean (Սահակյան Հասմիկ, Երեմիա Չելեպի Զյոնուրնյանի անտիպ մի պոեմի մասին, Երևան, Բանբեր Սատենադարանի, 1962, հ.6, էջ 409-427).
- 125 Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean and Ghazar of Sebastia were the unique authors of love lyrics in the 16-17th centuries Constantinople literature.
- 126 Matenadaran, Man. N 1456, p. 3a-25a.
- 127 Matenadaran, Man. N 9700, which was published in Armeno-Turkish, and Man. N94 - The Book of Sermons by Hovhannes of Sebastia. (Ս.Ղազար, 1962; ձեռ. 94 Յովհաննես Վ.Սեբաստացի «Քարոզգիրք», 1831թ.).
- 128 Translated in 1692 on the order of the famous architect Sinan, a Caesarian Armenian by birth. Both manuscripts are kept at Matenadaran N 1644 and N1645. The copy of 1645 has a colophon dated by 1715, the clean samples are kept at the Vienna Matenadaran N 988 (101a pages) and in Jerusalem, Man. N 988 (101 a pages). The date of translation is unknown.
- 129 Chamchean M., History of Armenia (Չամչեան Ա., Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Վենետիկ, 1786, հ.3, էջ 723).
- 130 Matenadaran of the Mkhitarist Congregation in Vienna, Man. N 408 (116 pages). The manuscript seems to miss the scholars' attention. This partly Armenian partly Armeno-Turkish text was copied in 1679 in Echmiadzin by "Monk Grigoris the son" of Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean whose name was mentioned as "Byzantine Yeremia".
- 131 Jerusalem, Man. N 1076, of 139 pages written in Echmiadzin in 1685.
- 132 A small book in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish. Matenadaran of the Mkhitarist Convent in Vienna, Man. N 408. 94a-115b (21 pages). Dated by 1679; Jerusalem, Man. 1076, 139 pages. Written in Echmiadzin in 1685.

The History of Armenia¹³³ and the concise History by Moses of Khoren¹³⁴. Most probably the two latter works were performed on the order of the Turkish circles.

Keomurjean's "History of Istanbul", as well as the "Universal History" had been highly recognized at the time. The former is an inexhaustible source concerning the natural disasters (especially, fires) that have befallen the city, on each neighborhood (specifically, populated by Armenians), the history of Armenians there, churches, habits, everyday life, occupations, trade, etc. It gave rise to the appearance of new imitative works like "The Byzantine Summer Resort" (1784) by **Ghukas Injjean** and "The History of Bosphorus" (1800) by **Sargis Saraf Hovhannisean**. Keomurjean's works kept mainly at the library of St. Jacob monastery in Jerusalem were published by the Jerusalem Patriarchy¹³⁵. Usually the Armeno-Turkish manuscripts contain some parts written in Armenian. Sometimes they represent an Armenian translation of the Armeno-Turkish original. In other cases the Turkish text is alternated with an Armenian. Frequently the Armenian sections contain brief summaries of the preceding Armeno-Turkish texts. If the manuscript is bilingual the parallel texts are often written on the same page like those we meet in the Bibles¹³⁶ and sermons¹³⁷.

The Constantinople Armenian literature of the 15th-17th centuries depended mainly on the activities of a few authors, while in the 18th century owing to Patriarch Hovhannes Kolot there appeared a literary school represented by **Grigor of Daranagh**, **Yeremia Keomurjean**, **Hovhannes Kolot**, **Hakob Nalean**, **Gevorg Mkhaim** and **Baghdassar Dpir**, **Ghukas of Kharberd**, **Gevorg Palatetsi**, **Melkhicedek of Constantinople/Polsetsi**, et al.

As we mentioned above the handwritten Armeno-Turkish literature is still awaiting the due attention of the scholars it really deserves. Just to have a general idea of that literature we need to initiate scientific critical research and publication of the originals, which may lead to many interesting revelations and revaluation of that rich and unique heritage.



133 A small book in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish. Matenadaran of the Mkhitarist Convent in Vienna, Man. N 408. 94a-115b (21 pages).

134 Chamchean M., History ..., vol 3, p. 723, served as a textbook. The Armeno-Turkish original of this work has not reached us. In his article "Yeremia Chelebi as One of the Sources of Munajjim Bashi" notable scholar Aram Ter Ghevondyan wrote that the section dedicated to the Armenian history in Munnajim Bashi's "Jami ad-Duval" (Universal History) was most probably written basing on Keomurjean's History of Armenia (Արամ Տեր Ղևոնդյան. «Երեմիա Չելեպիի որպես Մունաջջիմ Բաշիի աղբյուրներից մեկը» (էջ 143-150).

135 Chamchean, History..., p. 723. The metric pamphlet "This Quaternio of mine that calls Sapet" (34 pages) in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish probably belonging to Keomurjean was addressed to a Jew named Sapet. («Տեսարակս այս, որ կոչի Սապէթայ», ս. Ղազար ձեռ. 1059).

135. Pamukcyan K. Eremya Çelebi Kômürciyan. "Tarih ve Toplum", 1988, N 544-26-29s.

136 Matenadaran, Man. N 7044. See also: Topchean, The List..., Man. N 94, Hovhannes V. of Sebastia "The Book of Sermons. (Թօփանան Յ. Յուցակ Արմաշի վանքին, Վենետիկ, Ս. Ղազար, 1962., ձեռ. 94, Յովհաննես Վ. Սեբաստացի «Քարոզգիրք» (1831թ.).

137 Matenadaran, Man. N 5047

CHAPTER 3

THE BEGINNING OF ARMENO-TURKISH PUBLISHING

On the verge of the Modern Era the Ottoman Empire found itself in a harsh social-economic and political crisis. The country's economy was declining. Heavy taxation turned to a real disaster both for the rural and urban population. The national liberation struggle and wars still deepened an already heavy situation in the Sublime Porte's economy. It had no army to be relied on under the threat of war or internal unrest. In the 1770-ies the "Eastern question" resulting from the weakening of the Ottoman Empire, the span of national liberation movements and strengthening controversies between the European countries connected with the colonialist rivalry for the Near East arose as an issue of international concern.

Turkey was in such a dramatic situation that even the most powerful representatives of the high ranking feudal bureaucracy understood the necessity of an urgent search for some outcome from the existing reality. Nevertheless even the weakest attempts of reforms encountered the furious resistance of the ultra-conservative feudal and clerical circles. The *ulems*¹³⁸ were still very strong. "Nizami Jedid" reforms undertaken by Sultan **Selim III** already referred mainly to changing the military and administrative system and the cultural life of the Empire. The first secular, professional and military schools were opened. A few decades later part of the graduates of such schools side by side with the progressive intellectuals began fighting for Europeization, enlightenment and bourgeois-democratic reforms in the country.

In this heavy situation the missionary organizations of the European countries took up an active propaganda among the peoples subjected to the Ottoman Empire. Discord between various confessions, convents, orders and missionaries organizations was connected mainly with the struggle for colonies. The race of various European countries for expanding the influence on the Ottoman Empire was reflected specifically in the activities of different Catholic orders.

The spread of Catholicism in the Armenian environment left disastrous consequences. Estrangement of the Armenian Catholics from their people and faith led to their quick and easy assimilation. Evidence to it was the fate of the Polish Armenian colony¹³⁹. In

138 Ulems (< Arab, *ulema*) were the connoisseurs of Islamic law, belonging to the stratum of high ranking Muslim clerics.

139 Since 1626 and to the end of his life the bishop of Armenian Unitarian Church N. Torosovich (1694-1681) forcefully converted to Catholicism the rich community of Polish Armenians in Lviv. The history of Armenian communities that settled in about 40 cities and settlements of Poland and Ukraine is known from the works (in Polish) of an ethnic Armenian historian Sadok Baronch (Paronean, 1814-1892), who compiled a biographical dictionary of outstanding people of Armenian descend in Poland. See for this: Vahe Yerkanyan, Armenian Culture in 1800-1917 (in Arm. Վահե Երկանյան,

the 17th century it was forcibly converted to Catholicism and very soon that huge and prosperous community declined and assimilated.

Alongside with the Armenian literature the Armeno-Turkish publications, especially those of religious-dogmatic nature had been called for working against the divisive policy of Rome.

The Armenian Church and political figures were the first to withstand that policy. The fight was led by the Patriarchs of Constantinople and one of the first was the outstanding religious and cultural figure, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople in 1715-1741 **Hovhannes Kolot** of Baghish (1678-1741). The convictions of Hovhannes Kolot concerning Vatican's policy looked as follows: the schism of Armenians from their own Church was reprehensible and censurable. It should be considered an apostasy and defection of the nation. According to the Patriarch no persecutions should follow in response as they might lead to increasing the number of the apostates. Instead moderate approach and persuasion were needed.

Hovhannes Kolot emphasized the factors that worked to the advantage of the Catholics, namely: the insufficient level of the Armenian clergy's education in contrast to well educated and competent Catholic missionaries. Owing to these abilities the latter could reach their objective even without any painful and apparently insulting violation of the basic religious principles. This phenomenon was additionally supported by a higher level of education of the Armenian students at the Catholic schools, necessary literature brought from the western Catholic countries, protection and mediation for such Armenians on behalf of the foreign embassies¹⁴⁰.

As a result of Hovhannes Kolot's diplomatic activity the Armenian Catholics started visiting the Armenian Apostolic Church, funding the building and reconstruction of Armenian churches, etc. Tolerance and diplomacy were the important steps taken by delegations and leaders of both Churches at the exchange of visits that somewhat suspended the assimilation of the Armenian community. **Hovhannes Chelebi Seghbosean** called the diplomatic practice of Hovhannes Kolot "very wise and peaceable". Unfortunately peace did not last long.

Being the student of a famous *rabunapet* (preceptor/rector - head of the archimandrites) **Vardan of Baghish** and internalizing the heritage of the medieval Armenian universities of Gladzor and Tatev Hovhannes Kolot continued the traditions of his predecessors, trying at the same time to tie them to the European Enlightenment

Հայ մշակույթը 1800-1917թթ., երևան, 1985, էջ 90).

140 Interesting information on relations between Hovhannes Kolot and the Armenian Catholics or the Catholics in general is contained in the book by an Armenian historian and public figure Hovhannes Chelebi Seghbosean (1727-1811) - Serpos (Seghpossian) Marghese Giovanni de "Compendio storico di memoire cronologighe, Venezia, 1786, tomo III, pp. 236-253" («Օսմանյան կայսրության տիրապետության տակ գտնվող հայ ժողովրդի կրոնի և բարոյական նկարագրի մասին. Պատմական հիշողությունների ժամանակագրական համառոտ ժողովածու»). The name of the author in the title is written as Marghese Giovanni de Serbos. See also G. Pambukchean, Hovhannes Patriarch Kolot (Բամպուքեան Գ. Յովհաննէս Պատրիարք Կոլոտ. էջ 276); as well as a known Austrian orientalist Hammer Joseph (1774-1856), "Histoire de l' Empire Ottoman", Paris, 1835-1836, tome XIV, pp. 118-119.

movement. Naturally, being faithful to his principles and an opponent to the spread of Catholicism among Armenians Hovhannes Kolot did not go to extremes in his opposition to the Catholic world. In his opinion the struggle against the Catholicism would be much more effective if the Armenian clergy, political, public and cultural figures had been aware of the ideological and theological Catholic literature. Thus acknowledging the achievements of the European civilization and striving to introduce them to Armenians he founded the Translators' school and initiated the translations of Homer, Aristotle, Newton and other philosophic and scientific works from Greek, Latin, Italian, French and other languages. According to Hovhannes Kolot the dissemination of knowledge among the people might be a foundation for developing new science and literature. To succeed in struggle against the penetrating Catholicism it was necessary to train an entire generation of the theologians and public figures with the deep knowledge of Armenian and Catholic dogmatic literature and European culture. Only such education would enable to withstand the propaganda of the Catholic preachers. By that very reason the translated literature of his time stood out for the variety of contents. In the focus of Hovhannes Kolot's attention and interests were the books on history, history of religion, natural science, geography, philosophy and literature¹⁴¹.

On the other hand there was a necessity of patriotic education, inspiring the people on the illustrative example of such national and historical heroes as the **Mamikoneans, Artashes, Tigran** and others. At the same time strengthening the folk love towards the Armenian Church required glorification of **Gregory the Illuminator, Nerses the Great, Sahak Partev** and the lives of other canonized religious figures. On the urgent request of Hovhannes Kolot the Armenian Catholicos of Echmiadzin sent a "letter" to Pope **Benedictus XV** where he demanded to put an end to the propagation of apostasy by his missionaries in the Armenian community. The idea of union suggested by Benedictus XV was left without response both by the Patriarch and Catholicos¹⁴².

Another distinguished fighter against the Catholic propagation and infiltration was **Gevorg Mkhaim** (1681-1758), a native of Constantinople, graduate of the Royal Seminary of Paris (1706 - 1711)¹⁴³ who returned to Turkey after the sudden death of

141 Quaternio on the Vanity of Everyday Life, Written in Verse to Blissful Memory of Hakob Theologian, the Patriarch of Constantinople (Տեորակ զունայնութենէ կենցաղոյս, ոտանատրեալ ի հոգելոյս Յակօբ աստուածաբան պատրիարկէ Կոստանդնուպոլսոյ. Կ.Պոլիս, 1805), 48 pages, in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish.

142 Requiem in commemoration of Apostolic Hovhannes Kolot of Baghish the Blissful Patriarch of Turkey's Armenians on the Occasion of the Third Century of his Birth (Յիշատակի ոգեկոչում Վ. Յովհաննէս Կոլոտ Բաղիշեցի բազմաշնորհ պատրիարքին հայոց Թուրքիոյ իր ծննդեան երեք հարիւրամեակին առիթով. Իսթանպուլ, 1978. էջ 24-46).

143 The article by the philologist-graphologist Armen Ter Stepanyan is dedicated to the reasons of the stay of an Armenian clergyman in Paris and his study at the Catholic seminary there («Էջմիածին» ամսագիր, 1984, հ.5, էջ 36-44.). In the author's opinion Gevorg Mkhaim's activity in Paris was not incidental and was connected with the kidnapping of the Patriarch of Constantinople, historiographer Avetik of Eudocia (1657-1711), the most fanatical and persistent adversary of the spread of Catholicism in the East who initiated (together with Sheikh-ul Islam) the persecutions of the Catholics. After the murder of Sheikh-ul Islam as a result of the palace coup in 1703 the Patriarch was kidnapped and taken to the island of Tendos by the ambassador of France in Constantinople Marguise de Ferioli,

Avetik of Eudocia in 1713. Mastering French, Latin and Old Greek besides Armenian and Turkish he made a number of translations. He regarded the Armenian Catholics as wayward brothers and tried to return them to the bosom of their Church and people. Mkhaim was distributing the books published in Armeno-Turkish at his own account free of charge, so that the readers acknowledge the truth. The most known of these works was "The Sermon on the Birth and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ", which had eight reprints¹⁴⁴. In the first half of the 18th century Gevorg Mkhaim was the most severe ideological adversary of the spread of Catholicism among Armenians. The main subject attracting his attention was the issue of Christ's monophysitism, to which a part of his theological works was dedicated.

The successor, adherent and continuator of Hovhannes Kolot's ideas and deeds **Hakob Nalean** (1706-1764) was the greatest church chronicler and theologian, philosopher and moralist of his time¹⁴⁵. Hakob Nalean was twice elected as the Patriarch of Constantinople (in 1741-1749 and in 1752 until his death in 1764) and managed to spur the development of culture, religious and educational movements in Western Armenians life. He was a well known theologian and preacher, a pedagogue and author of a number of works, nine of which were published during his lifetime, the others - after his death and 15-16 works are still unpublished and kept at the Matenadarans of Yerevan, Jerusalem and Constantinople Patriarchies and in the manuscript collection of the Holy Savior Monastery in Nor Jugha¹⁴⁶. One of the best known works of Hakob Nalean "The Book Titled Spiritual Arms" (of 616 pages) first published at **Hovhannes Astvatzatryan's** printing house in 1757 in Constantinople had six reprints¹⁴⁷. The book consists of three parts: a) Solution of Jewish Objections and the Accord of the Evangelists" (188 pages); the second and third parts are in Armeno-Turkish. Part B - "The Christian Doctrine in Turkish" (260 pages). There are some beautiful and rather long Turkish verses in the first and second parts. The third part: "Collection of the Most Wonderful Church Stories in Turkish Words" (96 pages). At the end of the book there is a glossary of the most difficult Turkish words

then in 1706 on the order of Ludovicus XIV imprisoned in Bastille. A little later arrested and taken to Bastille was Gevorg Mkhaim, as the author assumes because of plotting a failed attempt of the Patriarch's escape. There is a rich literature on these events both in Armenian and French. Some historians thought that Avetik of Eudocia was "the Man in Iron Masque" (Topin Marius. *L'homme au masque de fer*; Paris, E. Dentu-Didièr et Cie, 1870, etc.). Although that opinion was refuted interest to the Patriarch did not fade. However, it seems that the above version may be quite grounded since the number of "men in Iron Masques" in France was not limited to tens. There were names of about ten prisoners in "Iron Masques" in a list on a Memorial plaque on the wall of the prison on the island of St. Margaret (in front of Cannes) only.

144 The first edition took place in Constantinople in 1730. The dates of the second and third reprints are unknown to us. The fourth reprint was in 1787, the fifth - in 1783, the sixth - in 1786, the seventh - in 1804 and the eighth - in 1818.

145 There are many works on the life and activity of Hakob Nalean. The 275th anniversary of his birth was marked by the publication of G. Pambukchean's monograph "Patriarch Hakob Nalean. Life, Deeds and Students", published in 1981 in Istanbul (275 p.) (Գ. Բամբուքճյանի գիտական մենագրությունը «Յակոբ Նալեան պատրիարք, կեանքը, գործերը եւ աշակերտները», որը տպագրվել է 1981 թվականին Ստամբուլում և բաղկացած է 275 էջ)։

146 Ibid., p. 33-45.

147 Ibid., p. 29 and G. Pambukchean, the 6th reprint of "The Book Titled Spiritual Arms" took place in 1890.

with Armenian translation and explanation in Turkish, and a colophon.

Patriarch Hakob Nalean was also known as a poet writing both in Armenian and in Armeno-Turkish under the pseudonym "Nihati" for Turkish verses. Like his "lamentations" the poems (mainly of didactic nature) were scattered throughout different manuscripts. According to philologist and publicist **Abraham Ayvazean** (1846-1909) the poem "*Gül ve bülbül*" (Rose and Nightingale) about the creation of the universe, as well as other lyrical poetry had been authored by Nalean. According to another philologist, publicist and bookinist **Pimen Zardarean** (1880-1956) manuscript N 136 of his library contains four "*divans*" and one "*kalenter*" signed by the pseudonym "Nihati"¹⁴⁸. However some of these poems are attributed to other authors. In addition not all of Nalean's works have been collected to now.

Both in Armenian and Turkish Patriarch Hakob Nalean - a theologian-philosopher, poet and national and religious figure had been preaching love to motherland, honesty, prudence regarding religion, mental and moral education. He authored many ethical and theological works, lamentations, odes, verses, homilies, letter writing instructions, annotations to "Narek", hagiographies, philosophic quotations and prayers. Hakob Nalean was also known in the Western Armenian literature for being the first to use "*ashkharabar*" - Modern Armenian as literary language. As well he was the first in the 18th century Armenian reality to write in his "Book Titled the Treasury of Notifications" (1758, 848 pages) about the necessity of educating the women (p. 64). So the suggestion of **Arshak Alboyajean** that the girls' school adjoining the Main School might be established by Hakob Nalean¹⁴⁹ was not ungrounded. Under the patronage and on the order of Hakob Nalean in 1744-1745 **Hakob Dpir Chamchizadeh** translated **Newton's** (1642-1727) "Philosophy of Nature" kept at Jerusalem (Man. N 55). For eight long months together with his vicar **Harutyun Archbishop Palatetsi** he had been diligently recording the "Theology" of **Scotus** verbally translated by **Ghukas Archimandrite Gasporean-Abrahamean** of Kharberd¹⁵⁰.

Still another ardent adherent of Hovhannes Kolot's ideas was **Baghdassar Dpir** (1683-1768), a famous pedagogue, poet, scholar, publisher and the tutor of Hakob Nalean at the Main School. He became the rector when the Main School moved to Gumgapu and taught there together with **Hovhannes Kolot, Hakob Nalean, Ghukas of Kharberd, Gaspar Dpir of Sebastia** and others, compiled or authored letter writing courses and many textbooks of Armenian language and grammar.

Baghdassar Dpir was the author of an Armeno-Turkish book "Christian Education" published by his printing house in 1742 and reprinted five times until 1843¹⁵¹. The front matter of the book reads that it contains all knowledge necessary for Christian

148 G. Pambukchean. "Patriarch Hakob Nalean...", p. 48, 49.

149 Alboyajean Arshak. The History of Armenian School (Ալպոյաճեան Արշակ. Պատմութիւն հայ դպրոցին, հ. Ա, Կսհիրն, 1960, էջ 565).

150 See for details G. Pambukchean. "Patriarch Hakob Nalean...", p. 49. Manuscript N 3 kept at the National Matenadaran of Galata.

151 See the "Bibliography of the Armeno-Turkish Literature" compiled by us. («Հայաստան բուրքերն գրքերի մատենագիտությունը» Ե., 1985 թ.).

faith and is written for brothers who do not speak Armenian.

The second Armeno-Turkish book published by Baghdassar Dpir was the history of Gregory the Illuminator and adoption of Christianity by Armenians. It was issued in Constantinople after the author's death in 1820, and had six reprints. During 1867-1928 the same book was also six times reprinted in Jerusalem. For long years it served as a textbook for seminaries and schools. Baghdassar Dpir was regarded as the mentor and a distinguished poet of his time and remained a great figure of the Armenian cultural life.

Among the treatises on the Old and New Testament written from the point of view of Armenian Church we should mention the three-volume Armeno-Turkish edition of "Distinctions in Five Centuries" by **Poghos Archbishop Grigorean of Adrianopolis** (1763-1853), later the Patriarch of Constantinople (1815-1823). It was first published in 1838 in Jerusalem, at the printing house of St Jacob Convent and twice reprinted until 1867. The glossary of Arabic and Persian words with Armenian and Turkish equivalents annexed to the book was also twice reprinted (in 1844 and 1881). Later by the proposal of Catholicos **Mkrtich Khrimean** it was translated to Armenian. "Narek" was published in 1857 at the **Tetean** printing house in Smyrna.

Armeno-Turkish books aimed at defending the position of the Armenian Church were mainly originals. Insignificant number of translations suggests that the authors mastered Turkish so well that could commit their thoughts to paper in Armeno-Turkish straight away. Turning back to the literature created by the opposition wing we should state that it was mainly propagating the Catholic faith. It did not serve the national interests of Armenia¹⁵². Their publications dictated by the Vatican led to tragic consequences for Armenian people, since they preached and incited split and turmoil among the believers of the Armenian Catholic and Apostolic Churches. At the period when the Armenian people most of all needed consolidation and unity to fight for independence and solution of social problems the Catholic propaganda disseminated enmity, intolerance and hate among Armenians, moreover, division even between the close relatives, brothers, sisters, parents and siblings if one of them adopted other confession. In the middle of the 18th century the most known Catholic preacher in Constantinople was a Jesuit padre Monford who published about 20 Armeno-Turkish booklets in the 1890-ies. The latter need a thorough study since it is difficult to perceive the significance of the furious fight led by Armenian intellectuals, Church and political figures against the Catholicism without it.

The publishing activity of the Armenian Catholics was connected with the Congregation founded by **Mkhitar of Sebastia** (1676-1749) in San Lazaro, Venice. Meeting the Catholic preachers as a teenager (1693) played a fatal role in his life. Admirably high level of education of the Catholic preachers made him cast glances on Catholic Europe. So he tried to bring the European culture into the Armenian milieu. Initially he wanted to establish his congregation at Lake Sevan where he could pass to educational and literary work but meeting the resistance of the retrograde clergy there had to return to

152 Infiltration of the Catholic missionaries into the Armeenian mileu began in the 16th Cent. While the Protestant missions appeared at the beginning of the 19th.

Sebastia and later move to Constantinople. In 1698 he opened a school at the Holy Virgin monastery (Karmir vank) in Karin, based on which he dreamt of establishing a convent that would spread enlightenment among Armenians. In 1701 with the assistance of the Catholic preachers Mkhitar founded a congregation of ten members in Constantinople, but his projects were doomed in view of the lack of any fertile ground in the Ottoman Empire whether in provinces, or in Smyrna, or even in Constantinople. In addition his project encountered a furious resistance of the Armenian clergymen who saw only the threat of the schism within Armenian Church under the pretext of good education planned by Mkhitar of Sebastia. According to Armenian clergy the schism might end in assimilation and infringement of the Armenian clergy rights. Being persecuted by Armenian Church the congregation, upon lengthy wandering appeared in Italy where Vatican recognized them and ordained Mkhitar as abbot.¹⁵³ In response to recognition they had to adopt the statute of the Benedictian order. In 1717 the Venetian doges gave them the isle of San Lazaro for the convent and Mkhitar of Sebastia passed to consistent implementation of his projects, educating the clergy that would be able to breathe life into his enlightenment ideas, religious and cultural issues. Until finally settling in San Lazaro they had been printing their publications in various printing houses of Venice, particularly in that of **Antonio Bortoli**, which had Armenian types. From time to time it continued printing the Mkhitarists' books even after the convent obtained its own printing facilities. They started with issuing the academic critical editions of Armenian historiographers and translation of the masterpieces of the world literary and philosophic heritage. As a duty to Vatican's support they published also the basic works of the Catholic Fathers sometimes accompanied by Armenian or Armeno-Turkish translations.

The first Armeno-Turkish book was issued in 1727 in Venice. It was Mkhitar's Modern Armenian grammar "The Door to the Grammar of Ashkharabar Armenian Language Expounded in Turkish" with an annexed dictionary. That was not a random choice. It was a part of Mkhitar's vision of the national enlightenment movement through developing modern Armenian, which had good prospects, was understandable to all, and helpful to Turkophone Armenians who wanted to learn Armenian, to create attachment to their mother tongue and thus turn them to the participants of that movement in the name of the national identity.

Thus Mkhitar of Sebastia aimed to teach the western Armenians the new literary spoken language and not Classic Armenian (Grabar). The exact programme of the author and his faithful followers - namely paving a way for Armenian culture was even indicated in the title. In respect of thematic the Mkhitarist publications were rather diverse. In 1774 a member of the Congregation, philologist and translator **Athanas Merasean** published "The Concise Grammar in Italian, Armenian and Turkish Languages", in 1792 Father **Gabriel Avetikean** (1750-1827) published the "Grammar of the Language of Tuscany with explanations in Classic Armenian and in Turkish", in 1816 "The Chaldean Grammar" authored by the adherents of Mkhitar the Great was issued, in

153 Despite being an opponent to the penetration of the Catholicism Hovhannes Kolot had secretly protected him against the persecutions and helped to move to Italy.

1882 they issued the Armeno-Turkish collection of Turkish parables edited by **Simon Julartean**, etc. However, the publication of textbooks and grammars had always been the priority of the Congregation's publishing activity.

Certain part of the Mkhitarists' Armeno-Turkish publications comprised translations of the works of the Catholic authors, the founders and leaders of monastic orders, which had multiple reprints since 1768. The books by **Robert Bellarmine** (1542-1621), a famous Jesuit theologian and polemist, rector of the Roman College "Brief Christian Doctrine" (initially translated from Latin to Armenian by **Barsegh of Caesaria** and later translated to Armeno-Turkish by Athanas Merasean) and "Preparation for Blissful Death" ("The Art of Dying Well"), and "The True Repenter" by a Jesuit preacher and missionary **Paolo Segneri** (1624-1694) along with his commentaries and treatises, as well as the works of one of the most read authors, the founder of the Redemptorists order bishop **Alphonsus Maria de Liguori** "Admonitions about the Eternity" and "Preparation for Death and Deeds of Blessed St Liguori"¹⁵⁴ had numerous reprints.

In addition to translations the Venice Mkhitarists published original theological and dogmatic works of their congregation fathers: **Sahak Safalean**, **Ignatios Papazean** and **Mkrtich Avgerean**.

In 1846 the printing house of San Lazaro published the address of a religious and political figure **Anton Hasunean** (1809-1884) to Armenian Catholics "The Pastor's Epistle to his Flock". Hasunean, the graduate of the "Propaganda fidae" Roman college, on Pope's intercession, became the Catholicos of Armenian Catholics in 1847 taking the name Anton Peter IX. His extreme policy of alienating Armenians aroused such a huge wave of resistance that caused many Armenian Catholics to return to their faith. To fight against his divisive activity in 1846 the Armenian intellectuals of Constantinople organized a "Nationwide" association, which united also many famous Catholic figures and state officials who struggled against the Catholic preachers in general and were persecuted for it by the sultan's government. Being recalled to Rome Hasunean started publishing polemic religious-dogmatic booklets, "ministerials", i.e. instructions mainly in Armeno-Turkish. In response the Armenian Church figures published other booklets in the same Armeno-Turkish. For long years the fight against Hasunean overshadowed the life of western Armenians, creating a divisive and tense atmosphere among them. Part of the Armeno-Turkish literature of that period consists of countless small booklets reflecting that fight. They were mainly translated from Italian to Armenian or Armeno-Turkish and published in Italy or Constantinople. Publications against the followers of Hasunean as a rule bore a general title "The Hasunean Problem" written by the advocates of the Armenian Apostolic Church, intellectuals and members of the "Nationwide" association in response to Papal covenants, diatribes (*parsavagir*) and addresses. They contained the discussions of Hasunean's activity that was ruining the nation and attempts to unmask him. At that period all religious actors in the Papal chancellery joined to Hasunean's fight. The statutes of the Catholic Fathers, Papal instructions relating to Armenian Catholic Church, e.g. "Announcement Given to the

154 As is known the Redemptionist congregation dealt with the religious education of the poor and peasants. Actually that congregation substituted the Jesuit order.

Patriarch of the Armenian Catholics and Addressed to All Armenian Catholic People on the Occasion of the Publication of the Emperor's Edict. July 12, 1879" (Constant., 1879, 120 pages) (*Հասունն պատրիարքին կաթողիկէ հայոց տրուած Կայսերական Հրովարտակին հրատարակութեան առթիւ, համայն Հայ կաթողիկէ ժողովորդին ուղղեալ ազդարարութիւն 12 յուլիս 1879*), had been permanently published. Such instructions of different years, official letters of the Roman Popes addressed to the Catholic world, as well as other ministerials of the Patriarchs of Catholic Armenians contain rich data concerning the pretensions of the Catholic world to Armenians. For long years Hasunean's existence and his unquenchable energy in converting Armenians to Catholicism affected the Armeno-Turkish literature providing abundant material to scholars dealing with the history of that period. There is a huge amount of literature on Hasunean and his policy.¹⁵⁵

On July 24, 1899 the Pope of Rome Leo XIII consecrated **Poghos Emmanuelean** most known in Armeno-Turkish literature as the author of two serious and voluminous theological treatises (published in 1880 already) the Patriarch of Armenian Catholics.

As a result of high quality translations of the Venetian Mkhitarists in 1830 they published a number of Armeno-Turkish historical works, including **Oliver Goldsmith's** (1728-1774) famous "History of Rome from Its Foundation to the Fall of the Western Roman Empire" translated by **Hovhannes Aspet Yeremian**.

In 1800 they published "The History of Tahmaz Ghuli Khan" by an 18th century historiographer **Tampuri Harutyun** (Kyuchuk Arutin)¹⁵⁶

Of great interest among the Armeno-Turkish historical publications is the edition of "The Feast of Armenian History" (500 pages) by a well known historian, Mkhitarist Father **Mikael Chamchean** (1738-1823) written for Turkophone Armenians in 1812 under the title "Gülzari tevarikh". As is known it was a brief rendering of Chamchean's three-volume "History of Armenia" published in Venice in 1784-1786. The brief Armeno-Turkish edition of that masterpiece had three reprints and was called to help the Turkophone Armenians to remain Armenian and be proud of their history and heroes. In 1818 St. Lazaro printed "The Prayers of Nerses of Kla" by Nerses Shnorhali in

155 Anhegger Robert. "Osmanli Devleti'nde Hıristyanlar ve iç Tartışmalar" ("Tarih ve Toplum"), İst. 1987, kasım, s17-20. The above research by modern Austrian (born in Vienna in 1911) balkanist-turkologist, former director of Goethe's Institute in Istanbul (1961-1968), who had been living in Turkey for long is dedicated to the confessional problems of the Christian nations in the Ottoman Empire, including the appearance of controversies and conflicts between the Greeks and Armenians under various pretexts. He focused especially on the fight between the adherents of the Armenian Catholic and Armenian Apostolic, Greek Orthodox and Armenian Illuminatory Churches and on the role of Rome in inflaming such conflicts. The second issue discussed by the author was the activity of the American missionaries among Armenians. Studied were also the missionaries' activities among the Bulgarians and Greeks. See also: Charles A. Frazee. Catholics and Sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923. New York.1983; Michel Le Febvre. Theatre de la Turquie. Paris.1684 s.350.

156 It is a publication of the 18th Cent. Manuscript kept in Venice. It was translated to French immediately after the issuance. In 1841 it was published in Yerevan in the translation of Mushegh Khorkhoruni in the first book of the Collection of Scientific Materials of the Matenadaran. A year later, in 1942 Esad Uras, basing on the Armeno-Turkish variant published the same in Ankara in Latin transcription. See Pambukchean G. Hakob Nalean..., p. 268.

16 languages (204 pages)¹⁵⁷. The Venetian Armeno-Turkish publications of belletristic and philosophic literature were not a result of random choice. They represented different directions and belonged to the number of the most read works of the time being. Published were the "Sacral Melodrammas" written by a famous Italian poet and playwright **Pietro Metastasio** (1698-1782) mainly on biblical themes, which had been frequently performed on the European scenes. Many of them were set to music by famous composers. During the holidays Metastasio's plays were performed in Turkish even on the school scene of San Lazaro. The Armeno-Turkish translation of Metastasio's five most known works was published in Venice in 1830, 1839, 1859. Most probably translations were made by the congregation fathers.

Philosophical views were disseminated through publishing religious literature. At that printed were the works of certain authors and the renderings of the biblical themes, admonitions and even "life hacks" disguised under the cover of religious and philosophical works or short stories. Such an approach to religious-philosophic works was common both for the publications of the Armenian Apostolic and Armenian Catholic Churches.

In 1837 they translated and published the maxims of the Phrygian stoic philosopher of the 1st-2nd centuries **Epictetus** and republished it in 1857. Perhaps the publisher's attention was drawn to the fact that human life in the stoicism did not depend on human will, but on destiny, which was inscrutable and uncontrollable. Fear of the fate may be mitigated or avoided through mixing the wonderful deeds of life with the thoughts about immortality, being free of passions and fear of misfortune and death. Many quotes of Epictetus like "Endure and restrain", "Control your passions otherwise they will control you", etc. were in harmony with the Christian principles and philosophy or confirmed the Christian precepts that the Mkhitarist fathers had been faithful throughout their lifelong activity.

Beginning with 1816 the San Lazaro Mkhitarists started publishing the didactic poems of **Edward Young**, (1681-1765), an English poet and the founder of the early romantic poetry. His poems "A Brave Man in the Desert", "Complaint or the Night Thoughts about the Life, Death and Immortality" had been published in several issues under the general title "Complaint or the Nights by Young, the Philosopher". These pessimistic works taking the reader far away from daily troubles were full of profound lyricism and passionate pathos. They were touching rather the feelings than mind. It was the last argument for ranking Young's poems higher than those of the sentimentalists¹⁵⁸. Young had many followers, giving birth to the "Tomb" poetry. The system of his views, his praise of feelings, artistic individuality and genius became the milestones of the literary and theatrical theories of sentimentalism. Young left a great influence on Russian sentimentalists. Almost all of his works had been translated to Russian. The

157 Translations to several languages, including the Tatar were in Armenian letters. A book (26 pages) with two of Shnorhali's poems in Armeno-Turkish in the translation of Mahtesi Grigor Teacher Derzakean that have been published in Constantinople in 1874 is presently kept at the National Library of Armenia.

158 Fame came to Edward Young after the publication of his religious-didactic poem "Complaint or the Night Thoughts about the Life, Death and Immortality" consisting of nine parts and representing the thoughts about the difficulties and vanity of the life and inevitability of death.

"Nights" were issued in three volumes, including 1-9, 10-17 and 18-24 and had three Armeno-Turkish reprints. The poems were translated to Armeno-Turkish from the French translation of the original by a French canon **J. Letourneur**. The front page read that it was translated from French by the Chief Translator of the Danish Embassy in Constantinople **Hovhannes Yeremean**. Certainly these publications had an effect on readers as well as on numerous generations of students educated at the Mkhitarist educational institutions many of whom turned to be the best representatives of the Armenian science and culture.

In 1861 the Mkhitarists issued the work by the prominent English poet, representative of the enlightened classicism, contemporary of Young, **Alexander Pope** "An Essay on Man". Being a connoisseur of the antique literature Alexander Pope (1688-1744) strictly criticized the English literature of his time. The poem was first translated from English to Italian by Greonfilo Zminto and then only translated to Armeno-Turkish by the same Hovhannes Yeremean. It seems these publications were aimed rather at introducing to readers the works and ideologists of different philosophic views and literary trends, than going into the further details of literary criticism. Philosophical and ethical views of Alexander Pope, which played an essential role in the establishment of the enlightenment ideology in the first half of the 18th Cent., had naturally left their imprint on the formation of enlightening, progressive views of the Armeno-Turkish readers. Unfortunately such works had been scarcely published, exclusive of a few other books published later. Publication of the philosophic literature was mainly limited to the above-mentioned works.

All publications of the Venice Mkhitarists strike the eye for a high culture of typography and translation. They abound with interesting illustrations and engravings. Of great value among the Armeno-Turkish publications are the multilingual dictionaries not excelled to now, textbooks, other foreign language grammars. All these books together with several other Armeno-Turkish publications of the Mkhitarists served the enlightenment movement, the Europeization of Armenians, for which craved and dedicated his life the founder of the congregation abbot Mkhitar of Sebastia. As we know the congregation splitted after his death. Adherents of Mkhitar, his successors being faithful to his programme continued combining the catholic preaching with the activity aimed at the revival of the Armenian culture. Opposite to it the congregation fathers remaining faithful to the Pope of Rome stepped against this mode of activity considering that the main objective of the congregation was spreading Catholicism among Armenians. In their opinion the Mkhitarist publications should keep to religious-dogmatic subjects. Those who thought so moved away from the main congregation and in 1773 founded a new centre in Trieste, to focus exclusively on publishing religious literature (beginning from 1775) and since the political infiltration was incomparably easier in Turkophone Armenian circles, they started their preaching and publishing activity aimed at alienating Armenians from the Armenian Apostolic Church and reassigning them to Rome.

Catholic propaganda had many far-reaching goals, namely strengthening the Catholic influence in the East. Investigation of this phenomenon was the subject of study for

many scholars from different countries since the very beginning of preaching when the travelers sent for that purpose to the East published the detailed reports of their journey. One of such studies, a book by **Paul Imbert** published in Paris in 1909¹⁵⁹ was dedicated to the nations inhabiting in Turkey, their religious affiliation and evidence of the Catholic influence on them. According to their accounts there were 4 million Catholics in the entire Ottoman Empire, 700 000 of them lived in Asiatic Turkey. Thousands of children studied at the Catholic schools and 100 000 patients were treated annually at the hospitals opened by them. The book contains many details concerning Vatican's Catholic propaganda among Armenians. Numerous lists included into the book clearly showed that Armenians comprised the second largest group after the Greeks among the Catholic schoolchildren. However the author confessed that the Catholic preaching among Armenians did not go so smoothly and met resistance almost everywhere. As an example he brought the violent resistance to the Catholics in Zeytun. Nevertheless Armenians' aspirations for schooling and education had fatal consequences, which led to the adoption of Catholicism by entire families that received Catholic education at schools or treatment at hospitals. The author, as well as the scholars investigating the activity of the Evangelist missionaries at the Near East stated the relative ease of abandoning their own Apostolic Church by Armenians at least by means of the schools. Opposite to it **all kinds of propaganda were an absolute failure in the Jewish environment.**

The publishing activity of the Trieste Mkhitarists represents a particular interest and deserves a special study. It should be noted that to strengthen the influence on the middle class readers the authors of these publications included in their books some parables or short stories, interesting or disputable conclusions of certain belletristic value. These inclusions served the ambitions of the Catholic clergy that mastered languages, was a connoisseur of the history of religion and the logic of the phenomena to start discussions thus convincing the people to adopt Catholicism. Sometimes their publications contained the documents or clarifications of historical dating, which had scientific value but also pursued the goal of lending credence to their religious-dogmatic publications. Beginning with 1781 they published about 40 Armeno-Turkish books in Trieste. The first book published in 1786 and later republished in 1797 was "The New Alphabet with Explanations of Turkish Words in Armenian Ashkharabar and Interesting Short Conversations Both in Turkish and Armenian" by "**the son of Deveji Oghlu Mahtesi Simon Paron (Mister) Karapet of Galata**"¹⁶⁰. In parallel with Venice they published prayer books, sermons, sacred stories, renditions of the basic principles of Christian faith, instructions and admonitions for Christians. The Trieste Mkhitarists published the works of a famous medieval mystic **Thomas a Kempis**¹⁶¹ and

159 Paul Imbert. "La rénovation de l' Empire Ottoman"; Paris; 1909.

160 Only the title page and p. 11 of that book have preserved of the single sample kept at the National Library of Armenia. Unfortunately the comparison of this publication with Mkhitar's "Grammar" published in Venice is impossible we cannot say whether the texts included there had been the logical continuation of the former or just preceded the further acquaintance with the later Trieste publications. The third edition of that book is more voluminous - 104 pages instead of 71.

161 Thomas á Kempis (Thomas Hemerken or Hammerlein, 1380-1471) a member of Modern Devotion

the aforementioned Jesuit theologian Robert Bellarmine¹⁶². In 1783 they published the book by padre **Giovanni Pietro Pinamonte** (a Jesuit) "The Hell Opened i.e. Considerations on Infernal Torment" translated from Italian to Armeno-Turkish by the students of abbot Mkhitar as written on the front-page.

As a rule besides the translated literature they printed also the original religious dogmatic and didactic works of the Trieste congregation fathers, including hagiographies, a number of stories relating to the martyrdom of the Catholic clergy or saints. One of such authors was the graduate of the Roman Pontifical Urban College for the Propagation of the Faith **Stephan Avgerean** (1776-1821) known for Armeno-Turkish publications of the hagiographies of the Mother of God and the Catholic Church Fathers, including Pope **Clement** and archimandrite **Komitas**, as well as the contemplative prayers. We have almost no data about any Armeno-Turkish fiction published in Trieste¹⁶³. However all of the books published there were written in a language understandable to people and abounding with Armenicisms. The texts quoted words and expressions stemming from the centuries of Christianity. Even the titles of the books often contained more Armenian than Turkish words. For instance "*«Մղածական սոթքք քիթասյը»* (*The kitab (Book) of Contemplative Prayers*" where only the last word - *kitab* was Turkish; or *«Սուրբ Կղևնէս 9 կիւնիւր մղածական տոս կամ երանելի Կղևնէս հայրսայեղի վարքըն իզէրիւն»*" 9-day Contemplative Prayers Given by St. Clement or the Hagiography of the Beatific Patriarch Clement", etc¹⁶⁴. The last title is especially impressive as even the conjunction is in Armenian. The author seems to have not even thought about writing in Turkish. Notably the habit of using Armenian words and expressions in Armeno-Turkish publications was characteristic not only of the Venice, Trieste or Vienna Mkhitarist publishers but also of the Armeno-Turkish publications of Armenian Apostolic Church. One of the reasons was that choosing the Turkish equivalents for such typically Christian concepts, terms and expressions as 'saint, sermon, cross, church, bishop, patriarch', etc. was not always possible.

In 1811 the Trieste Mkhitarist congregation moved to Vienna, where it is currently located. That was a period of a certain shift in the social and political life of the western Armenians caused by the French revolution resulting in the quick penetration of new ideas, which left an imprint even on the repertoire of the Venice Mkhitarists' school theatre¹⁶⁵.

spiritual movement, canon regular, author of the religious treatises. His most quoted work "The Imitation of Christ" was translated from Latin by Petros of Ankyura Marusheants and published in Armeno-Turkish respectively in 1805, 1839, 1897.

162 Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) born in Tuscany, Cardinal and Doctor of the Catholic Church, rector of the Roman College, the author of the Hebrew Grammar, an ardent fighter against the Protestants. The works by R. Bellarmine "Brief Christian Doctrine" (1768) and "Preparation for Blissful Death" ("The Art of Dying Well" - 1783) were translated into Armeno-Turkish by Athanas Merasean and had many reprints.

163 Information about the book "Joseph the Dreamer" published in 1809 is found only in bibliographical sources. It might be a single print of Metastasio's play, which was later included into the Venice publication of "The Sacral Melodrammas" with four other dramas (1831)

164 Underlined are the Armenian words.

165 Since 1789-s alongside with plays on biblical themes they started staging plays relating to Armenian

The Vienna Mkhitarist fathers faithful to the instructions of the Pope of Rome continued printing exclusively dogmatic literature. A prominent religious and enlightenment figure and translator **Karapet archimandrite Arakelean**, a member and later (1880) the bishop of the Vienna Mkhitarist congregation authored a number of Armeno-Turkish textbooks, admonitions and prayers for girls taught at the Main school (Dpratun) in Constantinople. His Armeno-Turkish translations from the Italian or Latin originals included the works of **Aphonso Liguori** and **Marin Michele Ange**. Translated from Armenian to Armeno-Turkish were "The Nights of (Mary) Magdalene" (1862), "The History of the Old and New Testament" by **Hovhannes archimandrite Zohrabean** (1869, Constantinople), "The Life and Teaching of Christ According to Four Gospels" (1873), prayers dedicated to the worship of Holy Virgin and St. Joseph (1884), etc.

Later in 1881 bishop **Karapet Arakelean of Ankyura** published a voluminous hagiographical work "The Nights of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo" by F. **Juliano Pinamonte**, which was translated from Italian to Armeno-Turkish. Published and republished were the treatises of **Thomas of Kempis**, **Alphonso Muzzarelli**, **Paolo Segneri**, **Marin Michele Ange (Ange-Marin)**, hagiographies, histories of martyrdom of the Catholic Church Fathers, biblical stories, recommendations and instructions for Christians, contemplative prayers, prayer books, admonitions, books on the Catholic holydays, etc.

Besides translations they published also the original dogmatic works of the Mkhitarist fathers propagating Catholicism. Most industrious among such authors were **Serovbe archimandrite Dervish Oghlu** (1846-1892) and Stephan Avgereants¹⁶⁶.

Still in the field of translation and publishing activity of the Mkhitarist Fathers there was a notable inclination for the worldly themes.

As a whole the Vienna Mkhitarists published over 100 Armeno-Turkish books, including the works by aforementioned Robert Bellarmine, Pope John, "Three Books

history at the scene of the Murad-Rafaelean school theatre in San Lazzaro. Historical tragedies, even the play on the subject of fight of Patriarch Hayk with Bel were called to arouse the feeling of national pride and hatred towards the occupants. Since the 1800-s they performed moralistic plays relating to the life of different social strata. They staged 30 comedies deriding at human weaknesses and vices. Thus the Mkhitarists tried to incite the spectators against such vices. For more on it see: G. Stepanyan. Outlines of the History of Western Armenian Theatre (Ստեփանյան Գ. Ուրվագիծ արևմտահայ բառարնի պատմության, Ե. 1962, Հ.1, էջ 93-115).

166 Stephan Avgereants of the Vienna Mkhitarists is the author of a number of Armeno-Turkish hagiographies His Armeno-Turkish work "The Life and Martyrdom of the Holy Servant of God Blissful Priest Father Komitas Keomurjeants" was published initially in Trieste in 1798 and later in Constantinople (1862). The martyred Catholic priest was the brother of the notable public figure and historian Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean. Father Komitas preached the faultlessness of the Catholic Church and Pope's ideas. He was decapitated as a spy on the verdict of the Turkish authorities. Some role in his martyrdom was played by Armenian clergy and personally the Patriarch of Constantinople Hovhannes of Smyrna who was an adherent of the violent struggle against the divisive activity of the Catholic Church. The said work was turned to a drama and performed on the stage of the San Lazzaro school theatre. The fact of the martyrdom of an Armenian Catholic preacher had been long exploited by the Catholic Church for inciting animosity between the Armenian believers of both churches.

by **Blessed Augustine**" and "Hagiography of St. Augustine"¹⁶⁷, etc.

Publication of the samples of Catholic literature was rather a tribute rendered to Vatican against the policy of favor towards the Mkhitarists. On the other hand the books and treatises on the history of the Catholic Church, creed of the faith, branches and orders of the Catholicism and their ideologists, even the admonishing and didactic literature contained important historical information and records that doubtlessly contributed to expanding the general knowledge, good breeding and education. That effect could not escape the attention of the Mkhitarist fathers who continued publishing the belletristic and historical literature and textbooks along with the Armeno-Turkish religious treatises.

Still another accomplishment of the Mkhitarists is the compilation of smart multilingual and multivolume dictionaries witnessing the high lexicographic culture of their compilers. Multilingual dictionaries and phrasebooks published by **Harutyun Avgerean, Hakob Bozajejan, Sukias Somalean, Ambrosios Kupelean, Srapion Eminean, Yeprem Chakjean, Philipos Jamjean, the Azaryan brothers**, et al. have preserved their value to now¹⁶⁸.

This bright constellation of the lexicographers and compilers made an invaluable contribution into the armenology and turkology, in addition to promoting the enlightenment movement and technique of literary translation. We know the names of over a hundred translators despite the fact that in the period of 1739-1831 the names of translators, especially those of the religious-didactic and historical-dogmatic literature were not as a rule mentioned in publications.

Ascertaining the names of the translators of this or that work published in Armeno-Turkish in Trieste and Vienna was often a result of long and scrupulous work. Identification was possible only when the book of the same author was issued in Armenian or through collating the articles or reviews written on the occasion of such publication, or research of the archive materials. Sometimes it occurred that the given work had not been translated directly into Armeno-Turkish. Translation might be done from the second or even the third language. Sometimes they mentioned the language, from which the book was translated without mentioning the translator's name. Some

167 St. Augustin (354-430), the bishop of Hippo in North Africa is considered to be the "greatest" of the Catholic Fathers and the most prominent medieval ideologist who created the system of Christian theology, worked out the system of Christian dogmas. One of his theological principles was the doctrine of "subordination of the secular authorities to the Church". In 1243 the poor clergy as if adopting the "Statute" by Augustine founded the Augustinian order, which fought for Papal governors against the rebels during insurrections. "The Hagiography of St. Augustin Bishop of Hippo" was translated from Italian by Hovhannes archimandrite Urupchean and published in Armeno-Turkish in 1816.

168 152 multilingual dictionaries include Latin, Italian, French, Armenian, Turkish, German, English, Greek and other languages. In an article on the Mkhitarists published by Gevorg Pambukchean in the Turkish historical-philological magazine "Tarih ve Toplum" N28, 1986 the author refutes the anti-Armenian attempts of a certain Shakiroghlu to prove that the Mkhitarist Congregation was connected with the "Armenian anarchists" ("Hürriyet", Feb. 16, 1982). The article briefly describes Mkhitar of Sebastia and the congregation founded by him, the beginnings of Armenian typography in Europe and the Mkhitarists' contribution into printing, presents the voluminous multilingual dictionaries compiled by them and the authors, their Armeno-Turkish publications and the necessity of their scholarly study.

other time they did not mention the language of the original. Speaking specifically about the publications of the Mkhitarists that separated from the Venice congregation we may state that as a rule translations were made by the Mkhitarist fathers, archimandrites of the congregation. In the event of publishing the books of anonymous authors they indicated the name of the translator and the language of the original. In addition we should point at another important detail: we do not find the name of the Mkhitarist congregation on the front page of any Armeno-Turkish publications of Trieste and Vienna, which seems to emphasize their ideological controversies with San Lazaro. That was evident during the Trieste period of activity and continued after 1811 when the congregation moved and established in Vienna.

However, such translators as **Hovhannes Yeremean** and **Athanas Merasean** were known also for their philological activities. A number of other translators: **Petros Avgerean**, **Petros Yeremean**, **Petros Kebejjean**, **deacon Yeghiazar of Ankyura**, **Anton Muradean**, et al. were known for translating exclusively religious-dogmatic treatises. The translator of **Thomas of Kemp** was **Poghos Marusheants of Ankyura**; the "Books by Blessed Augustine" had been translated by **Hovhannes Urubjean**, and "St. Augustine's Nights" - by **Karapet Arakelean of Ankyura**. So far as we know there are no Armeno-Turkish books published by the Mkhitarists after 1912¹⁶⁹.

In 1845, 1851 and 1911 the Catholic Publishers of Smyrna printed (at the "Bible House" printing house of Constantinople) the theological works of a Belgian theologian, armenologist, professor of the Catholic University of Louvain **Felix Jean-Batiste Joseph Neve** (1816-1893). The translator is unknown. Neve himself had translated some pieces of Armenian ecclesiastical literature and published a number of books dedicated to Christian Armenia and its literature in Paris, Bruxelles and Louvain, most important of which were the books on **Thomas of Metzop**, Armenian *sharakans* (church hymns), spiritual literature and musical liturgy (mass).

Distinct from other Constantinople publications is "The Book of Mormon" translated to Armenian by F. F. Hints. It is unknown who was the translator of the Armeno-Turkish version of the "Book" consisting of 699 pages¹⁷⁰.

Armeno-Turkish religious-dogmatic books translated from English and representing translations of the works by the preachers of the American Evangelist societies appeared later and were printed in Malta in 1828-1929¹⁷¹. The objective of the Evangelist missionary publications was similar to that of the Catholic preachers, i.e. strengthening the ideological influence on Eastern Christians but this time the decision was made by Boston - the centre of the American Protestant preachers, and not by Rome¹⁷².

169 Armeno-Turkish books had been published in Vienna until 1935 but not by the Mkhitarists. They were printed by the American Evangelists at the Typography of the American Biblical Society.

170 The fact of the availability of the Armeno-Turkish translation of the entire Book of Mormon astounded the young English propagators of the Mormon doctrine in Switzerland that were travelling across Europe for this purpose in 1996.

171 Printed in Malta were about 20 Armeno-Turkish books, mainly belletristic stories of didactic nature.

172 The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in London in 1701, Association for Propagation of Faith was founded in London in 1795, (Anglican) Church Mission Society was founded in 1799. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which

The preachers sent by the American Board to Turkey began their activity among the Western Armenians at the end of the 1720-s¹⁷³. In this connection the notable British-American missionary **Cuthbert G. Young** said that Armenia is that very opening through which one may enter Turkey though based on political considerations the preachers should be only Americans¹⁷⁴. The British diplomats agreed to leave preaching among the Western Armenians to American Evangelists, and among the Eastern Armenians - mainly to German preachers. Britain was distributing the spheres of influence remaining in the backstage, which enabled keeping its relations with Russia undeteriorated, showing that it does not hinder spreading the Russian influence on Armenia.

The American missionaries divided the Ottoman Empire to four spheres of influence: a) European Turkey (Macedonia and Bulgaria); b) Western Turkey (the western regions of Asia Minor); Central Turkey (the southern regions of the Taurus mountain range and North Syria); Eastern Turkey (the eastern regions of Asia Minor). Special preachers had been sent to Armenia to maintain preaching activities. They traveled in Armenian provinces to get a deeper knowledge of the Armenians' spiritual life and religious sentiments¹⁷⁵. In a number of provinces the Americans opened hospitals, schools, orphanages, alms-houses and printing houses thus attracting Armenians and inclining them to Evangelism. Like the Catholics they divided Armenians through estranging them from their traditional faith, religion and customs of their forefathers. Both the Catholic and the Protestant preachers had been abundantly using all possible ways of moral and material bribing, which at times had been more convincing than the written word of the missionaries. Certainly such arguments as free oil and wheat were much stronger for impoverished population than the didactic Catholic books¹⁷⁶. American preachers set to the mission of distributing Bibles and Gospels in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish very energetically¹⁷⁷. Armenians took the books gladly because:

united the American congregational, presbyterian and reformed churches, was founded in 1810 following their examples.

173 The American Board started its activity among the Jerusalem Armenians in 1821. See: Arakel Patrik's (1894-1984) two volumed work, *The Book of History and Memories of Sebastia and the Province* («Պատմագիրք-հուշանատեան Սեբաստիոյ և զավառի հայրութեան») Երկու հ. (հ.1՝ Բեյրութ, 1974 և հ.2՝ Նյու-Ջըրսի 1983); see also: Kırşehirli E. *Türkiyede faaliyetleri*. Istanbul, 1963. s. 29.

174 Arakel Patrik. *Ibid.*, p. 550.

175 Alboyajean A., *The history of Armenian Eudocia* (Ալպոյաճեան Ա. «Պատմութիւն Եվդոկիո հայոց», Կահիրե, 1952, էջ 843.

176 Annual funding provided to the American Protestant missionaries in provinces amounted from 3 to 4 hundred thousand British pounds. See Yeritsyan A., *Experience* (Երիցյան Ա. «Փորձ», Թիֆլիս, 1986, N2).

177 From the very beginning of their activity to 1900 the American missionaries had brought and distributed 7 million books costing 10 million dollars. See: Kırşehirli E. *Türkiyede faaliyetleri*, s. 33). Only in 1910 the American Society for the Propagation of the Gospel distributed 100 thousand Bibles in Turkey. Thousands of samples were distributed by other missionary organizations. To get an idea of the volume of work it is worth noting that during the same period distributed in the American mainland were 2 million copies, in China - 2.5 million, in Egypt - 75 thousand, in Bulgaria - 16 thousand copies, etc. Initially the Bible was printed by the missionaries in Classic Armenian by galvanic method. Parts of the Bible printed for the blind had been smartened. In 1911 American and British societies distributed in Turkey 144160 samples of Bible in 29 languages. Altogether the American and British societies for the Propagation of Gospel distributed 10.5 million books in 1910 only. The author of the article notes

- a) The preaches pronounced from the Armenian church altars were in Classic Armenian, not quite clear to the people so the Protestants' activity yielded significant results in this respect;
- b) The Bibles published and distributed by them in Turkey were printed in understandable Armenian askharhabar, while the Armeno-Turkish editions for Turkophone Armenians and other Christian nations had been translated into Turkish from Old Greek and Hebrew¹⁷⁸;
- c) In many provinces, especially where the Turks were the majority Armenian books were rare, that is why the books distributed by the missionaries partly satisfied that demand;
- d) Ashkarhabar and Armeno-Turkish Bibles distributed by the missionaries were believed to be a good token when kept at home and everybody tried to get them as a mighty charm.

The main stations of the Protestant missionaries in Turkey were located in Smyrna, Aintap, Marash and later also in Constantinople¹⁷⁹. The Protestant preaching was guided not only from abroad. They received much assistance from the diplomatic missions of their countries in Turkey - embassies and the staff of the consular services. Since the legislation of the Muslim state prohibited renouncing Islam for another faith the Christian missionaries preached the word of Lord exclusively among the Christian subjects of the Empire. The sovereigns of the Empire were not against that. They even encouraged such activities perceiving the actions that split the unity and collective force of the Christian nations as favorable for the interests of the sultanate. Dogmatic disputes that started between the Christian nations because of the missionaries only weakened the Christians diverting their attention from consolidation and the fight for liberation from the tyranny. The Treaty of May 10, 1830 signed between the US and Turkey even furthered the missions' activity. It ensured freedom to the religious preaching of the American missionaries¹⁸⁰. In several provinces the American missionaries met strong resistance of the locals. For instance, the followers of the Protestant Church had been punished in Zeytun, Marash and Hajn and the preachers were beaten. In these locations the Protestantism managed to strengthen its positions one or two decades later than in other provinces.

that in the first decade of the 20th century the Bible was translated wholly or partially into 425 languages and provincial dialects. See also: Garegin bishop Srvandzeants, "The Holy Bible and its Propagators" in Teodik's annuary (Թեոդիկ. «Ամենուն տարեցոյցը», 1913թ. էջ 160-164).

- 178 Since the 1850-s Armenian printing houses had been publishing Armeno-Kurdish Bibles, Gospels, spiriual chant books, alphabets, Armenian and Kurdish textbooks, grammars and dictionaries for Yazidis. The Gospels of Mathew, Mark, Lucas and John were published in Armeno-Kurdish. The author of Armeno-Kurdish and Armenian alphabets was Mkrtych Tigranean, and the dictionaries were compiled by Petros Amirkhanean. The books were mainly printed at the printing house of the Boyajeans in Constantinople, later in Aleppo and Beyrut. Within the number of Kurdish books published in other letters we find the collections of Kurdish poetry, folk romances with Armeno-Kurdish, Arabic and Persian alphabets . More on the literature (handwritten and printed) in Kurmanji and Zaza dialects see: Mehmet Malmisanlı. Osmanlı Doneminde Yazılan Kürtçe Eserler Üzerine, "Tarih ve Toplum", İstanbul, 1988, N54-.55 s.59-63, N 55 s. 58-63.
- 179 The first Armenian Protestant Church was anointed in Constantinople in 1836.
- 180 Gordon L.M. American Relations with Turkey 1830-1930. Philadelphia. 1932, p.11; Марунов Ю.В., Поцхверия Б.М. Турция в книге "Политика США на Ближнем и Среднем Востоке". М., Наука, 1960, с. 76-77.

Thus the first century of the development of Armeno-Turkish literature was connected basically with the penetration of the Catholicism into the East - in Armenian milieu. Printed editions enabled the missionaries to conduct their ideological mission more productively and on a larger scale in a region so important for the West.

It is worth noting that in parallel with the publishing activity the Mkhitarists greatly contributed to schooling and pedagogy. They established seminaries in San Lazaro (1732), Padua (1833), Venice (1836), Paris (1846), Smyrna, Trieste, Constantinople (six schools), Hungary, Syria, Russia, Brazil and other Armenian colonies. Until the World War 1 they had 26 schools, lyceums and seminaries, part of which is functioning to now. The philological, historical and armenological magazines of the Mkhitarists, i.e. "Bazmavep" (established in San Lazaro in 1843) and "Handes Amsorea" (established in Vienna in 1887) are still contributing to the cause of education and enlightenment.

Flurry of the publishing activity of other foreign Catholic or Protestant missions was also aimed at strengthening the positions of their countries in the East. The Armenian Apostolic Church and Armenian intellectuals of different confessions violently opposed their activity. Naturally in the Armenian environment that struggle was conducted also in Armeno-Turkish.

Printed Armeno-Turkish religious-dogmatic and political literature being formed in the first half of the 18th century had been rapidly developing until the end of the 18th century and came to decline in the first half of the 19th century. Besides the religious treatises published in that period were historical and historiographical works, belletristic and philosophical literature and dictionaries.

Religious-dogmatic works and sermons had been and are published even nowadays, though their number is gradually decreasing just because of the decrease in the number of Turkophone Armenians. On the one hand it was a consequence of strengthening the positions of Armenian language in Armenian secular schools, on the other hand - because of the Genocide, when hundreds of thousands Turkophone Armenians fell like other innocent victims.

At the dawn of the 20th century there were ca 1000 schools in Western Armenia and other cities inhabited by Armenians. Since a significant part of Armenians had been living under the Turks for at least 500 years part of them spoke mainly Turkish that is why education at schools should be conducted also in the language understandable to them - in Armeno-Turkish.



CHAPTER 4

REVIVAL OF WESTERN ARMENIANS AS REFLECTED IN ARMENO-TURKISH BOOKS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY ORIGINAL AND TRANSLATED BELLETRISTIC LITERATURE

The political, economic and financial crisis in the Ottoman Empire was further deepened by the unrest of the subjected nations flaring up here and there. To prevent all of it on Nov. 3 1839 at the palace garden called Gülhane the government proclaimed the sultan's edict **Hatt-ı Şerif** (Supreme edict of the Rosegarden), which was later generally called Tanzimat. By that edict the government rather promised to ensure the safety of life, honor and property of all subjected nations, fair distribution and levy of taxes, abolition of the tax-farming system, fixing the term of military service. The court cases and heredity problems should find legal solution. Bribery and abuses should be terminated, etc.

Drafting and proclamation of the Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerif was connected with the name of **Mustafa Reşid Paşa** (1800-1858), the architect of that programme of reforms who received European education, was on diplomatic service in Paris and London and then was appointed the Foreign Minister of Turkey. By proclaiming that programme Turkey counted on gaining the confidence of the European states as a law-based state. It intended to prove that it will transform the country itself and would not allow any European state to interfere in her internal affairs.

The Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerif seemed to sum up the programme of reforms started by **Selim III** and **Mehmed II** and to initiate the movement to the country's Europeization. However it was just an emperor's firman and not legislation. Each provision of that edict needed laws to be worked out. Naturally **Reşid Paşa** immediately took up to drafting. The said laws were published upon their adoption in 1850-51 only - 11 years after the proclamation of Hatt-ı Şerif, in small print run.

Adopted in 1840 was the Criminal Code. In 1843 they regulated the conscription of all Muslim subjects, and in 1855 permitted the conscription of non-Muslim subjects to military service on equal grounds. This however, aroused resentment on both sides. The Christian servicemen should naturally turn their arms at the Christian world, specifically at Russians. Russia was the only Christian country interested in liberating the Christian nations, like in the Balkans and the hopes for liberty were connected with it. On the other hand the Muslims were afraid of losing their predominance within the Empire. This bilateral discontent postponed the enforcement of the law. Moreover, the military tax of 30-40 *ghrush* payable for exemption from military service rose ten times. *Kharaj* reached 300-400 *ghrush* and Christians were released of the military service.

According to the Criminal Code of 1840 the taxes should be collected by government officials, but the peasants paid taxes as earlier - both to officials and to the contractors. Implementation of the reforms was aborted. Beginning with the pashas and ending with the least official would not put up with the equality of the Muslims and "infidels" under the law.

On Feb. 18, 1856 the European states, particularly England, France and Austria being on their guard against Russia's claims of protecting the rights of the Christian subjects of Turkey compelled sultan Abdul Mejid to sign an edict for improving the state and conditions of the Christian population. Ambassadors of the interested parties played an active part in editing the edict known as Hatt-i hümayun. Later that edict was officially confirmed by Article 9 of the Treatise of Paris. Obviously the countries interested in signing Hatt-i hümayun were not preoccupied with the concern for the state of the subjected nations. They planned to isolate Russia and establish their influence on Turkey, which was particularized to different aspects of life, while the Sublime Porte tried to cajole its subjects and creditors¹⁸¹. Each new edict reiterated the meaning of the former one but the essence remained on paper since all of the new laws had been admitted by frantic Muslim clergy and retrograde officials with animosity. It strongly scared most of the leaders of the subjected national communities¹⁸² who preferred keeping their compatriots in dark in respect of the edict bawaring of the fury of the Turkish mob since decisions concerning the change of status contradicted the principles of Quran. The Shariah dogmas could not grant parity between the Muslims and non-Muslims. Rapprochement proclaimed by Tanzimat was not destined to be fulfilled and to terminate the Muslim fanaticism.

In 1847 established were the commercial courts where non-Muslims had equal right of testimony - also mainly formal¹⁸³. However, mere initiation of reforms served a base for perceptible progress in western Armenian social-economic life of the 1850-s -1860s. The class of *amiras* leading the public life of Armenians yielded its place to the national bourgeoisie, which started fighting against the rule of amiras. The bourgeois strata of the Armenian population were tightly connected with Europe. The public and urban life revived. Beginning with the 50-s the role of the amiras in governing the Armenian community was weakening. In 1858 already only 7 of 21 members of the "National Assembly" governing the Armenian community of Constantinople were amiras. Other 14 members belonged to different strata of the Armenian community. Thus, 9 of them were artisans, one was a physician and four were petty traders. Such was the result of the long struggle against the amira class. To strengthen the occupied positions in 1857 the members of the Educational Council established in 1853

181 Ролен-Жскмен М.Г., Армения, армяне и трактаты, М. 1897, стр. 24; Новичев А.Д. Турция. Краткая история. М. 1965. Стр. 83.; Чихачев П. А., Письма о Турции, М. 1960, стр. 170.

182 An attempt to grasp the divergences and controversies between the Armenian and Greek Churches was undertaken in a religious-dogmatic investigation published in 1857. A Greek Memorandum representing a letter of explanation was translated to Armeno-Turkish in 1830 and published at "Anatolu" Greek typography in Constantinople. The author is unknown.

183 The facts prove that there were Armenians among the judges (also provincial, attorneys and jurists). More on it see our: The contribution of Armenians..., pp. 317-332.

initiated the adoption of the "Statute Governing the National Affairs of Armenians". Most prominent among such members were an economist, enlightener and publicist **Nikoghos Zorayan** (1821-1859), a public figure **Nahapet Rusinean** (1819-1876), a publicist and the founder of Armenian liberal-bourgeois movement **Grigor Otean** (1834-1887), et al. They promoted the interests of the commercial bourgeoisie in public and cultural life and represented the liberal-bourgeois movement in Armenian social and political life. In the course of these transformations there appeared a new generation of young Armenian patriotic intellectuals propagating the ideals of the Armenian Liberation movement and challenging the sultan's tyranny on the pages of Armenian and Armeno-Turkish newspapers, magazines and annuaries (**H. Svajean, M. Mamurean, G. Chilinkirean**, et al.).

In 1863 they published the Armenian National Constitution (in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish "Nizamnamei Milleti Ermenian"). The Constitution promised nothing to Armenians living in provinces, neither protected them of anything so it found almost no response there. Opposite to it Armenian adherents of bourgeois- democratic ideas living and working in Constantinople and other cities had been greatly inspired. Naturally the enthusiasm evoked by Constitution that embraced the Armenian public, political and cultural circles echoed also in Armeno-Turkish literature.

The period of revival of the Armeno-Turkish literature coincided with the constitutional movement of the 1850-s-1870-s. This enthusiasm was stimulating the rapid development of the theatre, literature, music and fine arts for several decades, up to the 90-s of the 19th century. The reason of such uprising was not hard to grasp. The basic objective of the public thought was the problem of increase in national self-awareness. The constitutional movement was intertwined with the general intellectual uprising in the Ottoman Empire. Part of Armenians that lost their mother tongue would have no possibility to get acquainted with the literature published in Armenian, read tens of papers and magazines, or follow the development of the new western Armenian literature. They were deprived of the possibility to read the works of **Ghevond Alishan, Mkrtich Peshikdashlean, Petros Durean, Grigor Otean**, et al. or to follow the activities of the writers and publicists collectively called "The Generation of Revival". There was a necessity of making these strata participate in that movement, which might be done only in Turkish - the language spoken by them, i. e. through the books and periodicals published in Armeno-Turkish.

So there was nothing strange in the appearance of an Armeno-Turkish novel "Agapi" at that very period. Until that the western Armenians had no novels of such a belletristic value as "Agapi" in Armenian. As known the novel was dedicated to the most complicated problem in Armenian reality - the confrontation between the Apostolic and Catholic Armenians. It was a tale of tragic love, the protagonists of which fall the victims of the religious fanaticism and treason¹⁸⁴. "Agapi", as well as the next book "The Talker" were published anonymously, without the author's name. Presently the historians of the Turkish literature consider "Agapi" to be the first Turkish novel.

184 Ibid, see the part dedicated to Hovsep Vardan Pasha.

In the 1850-s-1860-s (i. e. the period of development of the capitalist relations and formation of the western Armenian bourgeoisie) the religious-didactic themes in the Armeno-Turkish literature begin gradually yielding their place to the subjects furthering the intellectual development of the Armenian people.

At the beginning of the 1880-s progressive movements started weakening as a consequence of severe political persecutions of sultan Abdul-Hamid's government, when all progressive public movements, even the culture were suppressed. Teaching of Armenian history and historical geography in Armenian schools was prohibited. Prohibited were also the Armenian theatrical performances, national song art, etc. Meanwhile these very decades were marked by active translations of the French novelists. 90 per cent of the books published in the 1880-s 1890-s consisted of their novels. Translated and published in Armeno-Turkish were the multivolume editions of **Xavier de Montepin**, **Eugene Sue**, **Jules Verne**, **Boisgobey du Fortune**, et al. The appearance of their novels was not spontaneous. Moreover it could not be explained by just commercial interest. It was strongly determined by the political situation. Notably those years were marked by the beginning of struggle between the progressive bourgeois and feudal-theocratic trends in Armenian reality. Representatives of the progressive ideas tried to translate mainly such novels of the French authors, which targeted the feudal absolutism and unmasked the true nature of the Catholic Church. Such was Eugene Sue's novel "The Wandering Jew" published in 1863 in the Armeno-Turkish translation of **Karapet Panosean**.

To understand the situation formed around the translated literature we have to revert to the tendencies of different social-political trends existing in Armenian's life that might tell on the choice of translating or publishing this or that book.

It was no coincidence that during the period of the spread of secret circles of the followers of the revolutionary-democrat ideas of **Mikael Nalbandian** in Western Armenia the Venice Mkhitarist fathers translated and in 1868 published in Armeno-Turkish "The Adventures of Lionello" - a 515 page novel by **padre Bresciani** where the people of progressive views, abandoning the true path of the Lord, especially those who join the revolutionary movements were proclaimed heretics. Characteristically in this political struggle the Armenian Church in the person of its ideologist **Teroents (Hovhannes Chamurjean, 1801-1888)** - a theologian and a resolute defender of the Apostolic Church dogmas allied with and joined its ideological adversaries - the Catholics, forming a single front in condemnation of Nalbandian's ideas and the activities of his adherents. At that very 1868 - the year of "Lionello"'s issuance Teroents who rightfully deserved the titles of "Uncowled Catholicos of Armenians" or "Mobile Matenadaran", whose multifaceted creative, publishing, theological, translational and public activities had been dedicated to the laudation of the traditional Armenian Church and preservation of the Christian spark in Armenians, published in his private printing house his own translation of "Don Quixote" by Servantes. It seems the undeniable belletristic value of that work was the least that attracted the publisher-translator in bringing that work to light. Teroents considered the fight of Mikael Nalbandian and his followers against the autocracy rather don-quixotic. In a press announcement relating to the publication of the book

Chamurjean - one of the exceptional figures in Constantinople Armenian literature, wrote that he considered the novel "Moralistic-didactic". The title page of that Armeno-Turkish novel read that the book "is directed against the youthful hindsight"¹⁸⁵.

In **Hakob Oshakan's** opinion Teroents was the only conservative pinnacle of the "Revival Generation" who alone was able to represent the entire western Armenian

185 Hovhannes Teroents (Chamurjean, Brusatsi, Ter Karapetean, 1801-1888) was one of the most famed western Armenian public and political figures. Despite his apparently conservative and reactionary activity he was one of the most educated persons of the time. He was born in Brusa, in the family of a furrier, to a father anointed a priest and named Ter Karapet. Mastered Turkish, studied Italian at the Italian Consular office, then studied Greek, Latin, German Arabic and Persian, 13 languages altogether. While accompanying Archbishop Poghos Garagochean as a scribe (1751-1825) to Armash monastery he improved his Latin and translated the Gospels to Armeno-Turkish. He rejected the Church schema proposed by archbishop and worked at Armash as a teacher of Turkish and Italian. Soon after his marriage he moved to Constantinople, worked with the Minister of Defence Khosrov Mehmed Pasha, then until 1849 - as an inspector at the Skyutar Seminary. Because of disease he passed to giving private French and Armenian lessons, translations and literary activity. Read the classical Greek and Latin literature, works of the French, English and German philosophers, especially Hegel in original. As a young man he was carried away by French enlighteners. In 1829 he translated "The Social Contract" by J.J. Rousseau to Armenian (unpublished). Later he propagated conservative ideas turning to the ideologist of the west-Armenian retrograde circles and a furious opponent of the progressive movements. His attacks were targeted at the democratic circles gathered around the progressive periodicals "Meghu" (Bee) and "Tzaghik" (Flower), Naturally he furiously fought with the ideas of M. Nalbandian and the progressive part of the Armenian intellectuals sharing Nalbandian's views. His translations were always made for purpose. Thus, "An Advice to Secret Organizations" published by him in 1863 was aimed at the revolutionary, socialist ideas in Armenian reality. In the Foreword to the concise edition of "Don Quixote" translated by him to Armeno-Turkish we find poisonous sobriquets targeting Nalbandian. Still we should not forget that Servantes' first access to Turkey was granted by Teroents.

In 1846 together with Mkrtich Aghaton (1821-1890) began publishing a weekly "Hayastan", made friends with Eugene Poret, Head of the Lazarist congregation in Constantinople, carried on correspondence with Edouard Duloriet, professor of the Department of Oriental Languages in Paris and was invited by him to Paris to teach Armenian at College de France which he refused, corresponded with a well known theologian-armenologist Felix Neve (1816-1893). In 1845 and 1851 respectively in Constantinople and Smyrna published the Armeno-Turkish translation of the "Conversations about the Sin and The Salvation of the Human Soul" made, most probably jointly with Friedrich Kaspar Neumann.

In 1855 started publishing an Armeno-Turkish religious magazine "Zohal" printed at his printing house.

In 1857 started publishing at the same printing house a magazine "Yerevak" where he first used the pseudonym "Teroents" as an editor instead of Ter-Karapetean - Chamurjean. Teroents lectured at the College of the Lazarean Congregation for two years preparing 43 lectures on history.

In 1865 in response to Hovsep Archimandrite Gatrjean's treatise "The Basic Difference between the Catholic and Echmiadzin Churches" the Armenian Apostolic Church entrusted Teroents with writing on its behalf. A three volumed response was entitled "Iravakhoh" (Lawful Thought).

In 1877 two houses of Teroents in Skyutar burnt out. A year later he passed away (1878). According to his biographer Harutyun Mirmrean (1860-1926) "Honourable Teroents" (called so as a sign of great respect) left 150 handwritten and printed volumes of works and translations, 32 works were published in Armenian including M. Joya's four volumed "Politeness" (1843), "The Christian Doctrine" (1843), Investigation of the theological and philosophic views of Pascale, (1844), numerous translations. The great Armenian and Armeno-Turkish heritage left by H. Teroents must be a subject of study as well as the magazines "Hayastan", "Zohal" and "Yerevak" edited by him since the latter contain many interesting armenological, philological, theological materials and translations.

mentality of the first half of the 19th century. He was also called "A Secular Monk" who put his life on protecting the interests of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Being a very capable intellectual, he was a logical representative of the conservative wing in Armenian reality who farsightedly envisaged the tragedy to be anticipated in such a Muslim country as the Ottoman Empire, where any progressive step was called to be fatal for Armenian people. He thought that the only step salutary for the survival of Armenians was the loyalty to traditional religion. This multifaceted intellectual, the connoisseur of over ten old and modern languages, refrained from the dazzling dreams of the progressive European ideology. He became a victim of the conflicting ideas of the time because of his inability to break through and evaluate the advantages promised by progress. He artificially remained the partisan of radical conservatism, trying to keep the western Armenians far from the temptation of new ideas, which seemed ill-ominous to him. Due to his incorruptible, furious and steadfast behavior the figure of Teroents as of a public person declined against the progressive intellectuals of the Revival Generation. The victory of the Constitutionals was his defeat. Unfortunately his rich literary, theological, philosophical and historical heritage has not deserved the due attention. His retrograde stance had become a pretext for a crusade against him and Paronean's sarcasm in "The National Strongmen". Reverting to his Armeno-Turkish works in chronological order we should mention:

1. An Armenian from Van and the Protestant Preacher (Վանըն պիր էրմէնի իլէ քրօթսթանը քարոզիչ) 546 pages, 7 parts, Constant., 1844;
2. "Declaration of the Direction" (Յայտարար ուղղութեան...) 332 pages, Smyrna, 1845;
3. A young Christian, translation, Constant., 1844;
4. The History of Two St. Jacob Apostles (Սուրբ Յակոբ նամ իբի Առաքեալարըն նագլի), Jerus., 1868;
5. Don Quixote by Servantes, 596 pages, Constant., 1868.

There is also a handwritten Armeno-Turkish translation of the New Testament (Ինճիլի Շէրիֆ) of 1819 and "Declaration of the Direction" (Յայտարար ուղղութեան), vol 2, of 1843.

However, this "old pillar" of Armenian intellectuals whose credo was the preservation of Armenian people and Church at the cost of his life still deserves a true respect and study by generations and scholars¹⁸⁶.

It may seem strange at the first glance that in 1868, i. e. at the most active period of revival of the national self-consciousness, the Venice Mkhitarists, faithful to the

186 See the publication dedicated to commemoration of the centennial anniversary on Teroents' death "Dedication to the Memory of a Great Intellectual Hovhannes Teroents of Brusa on the Occasion of the Centennial Anniversary of his death". Istambul 1988 («Պրոսսացի Յովհաննէս Տէրոյենց մեծ մտաւորականի յիշատակի ոգեկոչում մահուան հարիւրամնակին 1801- 1888 առիթով»). The son of Teroents, Atom (1846-1925), who worked at the Board of Public Revenues" had also left some literary heritage - the translation of Narek to Turkish and authored a study "Armenian Polar Book («Հայ Բեւեռագիրք»).

cause of highlighting the glorious pages of Armenian history and inspiring patriotism in Armenians for years, printed the Armeno-Turkish translation of "Lionello" directed against the progressive revolutionary ideology. To explain that step of the Mkhitarists preoccupied with the study and development of the national culture and history for long years we should bear in mind the figure of Anton Hasunean, the executor of Vatican's will. Hasunean and his followers fought on a broad front not only with the Armenian Church and its flock but also with such representatives of the progressive and educated Armenian Catholics striving to unify the Armenian people as **Hovsep Vardanean, Tzerents, Mkrtych Peshiktashlean**, et al. The fight was targeted also at the largest armenological Catholic centre - the San Lazzaro Mkhitarist Congregation in Venice. Claims against the latter assumed that the Mkhitarist fathers putting aside the basic cause of propagating Catholicism were occupied with illustrating the heroic past of the Armenian people. As a result of such activity there appeared a real risk of dogmatic unity of the Armenian people that might shake the unlimited power of Rome over Armenian Catholics. At the time of two visits of Mikael Nalbandian to Turkey the long-dreamed unification received a new impetus. Teroents spoke against Nalbandian on behalf of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Contrary to his and Hasunean's efforts the movement was getting stronger, involving also the spirit of mighty counteraction to Hasunean.

It is known that in 1867 Vatican made a special resolution, which prohibited the San Lazzaro Mkhitarists dealing with the study of Armenian history and culture. That resolution demanded to strengthen purely religious preaching. In the testimony of a famous publicist and writer **Arpiyar Arpiyanean** that decision of Vatican aroused a grave concern of the Congregation fathers, especially **Ghevond Alishan** (1820-1901), a distinguished poet, philologist and historian.

In 1852 already a Venetian canon **Giuseppe Kepeletti** published a diatribe against the Venice Mkhitarists. The Nubarean Matenadaran in Paris preserved several publications relating to this problem, including the response to Giuseppe Kebeletti. The latter consisting of 40 pages translated from Italian was published in Constantinople at the printing house of **Hovhannes Myuhendisian** in 1852. Next was the general opinion about the Venice Mkhitarists expressed by **abbot Petros Brandon** (1852, Constant.). The voice in support of the Mkhitarists against the "loathsome, malicious, provocative" diatribe gave the vicar of the Isfahan bishopric and "all the monks collectively" (translated from Italian, Constant. 1853, printed by Myuhendisian). Hovsep Vardanyan, who was a Catholic himself translated from Italian to Armeno-Turkish the famous "Memoria" - a letter of explanation addressed to the Papal chancellery (Constant., 1853). It mentioned that the translator was Hovsep Vardanyan, Head of the Admiralty dragomans). The trap and intrigues set against these Armenofil congregationists lasted for years and naturally affected their activities and publishing plans. That strict decision of Vatican coincided with the first anniversary of Mikael Nalbandian's death (1867) i.e. with the period of the most rapid spread of that revolutionary democrat's ideas in Turkey. Publication by the Mkhitarists of "Lionello" type books at that period was fully justified in view of the above mentioned persecutions. What were the facts important for us?

As a young man the protagonist of "Lionello's Adventures" contacted with secret organizations, lived a frivolous and dissipated life, wandering over the world. These wanderings were naturally full of adventures, adventurism, transgressions, horrific crimes committed by Lionello on the order of secret organizations. He killed his most devoted friend, then repented of his crimes and the years of meaningless life. Lionello put an end to his life committing a suicide. A detailed diary left after his death served a base for the novel. What did the author imply while speaking about secret organizations that spoil the youth and harm the morals and freedom? The answer to that question is contained in the political views of the Jesuit author and the fact of writing the book on Vatican's order. It occurs that organizations characterized by the author as "criminal" had been revolutionary associations and adherents of liberal ideas. Adventures in the novel are abruptly interrupted by the author's long philosophical and tendentious digressions targeting the progressive ideas. Lionello is bitterly telling about the movements led by **Garibaldi** and **Mazzini** that shook the Balkans as well as Italy in the 1860-s, representing them as a common banditry and barbarism¹⁸⁷. In the author's opinion the main cause of the appearance and spread of such organizations were the ideas of French enlighteners. The source of any evil should be sought in the ideas of **Voltaire**, **Diderot**, **Rousseau**, which lead the mankind to the abyss of delusion. **Bresciani** called their works as well as those of their adherents and followers "the satanist books"¹⁸⁸. The novel contains some allegations concerning the existence of secret organizations and groups in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Tiflis, Crimea, Odessa, Constantinople, Izmir and other cities, with the centres in Poland, Russia, Germany and England¹⁸⁹. The author of "Lionello" propagated infinite resignation to Rome. Padre Bresciani referred to the events preceding 1861. Consequently the book based on the latest historical events was immediately translated to various languages. Similar was the content of novels "Jackmain Clais" and "The Mystery of Secret Associations" translated to Armenian by Teroents. The Armeno-Turkish translation of the latter was actually aimed at the spread of revolutionary, democratic ideas in Armenian environment. Armenian secret organizations were connected with the name of M. Nalbandian¹⁹⁰. No other translation contained such an abundance of Armenian words as that novel, which is another proof of being intended for reading in purely Armenian circles.

187 Bresciani Padre. The Adventures of Lionello, Venice, San Lazaro, 1868, p. 436-461 and 462-483 (Պրեշիան Փատրե. Լիօնէլօնոն սերկիւզէշքի).

188 Ibid., p. 80 and 102. An Armenian novel of similar content "Ner or the Pinnacle of the World" («Նեռն կամ կատարաաշխարհ») by M. Hisarean (1827-1916) was published in 1867. The topic based on a true story was taken from Armenian reality.

189 Ibid, p. 391.

190 Stepanian Garnik. Echo of M. Nalbandian's "Agriculture as a Straight Way" during the Decade of 1862-1872, p. 41-74. (Ստեփանյան Գառնիկ. Մ.Նալբանդյանի «Երկրագործությունը որպէս ուղի ճանապարհ» աշխատության արձագանքները 1862-1872թթ. տասնամյակում: Ե., ԳԱ «Տեղեկագիր» N 11, 1953, էջ 41-74). In memory of M. Nalbandian on March 7, 1867 the "Eastern Theatre" performed a patriotic play "Vardan Mamikonean" by R. Setefjean with participation of Petros Adamean. At the end of the performance Petros Adamean read Nalbandian's "Freedom" standing alone at the grave of Nalbandian on the background of the snowbound Siberian field. R. Setefjean pronounced a speech against the Russian autocracy. The same was repeated on the next day. The pulse of the Constantinople Armenians was really beating at that hall.

A medieval romance "The History of Paris and Vienna" has a special place among the Armeno-Turkish translations of belletristic literature. Very few of the crusading romances created in the Middle Ages had deserved such a wide dissemination. Philologists explain it by its strong compositional structure, typicality of the characters, poetic and other literary merits.

Owing to its great popularity the poem "Paris and Vienne" had over 12 French and 22 Italian editions, was translated into Latin, Spanish, Swedish, Russian¹⁹¹, Armenian¹⁹² and many other languages. The poem is anonymous and the name of the author - Pierre de la Cypede was unknown for long most probably because of being told by heart through generations. Later the poem was recorded, copied and translated by many people to many languages and each translator or copyist introduced some changes depending on his national, religious or political belonging. In the scholars' opinion the romance "Paris and Vienne" was written in the middle of the 14th century and first recorded in Catalan, later translated to Provençal and then - in 1432 to French. The first typographic edition was issued in French, in 1487. At the end of the 16th century it was translated to Armenian by **Hovhannes Terzntsi** and his son - **Khachatur** in Marseilles, in 1587¹⁹³. It was a free translation in prose, even with the introduction of some Armenian episodes. The interest of Armenians to that poem is witnessed by the existence of 6 or 10 handwritten copies¹⁹⁴ of that translation. This globally known literary monument was translated also to Armeno-Turkish and published in 1871. The front page read that the translator was **Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean**.

We have all grounds to state that this publication was intended not only for Armenian circles, Turkish readers were also taken into consideration. As noted by **Karapet Melik-Ohanjanian** the book missed the parts relating to Armenia and Armenians. Actually missing was the journey of the protagonist to Cilicia, Greater Armenia and Lesser Armenia, the fortress of Ani. It casually mentioned the protagonist's being in Ghyurjistan (Georgia) and in Tabriz. K. Melik-Ohanjanian explained that omission by political cautiousness of Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean. Perhaps Chelebi abridged several chapters "not to provoke" the Turks but as we know Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean had made that translation much earlier - ca. the middle of the 17th century and hardly intended to publish it. Most probably abridgements were done by the publisher based on the same political considerations. The latter truncated not only the parts relating to Armenians but also all sections concerning the Christians and confessions in general. There would be no necessity of such careful precautions if the publication of that

191 "История о Париже и Вене", переводная повесть в стихах петровского времени. Приготовил к изд. Н.Н. Виноградов. Предисл. Акад. А. Соболевского.-СПБ, 1913.

192 Matenadaran, Man. N 1456. See for it Chapter 1 of this study, in the part dealing with handwritten literature.

193 Hovhannes Terzntsi (XVI Cent.) - Armenian publisher and translator. He dealt with publishing together with his son Khachatur in Rome, Venice and Marceilles. The manuscript of their translation is kept at the Matenadaran of the Vienna Mkhitarists Man. N 88. The place of the Armeno-Turkish translation is unknown.

194 Some excerpts from the poem were published by Garegin Srvandztean in "Manana". Critical comparative study of the Armenian variants of the Poem and publication of the original with the commentaries was conducted by Karapet Melik-Ohanjanian (1893-1970) in 1966.

book were envisaged only for Armenian readers. Meanwhile consideration taken of the Turkish readers and the fact of being printed on the Turks' order they cut the respective chapters. It is clearly set in the Foreword to the book that Armeno-Turkish translation of Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean was printed on Turkish order. It follows that the French and Muslim friends getting acquainted with Chelebi's translation recommended to publish that poem. Strangely these lines in the Foreword missed Melik-Ohanjanian's attention. There is not even a need of reverting to the issue of the correspondence of Keomurjean's translation to the Armenian variant, from which it was made. We should note that the Armenian text in its turn did not correspond to any of the known originals. As we already mentioned each translator or copyist might incorporate some additions or abridge the text at his own discretion. Some of them just rendered the contents in their language like the "author" of the Armenian version, which served a base for Chelebi's Armeno-Turkish translation. It is also clear that Chelebi in his turn was quite at liberty to insert into the text a number of his own poems. Noteworthy in this respect is the last quatrain of the poem resembling in style the old Armenian historiographers. Chelebi wrote that he "had been dreaming about translating that poem since his youth as he believed that it would be very useful to young lovers, but his own life passed to no avail". Yeremia interweaved his name into the chapter of Ordubad's and Isabella's wedding, regretting that he who told that story was left alone in the desert. Anyway the fact is that by translating that poem Yeremia Chelebi turned it into the asset of the Turkic culture.

Yeremia Chelebi mastered French, Italian, Greek, Turkish, Latin and Classic Armenian. He was a high ranking government official serving in various institutions and embassies. As such he traveled in many countries including Eastern Armenia, Echmiadzin, Yerevan, etc. In 1677 he opened a printing house in Constantinople and published a number of books there. Most valuable of his Armenian works was "The History of Istanbul" (published with **V. Torgomean's** commentaries in 1913). That book including the commentaries was translated to Turkish by **H. Andreasean** and published in Istanbul in 1952. However, despite the interest and value represented by his other works we have to return to the subject of our study - Chelebi's Turkish translations, most important of which was the concise Armeno-Turkish version of Movses Khorenatsi's "History of Armenia". To give the readers a broader insight of Armenia and Armenians Chelebi annexed a brief history of the Bagratid and Rubenid kingdoms to the end of the book.

Besides the romantic "History of Paris and Vienna" Yeremia Chelebi translated to Armeno-Turkish the history of Alexander of Macedonia¹⁹⁵; wrote, under the influence of the "History of Paris and Vienna", a poem "The History of Timo" in Turkish, in the style of medieval knightly romances with numerous Armeno-Turkish and Armenian poetic insertions; and finally, translated certain extracts from the Old Testament and the entire Gospel and Psalter. Keomurjean's own works were often translated by himself.

Doubtlessly most of the books had been written by Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean for Armenian and Turkophone Armenian circles. Opposite to it he was inclined to present

195 See for it Chapter 1 of this study, in the part dealing with handwritten literature.

the translation of Khorenatsi's "History" both to the Turkish and Turkophone public.

It should be noted that Yeremia Chelebi's translations made for the circles close to the palace abounded with osmanisms, Arabic-Persian highflown style, understandable to the court dignitaries only. Meanwhile the works assigned for Armenian circles were written in clear spoken Turkish. Interestingly, such a linguistic distinction of publications for the court from those assigned for common people was also characteristic of other authors of the 18th-19th centuries writing in Armeno-Turkish. The best evidence to it is the literary heritage of the distinguished public and political figure, writer and publicist, high ranking official of the Sublime Porte **Hovsep Vardanian (Vardan-Pasha)**¹⁹⁶.

Translation and publishing of the works of the 18th - 19th century French enlighteners was in itself a phenomenon in Western Armenian life.

Translation of Voltaire's works was primarily an indicator of the spiritual maturity of the society. In this respect the access of Voltaire's works into Turkey was an important occurrence independent on whoever the guides were, whether Turks or Armenians. Voltaire's "Micromega", "Candid or Optimism" "Zadic or the Fate" and "Zair" had been translated to Armenian and Turkish in Constantinople and Smyrna. The role of the Turkish intellectual circles in this respect should not be forgotten¹⁹⁷.

Shinasi, one of the founders of the modern Turkish literature translated to Ottoman Turkish the "Philosophical Dialogues" containing extracts from **Voltaire, Racine, Lamartine, Musset, Hugo, Boileau, Gilbert, Fenelon** and **Fontenelle**. **Namik Kemal** translated the "Social Contract" by **Rousseau** and **Montesquieu**. **Ziya Pasha** translated **Moliere's** "Tartuffe" and made the Arabic translation of **Fenelon's** "Telemaque" and the "Social Contract" by Rousseau from Ottoman Turkish. **Shamseddin Sami** translated "The Miserables" by Hugo and **Ahmed Fidhat** translated "The Damned Girl" (La dame en noir?) by **Emile Richebourg** (1883), etc.

Books of that type were also translated to Ottoman by Armenian intellectuals who had been serving at the Government. Thus **Apru Sahak** (1823-1900), one of the editors of the "Noah's Dove" weekly who held an important position at the Foreign Ministry to Turkish "The History of Peter the Great", "The History of Carlos XII" by Voltaire, Say's Political Economy and (in collaboration with **Rifat Pasha**) "The Prince" by **Machiavelli**, as well as other researches relating to the distinguished political figures. **Gaspar Duysuz** translated "The Imaginary Invalid" (titled "Physician Against his Will -1849); **Hakob Lyutfi of Diarbekir** translated "Aesop's fables" (1873), etc. **Xavier de**

196 We'll revert to Hovsep in connection with his novel "Agapi" and historical works "The History of Napoleone" and "The History of the Eastern Wars" («Ագապի», «Նապոլեոնի պատմությունը», «Արևելյան պատերազմների պատմությունը»).

197 For more details on translations of the Turkish enlighteners as well as on the Turkish and Armenian translator of the French loose leaf literature see: A.Turgut KUT. Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Telif ve Tercüme romanlar. 1-Victor Hugo'nun Mağdurin Hikayesinin Basılmış nüshası.İst. (our reprint contains no date of publication).

Montepin was translated by **Suleyman Vehpi** and **Manuk Ghyumushean** (1874), **Jules Verne** - by **Hovhannes Ghukasean**, etc. **Al. Dumas'** novel "The Count of Monte Cristo" by was translated by a well known Greek journalist from Caesarea, publisher of the first Turkish satirical newspapers "Diyojen" (1870-1872) and "Hayal" (1873-1077) **Theodor Kesap** (1835-1905) and published at the printing house of his paper in 1871-1873. From the very beginning the Ottoman Turkish "Hayal" had its Armeno-Turkish counterpart "Kheyal" (1873-1874). Translations to Ottoman conducted by Armenians and Turks were mainly published at numerous Armenian printing houses. Naturally these translations made on the order or "advice" of the Turkish authorities did not go out of the narrow circle of readers they were provided for. The print run of all Ottoman translations together was much smaller than that of just one Armeno-Turkish book. While Armenian publications of these works were assigned for a wide circle of Armenian intellectuals, Armeno-Turkish publications had been printed not only for the provinces and semi-literate Turkophone Armenians. Educated families of other ethnic backgrounds in different cities of the Empire used to read Armeno-Turkish books and periodicals. So the Armeno-Turkish publications of the works of progressive thinkers had been provided for multinational intellectual strata, which admitted and were in the habit of everyday reading in Armeno-Turkish. This interesting period of activities and cooperation of the Armenian and Turkish authors and translators in the field of Ottoman translations deserves a special study by Armenian and Turkish scholars.

A valuable contribution in this field was made by Hovsep Virtanen (1815-1879), a man of great talent and knowledge, educated at the Vienna Mkhitarist Congregation, who wrote mainly in Armeno-Turkish. As a high ranking government official he was awarded the title of "Pasha" and decorated with the 2nd degree order of "Lay". Since 1837 he was the Chief dragoman of the Ottoman Royal Admiralty and the Marine Board. Was a Catholic by faith. In the 50-s of the 19th century he joined the progressive Armenian intellectuals united in "All National Association" for fighting against the wing of fanatical Catholics who split the Armenian unity. Targeted were mainly the actions of Anton Hasunean, proclaimed by Vatican the Catholicos of Armenian Catholics. The intensity of that existential struggle of the Armenian people and Church attracted also the attention of the Turkish historians and public figures of the time. Thus, describing that struggle in his monograph "Armenians in History and Turkish-Armenian Relations", **Sadi Koçaş** in the chapter entitled "Intra-Armenian Controversies in the Ottoman Empire" named the Catholic Armenian community "a foreign finger", i. e. guided or acting by foreign interference, or instructions. The sides in the book were called "the Hasuneanists" and "Anti-hasuneanists"¹⁹⁸. The author hurried to note that the Turks mainly had nothing to do with the intense struggle in Armenian community. That struggle was reflected in the first Armeno-Turkish realistic novel "Agapi". It told about the tragic love where

198 Sadi Koçaş. Tarih Boynunca Ermeniler ve Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri. Ankara, 1967, s. 117-119. See also: Ch.A.Fraze, Catholics and Sultans. The Church and Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923. Cambridge Univ.Press, 1983. p.95; E.Ch. Suttner, Die Konfrontation des Ostkirchen mit westlicher Theologie. "Die Türken in Europa" p.98-106, Göttingen, 1979; G.Jaesckke, Die Christliche Mission in der Türkei, Saeculum, Jg.7, 1965, p.68-78.; Robert Anhegger. Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hıristiyanlar ve İç Tartışmalar. "Tarih ve Toplum" İst. 1987, N46-47.s. 53-56, 17-20.

the protagonists fall the victim of the divisive policy and persecutions of the Catholic Church. To avoid the unnecessary noise and persecutions inappropriate for his position the novel by Hovsep Vandanean (Hovsep Vardan Pasha), a Catholic, high ranking government official, the licensed owner and editor of Armeno-Turkish newspapers, writer and public figure, was published in 1851 without the author's name¹⁹⁹.

The novel aroused great interest. Almost all notable periodicals and intellectuals of the time wrote about its publication and recommended reading it. Mikael Nalbandian regretting that he did not know the author's name raptly wrote that the novel excelled "The Wounds of Armenia" and "Sos and Varditer" in respect of naturalness and psychological kinship, and is not inferior to or even better than the European novels." He regretted that "this excellent and honest work is not translated to Armenian, which may be done by a skilled and first rate intellectual only".

Owing to Hasunean's efforts "Agapi" was excommunicated and banned by the Catholic Church, and should be left to oblivion by an entire generation. Hasunean's *kondak* (the official message of Catholicos) had an opposite effect and as witnessed by a French orientalist and armenist **Duloriet** the novel brightly depicting the Armenian public life attracted the attention of a huge army of readers²⁰⁰.

Next year (1852) Hovsep Vardanian published his second novel "Boshboghaz bir adem" ("The Talker"), also anonymously. The noise caused by "Agapi" made the author more circumspect. "The Talker or Brief Description of the Harm of Talking Much"²⁰¹ was a satirical work. In 2017 - 165 years after its publication the book was republished in Latin alphabet in the series issued by the "Goch" University of Istanbul. The second novel by Hovsep Vandanean was also published anonymously²⁰². There is some information on the book's contents in the announcement of its publication²⁰³. The book has an introduction and a foreword, consists of seven fairytale style chapters with caricature illustrations depicting the absurd behavior of the protagonist. In Garnik Stepanian's opinion the book was illustrated by the court painter, descendant of an Armenian Catholic family Reuben Manas²⁰⁴. Hovsep Vardanean is considered to be also the first

199 The second novel of Hovsep Vardanean "Boshbogaz bir adem" was also published in 1852 anonymously. Oth books were printed at the printing house of Myuhantiz Oghlu. We owe the philologist and specialist in drama study Garnik Stepanian for identifying the author, translation and publication of these works in Armenian (1953, 1978 and 1979). The book was translated also to French "Hovsep Vartanian. L'histoire d' Akabi. Le premier roman turc (1851)". Traduit et présenté par Haik Der Haroutiounian. Préface de Johann Strauss. Edition de la Société des études Arméniennes. Paris 2018, 234p.

200 Hovsep Vardanean. Agapi, Yerevan, 1979 (p. 4 of the Foreword).

201 Stepanian G. A Newly Found Satirical work by Hovsep Vardanean "The Talker", Yer., Herald (Banber) of the Yerevan Archives ("Ստեփանյան Գ. Հովսեփի Վարդանյանի նորահայտ սատիրական ստեղծագործությունը «Շատախոսը».- Երևան, Բանբեր Երևանի արխիվների, 1978, N 3, էջ 57-81).

202 As we mentioned above the book was republished in Latin alphabet in 2017 - 165 years after its publication by the "Goch" University of Istanbul. The original consisting of 181 pages was prepared to publication in Latin Turkish by Murad Jangara who also presented the author and his works, as well as the Armeno-Turkish literature in his Preface. See: AGOS, Ist., 08.11.2017 Vardanean...

203 Arshaluys Araratean (1840-1887), Smyrna, 10.10.1852.

204 Ibid., p. 56.

Turkish satirist who played up the inappropriate, mean and ridiculous habit of the idle talk, jabbering, gossiping; mocked those who rejected their own traditions for parroting the western morals and habits, juxtaposed to the didactic and admonishing purposes of the book²⁰⁵. The object of the author's ridicule was the Pera district of Constantinople with its perverted morals. That was the district where the Armenian Catholics settled and the depiction of their everyday life, witty mocking of their efforts to blindly parrot the European way of life turned the author into a new target of Hasunean's assaults. However, most interesting for us in this case is the author's worldview. In his Armeno-Turkish works he unmasked the religious fanaticism from the progressive, liberal standpoint. For that very reason both "Agapi" and "The Lame Devil" by Lesage in H. Vardanean's translation had been anathemized and banned by special *kondaks* read at the church due to the efforts of Hasunean. What the Catholic priests were so scared of? Seemingly the entire external airiness of the love story, which made the canvas of the main theme, or the poisonous sarcasm of "The Lame Devil" directed against the morals of the Spanish court and clerical-feudal (Catholic) society? Naturally, the world depicted by Lesage was not specific to Madrid only. Similar morals ruled everywhere, including Turkey. And if the Lame Devil lifted the roofs of the palaces in the Turkish capital, there would appear the same horrible picture of the upper world - of pashas, court and multinational usurers. Typically another book of the same author - "The History of Gil Blas of Santillane" was published in Smyrna in that very decade.

A very considerable part of Hovsep Vardanean's activity as a patriot, intellectual and editor remains on the pages of his periodicals still awaiting the study. He was thought to be the best editor in the Ottoman Empire and his early death was a loss for the entire Ottoman periodical press.

Phenomenal among the Armeno-Turkish translations of the West European literature was the publication of "Don Quixote" even despite it was abridged (1868) and issued based on the ideological considerations of its translator - Hovhannes Teroents. It was still an important event not only for Turkophone Armenians but also for other peoples of the Ottoman Empire.

Translation and publication of Eugene Sue's novels pursued quite different political purposes. The thing was not that the Armenian readers would be absorbed by the fascinating adventure plot of Sue's novels but their publication was dictated by confessional issues that became rather usual in Armenian life. For the major part of Armenians the alien Catholic preaching, which started unfolding in 1940-s reached its apogee in the 60-s, leading to intense conflicts between the hasuneanists and anti-hasuneanists. In this connection it is worth reminding the long anti-Catholic struggle of **Hakob Paronean**, expressed also in his literary heritage, specifically in "The National Strongmen" ("Hasunean's Portrait", "Hasun's Dream", "Two sisters", "Alafranca", etc.).

A number of progressive Armenian intellectuals, including such regarded Catholic figures as **Mkrtich Peshiktashlean**, **Tzerents**, **Hovsep Vardanean**, et al. were actively fighting against the Catholic propaganda, trying to reveal all the hypocrisy, conspiratorial

205 Г.Дюлорие, Нынешние армяне. Тифлис 1856, ст. 71-73.

essence, mean political purposes, infiltration of the western countries into the Near East. Publication of "The Wandering Jew" by E. Sue could be helpful to that intellectual struggle.

So it was not strange that in the middle of the 19th century the patriotic and most progressive Armenian intellectuals struggling against the Catholic threat almost simultaneously set out to translating and publishing of that work. It were Mikael Nalbandian in Moscow (1857), **Karapet Panosean** in Constantinople²⁰⁶, **Stepan Voskanean** in Paris, **Karapet Utujean** (1868) and **Gevorg Simkeshean** in Constantinople. Only the fact that the same huge novel by E. Sue - "The Wandering Jew" was translated to Armeno-Turkish and published by two well-known national figures Karapet Panosean and Gevorg Simkeshean²⁰⁷ with the time lag of about 25 years speaks of the existence of continuing Catholic threat and tireless struggle of the Armenian intellectuals against it. In Armenian reality this novel was a specific instrument of withstanding the schism. Armenian translation and publication of "The Wandering Jew" by the Lazarean Seminary was even more valuable because of the Foreword and Introduction written by the translator - Mikael Nalbandian (92 pages) where Nalbandian acquaints the readers with the detailed history of the Society of Jesus or Jesuit Order. In Nalbandian's opinion such a long explanatory Foreword would facilitate the perception of the novel, make it more comprehensible and easily understood. That is why he preferred introducing the religious organization depicted in the novel and its founder and leader of the Jesuit Order Ignatius Loyola prior to reading.

Nalbandian's Foreword tells about the role of the Ecumenical Council of Trent, which legalized the establishment and activities of that order. In these scholarly articles M. Nalbandian unmasked the reactionary and divisive activities of the Jesuit Orders in

206 Karapet Panosean (1826-1905) - a publicist, editor, translator, public figure, pedagogue, born in Caesaria, to a family of Turkophone Armenians, like any other Armenians there. He received primary education in Caesaria then, since 1841 - in Constantinopolis; since 1849 worked as a teacher. In 1859 established an Armeno-Turkish weekly "Mynatiyi Erjijas" (Herald of Argeos), which later turned to a scientific, artistic and literary news-paper issued once every two days. That paper along with Hakob Sagean's "Meghu" following Nalbandian faught against the retrograde ideas. That is why it was banned by the government in 1863. In 1866 Panosean established another (most long-lived) Armeno-Turkish news-paper "Manzumei Efqear" (Thought Series), printed for over 30 years. In 1896 because of his illness the news-paper passed to another editor and was published (with certain interruptions) until 1917. Karapet Panosean was one of the most productive translators to Armeno-Turkish.

His translations may be divided to two parts. First was the large novel "The Wandering Jew" by E. Sue, which was conducted and published in several volumes in 1863-1966, when "Mynatiyi Erjijas" was banished. When he founded a new newspaper he started publishing translations of the French novels day by day, as a loose leaflet to "Manzumei Efqear". That were "Seven Deadly Sins - Laziness" (1868) and the six volumed "The Mysteries of Paris" (1881-1883) by the same Eugene Sue, "The Children of Love and Passion" (2 volumes, 1886). Karapet Panosean published also the scandalous novel by Xavier de Montepin "The Daughters of the Plasterer" (5 volumes 1880-1881), "The Crime of Agniere or the Monstrose Woman", as well as "Captain Grant's Sons" by Jules Verne and other novels published both as loose leaflets and books, so large was the public interest to novels in Armeno-Turkish translation.

207 Gevorg Simkeshean (1870-1951) - a teacher and translator, born in Constantinople, received juridical education. For long years had been working as a teacher of Armenian and Turkish in Arenian and Turkish schools. Tranlated a number of French novels to Armenian and Armeno-Turkish, including the Armeno-Turkish translation of "The Wandering Jew" by E. Sue's (6 volumes, 1889), Paul de Cremone's "Great Heart" (4 volumes, 1890) Rene Mezroui's "Turleton" (2 volumes 1891) etc.

Europe and Eastern countries, telling that the members of that order did not shun of any disgusting and horrible act in the countries where the Jesuits had been preaching for promoting the Catholicism and strengthening the papal power. The Forewords acquainted the readers with Jesuitism, as well as with the conspiratorial, cruel and falsely pious image of the Jesuits²⁰⁸.

Nalbandian's forwarding articles show that the novel was translated and published not for entertainment. It pursued serious long-term purposes. It spread light on a heavy and dangerous problem in Armenian life. **M. Mrmryan**, translator of "The Mysteries of Paris" by E. Sue wrote that translations of the popular European novels are three times more useful for Armenian people living under such conditions. That is: they develop love for reading, train the mind and soul (if they are not already soiled), provide an occasion to the fans of the European countries to contemplate and prepare to dealing with more complicated problems, facilitate the enrichment and development of the language²⁰⁹. M. Mrmrean dreamed about having such writers as E. Sue among Armenians, who could simultaneously with showing the inner moral ills suggest the ways of healthening.

Since the main spoken language of the Armenian Catholics was Turkish (or French in rich families) it was all the more clear that it was necessary to explain to Armenians who took the way to estrangement the purposes of the foreign forces, which thrust that delusion on them in Turkish (Armeno-Turkish) - a language understood by them. A proof of great interest aroused by "The Wandering Jew" and other novels by E. Sue was a large number of their Armeno-Turkish and Armenian reprints.

Beginning with 1960-s no other European author had such a great influence on the world literature and was translated to so many languages as **Victor Hugo** - the poet, novelist and playwright. Armenians were one of the first to acquaint Turkey with Hugo's writings, which were translated and published in Armeno-Turkish and Armenian since the 60-s of the 19th century. His dramas had a steady place in the repertoire of the Armenian theatres and were staged and performed both in Armenian and Turkish. Armenian translation of "The Miserables" in 5 volumes was published in Smyrna in the mid 60-s. The translator - **Grigor Chilinkirean** had a personal correspondence with Hugo and translated the novel with his permit. "Notre Dame de Paris" and later - "93" in **M. Nubarean's** Armenian translation were issued in Smyrna at the same period. As regards the Armeno-Turkish translations of V. Hugo the first of them appeared in 1863. It was the abridged version of "The Miserables" translated by the same Grigor Chilinkirean. Actually it was a small booklet briefly rendering the topic of the novel. Incomplete translations, brief or free expositions, or adaptation of the book's content to the morals and customs of the time were not singular in Turkey. Moreover, trying to acquaint their people with the works of the West European classics the Turkish intellectuals as a rule resorted to the adaptation of Moliere's, Hugo's and **Goldoni's** plays.

In Turkey of that period Hugo's plays were more popular than his novels and poetry. Translated and staged in Armenian were almost all dramas by Hugo (*Hernani*, *Marion*

208 E. Sue. "The Wandering Jew", Moscow, 1857, vol. 1, p. 1-92.

209 E. Sue. "The Mysteries of Paris", (translation and Foreword by Mrmryan), Smyrna, 1868.

de Lorme, The King's Diversion, Lucrezia Borgia, Angelo, Ruy Blas, etc.). Three of them - "The King's Diversion", "Lucrezia Borgia" and "Angelo" were translated to Armeno-Turkish and performed in Turkish at the theatre of **Hakob Vardovean** in Constantinople. Wide coverage of these performances in the Armenian, Armeno-Turkish, Turkish, English and French press proved the great interest and pleasure shared by multinational spectators. Most played were the dramas "Lucrezia Borgia" and "Angelo". As regards "Hernani" - it was not staged at that decade because of its evidently rebellious content and open anti-monarchic nature and appeared on the Turkish scene only after adopting the Ottoman Constitution, as well as "The King's Diversion", the topic of which was borrowed by G. Verdi for composing "Rigoletto".

D. Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" in Armeno-Turkish translation of **Hripsime Topalian** was published in 1879 (entitled "The History of Robinson"). We cannot say what language it was translated from moreover that we know nothing about that translator. Her name is not met in other sources but as we know the books translated to Armeno-Turkish were as a rule from the original. Numerous translations had been done from French, Italian, English and Latin. Still the majority of translations of the classics' works, novels and plays were done from French.

Armenian translation schools of Smyrna and Constantinople worked mainly with French. Some of the translators were so industrious that translated thousands of pages²¹⁰. Translations from Italian and Latin consisted mainly of religious-dogmatic treatises. Armeno-Turkish translations from English printed in Malta and Smyrna had been also the product of the missionary and preaching activity. Naturally the number of educated Armenians mastering English in Constantinople was not small. Graduates of Robert-College founded in Constantinople by a well known English missionary Dr. Cyrus Hamlin mastered English fluently. Nevertheless we seldom meet translations from English, especially of the classics' works. So "Robinson Crusoe" was translated from an unknown language, though it is evident that it was not a brief exposition of the novel (318 pages). It seems that whenever the publishers did not mention the language from which the book was translated to Armeno-Turkish such translations might be done from Armenian and not from the original language of the novel. The same "Robinson Crusoe" was published by the Venice Mkhitarists in 1836, in perfect Modern Armenian translation of **Minas Bzhshkean**. Doubtlessly it would be much easier to translate from Armenian to Armeno-Turkish than from the original. There are many examples of Armeno-Turkish translations done from Armenian. Such an example was discussed in connection with the romance "Paris and Vienne", translated by Yerima Chelebi Keomurjean not from French or Italian but from an Armenian manuscript written long ago. Another example may be the Armeno-Turkish publication of "The Fables of Aesop", Constantinople, 1866. We know only two Constantinople translators from Greek. One of them was Hakob Paronean who translated the antique Greek classics. Certainly "The Fables" could be also translated from French but the available Modern

210 In 1839 there were 40 different Catholic schools founded by the French, which had 5871 students. See: А.Д. Желтяков, Ю.А. Петросян. История просвещения в Турции (конец XVIII- начало XX века),-М., 1965, с. 132.

Armenian translation published by the Mkhitarists in 1818 and reprinted since then several times provide grounds to state that it is not logically excluded that the Armeno-Turkish translation was done from Armenian.

Mentioned among the translations of the French literature made in the 60-s-70-s of the 19th century should be "Gracielle" by **Lamartine** (1871) and "Atala" and "The Adventures of the Last Abenserage" (1860)²¹¹ by **Chateaubriand**. Publication of the love story of an Arab and a Spanish girl written in 1810 gave rise to disputes in Turkey caused by the description of restrictions on freedom of love because of differences in confession, ethnic background, wealth and social status - problems that would not find solution in the Turkish society for long.

Chateaubriand's "Adventures of the Last Abenserage", which was twice reprinted, had been translated to Armeno-Turkish by the same Grigor Chilinkirean²¹².

In 1860 a notable western Armenian intellectual **Khoren Nar-Bey** who was in correspondence with Lamartine²¹³ published a smart collection of Lamartine's works in Armenian. "Gracielle" was already translated to Classic and Modern Armenian.

There are several "Genevieve"s, "Henoveba"s, "Genovabe"s, "Henoveva"s among the Armeno-Turkish belletristic books. The publications of 1855 and 1886 contain the name of the author - a famous German writer of children's books **Christoph von Schmid** (1768-1854). "Genovefa" is a religious-didactic story about an English marchioness/marquise as written in the continuation of the title. According to **Turgut Kut** in the edition of 1868 there is a name **Pitar** in the place where the author's name should be. It was the pseudonym of **Mihran Pitar Arabajean**, a famous Constantinople Armenian intellectual, writer and translator. Other editions miss the names of the author or translator. It seems at least some of the 9 "Genovefa"s had been written by Christoph von Schmid²¹⁴.

211 In 1875 the Turkish enlightener Rejizade Ekrem translated Chateaubriand's "Atala" to Ottoman language. The same work was translated from French to Armeno-Turkish by one of the most notable translators of the Smyrna school Grigor Chilinkirean.

212 Chilinkirean Grigor (1839-1923) - a publicist, editor and stage director, was born, educated and worked in Smyrna to the end of his life. Studied French, Greek, Italian and other languages. Beginning with 1960-s was occupied with translating from Greek and French. In 1861-67 in partnership with Constantinople Armenian publicist and writer Armenak Haykuni (Jizamejean, 1835-1866) published a progressive magazine "Tzaghi" in Smyrna, worked as a teacher at Mesropean school of Smyrna. Since the end of the 60-s as occupied mainly with translating. Thus translated to Armenian and Armeno-Turkish was "The Miserables" by Hugo. The list of his armenian translations includes "Raphael" by Lamartine (1867), Eugene Matilda by E. Sue, (4 volumes, 1870), George Sand's *Mademoiselle La Quintinie* (1871), "Manon Lescaut" by A. Prevost (1872), Octave Feuillet's "Monsieur de Camors" (1876), etc.

213 A letter of condolence sent by Khoren Nar-Bey in connection with the death of Lamartine was printed in the May 4 issue of Paris "La Liberté", then it was reprinted in the French newspaper in Constantinople "La Turkie". 100 francs were also sent for the obituary of the great poet.

There is no translator's name on the title page of the Armeno-Turkish edition of "Graciella" of 1871, which was printed in the Publishing House of Samuel Partizpanyan in Constantinople.

214 A novel titled "Genovabe" was translated from French into Armenian by Aristakes Altun (yan) Dyuri (1804-1868). He was the advisor of Poghos Bey Yusuf, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte. This book remained unpublished, in handwriting. In 1849 another Armenian version of "The

Undoubtedly, it would be much easier to translate it into Armeno-Turkish than to translate it from the original. We have samples of translations from Armenian to Armeno-Turkish. We have focused on such an example on the occasion of the "Paris and Vene" romance. Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean had translated it not from French or Italian, but from an Armenian manuscript that was made a long time ago. Such an example can be the Turkish edition of "Aesop's Fables" published in Constantinople in 1866. We know about only two translators who lived and worked in Constantinople and used to make translations from Greek. One of them is Hakob Paronean, who translated ancient Greek classics. Of course, "Aesop's Fables" could also have been translated from French. However, the existence of the several reprints of a world-class translation by Mkhitarists as early as 1818 enable us to state that it is not logically excluded that the "Fables" were translated into Armeno-Turkish from Armenian.

Among the translations made from French literature in the 60s and 70s of the 19th century, Lamartine's "Graciella" (1871), Chateaubriand's "Atala" and "The Adventures of the Last Abenseraige" (1860) are worth mentioning²¹⁵. The publication of the love story of an Arab man and a Spanish woman written in 1810 caused controversy in Turkey. The reason was the description of the limitations/ restrictions on the freedom of love as a result of religion, nationality, wealth, and belonging to different classes of society. Phenomena that would not be resolved in the Turkish social system for many years.

Chateaubriand's "Adventures of the Last Abenseraige" (1860), which had two editions, was translated into Armeno-Turkish by the same Grigor Chilinkiryan²¹⁶.

The famous Western Armenian intellectual Khoren Nar-Pei, who had a personal correspondence with Lamartine²¹⁷, published in 1860 the magnificent collection of Armenian translations of Lamartine's works "Graciella". "Graciella" was translated both in garbar (Old Armenian) and askharhabar (New Armenian).

History of Genovabe" was published in St. Lazarus, Venice. The author was one of the Mkhitarist priests, Vrtanes Poturyan.

- 215 In 1875 Rédjayizadé Ekrem, one of the Turkish enlighteners, translates Chateaubriand's "Atala" from French into Ottoman. Among the Armenians, this translation from French was made by Grigor Chilinkiryan, one of the most famous translators of the Smyrna Armenian translation school.
- 216 Grigor Chilinkiryan (1839-1923) - publicist, editor, director. He was born in Smyrna, where he received his education and worked until the last years of his life. He improved his French on his own, learned Greek, Italian and other languages. Since the 60s of the 19th century, he has made translations from Greek and French. In 1861-67, along with Armenian publicist and writer Armenak Haykuny (Chizmechyan, 1835-1866), he published the progressive journal "Flower" in Smyrna. He taught at the local Mesropyan School. From the end of the 1860s, he devoted himself entirely to translation activities. He translated Hugo's "Les Misérables" (complete in Armenian and abridged in Armeno-Turkish). The list of his Armenian translations includes: "Raphael" by Lamartine (1867), "Eugene Mathilda" by E. Sue (4 volumes, 1870), "Mademoiselle La Cantine" by Georges Sand (1871), "Manon Lescaut" by A. Prevost (1872), Octave Feuillet's "Monsieur de Camors" (1876) and others, etc.
- 217 The letter of condolence sent by Khoren Nar-Bey in connection with the death of Lamartine was printed in the May 4 issue of Paris "La Liberté", then it was reprinted in the French newspaper in Constantinople "La Turki". 100 francs were also sent for the obituary of the great poet. There is no translator's name on the title page of the edition of "Graciella" in Armeno-Turkish of 1871. And it was printed in the Publishing House of Samuel Partizpanyan in Constantinople.

There are several fiction books "Genevieve", "Henoveba", "Genovabe", "Yenoveva" among the Armeno-Turkish translations. Among them, the copies printed in 1855 and 1886 bear the name of the author, the famous German children's writer Christopher Schmidt (1768-1854). The book is the story of the English marquis, Genovabe. A religious-moral story, as mentioned in the continuation of the title. According to Turgut Kut, in the 1886 edition, the name Pitar is written on the title page of the book instead of the author. It was the pseudonym of the famous Armenian intellectual, writer, translator Mihran Pitar Arabajean. The rest do not have the names of authors or translators. We think that some of the approximately 9 "Enovabes" are the work of Christoph von Schmid²¹⁸.

Among the rest is most likely a moralistic novel, because on the title page, as a continuation of the title, we read: "A woman of commendable moral character, a counselor to the female sex, the story of Yenoveva." These are the books published in 1855, 1868, 1890 and 1891. We think that among them may be the drama of the same name by Ludwig John Tick (1773-1853), a representative of German romanticism, which could also serve to stage it in the theater. Only in the catalogue of the Vahan Zardaryan's library (Constantinople, 1911) about the book "Genovabe" (again without the author) published in 1876, the name of M. Pitar as a translator is mentioned for the first time. We think that Lamartine's sentimental romance "Genevieve", whose wide acceptance we have doubts about, will be among these anonymous publications. The post-Tanzimat political situation called for Hugo's advanced romanticism more than for emotional, heart-rending works leading to solitude. One edition of such a novel was enough to satisfy the needs of those far from the political struggle.

Eastern romances occupy a notable place among Armeno-Turkish books, and first of all, the publication of "One Thousand and One Nights" in Constantinople in 1858. It is not clear from which language the translation was made directly. We consider it probable that it was translated not from Arabic, but from French, as many peoples did because they were more familiar with French. Even some Russian translations were made not from the Arabic language of the original, but from French. Naturally, the audience of this compilation of fairy tales was very wide. Later, in 1891, another edition of "One Thousand and One Nights" appeared. Four solid volumes (1245 pages) were printed in Constantinople, Karapet Piperyan's printing house. The translation was made from French by Hovhannes Tolayan, one of the best translators from French. We do not know whether the Ottoman version of the book existed at that time or not.

One of the unique prints known to us in Arabic in this period is a book dedicated to household chores. The authors are the brothers Behcet Abdullah Molla and Behcet Mustafa. In 1869 Pitar Arabajean translated it from Arabic. It was reprinted in 1889. In both cases, the first volume of the book was published.

218 A novel titled "Genovabe" was translated from French into Armenian by Aristakes Altun (yan) Dyuri (1804-1868). He was the advisor of Poghos Bey Yusuf, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte. This book remained unpublished, in manuscript form. In 1849 another Armenian version of "The History of Genovabe" was published in St. Lazarus, Venice. The author was one of the Mkhitarist priests, Vrtanes Poturyan.

Just as we find famous love stories popular among the peoples of the East in Armeno-Turkish manuscript collections and journals, which were also performed with great success and in different languages by Armenian linguists and troupes, so the same famous Eastern romances were abundantly published in the Armeno-Turkish. The tale of Ashugh (troubadour) Gharib has been published more than a dozen times. The story of Kyor Oghlu about seven times, "Leila and Mejnun" as many times. Novels "Arzu and Gamper", "Tahir and Zohre", "Ashugh Kerimi and Asli Khanum", "Melik Shah and Gulli Khanum", "Tayyar Zadeh", "Shah Ismaili and Gulizar Khanum", "Ferhad and Shirin", "Ashugh Qurban" have been published many times. About 10 romance novels were published in just one year. Such was the year 1870, for example. In 1871 and 1873, the books of meddahs, storytellers, were published.

All their editions mostly contain the corresponding songs²¹⁹ along with the story, which were very popular among the people. We should note that the 16th century poet Grigor Taghasats left a historical poem about Shah Ismail and Shah Tahmaz. The extent to which his poem is used in the tales written about these historical figures needs further research. Some of these works are said to have been translated from Turkish. This gives us the right to think that we are still dealing with translations. Most likely, these are essays converted from the popular dialect of "rough Turkish" into literary Turkish. It is a fact that owing to Armenian translators and publishers, these romances and epic works, which are so loved and popular in the East, have become the property of the widest audience due to their numerous printings in Armeno-Turkish. They were even published in the last years of the existence of the Armeno-Turkish, as there was a great interest in them. It is interesting that even after the Armenian translation of "Ashugh Gharib" by Ashugh Jivani, the Turkish editions of the latter continued until the first half of the 20th century.

Similar is the issue of Armeno-Turkish editions of "Nasreddin Hocha's Stories". Since 1843, it has been published about 15 times.

Speaking about the Turkish editions of these stories, fables and fairy tales, it is also necessary to refer to the printing of the popular fairy tale "Brother Rooster" (1886 and 1912). The tale was also published in Armenian and was very popular. All children learned this fairy tale and learnt by heart parts of it. All 85 fables and sayings in the Armenian book of the story are written in verse, in Armeno-Turkish.

Although there is no name of its author in the catalogues, we found out that it is authored by Grigor the Deacon and was known by another title, "The Tale of the Little Child". It is more logical that the fairy tale was first written in Armeno-Turkish and only then turned into Armenian, where at least the Turkish words and moral fables were preserved²²⁰.

Collections were published in Armeno-Turkish, where there are hundreds of jangyulum quatrains, lotteries, predictions, stories of storytellers, etc. Since the 1980s, this part

219 In the Armenian editions of oriental romances, even the songs were mainly in Armeno-Turkish.

220 Georg Jakob. Xoroz Kardes /Bruder Hahn/ Ein orientalisches Marchen-und Novellenbuch. Berlin, 1906. See also: A. Turgut Kut. Ermeni Harflireyle Basilmiz Türkje Halk Kitapları. 5th International International Congress. İst. 19854 c.1, s.76.

of Armeno-Turkish printing has become the subject of consistent study by Turkish philologists²²¹. Most of the samples²²² in Hrachya Acharyan's "Constantinople Armenian Memorized Folklore" are in Armeno-Turkish.

The subject of study was mainly the part of Turkish literature in Armenian and Greek letters, which, to a greater or lesser extent, also referred to the emergence of Turkish creative thought. Naturally, these researchers greatly referred to Armenian scientific studies, bibliographies, where there is an allusion to any Turkish book, author, phenomenon.

In his studies about the Armeno-Turkish poems left by the Armenian Ashughs and the Armenian Ashughs who wrote in Turkish, the Turkish scholar Fuad Köprülü tries to "strongly oppose the attempts to attribute Turkish culture to Armenians, to appropriate it by Armenians"²²³. This point of view is remembered in the articles written by the Turkish scholars we know about Armeno-Turkish destans, folk romances and even translated fiction. This is a view that is being developed by Turkish scholars in order to try once to fully present this literature as "part of Turkish culture". For the sake of justice, it should be noted that one of the modern Turkish researchers, Turgut Kut, has widely used Armenian sources, studied the lists of Armenian printers and bookstores, the Armenian book depositories and libraries in Constantinople, and even made some interesting discoveries for us in this field. They mainly refer to the publications that we have not had the opportunity to read and study. Meanwhile, the Turkish philologist, having it at his disposal, has even printed several title pages in one of the articles. An article by Turgut Kut, devoted to Armeno-Turkish "folk" books, divides it into books by poets, Nasreddin's fables, folk romances and adds some destans. The examples of Armeno-Turkish title pages at the end are interesting²²⁴. Many destans, fairy tales, stories were previously translated into Ottoman language and published²²⁵, but nowadays they are translated into Latin Turkish by Turkish researchers, published by various scientific societies and journals, and also translated into foreign languages.

221 Scientific reports on this have started to be made in Turkish international conferences, scientific articles continue to be published in historical scientific journals. See: A.Turgut Kut. Ermeni Harfleriyle Basılmış Türkçe Destanları. Halk kültürü. İst. 1984/3, s.65-73; A.Turgut Kut. Ermeni Harfleriyle Basılmış Türkçe Halk Kitapları. V Milletler arası türkoloji kongresi. İst. 1985,c.1, s.69-79.

222 ...It was published only in 2009 by YSU publishing house, in the "Kyulpenkyan" series. The manuscript was edited and prepared for publication by Hasmik Stepanyan, Yerevan, 2009, 268 pages.

223 Fuad Köprülü. Edebiyat Araştırmaları. Ankara, 1966, s. 239-269.

224 A.Turgut Kut. Ermeni Harfleriyle Basılmış Türkçe Halk Kitapları. V Milletler arası türkoloji kongresi. İst.1985 c.1, s.78-79. In an article dedicated to Greek publications by the same author, reference is made to Armeno-Turkish books, noting that it was much richer than the Greek "karamanlidika", taking as a basis the bibliography published in 1985, which today has almost doubled in the number of its publications. See: A.Turgut Kut. Evangelinos Misailidis Efendi. "Tarih ve Toplum", İst. 1987, aralık, N 48, s.22-26.

225 This four-volume collection of fairy tales "Turpini ashq" (View of Love) by Vichen Tilkiyan (1820-1879) published in Tozlyants printing house in 1872 was translated into Arabic Turkish (Ottoman) in the same year and published by the Ottoman Scientific Society a few months later. See A.Turgut Kut. Ermeni Harfleriyle Basılmış Türkçe Halk Kitapları. 1985 s.76. Vichen Tilkiyan has also authored novels "Gulunia" and "Seven Beauties", "Shepherds" in Armeno-Turkish (1868 and 1881, 1876), a booklet about trade (1867), short stories, translations.

It is interesting to compare Greek-Turkish printings published in this period in Constantinople²²⁶.

The period of the revival of Armeno-Turkish translation literature is approximately fifty years, from the second half of the 19th century to the end of the 1890s. This fifty-year period should be divided into two main periods. The first, 1850-1870, that was characterized by the atmosphere of expectation and hopes related to the reforms inspired by the Tanzimat. During this period, the Turkish liberal intelligentsia experienced certain revitalization and focused its attention on the formation and development of literary and cultural life. They founded newspapers, developed the book publishing business, gave impetus to the work of creating a theater, and at the same time made noticeable efforts to change the political and administrative structure of the empire, to throw off the traditional medieval, feudal shackles. First of all, we are referring to the first Turkish constitution created by the forces of the "New Ottomans": the famous politician Grigor Otyan had a great contribution to its drafting. Sultan Abdul Hamid was forced to accept this constitution in the first period of his rule, well aware that it was primarily directed against his sovereignty.

The ideologists of the constitutional movement paid great attention to the possibility of compatibility between the principles of Sharia and the constitutional authority. Throughout their activities, the ideologues of the "New Ottomans" sought to harmonize liberal reformism with the standards of Islam. This was one of their most characteristic features.

Namık Kemal, one of the fathers of new Turkish literature, expressed this idea quite vividly, considering it as a necessary fusion of the religious principles of the East with the scientific achievements of the West²²⁷.

Sultan Abdul Hamid understood that the young Turkish writers Namık Kemal, Ebusiya Tefik, Ahmed Midhat and others were striving to raise the sense of national public self-awareness of the Turkish people. The Sultan was waiting for an appropriate moment to suppress liberalism. Such an opportunity arose in connection with the special situation created by the Turkish-Russian War. The Sultan suffocated the Midhatian constitution

226 Our compatriot from Beirut, Karo Abrahamyan, who is interested and does some research in the field of Armeno-Turkish literature, in one of his unique articles, has put together a list of some folk works, stories of the Ashughs printed in Armeno-Turkish language, following the example of Turgut Kut. Also mentioned in this list are some Turkish publications in Greek, also printed in the Ottoman Empire, particularly in Constantinople. In our opinion, these are simple reprints of Armeno-Turkish in Greek Turkish, which is commonly called "karamanlidika". For example, compiling the list of Turkish editions of "Nasreddin Hocha's Stories" in Armenian-Turkish, which represents 14 editions, we see the Greek editions of the same editions, with almost the same number of pages. "The Stories of Nasreddin" in 1861-1912 were published 5 times, which is quite interesting. The well-known story "Karamanlidika" published 11 times in Armeno-Turkish, "The Book of History of the Emperor Pontianus and his wife and son Diakletianus and the other philosophers" was published only 2 times. Ashugh Gharib's mixed fairy tales in Armeno-Turkish more than 15 times, and in Greek 7 times. There are two editions of "History of Ashugh Kerim and Asli Khanum" in Greek Turkish, and 12 editions in Armeno-Turkish.

227 The origin of the ideology of the national liberation movement / XIX - early XX century. Essays on the history of social thought of the peoples of the East. Yu.A. Petrosyan. Turkey, M. 1973, p. 21-22.

in its embryonic state, severely persecuted its authors, and exiled all prominent figures of the new Turkish literature.

Censorship became much stricter. The law on press and printing did not even reach the phase of discussions, although it contained a number of restrictions.

The dissolution of the Ottoman Parliament in February of 1878 removed the printing law from consideration altogether. An attack on printing began. In 1881, the Control Inspectorate²²⁸ was created, to which the censors and the supervisors of printing houses were subject²²⁹. During the tyranny of Sultan Abdul Hamid, cultural life and the world of printing were at a standstill. If at the beginning of the 1870s it was possible to translate and print the novels of Alexandre Dumas²³⁰ Eugene Sue, then at the end of 1980 it was forbidden not only to print their books, but also to give the names of these authors.

In 1888-1889, the censorial rigors reached extremes. A whole chapter is dedicated to these strictures in the book "Abdul Hamid and the Era of His Rule" by the Turkish intellectual and writer Osman Nuri. Osman Nuri's book mentions the banning of the word Armenia, and even more, its history²³¹. What has been said does not refer only to Armenian culture. Freedom, rebellion, bomb, tyranny and similar words were removed from Turkish literature.

Naturally, it was excluded to write or translate novels where the heroes or their surroundings could be imitated, or seen as an allusion to Abdul Hamid and his "Yildiz" palace. It is known that it was forbidden for the hero of an artistic work to have a big nose, as was the case of His Excellency the Sultan. For example, it was forbidden to use the word "star" (Turkish: "yıldız") in literature, because that was the name of the Sultan's palace. According to V.A. Gordlevsky, one of the well-known figures of Russian Turkic studies, it is difficult to say what ideology the press was guided by. Capricious in the directions it pursues, the press takes trivial matters seriously and treats serious issues with a joke. The fear of the government has crippled the common

228 In six sessions of the House of Books, the law on printing was discussed, which provided provisions on the legal status of printing houses, book publishing, and the press. In 1877, on May 14, the draft law was adopted by the Mejlis and approved on May 24. However, the Sultan refused to approve it. The project was sent to the Mejlis for consideration for the second time (from December 13, 1877 to February 18, 1878). See: A. D. Jeltyakov. Printing in the socio-political and cultural life of Turkey. M., 1972, p. 171-174. See also Cevdet Kudret. Abdülhamit Devrinde Sansür. İst. 1977 and an interesting article by the same author on the same topic, Eski Dergiler Arasında "Tarih ve Toplum" 1984 N 9 s.19-21, where numerous, outwardly ridiculous examples and facts from the history of censorship in the Hamid period are cited.

229 The persecutions were joined by the institutions of control of printing and censorship of works and translations. About this see: A. D. Jeltyakov. Printing in the socio-political and cultural life of Turkey. M., 1972, p. 178

230 Alexandre Dumas' novels "The Count of Monte Cristo" and "The Seven Kisses of Lord Buckingham" were published in Armeno-Turkish in 1882 and 1888, E. Sue's novels - in 1886, 1889-90.

231 Osman Nuri. "Abdul Hamid and the era of his rule" v. 2, (1292/1876, in Ottoman language). On the first pages of this book there is a picture made by Abdul Hamid B with rare skill. Red Sultan's profile in red is entirely composed of the beautiful bodies of naked women intertwined. It becomes known only having looked at it carefully.

language, - writes the Turkologist²³².

As for the Turkish translations from Western European literature made and published in the 1870s-1890s, their authors include Xavier de Montepin, Fortuné du Boisgobey, Emile Richebourg, Jules Marie, Jules Verne, Georges Pradel, Jules Bulabert, Georges Ohnet, Paul Feval, Pierre Ninus, Paul de Crémont, René Mezrois, Christoph Schmid, Henry Franzini, Ponson du Terrail, Hector Malo, Albert Thelby, Jules de Castine, Emile Gaborio. From this list of authors, it is not difficult to guess that the translators were not able to make their choice freely in terms of classical authors. In fact, we do not come across the names of classical authors, with minor exceptions.

Jules Verne was one of the world-class authors who "did not sin" against the Sultan's censorship, and whose adventure novels were read in one breath by different peoples of the world. His works have been translated and published both in Armeno-Turkish and Armenian. Jules Verne's novels have been translated far more into Armenian than into Armeno-Turkish. Armenian translations were done mainly by Smyrna translation group.

What has been translated and published in Armeno-Turkish is also important and deserves special attention.

In 1877, Jules Verne's first novel "The Adventures of Captain Hatteras" was published. Then, 5-6 other novels were published, including "20,000 Leagues Under the Sea" (1892), "Mysterious Island", "Around the World in 80 Days" (1893), etc. Adventure, extraordinary imagination, scientific, accurate observations were naturally intertwined in these adventurous works.

The number of editions of novels by less famous authors reaches several dozen, and if we turn it into volumes, then their number will exceed a hundred. Giving preference to books by less famous authors was connected with the rapid development of French printed literature. In other words, adventure novels were published on the pages of newspapers, which made those newspapers more interesting and popular. The works of the classics, for example, the novels of Hugo or Balzac, being rich in large descriptive passages, which could sometimes occupy pages, could not be printed in newspapers, were read with interest in parts, day by day. Novels devoid of true, psychological depth were most suitable for such a purpose, where, as a rule, detailed descriptions of the inner world of the characters or the world surrounding them were absent. In feuilleton novels, the events followed each other quickly, introducing new plot nodes and their solutions through adventures and crimes. This new literary genre, which began to develop in France from the 30s of the 19th century, received the name "novel-feuilleton". Their authors focused on intricate plots that provided a wide range of readers. Starting from the 50s and 60s of the 19th century, the "novel-feuilleton" turned into just a pleasant reading fiction. It satisfied the taste of the middle, philistine readership and was mostly devoid of political and social basis. Such were the kings of the "novel feuilleton" genre: Xavier de Montepin (1824-1902), Fortuné du Boisgobey (1821-1891), Paul Feval (1817-1887), Ponson du Terrail (1829-1879), Emile Gaborio (1835-1873) and the novels of others. They had hundreds of editions, were translated

232 V. A. Gordlevsky, Selected Works. v.13.M., Nauka, 1960.-1962. p32.

into many languages of the world, including Armeno-Turkish literature.

In 1888, censorship was also established on the Armenian press. Until then, authors and translators were wary of publishing books whose fate was in the hands of the censors, and preferred to publish their works and translations from European languages piece by piece on the pages of newspapers.

At that time, newspapers were not subject to censorship²³³ and indulged relative freedom. The books of many of the above-mentioned authors were first published in parts, as feuilletons, in Armeno-Turkish newspapers and journals, and then only as separate books. In particular, many daily newspapers were published in "Medjmua-i Akhbar", "Manzume-i Efkiare", "Djeride-i Havadis", "Medjmua-i Havadis"²³⁴.

Incompleteness of the Armeno-Turkish press sets does not allow asserting the fact that this or that work was first published as a newspaper and then only as a separate book.

However, from the announcements published regularly in Armeno-Turkish press, we learn that the novel published in this or that newspaper is ending, or has ended and will be published fully in a book, giving the opportunity to have the book in its entirety and in a more convenient form. For example, Eugene Sue's multi-volume novel "The Mysteries of Paris" translated into Armeno-Turkish by Karapet Panosyan was first published as a feuilleton in "Manzoume-i Efkiar" newspaper edited just by him. Likewise, Xavier de Montepin's "Secret of the Indians" and "The Story of Love", "The Stitched Mouth" by Fortuné du Boisgobey and dozens of other novels were first published in newspapers as feuilletons. This time, they were published in "Medjmua-i Havadis" and "Mechmua-i Akhpar" newspapers²³⁵ edited by their translator, the famous public and cultural figure Hovhannes Tolayan. After being published in the newspaper, the books of Alexandre Dumas, Jules Verne, Georges Ohnet, Fortuné du Boisgobey and dozens of other authors were published separately.

233 A. Arpiarian, History of Turkish-Armenian literature of the 19th century. Cairo, 1944, p. 76.

234 It should be noted that the "novel feuilletons" also had a significant impact on Western Armenian literature, which was strongly influenced by French literature. Let us remember that the first sample of Western Armenian realist literature, Tigran Kamsarakan's (1866-1941) "The Teacher's Girl" was first published as a newspaper in "Arevelk" newspaper (Constantinople) in 1888 and then only published as a separate book. Dozens of Yervand Otyan's novels were first published as feuilletons in the press of the time for months, even years, and then only published as separate books.

235 Hovhannes Tolayan (1856-1936) - editor, translator. He received his education at the Mkhitarist Monastery in Venice. He studied medicine, participated in the performances of Petros Maghakyany's theater troupe in 1872-1874. In the same years, he worked in "Manzume-i Efkiare" and then in Hovsep Vardanyan's "Medjmua-i Havadis" newspapers. In 1884-1907 he founded and was the chief editor of "Mechmuai Akhpar" daily newspaper. Many of his translated novels were published in this daily newspaper. All of them were later published in separate books. Among these books are Adolphe Belot's The Mother Killer (2 vols., 1885), Jules Boulaber's The Prodigal Woman (5 vols., 1887), Ponson du Terrail's Adventures of Rocambole (6 vols., 1892), Fortuné du Boisgobey's "The Stitched Mouth" (2 volumes, 1883), "The Avenging Woman" by Jules de Castine (6 volumes, 1883), Xavier de Montepin's 10 novels: "The Baker's Woman" (5 volumes, 1886), "Paris the tragedies" (4 volumes, 1887), "The Casinos of Paris" (2 volumes, 1888), "What is happening in Paris" (3 volumes, 1889), "The Tramps of Paris" (3 volumes, 1890), "Three million francs dowry" (3 volumes, 1891), "Cast Girls" (5 volumes, 1880), "One Thousand and One Nights" (4 volumes, 1891) and others.

This fact is notable as the newspaper translation had its own special features. The translators translated the work not in advance, in a complete state, but in parts, to be published day by day. Translations were not edited and were submitted to the editor immediately after translating the according section, sometimes not even being read before publication or even after that. Of course, this circumstance had a negative impact on the quality of newspaper translations. We should add that these same novels often had a similar fate in France, when they were written in parts and somehow got to the publishing house, which is proof that the publishers were much more interested in the plot structure, the development of actions than the belleristic value of the novels. Often, Armeno-Turkish newspaper publications were in careless initial conditions. However, it would be a mistake to ignore the importance of this boulevard press, which that time together with the newspaper literature had become the object of reading and interest of most readers. Even the multi-volume novels of those authors, whose names we cannot find in any French or Russian encyclopedia, were read with great pleasure not only in original in France, but also translated into different languages.

Even more, we should not ignore the great positive effects of these works in various spheres of life in a backward country like Turkey, where Turkish-speaking Armenians came into contact with Western literature owing to these publications. Incomparably easy to read, these books introduced the reader to the customs of different countries, different peoples, different historical times and events, geographical locations and much other news. It is undeniable that in many volumes of these adventure novels there were images expressing real life, descriptions of real human relationships. Even the descriptions of crimes created observational and moralizing opportunities and by awakening social, moral and justice feelings, providing certain "service" to the readers in this regard. Apart from the works of classical authors, these boulevard novels, which were widely ordered at the time, had such an impact on the readers. One of the other guarantees of the unprecedented success of the "Roman feuilletons" can be considered the fact that the readers were greatly tempted by the opportunity to get acquainted with the lives of different peoples, the historical events along the way, through these novels. From this point of view, one of the most popular authors was Xavier de Montepin who had been translated into Armenian and Turkish many times. The works of Montepin and most of the authors of the "novel-feuilleton" were once abundantly translated into Russian and were read even in remote corners of the country.

It is not for nothing that Armenian translators and publishers have referred so much to Xavier de Montepin²³⁶. The number of Armeno-Turkish translations of his works

236 Xavier de Montepin (1824-1902) was one of the founders of the famous journal "Figaro" (1854). For several decades, he flooded the French literary scene with his many novels, which were published in advance in every newspaper possible. Very often (as well as in the case of many Armeno-Turkish translations) his novels were translated into other languages right from the pages of the press and published separately. It provided the author with unprecedented popularity and a fabulous financial reward. It should be noted that at the end of the 19th century, only about 60 novels of Montepin were translated and published in Russian. This is an undoubted proof of the success of this literature. Montepin's novels represent an endless chain of events devoid of the depth of psychological feelings. Constant crimes, pursuit of the guilty, protracted descriptions of the criminal and the victim, and all

reaches 20. If we note that each novel was composed of 5-6 volumes in average, then the approximate volume of each of them reaches 20,000 pages.

Let us repeat that it would not be correct to attribute such a rapid success to the sensual horrors described in large numbers, even if they caused immense excitement and sharp feelings among readers. Xavier de Montepin really had a great literary gift. A number of his novels represent artistic value. They are mainly the works that the author, not reaching the power of Hugo and Zola, nevertheless tried to get out of the Parisian salons and palaces and go down to the back alleys, cellars, casinos of Paris, describe the Parisian vagabonds, the homeless and disenfranchised class, describe their and other tragedies.

Today we can say with certainty that the publication of the two-volume book "The True Secret of Paris" in 1890 by **Eugène François Vidocq**, the one-time police chief of Paris, published as an outwardly pure adventure novel, was not an end in itself. In this period, the Turkish secret police was being formed, more precisely; work was being done to make it similar to the practices of the relevant European institutions, the technical organization of the foreign and domestic spy network, similar to the new French and English services. The Turkish governing circles understood the great interest of their country. From the imperial palaces, harems, ministries, to foreign diplomatic missions, foreign spies with various goals were visiting. Even the many suspicious cases of early deaths of sultans, their heirs and viziers remained unexplained or secret. In 1891 **Pasha of Mavroyan** published a 54-page booklet about the organization of the secret police, which was republished in 1892. The author was Abdul Hamid's personal physician, fluent in several languages, writer and a political figure. Like all palace doctors, he sometimes played an important role in the life of the state. According to the author of the article, **Taner Timur**, he was an agent of the English secret police, so his authorship of such a book is not surprising. For people educated in Europe or more or less aware of those areas of French morals, a smart, resourceful and educated specialist like Vidocq, who founded a network of secret police during the Napoleonic era, was preferable to the brutal fouches. In Mavroyan Pasha's book, Vidocq's name is the main authority, whose likeness is suggested as the organizer of the secret police. On this occasion, the author invites Mustafa Reshid Pasha from the stories of the Parisian secret police. In this regard, Vidocq's name was familiar to the governing regions. The publication of this novel could give an indirect direction to the request to give preference to the Vidocian working style of the secret police in Turkey, and we think that the circle of readers of this book was relatively wider than that of the rest of the adventure novels.

this, with the obligatory accompaniment of love intrigues. His "Cast Girls" caused scandals and led to lawsuits. One of the reasons was the "obscenity of some descriptions", which of course aroused the reader's interest more. A number of Montepin's novels have been translated into Armeno-Turkish, however, for Turkish theater performances. Therefore, some of them remained manuscripts, turned into plays. One of the author's contemporaries, Auguste Villiers de Lille-Adan (1838-1889), in one of his stories mentions the names of Montepin and Ponson du Terrail as the most highly paid writers, and notes in his footnotes that Hugo's employers were an average number between those of the two aforementioned authors. See: Auguste Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Two possibilities. In the collection "Cruel Stories". Moscow, 1967

In feuilleton literature, Paul Feval (1817-1887) competes with Xavier de Montepin in terms of the quantity of translated books, who has authored more than 200 volumes. He wrote with different plots, always striving for descriptions of unusual, exceptional, terrifying and shocking events. He used literary tricks abundantly, with the discovery of sudden, extraordinary solutions during the most complex, fictitious events. Surprisingly, among the novels of this author, only the three-volume novel "Love in Paris" was published as a separate book in Armeno-Turkish in 1890, translated by Pitar Arabajean. We think that the detailed studies of Turkish press collections in Armenian would reveal other novels of this king of newspaper novels.

The translators of the Armeno-Turkish were much more attracted by the novels of Ponson du Terrail (1829-1879), another great author of the "novel feuilleton". According to experts, his novels are works built on more superficial, cheap effects than the novels of Xavier de Montepin. The "Rocamboles" series made Terrail famous. It was published in the 1850s and grew in popularity to such an extent that the newspaper licensees who publish the paper every day had to triple the circulation of the newspaper. To this day, in French cities, you can find a "Rocamboles" beer house or cafe. The six volumes of "Rockamboles" were published in 1892-93 in a separate book in Armeno-Turkish, translated by Hovhannes Tolayan. In 1893, the next novel was published, the two-volume adventure novel "Beautiful Angel or Leona", translated by Pitar Arabajean. We think that in addition to their popularity, the didactic moral ideology present in the novels played a role in the selection of these novels. These novels, devoid of social and political basis, did not sin against the standards of Hamidian censorship, so their translation into Armenian, Armeno-Turkish, printing of newspapers and books was free. Moreover, the censors might have liked the novel's strong sympathy for the aristocracy, the ruling class. Most of the heroes of the book were representatives of the nobility, whose interests and lives were protected by honest and faithful servants.

Another Western European author who attracted the attention of Armenian translators and publishers was Georges Ohnet. The presence of not only adventure in Ohnet's novels, but also issues affecting the society in almost all works has become more attractive. One of his Armeno-Turkish translators, Anton Alik, writes in the preface to the Armenian edition of one of his 42 novels that readers looking for adventure-crime reached the point that after reading a few pages of the novels translated from French, they threw the book away in disappointment, not finding any murder, horror, crime, poisoning, scandal. Anton Alik continues that the quality of readers has already increased to the point that people are tired of such novels. Therefore, it is necessary to put on the readers' table works of great artistic value, such as the novels of George Ohnet. Anton Alik considers the translation of Ohnet's novels more difficult than the translation of any adventure work. This is the reason why he had to be flexible when translating, sometimes resorting to the use of hard-to-digest, complex and rarely used words²³⁷. Naturally, this intellectual, who is one of the famous translators into Armeno-Turkish language, was partly right. Georges Ohnet's novels are clearly different from Xavier de Montepin's mostly superficial novels.

237 Georges Ohnet, *The Consequence of Desire*, (in foreword). Constantinople, 1888.

Following the example of Georges Sand and other classic authors, Georges Ohnet tried to bring up everyday issues of concern to society, including some social problems, in his works. His petty bourgeois horizon, his inability to rise above the standards of Christian ideology did not allow the author to reach deep generalities. The literary talent, the mastery of describing the structural and plot developments of the novel, presenting its characters with a deep psychology greatly contributed to the great success of the spread of Ohnet's novels. Some of those novels have been reprinted up to 200 times. The highly successful novel "Doctor Rameau", which is one of the works of the "Struggle for Life" series, was translated mainly in order to dissuade readers from atheism. The hero of the novel, Dr. Rameau, being a physician, a person busy with saving people, was profane and arrogant from the beginning. In the struggle for life, he changed, became a poor and weak man. It was the only way out. Ramo began to beg God for his salvation after years of impiety and abuse. This is the conclusion that attracted the Armenian translators of G. Ohnet, whose translations were published separately, turned into plays and performed on the Armenian stage²³⁸.

5-6 full-length novels from the works of Fortuné du Boisgobey (1821-1891) were published in Turkish. These novels are read in Armeno-Turkish as easily as works translated into Turkish are read today. It is also evidenced by the fact that on every page there are new, interesting cases, unexpected solutions to events. The tragic destinies of the heroes, with the last strain of strength, but the victims of the powerless struggle against evil, keep the readers on the pages of the book, forcing them to follow the development of events. The author's ideology does not go beyond the general standards of opposition between good and evil.

As mentioned, the translations made in the Western Armenian reality in the 50s-70s of the 19th century had a very specific purpose. The artistic value of the work to be translated, its ideological direction and influence was of great importance. The extraordinary literary strictures and limitations of the period of Abdul Hamid tyranny stopped this direction of literary activity. Armenian translators used every opportunity so that the novels published in those years not only presented pleasant and interesting material for reading, but were useful to the society. Note that the majority of the army of translators was among the most advanced people of the time. They were well acquainted with the rich French literature and culture, European ideology. These translators were fluent and professional in several languages. It was not a unique phenomenon when the same person made translations from Italian, French and other languages with the same skill. It can be said with certainty that the giant amount of literature translated into Armeno-Turkish, which entered the circle of Turkish and Turkish-speaking Armenians, was meant to serve their general intellectual development. The translated works were not the result of a random selection by the editors, they were published in newspapers for months and years. This is what one of the publishers of translated works of Western authors writes. According to him, the translations are chosen not for the sake of circulation and popularization of the given periodical. The goals of the

238 The novels "Doctor Ramon" (1891), "The Consequence of Desire" (1888), "Countess Sarah" (1888), written by G. One, were published in Armeno-Turkish.

choice are more far-reaching. Publishers mainly strive to develop love and taste for intellectual and psychic feelings through selected, pleasant and useful books, to teach readers to place it above everyday life, to develop readers' intellectual capabilities and provide them with mental food. According to the book publishers, there are no harmful books. Of course, there are as many characters as there are people. And if it is possible to awaken a love for reading among a wide range of readers, then the intellectuals dedicated to this work will be considered morally satisfied²³⁹.

The author of the works "The History of Napoleon Bonaparte" and "The History of Eastern Wars" wrote his famous novel "Agapi", popular feuilletons, satirical poem "Slanderer", etc. Naturally, this high-ranking official of the palace, marine ministry had a focus on two quite different reading circles. Naturally, Hovsep Pasha wrote works for non-palace circles in a simple, colloquial Turkish language that everyone could understand. However, it was impossible to present the Turkish translations of Alexandre Dumas' or Jules Verne's novels in this language. The vocabulary of the popular Turkish language was quite limited, and during the translation from foreign languages, thousands of words did not have the same meaning or were completely absent in the Turkish language. In such cases, the translators had to turn to the Ottoman language, i.e. the Turkish language filled with Arabisms, trying not to violate the Turkish syntactical and morphological regularities, choosing words and phrases understandable to the people as much as possible. Unfortunately, such aspirations have not always been crowned with success and justified themselves. According to Hakob Paronean, the writings of Karapet Panosyan, who translated many volumes, were impossible to understand without appropriate dictionaries. For example, when translating the novel "Paris and Vene", authored by Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean, he took into consideration the fact that the book will be read not only by the middle reading class, but also by intellectuals of Armenian, Turkish and other nations. Thus, the translator's aspirations to present the poem in literary Turkish as understandable as possible become clear.

These turbulent decades of Armeno-Turkish translation literature are known for their strong inclination towards French literature. In addition to the objective reasons for paying tribute to this richest and most advanced literature, we should not ignore the subjective reasons for this French obsession, which inadvertently created fertile ground for the development of politics, literature and, particularly translated literature. It refers to the intense activity of the "Prodos" branch of the "French Grand Orient" Masonic lodge established in Constantinople since 1872 among the rulers of the Ottoman Empire, the dignitaries who are important court figures, the high class, and the intelligentsia. An article on Sultan Murad V's Freemasonry states that in the 20 years preceding the accession of Abdul Hamid II (1876), more than 50 Masonic organizations was founded in Constantinople alone, some of which were naturally short-lived and the rest have worked continuously for many years. The author of the article presents a respectable list of possible Freemasons in Turkey. Next to the names of Turkish rulers, viziers, viceroys and high-ranking officials, pashas, we find the names of Turkish intellectuals, particularly the famous enlightener Namık Kemal, the famous poet Mehmed Emin and

239 Arthur Pernet. Napoleon's family secrets. Aleppo, in foreword (in Armenian).

others. Among the Armenians, the names of theater director Hakob Vardovyan (Gülly Hakob), **Andranik Pasha Krchikyan**, director of the Sultanate Medical Institution²⁴⁰. Krchikyan, **Hakob Krchikyan** (1806-1865) was one of the famous freemasons, too²⁴¹.

Naturally, such a powerful French Masonic organization, which was so popular in Turkey and particularly in Constantinople, with its dozens of related organizations, could not but develop a special favorable attitude and direct it towards France, French and everything, associated with this country. The advanced Masonic movement in the upper layers of the Turkish governing circles attracted many people to it, grew into a well-known nucleus in Turkish reality, which had its own publication, "Envar-ı Şarkiye" (Ray of the East) periodical. It is interesting that this official newspaper was published in Karin in 1866-1877 in Ottoman (pages 1 and 4) and Armeno-Turkish (pages 2 and 3) with the same content.



240 Suha Umur. V Murad'ın Masonluğu. "Tarih ve Toplum". 1987 Ocak, İst. s.36-39; K.S.Sel, Türk Masonluk Tarihine Ait Üç Etüd. İst 1972, s.39.

241 Hakob Krchikyan was one of the Armenians who were in the surrounding of Reshid Pasha, a supporter of the Tanzimat reforms, who was to become one of the major figures of his region. In 1835 he travels with Reshid Pasha to Paris as Pasha's third interpreter and tutor to his children. In Paris, Krchikyan attended classes at the Sorbonne. At the mediation of Reshid Pasha, he became a translator B at the Paris embassy, becoming Pasha's supporter in new diplomatic work.

Krchikyan also played a major role during the Armenian constitutional movement. In 1845 Reshid Pasha appoints Krchikyan as the head of Armenian national affairs, logopet, so that the latter can manage national affairs as he considers. The logopet knew the details of the court's protocol and was a kind of bridge between the palace and the community. In addition to the patriarch, the logopet also had a seal, who had the right to seal documents related to civil matters. This function in the Armenian Millet was performed by the amirs before 1847.

In 1854 Reshid Pasha's son, Mehmed-Jemal Pasha, was appointed ambassador to Paris, and Krchikyan was appointed his deputy. See: Artinyan V., Osmanlı Devleti'nde Ermeni Anayasaşının Doğuşu, 1839-1863. İst.: Aras, 2004.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORICAL WORKS

The multi-century Armenian bibliography includes many originals related to history, theology, verse literature and other fields, copied in dozens, sometimes hundreds of manuscripts.

There are not a large number of similar manuscripts in Armeno-Turkish. Not more than twenty. Some of them were later published, while the rest were only available in manuscript form.

When writing about Armeno-Turkish manuscripts, we referred to the poem "History of Tahmaz Ghuli Khan", authored by the 18th-century Constantinople -Armenian historian Tampuri Arutin or Kyuchuk Arutin. The author learned Turkish, Persian and played tampur, hence his nickname - Tampuri Arutin. He traveled to Persia with the Turkish ambassador Abdul Zeki Khan. He wrote the work in Armeno-Turkish. In 1800, the manuscript was published for the first time in Venice²⁴².

The next historical book that was published in Armeno-Turkish is the publication of the famous Armenian historian, linguist, theologian and pedagogue, Mikael Chamchyan, one of the fathers of the Mkhitarists Congregation of S. Lazarus, "The History of the Armenians of Khrakchan" written in Armeno-Turkish in 1812, "Kilzari Tevarikh" with the title, again on the island of St. Lazarus²⁴³. M. Chamchyan also used Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean's "History" for the summary of the three-volume "Armenian History", consisting of 500 pages²⁴⁴.

There are a number of disagreements about the identity and name of Hovhannes Archimandrite Aghavni (Hovhannes Archimandrite Hanna, 1693-1733). In the Italian work dedicated to the history of Armenian literature by Sukias Somalian (Venice, 1829, p. 165), the eighth of the disciples of Patriarch Hovhannes Kolot, nicknamed

242 16th century poet Hovhannes Varagetsi wrote as an eyewitness about T(D)ahmaz Ghuli Khan's atrocities in Vaspurakan.

243 For this and other published historical works, see also the chapter devoted to study manuscripts. In 1827 "History of Armenians" was translated into English.

244 **Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean** (1637-1695) was one of the most famous figures of Constantinople-Armenian bibliography. He knew a number of languages, was a multifaceted social and cultural figure. Aram Ter-Ghevondyan, an Arabist-Armenologist, corresponding member of the Tiberino Academy in Rome, head of the source studies department of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Armenia in the last years of his life, proved that Keomurjean's "History" was also used by the prominent Arab historian Munedjim Bashi, in his "Jami ad- Duval" ("Cosmic History") in the section about Armenians, which was written in 1681, i.e. after Keomurjean's "History". About this, see: Banber RA NA, 1960, N 7-8, p. 143-150).

"Aghavni" (Pigeon), was martyred in Sebastia because of his conversion to Catholicism. In G. Bampukchyan's work dedicated to Patriarch Hovhannes Kolot, there are facts counterbalancing this opinion. Most likely, it refers to different persons.

Bishop Hanna from Jerusalem interests us with the bibliographic legacy, in particular with his "History of Jerusalem". This work completed in 1727 (377 pages) was published for the first time in Armenian language in 1734 in Constantinople by Astvatzatur Dpir printing house and then had 4 printings. The full Armenian title of the book is "Book of the History of the Holy and Great City of God, Jerusalem, and the Holy Guardianship of our Lord Jesus Christ." "Aziz ve Azim Jerusalem" (372 pages), was published in the printing house of Matthew School. The Armeno-Turkish version of this book was translated by prominent educational and cultural figure **Tagvor Teacher Aslanyan** (1746-1836). This historical book is important not only for the history of Jerusalem or Jerusalem Armenians, but also partially for the history of Constantinople Armenians, - writes G. Bampukchyan²⁴⁵.

When talking about works related to history, it is necessary to draw special attention to the study of Hovsep Vardanyan's "The History of Napoleon Bonaparte". Hovsep Vardan Pasha (1815-1878) was one of the Constantinople-Armenian intellectuals of the time and one of the most prolific authors of the Armeno-Turkish literature. In 1852, this high-ranking palace official with the Catholic faith founded the periodical "Medjmua-i Havadis" (Fun news) in Constantinople, which existed until 1877²⁴⁶. He is the author of "Agapi" and "Shatakhos" books. In 1856, Hovsep Vardanyan translated and published the 24 documents of the Paris Congress of March 30, 1856 and the 283-page work about the Congress, the booklet about the Electric Telegraph. In 1863, immediately after the publication of the "National Constitution of Armenians, approved in 1863 and revised", in the same period, he wrote his investigative work "Constitutional truths and their obligations" (87 pages, 1863), which was larger than the "Constitution" itself.

Hovsep Vardanyan also translated belletristic works. Le Sage's "The Lame Devil", Eugene Sue's "Mysteries of Paris", a collection of selected stories was published in his translation. Being a Catholic, Hovsep Vardanyan received his education from the Mkhitarist congregations, and was the guardian of the house of priest Dadyan. He studied in Vienna, learnt English, French, German, Arabic, Persian, as well as Armenian and Turkish. He confidently advanced through the ranks of the state service, received the rank of pasha and was awarded with orders and medals. He was an Armenian Catholic and a Turkish Pasha at the same time. Turkish laws forbade Christians to hold high government positions. However, he enjoyed the favor of the Sultanate palace with his service among a number of prominent Armenians. He was able to bypass the fact that he was a Catholic and, together with a group of prominent Armenian Catholic intellectuals, became a part of the "Hamazgyats" union, whose main goal was to fight against the Catholic preachers who divide the Armenian people and the penetration of Catholicism into the Western Armenian reality. Even though his position as a palace

245 G. Bampukchyan, Hovhannes Patriarch Kolot, Istanbul, 1984, pp. 153-159.

246 "Medjmua-i Havadis" was published as a monthly newspaper, then as a weekly newspaper, and later became one of the most popular dailies in Armeno-Turkish.

official and the fact that he was a Catholic forced him to be careful in national issues, he still waged a vigorous struggle against the papacy and particularly the anti-Armenian, destructive activities of the Mahmutian period. His only careful move was the fact of publishing his novels anonymously, which, as it turned out, was not without foresight. Coming to the story about Napoleon Bonaparte, in this case, Hovsep Vardanyan does not avoid presenting his authorship. Not only the name is written on the title page, but also all ranks and titles²⁴⁷. It is also mentioned that the author of the study used many French and English books. "History of Napoleon" begins from the day of his birth, with the description of Corsica, and goes up to 1812, that is, on the eve of Bonaparte's invasion of Russia. The study consists of 8 books, which form two magnificent volumes²⁴⁸. This book, consisting of 1500 large pages, is one of the largest studies devoted to the life, activities and military operations of the Emperor. The narration of the "History" is unexpectedly interrupted²⁴⁹.

This voluminous study, which contains rich factual material, was the result of the author's hard work and considerable financial expenses. The book stands out for its elegant style of narration, the use of a large number of complicated Ottoman words and phrases. In the preface, the author promises to attach an explanatory dictionary of obscure Ottoman words at the end of the work. The stilted style of the essay is proof of the fact that the book was intended for a class very different from the readers of "Agapi". It is for the Turkish elite, intellectual circles. It is not excluded that the idea of this historical book was given and even ordered by palace officials or diplomatic circles familiar to the author. There are facts that the elite of the Ottoman Empire read this work. Anyway, we should mention again that "History of Napoleon" was written for these palace circles and not for Turkish-speaking Armenian circles reading translated novels or other Turkish-speaking nations of the empire. Even in the palace ruling class and diplomatic circles, there should not have been more than a few dozen connoisseurs of the "pompous Ottoman language". Meanwhile, in order to cover the material costs of such an expensive publication, it was necessary to consider at least 1000 readers.

A question may arise, why in that case the book was not written in Ottoman language, especially since the author was quite proficient in Turkish and Arabic. The Ottoman language was limited to the court circle. As for the Armeno-Turkish version, even a book full of pompous Ottomanisms could serve not only educated Armenians, but also intellectual Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians and those, representing other nations, who would definitely be interested in this publication. Hovsep Vardanyan was one of the

247 The book was published in Constantinople in 1855-1856.

248 The time frames of the case descriptions are as follows:

A. volume part 1: 1769-1798

part 2: 1798-1799

part 3: 1799-1800

part 4: 1800-1802

B. volume part 1: 1802-1805

part 2: 1805-1807

part 3: 1807-1809

part 4: 1809-1812.

249 Garnik Stepanyan, in the preface to the edition of the translation of the novel "Agapi", considers the Crimean War as a possible obstacle as the reason for the interruption of the Napoleonic "History". According to the scientist, the book should have consisted of three volumes and 12 parts (books). About this, see: "Agapi", Yerevan, 1979, page 4.

authors whose works, translations, and the newspaper "Medjmua-i Havadis" were read by the Turks, the subject peoples of the Ottoman Empire, learning Armenian letters²⁵⁰.

Hovsep Vardanyan wrote another important historical work. This is the two-volume "History of Eastern Wars" study²⁵¹. It presents a part of the history of the Crimean War. 650 pages describe the battles of the Anatolian and Rumeli fronts from June 15 to December 30, 1877. The book is written in the style of "History of Napoleon Bonaparte". Unfortunately, the essay was left unfinished due to the early death of the author on March 28, 1879.

In 1858 a brief chronology of the Ottoman sultans was published in Constantinople under the title "Tarikh-i Padishahun Alishane Ali Osman"²⁵².

Armenian and Armeno-Turkish manuscripts contain brief and extensive essays on the history of different regions of the Ottoman Empire and different sultans. They are of great interest and longing for a critical edition in Armenian and Turkish languages.

A famous Constantinople-Armenian philologist K. Pamukdjian published four historical poetic odes in Armeno-Turkish dedicated to Sultan Mahmud II who was known for his pro-Christian policy²⁵³. This historical publication was presented with a serious scientific introduction in a Turkish scientific journal, and the text was translated into Latin Turkish.

In 1859, the work of Nasif Maloof "A Brief History of 31 Sultans" translated from French was published in Constantinople. The translator is **Pascal Tghtapyan**, a teacher of French and Ottoman. This is about 31 sultans starting from the first sultan of the empire, Osman (1256), about each of them separately²⁵⁴.

The work "Fihri's kitap: History from Hayk to 1780. The Catholicos rule of Ghukas Erzurumtsi" published in Etchmiadzin in 1862 is also a significant one.

According to the testimony of Garnik Stepanyan, the book "History of Armenians" was published in Constantinople in 1864, which, most likely, is one of several reprints by Mikael Chamchyan, intended for school teaching in the Turkish language. According to the same source, in 1872 "Memoir or readings" was published in Constantinople. The book "Important and brief Armenian stories" was also one of the publications intended for Armenian schools. An extremely interesting "letter" in Armeno-Turkish, representing historical value, is preserved in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Armenia. It refers to the letter of the Turkish ambassador in Paris, Fazel Mustafa Pasha, addressed to Sultan Abdul Aziz. The letter is about the need to establish constitutional order in the Ottoman Empire. It was printed in Constantinople, the Armenian script was converted from Ottoman to Turkish and it consists of 18 pages.

250 Metin And. Tanzimat...s. 36

251 It was printed in Constantinople in 1878-1879.

252 This 20-page book is known to us only from directories.

253 Kevork Pamukciyan. İkinci Sultan Mahmud'a dair Ermeni Harflı Türkçe Durt Manzum Methiye. Belleten, vol. LIV, p. 211, Ankara, 1991, p. 1053-1073.

254 The book is in the Nuparian library in Paris.

We do not find any other information necessary for bibliography on the title page²⁵⁵.

Our sources for some editions are limited to the lists published by various bookstores. We have very scarce information about the book "Temsal vatanberveri" (An example of patriotism) about the Bulgarian revolutionary Zakaria Stoyanov. It was published in "Cheritei Shargie" printing house in Constantinople in 1909 and consisted of 70 pages. Hakob Varzhapetyan is the translator.

In 1879 "Brief History of Armenia" by **Munadjim Bashi** was published, translated from Arabic by **Galust Tirakyan**, a teacher of the Ottoman language at "Robert" College in Constantinople, and translated into Armeno-Turkish and Ottoman, page by page (64 pages). Most likely, this is the part of the author's "Universal History" concerning Armenia and Armenians. Publicist literature about the socio-political situation of different provinces inhabited by Armenians was also published in Armeno-Turkish. The books that tell about the movements and important events taking place there represent a unique historical overview of this or that place, the interest of which is undeniable.

In 1870, certain M. E. "The Supreme Power for the Present and the Future" was published (Constantinople, 16 pages). In 1872 the 40-page book "The Capture of Constantinople and the Case of Mahmud Pasha" was published in Constantinople, translated and printed by certain G.S. The author's name is unknown.

In 1897 Avedis Irfan's "Illustrated History of the Ottoman State and the Greek War" (30 pages), which we are not familiar with, was published in Constantinople.

In 1885, **Tachat Lutfiyan**'s booklet "Eastern Rumelia and the Armenians" was published in Plovdiv.

The number of books related to the history of the Ottoman Empire itself in Armeno-Turkish is not great. Instead, the Armenian-language Turkish periodical press is quite rich in brief and extensive journalistic-historical publications on this topic.

Armenian scientists, having learnt different languages, and having a wonderful knowledge of the necessary scientific Eastern and European sources, wrote in Armenian and European languages, and also translated historiographical works, which represent a great contribution to the field of Turkic studies²⁵⁶.

255 Barizte ikamet ichiun pulunan tevletlu Fazel Mustafa Pasha Tarafentan tagtim oluna hazreti Shahaneyey ariganen terchiyumesi. Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the RA Academy of Sciences.

256 Here are some examples: the famous Constantinople-Armenian historian of the 17th century, **Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean**, who, at the request of the Italian diplomat Ludovico Ferdinando Marsil (1658-1730) in Constantinople, in 1791, compiled the map of Armenia (see: Gabiella Uluhochyan: The newly discovered map of **Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean**, "Historical-Linguistic Journal" of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1997, N 2 (146, p. 185-188) "The History of Alexander" was translated from Armenian into Turkish, the medieval chivalry "Parezu's History and Vienna" romance, author of the three-volume topographical work in verse "Constantinople History". It was published in Vienna in 1913, 1932 and 1938 with skillful annotations by V. Torgomyan. The second edition in Turkish, annotated and revised by Hrant Ter Andreasyan, was published in 1988 with detailed notes, edited and republished in Istanbul by the philologist G. Bampukchyan.

Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean is the author of the poem "A Brief History of the Ottoman Empire

In 1991, in the 3rd issue of the historical-philosophical series "Shogakat", K. Pamukdjian also published the same Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean's valuable source work "History of the Firing of Constantinople" (184 pages).

In the field of Turkic studies, as well as in the foreign-language legacy left by Armenian scientists, the historiographical French and literary works of father and son D'Ohson, Gabriel Aivazovsky should be mentioned separately according to us²⁵⁷.



(four hundred) years of the Ottoman Empire", which is the first Armenian work on the history of the Ottoman Empire. This is the 1876 manuscript of the Yerevan Archives, the scientific edition of which we owe to the Turkologist-source scholar Joseph Avetisyan (Y **Yeremia Keomurjean's** "A Concise History of the Ottoman King", Yerevan, 1982).

257 Muraja D'Ohson (Ignatios Tosunyan) (1740-1807) - Constantinople-Armenian historian, diplomat. He was the Swedish ambassador to Constantinople. On the basis of numerous Eastern and European sources, he wrote the three-volume valuable study "General Image of the Ottoman Empire", which was published in Paris (1787, 1790, 1820). The last third volume was published posthumously by the efforts of his son Constantine. The work contains 137 engravings (lithography) of unique value. In 1804 "Cosmic History" according to Muslim sources, Part A, entitled "Historical Image of the East" was published in Paris.

Constantine D'Ohson (1779-1851) - French historian, diplomat. He was born in Constantinople, in the family of Muraja D'Ohson, a Catholic by profession. He worked as a diplomatic mission in Berlin, Madrid, Paris, Hagga. 1834 was appointed the ambassador of Sweden in Berlin. He is the author of a four-volume extensive work about the Mongols called "History of the Mongols from Genghis Khan to Timur Bey or Tamerlane". It was published in The Hague and Amsterdam in 1834-1835 and is considered to be the most reliable and comprehensive scientific study of the Mongols. Constantine D'Ohson published the 3rd part of his father's "Ottoman History" and the first part of "Historical Image of the East" in Paris.

We read these luxurious and gigantic works in French in detail in the private library of Araxy Karapetyan, the daughter of Manuk Karapetyan, one of the famous Armenian families in Geneva.

Gabriel Aivazovsky (1812-1880) - philologist, historian. He was born in Theodosia. He is the brother of sea painter Hovhannes Aivazovsky. He received his education at St. Lazarus Monastery in Venice, where he continued as a teacher of Eastern and European languages. 1841 He published the three-volume literary work "History of the Ottoman State" in Venice. Grabarov published the original "History of the Viziers of the Ottoman State" by an anonymous author. His works written in French had a wide readership. In 1855, he fell out with the Mkhitarists and renounced Catholicism. During the years of his return to Theodosia, he worked as an inspector at the Khalibyan College, in whose printing house he published the books "Handbook of Turkish language in Armenian" (245 pages) and "Conversation in Turkish language in Armenian" (191 pages) in Turkish by Galfayan Ambrosios in Armenian. Gabriel Aivazovsky, together with historian, lexicographer Galfayan Ambrosios (1826-1906) and philologist, pedagogue Sargis Theodoryan (1788-1877), renounced Catholicism and in Paris in 1856. to establish the Haykazyan College. (For detailed biographies see: Garnik Stepanyan, Biographical Dictionary, H.A, E., 1973.)

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATIONAL AND POPULAR SCIENCE LITERATURE

After the capture of Constantinople, the most important event in the life of Western Armenians was the establishment of the Armenian Patriarchal See in Constantinople by the special proclamation of Mehmed Fatih Sultan in 1461. This fact had both religious and political significance. Some Armenian patriarchs had the opportunity to implement patriotic activities, which had unprecedented importance and played a great role in the fate of Western Armenians, in their political and cultural life. Owing to this, Armenians were not only able to protect their existence for centuries, but also participated in the governance of the country. Despite political persecution, they played a significant role in the development of the socio-economic life of the country. At the same time, the contribution of Western Armenians to the development of both national and Ottoman culture was great. It experienced unprecedented development in the arenas of architecture, miniature painting, and painting. Although the first printed Armenian book was published in 1512 in Venice, owing to the efforts of Hakob Meghapart²⁵⁸, in 1567 the printed Armenian book was published already in Constantinople.

Owing to Hovhannes Kolot Baghisetsi, the patriarch of Constantinople, the Armenian book publishing industry in this city experienced a vigorous uprise. At the end of the 18th century, the number of printed books had already exceeded 300. There were more than 10 Armenian printing houses, where together with theological books, books related to natural science, philosophy, history, textbooks, hymnals, etc. were printed²⁵⁹.

The 17th-18th centuries in Western Armenian reality are also known for the development of Armenian schools. The first Armenian schools were organized in Constantinople in the 17th century, and the first daily school-seminary was founded by Hovhannes Kolot after he was elected as patriarch in 1715. In addition to theology, he also taught his 30 students philosophy, which was considered an "external science".

258 In 1486 in Mainz, in the printing house founded by Gutenberg, Bernard von Breidenbach's scientific illustrated study "Journey to the Promised One" ("Peregrenatio in Terrum Sanctam") was published. This work was the result of the trip to Jerusalem in 1483-1484 by the dean and treasurer of Mainz Cathedral, Bernard von Breidenbach. The book contains unique interesting materials about Armenians. A table engraved on wood is printed here. It presents the Armenian alphabet and the names of the letters. The table was made by the court painter Roewich, who accompanied Bernard von Breidenbach during his travels. Thus, the first printed Armenian alphabet is 515 years old (See about this in "Voice of the Motherland" newspaper, January 22, 1986, Yerevan).

259 In 1565, Abgar Eudokatsi (Tokhatetsi) (? -1572) received the right to print Armenian books in Venice with the permission of Pope Pius IV and Doge Hieronymus of Venice and published 3 books. The Pope of Rome tried to use the printer and his work for the spread of Catholicism by making theological changes in the books he printed. Abgar Eudokatsi was forced to move his printing house to Constantinople, where he engaged in book publishing for three years and published 6 books. In 1677-1678, **Yeremia Chelebi Keomurjean** printed two books.

In 1741, when Hakob Nalyan was elected patriarch, he moved this school from Skyutar to Gumgapu district. Patriarchs of Constantinople, famous Armenian intellectuals and scientists taught here. The Main school was also a literary center. In 1734, a collection of 49 poems by seven disciples of Patriarch Hovhannes Kolot was published here. Free education was an important factor. Parish schools were being gradually established. Separate buildings for schools were being built. In the 17th-18th centuries, parallel to the Armenian religious schools and seminaries, the first secular schools began to be created, which after 1790 were called gymnasiums, from elementary to high²⁶⁰.

If before the appearance of secular schools, Armenians studied in 30 schools, which operated in the structure of churches in Constantinople, then in 1859, according to official data, there were already 42 schools, where 4376 boys and 1155 girls studied. They were taught by 192 teachers²⁶¹. It should be noted that the number of Armenian schools in the provinces (vilayets) of the Ottoman Empire reached 114 in 1834²⁶².

Along with these schools, the fathers of the Mkhitarist Congregation in turn founded schools not only in Europe²⁶³, but also in Turkey, Russia, the Armenian colonies of the Middle East, India, and Brazil. The existence of Armenian schools was conditioned by the material donations of the people, owing to communities, unions, famous benefactors, whose names these institutions were often called. Textbooks were necessary for the normal functioning of these schools. In addition to textbooks in Armenian language, school manuals related to various subjects in Armeno-Turkish were created in order to ensure the education of Turkish-speaking children, to bring them closer to the Armenian Christian faith and to introduce them to Armenian culture.

The first printed book in Armeno-Turkish, the textbook "Way to the grammar of the Armenian language, written in the Turkish language", is the work authored by Mkhitar Sebastasi, the founder of the Mkhitarist Congregation, which was published in 1727 in Venice, at Antonio Bortoli's printing house²⁶⁴. Mkhitar Sebastasi's "Grammar" started Armenian secular education, trying to clean it from foreign words and distortions²⁶⁵.

260 Secular schools existed in Armenian reality as early as the 5th century. 1789 During the reign of Selim III, the Armenians under Turkish rule were officially allowed to have secular schools.

261 Extensive year-round of Holy Saviour's National Hospital. 1901, pp. 248-249, Constantinople

262 Arshak **Alboyajan**, History of the Armenian Caesar. Vol. A, Cairo, 1937, p. 1096.

263 The famous school of St. Lazarus Island in Venice, named after their patrons, Murad-Raphaelian, was founded in 1732. The Mkhitarists founded schools in Padua (1833), Venice (1836), and Paris (1846). Schools were established in the Armenian colonies of Central Europe: in Poland (in the second half of the 16th century), in Hungary, Romania and elsewhere. For those schools, we know the textbook "A Primer for the Boys of New Transylvania" printed in 1887 and published in St. Lazarus.

264 The name of Antonio Bortoli's printing house is associated with the work of Armenian book publishing in Venice, from 1696 to the end of the 18th century, particularly until the establishment of the printing house of the Mkhitarist Congregation on the island of S. Lazarus in 1788. Before that, the publications of the Mkhitarist Congregation were also printed in another printing house in Venice, the printing house of Demetrios Teodosru (Theodosyants). From 1623 to 1890, 50 Armenian books were published in Rome at the Urban Printing House, which was founded by Pope Urban VIII. They are mainly religious-denominational publications, linguistic, philosophical books and dictionaries.

265 Before Mkhitar Sebastasi's "Grammar", textbooks for teaching Armenian were published in Italy. Primers for foreigners were printed. In 1624 Francesco Rivolo's grammar of the Armenian language with a Latin explanation was published in Milan.

Later, in 1774, an Armenian grammar was published in three languages: Italian, Armenian and Turkish (Armeno-Turkish). The author is Atanas Merasyan, one of the Mkhitarist fathers of Venice, the translator of the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish editions of Robert Bellarmine's "Unique Christian Doctrine". In 1645 Catholic preacher Clement Galanos published his Armenian grammar, which served as an Armenian language textbook for students of the Urban Seminaries of Rome and Leleberg. Such interest in the Armenian language is explained by the development of Armenian trade relations, as well as by the interest of the Catholic Church in spreading propaganda activities among Armenians.

Atanas Merasyan's textbook "Concise grammar in real Italian, Armenian and Turkish languages" was published in the printing house of Demetrios Teodosru (Theodosyants) in Venice.

Alphabet books were published along with Turkish-Armenian dictionaries. In addition to textbooks and grammars of the Armenian language, the Mkhitarist fathers authored and published grammars of other languages in Armeno-Turkish. For example, Gabriel Avetikyan (1750-1827) wrote "Grammar of the Tuscan language" with an explanation in Armeno-Turkish. This 488-page grammar was published in 1792 in Venice by Antonio Bortoli's printing house. The Turkish (Armenian Turkish)-Armenian verse dictionary is the "Notebook Brief Dictionary" published in Nor-Nakhijevan in 1793 by Torosyan Poghos Turiketsu (Tivriketsi), a Constantinople-Armenian enlightener of the second half of the 18th century. The author taught at Scutar School together with patriarchs Hakob Nalyan and Zakaria Kaghzvantsi, Paghtasar Dpir. The dictionary intended for his students, the fact that it was in verse should facilitate the learning of both languages, was useful for use in other Turkish-speaking provinces as well.

With the efforts of Mkhitar Sebastasi's students, a brief grammar of French (248 pages) was compiled with an Armeno-Turkish translation and was published in 1816 at the Mkhitarist printing house in Vienna. In 1843-1844 the three-volume French grammar of Ghevond Hovnanyan, a member of the congregation, and later also a lecturer of Turkish at the Oriental Academy of Vienna, was published in Vienna²⁶⁶.

In the Armenian reality, a great role has been assigned to lexicography. The same traditions were continued with the inclusion of Armeno-Turkish version. In our opinion, more than 50 dictionaries and more than 10 colloquial dictionaries have been published using the Armeno-Turkish language. Most of them are unique to this day. The Venetian, Vienna and Trieste editions are considered the best and unique in this regard. Based on their content, they actually continued Mkhitar Abbot's work, the main goal of which was to spread enlightenment and education among the Armenian people and thereby provide service to his people. Both in the textbooks and in the dictionaries published by the Mkhitarists, Armeno-Turkish was always used alongside Armenian. It was taken into consideration that among the students of Mkhitarists, there were

266 Ghevond Hovnanyan (1817-1897) was the director of the printing house of the Mkhitarists in Vienna. He knew Greek, English, Italian, French, German. He is the author of many works, particularly philological studies.

always a significant number of those who came from the Turkish-speaking provinces. The fact that dictionaries are multilingual expanded the possibilities of intellectual and intellectual education. Such an approach testified to the wide range of interests of Armenian schools and Armenian enlighteners. These wonderful, even luxurious editions of dictionaries and textbooks can rightfully be considered fundamental works, because they have not lost their scientific and applied value and are of great historical and linguistic interest. These publications also testify to the high level of Armenian book publishing. In this regard, it is necessary to mention several dictionaries:

1. Manuel Jakhjakhyan (1770-1835), "Dictionary from Italian language to Armenian and Turkish dialect", Venice, S. Lazarus, 1804, 896 pages. It had a second printing in 1822.
2. Harutyun Avgeryan (1774-1854) - "Dictionary of the Gagghi language. An extensive dictionary of Gagghi-Armenian-Turkish" Two volumes, Venice, 1811, 739 pages²⁶⁷.
3. Hakob Pozachyan, "Concise dictionary of Armenian and Turkish for schoolchildren" Two volumes (530 and 1023 pages), Vienna, Mkhitarist printing house, 1838, Second printing: 1858.
4. Philipos Jamchyan (1818-1853), "A new dictionary of Italian, Gagghi, Armenian and Turkish languages". Vienna, 1846 1120 pages and
5. The same author's "Speaking book in Gagghi, English, Armenian, Turkish, German, Italian", Vienna, 1848, about 770 pages.

The three-volume trilingual (Venice, 1843, about 940 pages) and the quadrilingual dictionaries of **Srapion Eminyan** (1823-1854) (1853, Vienna, 1359 pages, second edition: 1871) and the philologist and Armenologist **Sukias Somalyan** (1776-1846) are quite well-known.

In 1883 in Vienna, another trilingual dictionary was published: Turkish-Armenian-Gagghi, along with a brief grammar of the Ottoman dialect. The author of this 956-page work is Ambrosios Kupelyan.

Publications of dictionaries, conversational dictionaries, grammars and primers continued in the following years in Turkey, Paris, Theodosia, Jerusalem, Boston, Beirut, Sofia, Cairo, Aintap and elsewhere²⁶⁸.

Mihran Abikian

Another famous author is Petros Zeki Karapetyan (1873-1937), a famous Ottomanist, lexicographer, teacher of the Turkish language. His "Big Ottoman-Armenian Dictionary" published in Constantinople in 1912 contains 50 thousand words and phrases. Many textbooks and dictionaries (in Armenian, Turkish and Ottoman) published by Mihran

²⁶⁷ Philologist, linguist, translator Harutyun Avgeryan was one of the fathers of the Mkhitarist Congregation. He hosted George Byron in St. Lazarus in 1816 and was his Armenian language teacher. Together they compiled an English-Armenian grammar. He knew more than 10 old and new languages. He is the author of a number of dictionaries, historical-philological studies, made translations.

²⁶⁸ For bibliographic details about these publications, see our bibliography of Armeno-Turkish books.

Abikyan and Petros Zeki Karapetyan had a great contribution to the development of the Turkish language and the enrichment of its vocabulary.

Petros Zeki Karapetyan

In 1897 Ahmet Mukhtar's "Usul Tetris Lisan" ("For Learning Armenian") was published, parts A-E of which are in Armenian Turkish. It was printed in the famous Chivelekyan printing house in Constantinople and contained 128 pages. At the same time, he published a 176-page Armenian Turkish-Armenian manual dictionary. Unfortunately, we do not have more information about these books. The author, **Ahmet Mukhtar** (1852-1907) was a teacher of Armenian at Constantinople Royal School. We can only assume that Ahmed Mukhtar, who translated the books on political economy and economics from German into Armenian Turkish for the newly formed Turkish technical educational institutions, had in mind the same students in these cases. With its Armeno-Turkish manual, it provided an opportunity to use books and manuals existing in the same language. It should not be considered surprising that at that time, along with many books and textbooks of famous Ottomanists Petros Zeki Karapetyan (author of 17 works) and Mihran Abikyan, a textbook of Armeno-Turkish was also authored by a Turkish specialist. Most likely, besides teaching at the Royal School, Mukhtar, who for some time was also one of the lecturers of the given educational institution, preferred to teach the Turkish students the Armeno-Turkish, in his opinion, the best option. This is also explained by the fact that a number of institutions excluded the participation of professors and students of Armenian nationality in the given educational center. It mainly concerned the training of military and related professions.

The textbooks published in Armeno-Turkish covered the most diverse subjects taught in schools. At the beginning of Armeno-Turkish printed literature, two main branches of educational literature could be distinguished: Constantinople and Mkhitarist. As we have tried to show, the Mkhitarists attached great importance to the problems of education and enlightenment along with their scientific activities.

The history of the Catholic Church and its ideologists was taught in the seminaries of the Mkhitarists along with the subjects of Armenian Studies. For this purpose, the congregations of St. Lazarus, Vienna published a whole series of religious and theological works in their printing houses. They translated and published the works of Catholic preachers of ancient and modern regions. Hagiographies of saints, prayer books, sermons, instructions, instructions, etc. were published. Along with these publications that served as school manuals, they also published books on geography, arithmetic, history, languages and other subjects necessary in the field of education.

Speaking about the Armenian Turkish educational literature published in Constantinople, in its early days it was conditioned by the activity of the School created by Patriarch Hovhannes Kolot which operated in the structure of the Patriarchate, where the patriarchs also taught, at first Hovhannes Kolot Baghisetsi himself. During the lifetime of the founder of the school, more than 80 books were published, which is proof of the broad educational and educational activity of Patriarch Hovhannes Kolot,

his struggle against the penetration of Catholicism. Being a very serious diplomat by nature and a person who takes non-extremist steps, Hovhannes Kolot considered the translation and printing of the works of Catholic ideologists in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish as a far-sighted step in the fight against Catholicism propaganda. It must be admitted that the majority of these publications were made in the Armenian language.

Hovhannes Kolot considered that it is not enough to know only the history of the Armenian Church and to be familiar with its ideology, to read only the works of the fathers of the Armenian Church, in order to strengthen the foundations of the apostolic faith in the Western Armenian reality, to develop the horizon of thought, and to raise the general level. According to the patriarch, in order to enlighten the people, it was necessary for him to learn about the ideology and philosophy of Western theologians. Only multifaceted development could strengthen the positions of the Armenian Church. It was necessary to fight against the propaganda of different churches and covenants with their own weapons, by translating and publishing their own works. In this respect, the views of Hovhannes Kolot and Mkhitar Sebastasi coincided. Both saw the salvation of the Armenian people in its enlightenment and mutual tolerance. It is not in vain that owing to the secret efforts of Hovhannes Kolot, Mkhitar Sebastasi was able to escape from the persecutions undertaken by the government of the Ottoman Empire and settle in Italy²⁶⁹.

Most of the translation works ordered by Hovhannes Kolot were done mainly by Constantinople based Armenian translator Archimandrite Ghukas Kharberdtsi²⁷⁰. The works of the following authors have been translated from Latin and Italian: Giacomo Voreggio, John Sandzemino, Hieronymus Lauretto Gervariesio, Alexander Kalamatto, Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, Paul Senieri, Theodorus Gennario de Velio, Helicus Theodona, Athanasius of Alexandria, Alopida, Guglielmo and Leonardo Pepini, Cornelius Cornelia, Marianos Moroni, Yakov Marcantios, Antonios Kovtin, Cyril of Alexandria and others. It is noteworthy that not only the teachers of the school were involved in the translation work, but also the students. This circumstance would serve the difficult task of preparing educated churchmen. The work started by Patriarch Hovhannes Kolot was successfully continued in the following years by his students, Armenian Church, representatives of cultural and scientific field, as well as public figures.

A successful pledge against the penetration of Catholicism into the Armenian reality could be not only the fundamental study of theology, but also the knowledge of foreign languages, mastering the art of rhetoric, being familiar with history, ethnography, and having ideas from other sciences. All this was laid on good foundations in the Mother School and the principles of this teaching were not only widely accepted and approved,

269 Even after settling in Venice, Mkhitar Sebastasi could not break his ties with the Constantinople-Armenian reality. It is partly owing to him and many letters addressed to him that it became possible to study the details of the Western Armenian reality of that era, many cases and events related to the Armenian Church. A certain part of the sources found in the studies published by the Constantinople-Armenian philologist Gevorg Bampukchyan dedicated to the patriarchs Hovhannes Kolot and Hakob Nalyan are the materials reflecting these connections.

270 Abrahamyan or Gasparyan Ghukas, Archimandrite of Kharberd (-1723). He was educated at the School of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, where he learnt Latin, Italian and other languages.

but also had followers during the organization of secular schools in Constantinople.

Hakob Nalyan succeeded Hovhannes Kolot on the Patriarchal Chair and continued the implementation of his ideas. Paghdasar Dpir was one of the inheritors of Kolot's ideas and activities²⁷¹. Some of their works were also intended for a certain period of school teaching. Since the Catholic propaganda literature, particularly by the Mkhitarists of Trieste and Vienna, was published in Armeno-Turkish, it was necessary to prove these same reading circles the opposite in the language they knew, in the Armeno-Turkish. Guided by this logic and pursuing this goal, Hakob Nalyan, Paghtasar Dpir, other bitter opponents of Catholic penetration in Armenian reality, Gevorg Mkhlayim, **Srmakesh Kesaryan-Karchik**, Poghos Adrianupolsetsi and others wrote their historical-theological works in Armeno-Turkish. Their works had many editions in Constantinople and Jerusalem. All these books have also served as textbooks in Armenian seminaries and secular schools for years. In order to make the material easy to learn, even verse forms were chosen for some textbooks and wordbooks, as in the case of the dictionaries authored by Paghtasar Dpir and Poghos Turiketsi Torosyan.

Naturally, there were a large number of religious textbooks. The 400-page editions of "The Prophet of Psalms" published many times in Constantinople since 1800 served educational purposes. Usually they were printed bilingually, in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish.

Many authors of textbooks were school teachers. Fascinating textbooks composed of questions and answers dedicated to geography have been published. They are mainly colored maps related to physical geography with questions and answers about Asia, Africa, Europe and America. Brief geography textbooks for schoolchildren have been created for different age groups, as well as elementary geography illustrated textbooks for children. Manuals for translations, entertaining alphabets, Sunday school textbooks, admission exam programs and question papers, etc., have had numerous and annual printings. For the general development of the students, letters in different languages were published in imitation of the European one. Letters in Armenian, Armenian Turkish and Ottoman were designed with letters providing a rich choice for different situations of life, which sometimes represented 280 pages. Reading textbooks have been published. This was applied not only to the poems of Armenian history and literature, but also to Eastern ones, particularly Turkish (Ottoman)²⁷² and European ones, because they were part of the school programs of Armenian schools. Collections of selected stories²⁷³ and essay manuals for students of different grades have been compiled for this

271 Hakob Nalyan and Paghtasar Dpir, see their works in the first chapter of the study.

272 In 1900, the book "Ottoman Prosody" by Stepan Kurtikyan, a major specialist in Ottoman classical literature, was published. The rhymes are in Ottoman, and the pronunciation is in Armeno-Turkish, with an Armenian explanation. Miratun Nikiyat is the author of the Arabic and Persian parts. Stepan Kurtikyan's textbooks and researches dedicated to the study of Ottoman literature occupy a certain place in Armeno-Turkish book publishing, and at one time had great prestige.

273 Mualim Nachi, The beginning of Ottoman bibliography. The translation was made by Petros Zeki Karapetyan (with Armeno-Turkish and Arabic vocabulary). Petros Zeki Karapetyan translated from Armenian into Turkish and published excerpts from Fenelon's "Telemachus" in 1894, which also served the aforementioned purposes.

purpose. Rules of politeness and negotiation have been published to support education in the field of ethics. Textbooks for Sunday schools have been published many times and revised every year. They mostly had the same title, for example, "Sunday School Lessons for 1870." They were printed, as a rule, one year in advance, for the next year. For the same Sunday schools, special manuals and textbooks were published to support Sunday school teachers. While using the previous editions, new religious textbooks, Christian instructions for schoolchildren were naturally published. School life has successfully found its expression in the press of the time. Karapet Panosyan brought the liberal spirit of education to his Agapian girls' secondary school (1869-1875), which had a revolutionary significance in his time. It had become one of the daily discussion materials of the periodicals he edited.

The development of school work in the Ottoman Empire from the middle of the 19th century is also closely connected with the activity of missionary covenants among Christian peoples. The Armenian and Armeno-Turkish press of the time, the books dedicated to the history and life of different Armenian-inhabited provinces, the fate of Armenians in those places, publications of patriotic associations contain rich materials about the activity of missionary covenants in the Armenian reality. The latter were published in the decades following the Great Genocide, in the period following the founding of Armenian national organizations in various places around the world. The authors of the books often dedicated entire chapters to the penetration and establishment of Catholic and evangelical missionaries in their provinces and cities, their activities and their relations with the Armenian population.

In the Western Armenian reality, preachers of various covenants have been active: Jesuits, Capucins, Dominicans, Franciscans, Lazarists, Carmelites, Unitarians and various evangelical organizations. These issues became a special subject of study and were widely covered in the works of Anatoly Jeltyakov and Yuri Petrosyan, two outstanding orientalist Turkologists of the Soviet period from St. Petersburg University and the Institute of Oriental Studies.

The Jesuits penetrated the Ottoman Empire under French patronage in 1538. The activities of this covenant were aimed at the spread of French influence in the empire and among its Christian subjects²⁷⁴.

Even during the time of Louis XIII, in order to develop French trade, the activities of Armenian merchants were encouraged by a special royal order, and the residence of Armenians in France was allowed. By the order of June 26, 1630, giving facilities to Armenian merchants and exempting them from customs duties, Cardinal Richelieu republished Francesco Rivoli's Armenian-Latin dictionary in Paris in 1633, the first

274 In 1583, the Pope of Rome, with the intervention of the French ambassador in Constantinople, founded the Jesuit college "Saint Benoit" in the rich district of Pera, which continues to this day. About this, see: Alboyadjian Arshak. History of Eudocia Armenians. Cairo, 1952, p. 850. In 1625, the "Saint-Louis" College of the Capuchin Order was organized with the efforts of Richelieu Joseph de Gramble, adviser of the French representation in Constantinople. On the eve of the First World War, more than 100,000 children studied in schools belonging to various Catholic denominations. A. D. Jeltyakov, Yu.A. Petrosyan. History of Education in Turkey / late 19th - early 20th centuries /,-M., 1965, p. 131-132.

edition of which was in Milan in 1621. And here, in 1669, in the Pera district of Constantinople, by the order of Louis XIV, the "school of young linguists or Armenians" - "Ecole des jeunes des langues ou Armeniens" - was founded by French Prime Minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert²⁷⁵. The management of the school was entrusted to the clergy of the Capuchin Order, and it was sponsored by the French ambassador to Constantinople. The purpose of this school was to train translators. French students studied Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages, while students from the East studied French, Greek, Italian, Spanish, and Latin. In addition to language subjects, history, geography, natural science, medicine, algebra, drawing, geometry were taught in this school. Along with those subjects, the students got acquainted with the basics of jurisprudence, the laws of commercial relations, because the translators were present and participated in the trials, even performing the duties of a lawyer. Education in this school was free.

In 1700-1720, a similar school was opened in Paris, next to the "Grand College"²⁷⁶. Mostly Armenians were admitted to college in order to prepare translators and/or to use them as missionary preachers²⁷⁷. Not without following the example of this school, a similar school was later opened in Paris in 1855 with the efforts of the Turkish government and was named "Ottoman School" (Mekteb-i Osmani), where 10 Turks studied. In 1864, the first language-oriented school (Lisan Mekteb-i) was opened in Constantinople, where state translators were trained with knowledge of French, Greek and Bulgarian languages²⁷⁸.

The French government was making extreme efforts to secure its economic advantages in Turkey. Before settling here, many of the missionaries traveled in the East, getting to know the life, lifestyle, and customs of the peoples of the Ottoman Empire²⁷⁹.

Unlike the Jews, the Christian peoples showed great readiness in following them. Only the Jews were openly hostile to the missionaries, and the missionary activity in the Jewish region suffered a permanent failure.

On May 10, 1830, the first Turkish-American treaty was signed in Constantinople, which was an important milestone in the revitalization of the American aggressive policy in the Ottoman Empire²⁸⁰. As already mentioned, the American Protestant "Board" representation (Board of Commissioners for Foreign) represented the Congregational, Reformed and Presbyterian churches.

275 Arshak **Alboyajean**. History of the Armenian School, Cairo, 1947, p. 565.

276 Ibid

277 At the beginning of the 17th century, Rome and France paid great attention to Armenians during the training of Catholic missionaries. Armenians studied at the Urban Seminary in Rome and were sent to work in Catholic schools in Constantinople, Nakhichevan, and Turkey. About this, see: Arshak **Alboyajean**. History of the Armenian School, Cairo, 1947, pp. 583-600.

278 A. D. Jeltyakov, Yu.A. Petrosyan. History of Education in Turkey / late 19th - early 20th centuries /, M., 1965, p. 29.

279 After traveling through the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, two American missionaries in 1830. published their impressions. Missionary Researches in Armenia. By Eli Smith and H. G.O. Dwight, London, 1834. The English military officer's memoir On Horsebeck Trough Asia Minor is written in the same style. By Captain Fred Burnaby, London, 1877.

280 Gordon L.I. American Relations with Turkey. 1830-1930. Philadelphia, 1932, p.11.

The activity of American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire began as early as 1820, and a year later a college was founded in Smyrna²⁸¹. The first Protestant church in Constantinople was opened in 1836. In 1846, the "Hamazkayin" union was established by Armenian intellectual circles in Constantinople. It included well-known Western Armenian progressive figures. The union had a strongly expressed anti-Catholic and anti-missionary orientation. Despite this, the union attracted Catholic Armenian intellectuals, public figures, for whom universal national interests were preferable to religious belief.

The goal of the "National" Union was to fight against the divisive policies of the missionaries. In some provinces, both Armenian and foreign missionaries managed to establish themselves with great difficulty. The Armenian intelligentsia, the church, the people stood up against the divisive missionary activity. Patriarch Mattheos of Constantinople forced the Catholic and Protestant missionaries and their neighboring Armenians into exile by the members of the Armenian community. They were accused of harassing the Armenian Church and school. In many provinces, the people not only did not support, but in every way hindered the activities of preachers and their arguments. Sometimes the case came to obvious conflicts.

It should not be considered surprising that the Turkish government supported the representation of "Bort" in every possible way and encouraged the protestant propagandists. By sowing division, the Turkish government was thereby depriving the Armenian people of the opportunity to join the national liberation struggle with united forces. The struggle against the missionaries diverted the attention of the Armenian people to religious issues. At the same time, the Sublime Porte did not want to aggravate the relations with the states sponsoring the missionaries, because it had to reckon with them. Catholic and Protestant missionaries were officially allowed by the Sublime Porte to work among the Armenians. Taking advantage of this, Pope Pius IX immediately established Catholic dioceses in Ankara, Arvin, Bursa and other cities²⁸².

The enormous financial opportunities of the missionaries, the deteriorating socio-economic conditions of the Armenian people, gradually increased the number of Armenians who were close to Catholicism. The missionaries started educational activities with great enthusiasm. As noted by **Andranik Poladyan**, the author of the book "History of Arabkir Armenians", missionary and educational activities were carried out in parallel²⁸³.

The missionaries founded secondary and higher schools, boarding schools, orphanages, nursing homes, hospitals, printing houses, and cultural associations. All this greatly promoted the Enlightenment movement. Missionary activity was at different levels in different provinces. Among the educational institutions, the "Robert College" founded by the American missionary Cyrus Hamlin in Constantinople in 1863, the Central College of Aintap (1876), the "Euphrates College" opened in Kharberd (1879), the College of Smyrna (1879), the College of Tarsus (1887), Marzvan "Anatolia" College (1887) and others were largely recognized.

281 Alboyajian Arshak. History of the Armenian School, Cairo, 1947, p. 892.

282 Poladyan A., History of Armenians of Arabkir, New York, 1969, p. 515.

283 And, page 515.

In 1896, there were 176 American missionaries in Turkey. 56 of them were ordained pastors, 68 were unmarried preachers-teachers. They had 869 local agents. There were 19 main stations²⁸⁴.

In 1862, 60 teachers taught in Aintap Sunday School founded by Dr. **Azariah Smith**. The number of students was 1268. The age of the students was from 16 to 80. The girls' school, which was founded in 1852 by Miss **Schneider**, in 1859 it had already been transformed into a female high school.

Plays translated from Armenian into Turkish were staged in the halls of the National Inner Sessions College in Aintap, such as "Alafranca", "Kiuliunea", "Esther Sultan", "The Secret of the Indians" (X. de Montepin). 1872 decorated with national Armenian coats of arms and pictures of historical figures, the 500-person hall of the Nersesian Academy successfully staged the play written in Armeno-Turkish **Hovhannes Kyurkjianoff** (1824-1883) "The Damages of Drinking", which was also attended by Turkish officials. In 1872-73, performances of the same play continued in the Rubinian Youth Union. Armenians of Aintap owe this union for the exemplary organization of national and educational life. In Aintap, performances in Turkish were staged in the Casino, and "Geneva" was staged in 1925 by the "Andranik" theater troupe²⁸⁵.

In 1860, the American Myra Prakter organized an American higher educational institution for girls. Later, the successor of this high school in Aintap was the American high school for girls founded in Aleppo²⁸⁶.

It must be admitted that together with the establishment of Armenian schools in Turkish-speaking provinces, the missionary schools had a noticeable contribution to the spread of the Armenian language and to the introduction of Turkish-speaking Armenians to their mother tongue. There is another very important circumstance. That is, students were not forced to become Protestants. Therefore, the children of the families practicing the apostolic religion also studied in these evangelical schools.

Many gifted Armenian graduates were sent to American and English universities to receive higher education. Many of the young Armenians were educated at Yale, Massachusetts, Andover universities, American theological colleges, and Saley-Oak College in England. The preachers of various missions were themselves graduates of those universities and theological institutions. After graduation, they were sent to Middle East, Turkey for preaching activities. Those preachers were former students of Michigan, Cornell universities, former graduates of Sorbonne and the universities of Milan, Leipzig and Strasbourg.

The period of study in American missionary schools was generally 10 years. Great importance was attached to knowledge of languages and history. Along with the teaching of English, French, and Turkish, writing was also included in the educational program.

284 On July 24, 1899, Pope Leo 13 anointed Emmanuel Poghos as the patriarch of the Catholics of Constantinople. Emmanuelyan is the author of a brief theology in Armenian and Turkish and works devoted to church ritual, which were published in Constantinople as early as 1880.

285 About this, see: G. Pogharian, Aintapakank, page 101.

286 Sarafian Gevorg, History of the Armenians of Aintap, Vol. A, Los Angeles, 1953, pp. 493-504.

Among historical subjects, they passed: the history of bibliography, history of art, history of Armenia, comparative history, as well as history of ancient languages in English. Among the taught histories were the histories of Greece, Rome, the middle ages, and the history of the new period. The history of Turkey was taught in Turkish. The educational process itself was mainly in English language. Geography, astronomy, botany, chemistry, biology, anthropology, zoology, jurisprudence (6 years) were usually taught in English²⁸⁷.

Religious subjects were taught in Armenian and English languages. Eight years were allocated for arithmetic. Only in the first grade it was in Armenian, then the teaching continued in English. In the school curriculum, trigonometry, accounting, calendar studies were taught in the Armenian language. The program included political economy and cosmology. Special attention was paid to painting, drawing, music, singing, and physical education. That is why these subjects took 10 years. The main advantage of these schools was that, unlike national schools, the teaching of foreign languages was at a very good level. Over time, the schools founded by some Protestant missionaries gradually lost their initial American preaching character and became real centers of enlightenment²⁸⁸.

Along with textbooks in English and Armenian, an important place was also given to textbooks in Armeno-Turkish. They could be both independent work and translation manuals. Among the translation textbooks, it is possible to mention the editions of the printing house "American Humanitarian Society" on the island of Malta, the printing houses of the Protestant missionaries of Smyrna, Aintap and Constantinople. All of them were mostly works of a moral character, stories with didactic plots intended for extracurricular reading. Among those books were the works of the famous American missionary **William Goodell**²⁸⁹, whom "Bort" had sent on a special mission to Beirut and Turkey in 1823, only to carry out propaganda activities among the Armenians.

Protestant missionary publications form a large number in the last five decades of Armeno-Turkish literature, starting from the last decades of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. They represent the different directions of the Protestant Church, the works of the ideologists and representatives of those directions in Armeno-Turkish. The books of English theologian, neoconformist **Spurgeon Charles Haddon** (1834-1892), American evangelist **Torrey Reuben Archer** (1856-1928), American school teacher for the deaf **Calodette Thomas Hopkins** (1787 - 18..), English patent medicine merchant, philanthropist **Holloway Thomas** (1800-1883), Irish historian **McNeil John Swift** (1849-1926), English Methodist theologian **Wesley John** (1703-1791), American theologian **Jonathan Edwards** (1703-1758), American evangelical "new size" theologian and College Finney President **Charles Grandison** (1793-1875), Dutch poet preacher **Bochars**, Franciscan religious-historian **Father Sabbatino** are

287 Perhaps this circumstance is the reason why the missionaries did not publish textbooks in Armeno-Turkish on these subjects.

288 Arakel Patrick, *The History of the Armenians of Sebastia, Beirut*, 1974, v. A, pp. 539, 545.

289 W. Goodel's sermons on the Bible (268 pages) were published in 1864 and 1903.

worth mentioning²⁹⁰. Among the books published by evangelicals are the works of the well-known public figure, Dr. **Henry Van Linnep**, **John Green**, licensee and editor of the religious "Avetaber"²⁹¹ weekly newspaper published in Armeno-Turkish in Constantinople, Dr. **Tropridge**, the first president of Aintap College **Merrill John Isabelle**, the books of the tutors of the same college, Dr. **Jesse Martin**, **Elias Ricks**, the nurse **Valis Kebton**, a famous Greek preacher, the editor of the Armeno-Turkish "Hagigat" spiritual journal (Aintap, 1914-1915) **Khalarampos Postancioglu**²⁹².

We learn about a churchman, born in Galicia and educated in a Franciscan monastery **H. Emmanuel Carchia Bartua** (1861-1924) from Teotig's famous work "The Calendar". He was sent to the Catholic monastery of Marash to work for three years. He learned Turkish and translated and published a number of religious books into Armeno-Turkish. He participated in the battles of Zeytun in 1895 and 1909 and saved the lives of thousands of Armenians. In 1920, he opened the Adana Orphanage. After the depopulation of Cilicia, he moved to Iskenderun and lived there with his orphans for the rest of his life²⁹³.

Armeno-Turkish textbooks were mainly printed in the established stations of Protestant preachers, in Constantinople, Beirut, Aleppo, Aintap, Smyrna, Vienna, American printing houses of the "Bible Distribution Society".

By 1900, 7 million books worth 10 million dollars were distributed by American missionaries²⁹⁴.

In the middle of the 19th century and in the 20th century, Armenian authors began to predominate among the authors of the Protestant propaganda Armenian literature. All of them were young Armenians who were once sent to study in American universities, and returning to the Armenian reality, they repaid the American "debt" with their activities. As evidence, let us present to your attention the teaching staff of the famous "College" of Aintap. It is Prof. **Zenob Pezchyan** (1862 -), the son of Aleksan Pezchyan. He studied law in Paris for three years. Taught French, historical subjects and political economy. He wrote the history of "Golechi" and other booklets. He was called "ethnarch". Prof. **Jesse Matosyan** studied for 4 years at Massachusetts State Pedagogical Institution and 4 years at Yale. He taught English, pedagogy, psychology. He is among the victims of the Armenian Genocide.

Manase Papazyan (1865-1943) studied at the theological faculties of Yale and Endhover in 1886-1889. He was ordained pastor in the Massachusetts Congregational Church. In 1892-1907 he was one of the leaders of the Aintap College revival, and from 1907 he pastored in New York, Fresno, Oakland, Pasadena. He traveled around the USA with pro-Armenian speeches for a year at the expense of East Rilf.

290 Padre Sabbatino is remembered as a pro-Armenian preacher of Aintap, who saved the lives of many Armenians during the pogroms of 1895 and 1909. He died in Aleppo in 1934.

291 "Avetaber", Constantinople, 1872-1911. Organ of Armenian Protestants, published in Armeno-Turkish by the American Protestant Missionaries. J. Green was the copyright editor-in-chief.

292 Kharalampos Postancioglu was sentenced to death as an Armenian revolutionary and hanged in 1915 in Marash. He has published about two dozen large and small propaganda books in Armeno-Turkish.

293 Teodik, "The Calendar" 1926, page 735.

294 Kırsehiroğlu E. *Turkiyede Misyoner Faaliyetleri*. İst. 1964.

Prof. **Hovhannes Grigoryan** (1855-1942) was a famous Armenian Protestant preacher and publicist. He is the son of the famous reverend **Gara Grigori**, who has authority among Armenian evangelicals. He was educated first at Amherst College, then at Yale College and various American higher educational institutions. He received the title of "Crown Theology" from the University of Yale. Returning to Aintap, he taught psychology and philosophy at "Central Turkey College". In 1898 he returned to Yale to study psychology. In 1902, he was assigned to the "Avetaber" editorial office. He was the founder-licensee of the religious, moral, scientific and political "Rahniuma" (Leader) weekly newspaper in Armeno-Turkish in Constantinople, which later turned into a semi-monthly journal. Only in Constantinople he had 3 thousand paid regular subscribers. In 1919, it moved to the United States of America, where the periodical continued to be published in New York in 1924-1934. Being a steady evangelical, he has always been a supporter of having close relations with the Armenian Apostolic Church and cooperating with them in public life. He is the author of about two dozen Armeno-Turkish books on morality. His main literary and public speaking heritage is found in the pages of "Avetaber" and "Rahniuma" for decades.

Prof. **Sargis Levonyan** (1851-1909) was one of the professors of mathematics, botany and zoology in College. He received his BA degree from Yale University, USA. He studied at the Faculty of Biology in Basel, Switzerland. He authored a number of books in Armeno-Turkish, articles in the pages of "Avetaber". He was killed along with his friends in Osmaniye, on April 15, 1909, during the events of Adana. He was an eloquent orator, a great teacher.

Hakob Bilbulyan (1859-1912) was the pastor of Aintap. He graduated from "Phillips" Academy, was a graduate of Massachusetts, Bachelor of Theology from Endover. In 1883 he immigrated to America. In 1906-1911, he traveled around the villages of Aintap as a preacher. He is the author of a collection of sermons (272 pages), which was published in 1913 in Constantinople²⁹⁵.

Hovhannes Smmikyan, who was one of the graduates of Aintap College, held the positions of director in schools in Adana, Tarson, and Mersin. In 1911, he published "Atana", a three-day weekly newspaper in Armeno-Turkish, in Adana.

This list can be continued endlessly. "College" in Aintap had its own printing house, which was founded in 1880 and was inactive during the Hamidian tyranny. After the proclamation of the Constitution, it started working in the building of "Golech" founded by the Americans. The patentee was the Armenian lecturer **Nshan Paleozyan** (1872-1923). Here, in 1909-1913, the 16-page spiritual journal "Yeni Eomr" (New Life) was published in Armeno-Turkish, and the two-day religious tract "Rahniuma-Rahvira" (Guide Torchbearer) was published in 1919 in the Armeno-Turkish and Ottoman languages. About 12 books have been published. Bulletins were published in Armenian, Turkish, Ottoman and English languages. The printing press, which was brought from America in 1876, operated until the deportation in 1925, then it was

295 All the books authored and translated by the teaching staff of Aintap "College" were published exclusively in Armeno-Turkish.

moved to Aleppo and during the 10 years of its existence, **Tigran Khrlobyan** published the "Nor Avetaber" weekly newspaper in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish, as well as a number of books in Armeno-Turkish. In 1935 it was closed and given to foreigners²⁹⁶.

Another printing house has been operating in Aintap since 1911, "Commercial Printing House". It was created in 1909 by the former students of Vardanyan Academy, attached to the trading cooperative company "Avetis Khanzetyan and Co." In addition to printing books in Armenian, Armeno-Turkish, French and a small amount in Ottoman, orders for gilded, luxurious invitations, cards, announcements and various other orders were made.

The educational activities of American evangelicals, textbooks and publishing traditions in general were transferred to the neighboring countries of the Middle East after the First World War, where Armeno-Turkish publications were the main part of their work.

Armeno-Turkish "Manzumei Efkiare", "Djeride-i Shargiye", "Medjmua-i Havadis", "Avetaber", "Tsiatsan", "Kyciuk Mimin" and other periodicals have widely covered the educational problems of the Armenians in Turkey, issues related to pedagogy, organization, and the psychology of education. Some periodicals, with daily news and various articles under the special sections "Educational Life" familiarized the readers not only with the successes of the school year in big cities, but also with the various existing problems of provincial schools²⁹⁷. In addition to daily newspapers, other weekly newspapers, journals, and annuals in Armeno-Turkish also had similar sections. Special Armeno-Turkish journals were published for children: it proves that the problems of upbringing and school education in general were of interest to everyone and were in the center of attention of all classes of the Western Armenian reality. This issue was also reflected in the "National Constitution of Armenians" of 1863. The fact that the non-Muslim population of the empire, despite constant political persecution, achieved great success in the educational arena than the Turks was noticed even by contemporaries. This circumstance also occupied the scientists of the Soviet period studying the issues of Turkish enlightenment²⁹⁸.

According to the data of the "Kochnak of Armenia" weekly newspaper, on the eve of the First World War, 2,000 Armenian schools were operating in the territory of the Ottoman Empire²⁹⁹.

296 G. Pogharian, Aintapakank, Beirut, 1974, pp. 19-73.

297 Armenian newspapers (published in Armeno-Turkish) had their correspondents in all provinces of Western Armenia. Some editors and reporters were not only patrons of this or that school, but also taught in those schools. For that reason, sometimes the given periodical became the propagandist of spreading the pedagogical ideas and experience of that educational institution. Various school events were regularly covered in the press pages. In this regard, the example of the Armenian "Manzumei Efkiare" long-lived Armenian periodical in Turkish, its editor, famous public and cultural figure, translator Karapet Panosyan, and Agapian girls' school sponsored by him, which occupied the newspaper's pages for years, can be typical.

298 A. D. Jeltyakov, Yu.A. Petrosyan. History of Education in Turkey / late 19th century - early 20th century /, M., 1965

299 "Kochnak of Armenia" was published in 1900-1968, first in Boston, then in New York from 1909. It used to be a political, economic, literary, artistic weekly and since 1960 it has become a monthly. See: N

In order to organize the Turkification of the Armenian schools, in 1913 the Young Turk governing districts canceled the previously approved programs and brought the Armenian schools under the control of the Ministry of Enlightenment. In 1915, the Young Turk government forbade the opening of any foreign school without special permission.

After the victory of the national bourgeois revolution of 1918-1923, the activities of foreign schools abolished during the empire were restored in Turkey. However, the previous privileges and rules given to foreign missionaries and the schools they organized were not restored³⁰⁰.

By the end of the First World War, even missionary publishing in the Middle East was in decline. Such an unfriendly attitude towards the activities of the missionaries by the Turkish Ministry of Enlightenment was mainly due to the truly human and honest activities of many, many missionaries during the 1915 Great Revolt. Missionaries helped save thousands of Armenians, particularly children and orphans.

At the beginning of the century, the government tightens the censorship of Armenian schools and textbooks. The educational literature of Armenian schools was mainly missionary publications. Since the 20s, those printing centers have been moving to Beirut, Aleppo and Damascus.

25, Volume 31, 1931. June 20, page 810, New York. See also about this in Danielyan R. Enlightenment in Turkey 1923-1960. Yerevan, 1971, p. 20.

300 A. D. Jeltyakov, Yu.A. Petrosyan. History of Education in Turkey / late 19th century - early 20th century /, M., 1965, p. 147

CHAPTER 7

POPULAR SCIENCE LITERATURE

Armeno-Turkish printed literature expressed the most diverse aspects of the life in the Ottoman Empire. A certain part of educational literature can also be presented as scientific literature³⁰¹. For example, works dedicated to microbiology can really be viewed as publications of scientific research³⁰². The author of one of the published studies, which is the expression of this newly developing field of science in the Ottoman Empire, is **Nazareth Taghavaryan**. He is the author of 15 works dedicated to biology, medicine, physics, astronomy, chemistry. He has collaborated with many people, engaged in scientific publications. In 1885 Nazaret Taghavaryan founded in Constantinople the journal "Scientific Movement". The illustrated study dedicated to microbiology (168 pages) was published in Armeno-Turkish under the name of N. Taghavar in 1898 in Constantinople. It is a translation from Armenian. The translator is **Hovhannes Voskryan**.

The formation of bourgeois relations in the Ottoman Empire made new demands on the readers, including, of course, the Western Armenians. The German Otto Hurler's "City/Urban Economy" is published in 1869. The translation from German to plain Turkish, as stated on the title page, was done by Mehmed Midhat. This book was printed in Constantinople by P. Hughes printing house. In our opinion, this book served as a textbook for a Turkish educational institution, and the translation of such a subject into Ottoman, let alone its comprehension in Ottoman, would be impossible. The best option was chosen to make it affordable: the language was simple Turkish, and the essay was written in Armeno-Turkish, which was already familiar to many.

Later, in 1908, a textbook on economics was published, most likely translated by the same Mehmed Midhat, which served the same purpose. In 1870, the 220-page book "Information Book on Trade" by Chervat Raphael was published, the fact of its importance as a reference manual for its contemporaries is really beyond doubt.

Mkrtich Jezairlian Amira started the silk industry in the Ottoman Empire and engaged in silk weaving. He fought for the development of sericulture and silk industry in Turkey. He opened factories in several provinces and, as a progressive person, he

301 This literature really represents an important part of the scientific life of Turkey.

302 Nazareth Taghavaryan (Taghavar, 1868-1915) received his professional education in France. First, he specialized in agriculture, then in medicine and microbiology at the Pasteur Institute in Paris. In that world-famous institution, Taghavaryan was awarded the title of Doctor of Medicine. He wrote scientific works on medicine, biology (15 works), Darwinism, relying on the most recent scientific discoveries of the time. In the "Scientific Movement" journal, he dedicated a series of articles to the Pastor, Milne Edwards. In 1902 in Paris, he was awarded the title of "Officier d'Academie" by the French government, and in 1910, he received the "Mérite agricole" medal.

wanted to put all this on scientific foundations. Since 1874, he has published guide books in Armeno-Turkish almost every year. Naturally, explanations in simple Turkish were more beneficial in the provinces, because not only Armenians worked in those factories. In 1858, a "textbook" on cotton cultivation was published in Constantinople, which is a proof of the interest of Armenians in the development of this branch of agriculture as well as cotton farming. These books were in great demand. The books on poultry breeding, particularly chicken breeding (about 160-page editions), volumes on animals can be considered as proof of a new type of economic relationship (all of them almost in the same period, starting from the 1870s). Naturally, for the economy of a country like Turkey, mining research was an important field. Books related to minerals, agriculture, animal husbandry, veterinary medicine³⁰³ are published in the Armeno-Turkish language, which cannot be considered narrow publications, serving only the interests of the Armenian nation.

It is known that among many fields of culture in Turkey, the creation and development of one or another branch of different fields is associated with Armenians. It is a characteristic fact that these people did not limit themselves to only practical activities and tried to make it the property of everyone through various books and publications, to interest the various peoples of the empire. For these purposes, literature in Armeno-Turkish served best. In 1866, the "Photographic Journal" authored by **Sargis Ter-Torosyan**³⁰⁴ was published, and in 1857 and 1858, Hovsep Vardan Pasha (Vardanyan) translated and published a booklet on the use of electric telegraph from French. These and other publications had a goal first of all at introducing the Armenian people to the innovations and successes of science and technology of the West. By publishing in Armeno-Turkish, the range of usefulness of all this was immediately multiplied for the benefit of the other Turkish-speaking nations of the empire, whose use of Armeno-Turkish literature became a legitimate phenomenon.

Hundreds of Armenian doctors and lawyers who were educated in European countries, France, Switzerland, Germany and elsewhere, worked in Constantinople. Many books devoted to various fields of medical science have been published in Armeno-Turkish: independent studies and translation studies, guides, newsletters.

303 "The Gardener: for those, who grow vegetables: an illustrated edition in Armenian, Turkish, French and Italian" compiled by the Manuk Archimandrite Kajuni, which consists of 306 pages, was published in S. Lazarus in 1899. Hakob Khudaverdyan (1883-1925), a well-known flower and plant breeder of Constantinople, journalist of "Resimli Zeraat Gazetas" (Constantinople, 1906) agricultural illustrated newspaper in Armenian, author of many Armeno-Turkish articles on flower cultivation. The specialist who participated in international exhibitions and turned Mukhtar Pasha's gardens and greenhouses into a paradise was educated at the Van-Hout institution in Belgium.

Nshan Galfayan (1865-) was one of the famous figures in this field. Educated in France, Honorary Member of the Japan Domestic Silk Moth Breeding Society, Director of Izmir, Prusa, then Constantinople Colleges, Assistant Director of the Scientific Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, whose articles were published in France, Tokyo. Together with Haykazun Pekeyan, he published "Resimli zeraat gazetas" in Armeno-Turkish agricultural illustrated newspaper in Constantinople in 1906.

304 On the occasion of the publication of Engin Chizgen's book dedicated to the photography of the Ottoman period, Bampukchyan's article was published, where the rare photographs taken by some of the Armenian founders of this sphere in Turkey were published. See: "Tarih ve Toplum" 1987, Ist., aralık, s. 27-29.

Their diversity also shows the outline of the development of medical science in Turkey. A whole series of books on the hygiene of adolescent boys and girls has been published³⁰⁵. Naturally, it was intended for Armenian schoolchildren, supplemented their daily life with modern health care, provided consulting for various cases. A series of medical books included basic information on diseases and their diagnosis and treatment, manuals for mothers, publications on anatomy, dentistry, health care and general hygiene. Even the titles of these books aroused interest and hope. For example, the title of the book published by **Ogsen Urfalyan** (1914) was "Pneumonia is curable". Or, the book published in 1890 is called: "Dr. Koch's Mission, The Cure of Pneumonia, Preliminary or Original Testimonies." It was translated from German by a certain Zinker, from which **Barsegh Keyiyan** translated the booklet into Armeno-Turkish. "Vaccination or the first remedy for smallpox disease" was also published by Armenian doctors in Constantinople in 1869. There is no doubt about the need for dictionaries of medical terms and drug names, which could serve families of different nations at the same time and, of course, first of all, doctors and medical institutions. In this regard, **Mikael Reste Ter-Petrosyan's** "Medicine: A dictionary of various diseases, medicines, plants, minerals, liquids, air, land and water animals, as well as the names of some of them with meanings in Latin, Italian, Gagghi, English, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Armenian vocabulary, along with an Armenian dialectic explanation" (1822) two-volume (542 pages) voluminous work, which seems to be a continuation of the powerful traditions created by Armenian medical leaders back in the Middle Ages. It was published by the Mkhitarists of St. Lazarus, known for the best traditions of lexicography, and republished in 1825. In 1858 "Natural History" published in Vienna is a 570-page comprehensive dictionary of the names of animals, plants, and minerals, published in five languages. In Constantinople, the publications of medical centers were periodical. We are sure that having Armenian chairmen in the management of the Ottoman Medical Society for many years was an important circumstance.

A whole series of medical books have been published about the harm caused by alcohol. Important works of foreign doctors at the time were also published in Armeno-Turkish, such as the 1893 book "The Science of Medicine" by **Nikoghayos Gh. Vagalopoulos**. In the same 1893, **Dimitri Cholakitits'** "Greek-Armenian-Turkish" colloquial dictionary was published.

Only the list of scientific and accessible books published in Armeno-Turkish is enough to prove the fact of progressive developments in the Ottoman Empire, especially among the Armenians, which was the result of the penetration of European progress and the establishment of bourgeois relations. The new socio-economic relations demanded to bring up new approaches in terms of science, technology and economy in the country.

A number of publications in Armeno-Turkish are books that give an idea of the life and

305 In this regard, the several booklets of Armenak Haykun dedicated to the health care of young people, published in the 1900s, are significant.

daily life of Armenians, Turks and other peoples. The books of Armenian cooks had a wide range of readers and enjoyed great success, where not only recipes of Armenian, Byzantine, Eastern cuisine, but also European cuisine were presented. These books have been constantly reprinted, always with new additions. Songbooks, dream books, fortune-telling books have become very popular. Among the necessary and periodic publications were calendars, yearbooks, which contained also translations from different languages. "*Kazamiya*", *Salnames*, *Mevsimnames*, *Ruznames* and similar calendars translated from Italian were abundantly printed in Constantinople, and then in Aleppo. Even in famous Constantinople-Armenian publications in Armenian, such as the annuary of Teodik, St. Savior National Hospital, "Gavroche" published small materials in Armeno-Turkish where pages of sarcastic words, jokes and admonitions in Armeno-Turkish were printed. This kind of literature served not only Armenians, but was also accessible to the most diverse classes of different peoples. Of interest is the French-Armenian two-volume guide book for traveling students published in Paris in 1859, the author of which was the writer Reverend **Khoren Galfayan Nar Bei** (1831-1892), who in those years served at the Murad College of the Mkhitarists in Paris. His extensive Turkish-Armenian dictionary was published in Constantinople in 1892 with 670 pages. This publication documents the extreme habit of Armenian youth to study in European countries. In the Western Armenian reality, the aspirations to get the best, advanced education became a vital issue not only among famous and rich families. Many talented young Armenians went to study in European countries owing to the support of patriotic patrons-philanthropists.

Presentable, multi-volume editions of the laws of the Ottoman state occupy an important place among Armeno-Turkish publications. They are collections of firms, criminal, civil, judicial codes, legal reference literature, certain laws on inheritance, wills, donations, land property (waqfs), and even "Regulation decree on the foundation construction of buildings". They are mostly professional translations from Ottoman. In 1876, 119 articles of the criminal code and their explanations were published in Armenian, Turkish and Ottoman.

Karapet Panosyan was the translator and publisher of the two-volume "Tiustur" codices published in 1881-1882. It was published in the printing house of the newspaper "Manzoume-i Efciaie" edited by him.

Nikogayos Totovyan was the compiler and translator of the Armenian-Turkish multi-volume edition of the main legislative collections, "Majelle", whose printed laws contain more than a thousand pages (the main editions were in 1891)³⁰⁶. By their nature, the "General Principle of the Courts" (1872, Constantinople), as well as the "National Constitution of Armenians, approved in 1863", "Higher Ordinance of the Government of the Armenian Church in Russia", which had a number of editions,

306 Sargis Karakoch (Karakochian) Efendi (1865-1944) occupies an important place in the history of Turkish jurisprudence. He was one of the most prestigious jurists of the republican period and the author and editor of many laws and codes, the author of scientific works in the field of jurisprudence and a prominent lawyer. About him, see G. Bampukchyan's article - "Tarih ve Toplum" 1987, ocak, s. 20-22.

belong to this literature (known as "Polozhenia" and was printed in St. Petersburg in Armeno-Turkish in 1836). In 1883, the same was published in Constantinople in Armeno-Turkish. In 1863 Hovsep Vardanyan published the 87-page examination study "Constitutional truths and their obligations". 1917 should also be included in this series. "Regulation of the Armenian Catholicos and Patriarchate" printed in Jerusalem in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish, "Regulation on Armenian Catholics" (Armenian and Armeno-Turkish, 1872), the booklet "Regulation on Engagement and Weddings", again bilingual, was printed in 1929 in Aleppo. Of interest is the "New Rulebook of Measurements and Weights" (1870, Constantinople)³⁰⁷, which was an important step in establishing uniformity with European dimensions in everyday life and science.

The statutes of this or that Armenian ecclesiastical union, cultural or scientific center, and any public organization were printed mainly in Armenian and in Turkish. Such an example is the 1857 edition of the Aintap Armenian Church's law book and the 1894 constitution of the "Khorenian Society". "The Covenant of the Majakunian Company" (1867), the "Program-Regulations of the Trade Union" (1867 Constantinople), about the "Lyonian Brotherhood" founded in Lyon in 1822 (the "Lyonian Brotherhood Mezpurun Netichises" was most likely published in the 1840s). Of interest are the "Laws of the Benevolent Society for the Benefit of the Provincial Catholicos of the Armenians" (in Armenian and Turkish, 1875 Constantinople), "The Charter of the Baghtanuer Society" (the founders were Karapet Panosyan, Mihran Tatyán, Karapet Sarafyan and others, 1873 Constantinople, Armenian and Armeno-Turkish), "Regulations of the poor society" (1823 Constantinople) and others. The proclamations of the king were published in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish³⁰⁸.

* * *

A diverse and voluminous educational literature has been created in terms of content in the Armeno-Turkish. It was published owing to the enlightenment movement that started in Western Armenian reality. One of the main expressions of this movement was founding of the schools operating at the Armenian Patriarchal See of Constantinople and secular schools in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century. One of the phenomena promoting educational literature was the school network of the Mkhitarist Catholic Congregation of Venice, Vienna, Trieste, created in addition to its own centers, also in Turkey and in several European countries. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the creation of a large part of the educational literature in the Armeno-Turkish was closely related to the activities of various missionary covenants in Western Armenian reality, particularly the educational activities of American evangelicals. Owing to their efforts, textbooks, grammars, dictionaries, reading books of various languages were published. In American missionary schools, where

307 In our opinion, it was compiled by metrologist Hakob Poyachyan, who was appointed director of the Ottoman University in 1909.

308 "Translation of the King's order, the order of the king for the distribution and collection of military troops, sent to the governors", 6 articles in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish, Constantinople (1870) 6 pages. It was published the following year as well.

Armenian students made up a significant number, there were 11 different historical subjects in the school curriculum for the study of history alone. Some of their textbooks were also in Armeno-Turkish. Educational manuals related to natural sciences have been published. Naturally, propaganda books were also published, the authors of which - Armenian and foreign preachers and teachers sometimes composed them themselves in Armeno-Turkish. Before entering the Armenian reality, they first got acquainted with the habits, psychology, traditions of the Armenian people, as well as the Armenian and Turkish languages, because a certain part of these persons were prepared and sent to occupy different positions with only Armenian circles in mind.

Armeno-Turkish has been used to create monumental multilingual dictionaries and multilingual conversational dictionaries for chat rooms. The above-mentioned together with letters and many Turkish language textbooks, as the Turkish scientists admit, made a great contribution to the creation and development of the modern literary Turkish language and had great practical use. Scientific-popular books in Armeno-Turkish dedicated to the most diverse aspects of life and everyday life are a proof of the great vital and practical importance of Armeno-Turkish literature. Armeno-Turkish literature has made it possible for the widest range of readers to communicate independently and particularly with translated literature. It was a means of communication about the socio-political and cultural life of the peoples of the Ottoman Empire, making them aware of the progress and successes in the fields of foreign science and technology³⁰⁹.

Armeno-Turkish literature also has its contribution in the spread of scientific thought and the development of new literature, pedagogy, and the field of enlightenment in the Ottoman Empire. In this regard, it is especially necessary to mention the great service of book publishers and printing houses. Experienced translators of European and Eastern languages, feeling the pulse of the times, were able to familiarize the Turkish-speaking readers of different nations and realize the demands of the new time.



309 The almost absence of Armeno-Turkish literature on the military and technical fields is the result of the fact that Armenians were practically not admitted to military-technical schools. There were Armenians among the professorial staff, who were educated in the European universities. The services of Armenian specialists were used in military-technical schools to train personnel in the Ottoman army. Armenians serving in this field were mostly military doctors. After their own generation of Turkish military doctors grew up, the services of Armenian doctors were strictly rejected. Such a situation of national minorities in these fields naturally excluded the creation of Armeno-Turkish literature in these circles.

CHAPTER 8

ARMENO-TURKISH DRAMATURGY AND ARMENIAN THEATER IN TURKEY (FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY)

A large part of Armeno-Turkish literature is translations made for the theater. The number of such works reaches about 500³¹⁰. Of course, most of them were not published, but these plays were performed more than hundreds of times. However, despite not being published, this literature played a significant role in the spiritual development of the peoples of the Ottoman Empire. Many of these productions have been more important than some of the published works. We should not ignore the fact that the number of illiterate people and those who could not read in Ottoman language was huge in the empire, and the number of people who had high level of knowledge and knew the Turkish language on a high level was limited. All of them together watched and understood the Turkish spoken on stage. In this regard, it is worth mentioning a phrase of Namık Kemal, one of the founders of new Turkish literature, that: "Theater is entertainment, but the most useful of entertainments"³¹¹.

At the beginning, in the first decades of the 19th century, the ideology of performances did not go beyond the morality of Christian faith, not opposing evil, showing tolerance towards life's failures. In the 1870s, the aggravation of social relations led to the fact that theatrical conflicts received a different understanding and meaning on the stage. The geographical range of Armeno-Turkish performances is too wide. These plays were performed on St. Lazarus Island in Venice, on the stage of the Murad-Rafaelian School of the Mkhitarist Congregation³¹² during the annual meetings organized for parents, in Smyrna, Constantinople, Trabzon, Erzurum, other cities and provinces of Western Armenia, in Chisinau, Polish-Armenian communities, Hîncești (Moldova), Tiflis, Baku (in the last two cities, in Armeno-Azerbaijani) and many, many other cities.

At first glance, it may seem strange that in the 1830s, the Mkhitarists translated and even published plays in Armeno-Turkish. There is nothing unusual about it. The seminarians were mostly children of Catholic families and mostly Turkish speakers. On the other hand, it is known that in the schools of the Mkhitarists (be it in Venice, Constantinople or elsewhere) theatrical performances were usually given during school graduation celebrations. Parents, merchants and businessmen who also spoke Turkish were invited

310 According to Metin Andi's list only, 366 plays were performed in Turkish by Armenian theater troupes. See: Metin And. *Tanzimat...*s. 454-462.

311 *Türk Dili*. 1966, cilt XV, s. 178, 699. /Celal Mukaddemesi, 1885.

312 About the school theater of the Mkhitarists Congregation, see: G. Stepanyan, *Outline...* Vol. A, Yerevan, 1962, pp. 93-115.

to those performances. That is why, as early as 1831, the Mkhitarists published a volume of the dramatic works of the famous Italian lyricist and playwright Pietro Metastasio in Turkish with the title "Several spiritual dramas of the poet Metastasio"³¹³. It was the "Sacred Actions" of the representative of the greatest musical drama of the time: "The Death of Abel", "Isaac as an Example of Jesus", "Joseph the Handsome", "The Passion of Jesus" were **oratorios** that were once abundantly staged on European stages, among the most famous castrato singers. All these biblical stories were presented with a Catholic interpretation. The reprints of this book are proof that it was interesting material both for reading and for performing on stage without music. The translator of the book was Hovhannes Yeremyan. In the Caucasus, these works were already translated into Armenian and published by **Hakob Karenyan**, teacher and inspector of the Nersisyan School.

Turkish theater historian Metin And in one of his articles refers to the Mkhitarist edition of Metastasio. He notes that Metastasio, being on the list of the chosen ones, has always been played and published endlessly. As early as 1828 in Constantinople, under the organization of Grigor Peshtimalchyan, Metastasio's "L'Olympiade" was presented in a school in 1836, in another school - Goldoni's "La Locandiera".

It is known that many other plays that were performed on the stage of their school theater were translated and localized by the Mkhitarists. Without going into details, let us mention an important fact. The Mkhitarists were the first to translate illustrated texts and comics from French and Italian. They even translated Moliere's works, which are not so suitable for religious standards, into Turkish for presentation in the school theater. Among them was the "Unwilling Doctor". In 1813 it was translated into Armeno-Turkish by A. Antimosyan. The translations and editions intended for the Mkhitarists' school theaters were also presented in the classes of Constantinople Mkhitarists. During that period, performances in Turkish were also organized in Armenian Amira houses³¹⁴, in some of their famous saloons.

Stage director **Srapion Hekimyan's** service in staging plays in Armeno-Turkish, filling them with new ideological content and, on the contrary, getting rid of religious constraints, was great. It is known that in the mid-50s of the 19th century, the district theaters of Constantinople were opened. Their initiators were mostly graduates of Mkhitarist schools. During the period of national intellectual upsurge, under the influence of progressive ideas, they rejected the ideological traditions of the Mkhitarists with their literary and cultural activities. They contrasted the European and independent plays with the religious-instructional and moral theme, which reflected modern issues surrounding the national liberation struggle and the need for social transformations. As a result of this enthusiasm, the foundation was laid for the theater troupe of Ortakoy neighborhood of Constantinople under the leadership of Mkrtich Peshiktashlyan, in Khasko, under the leadership of G. Chaprastchyan and M. Mnakyan, and in Pera district under the leadership of S. Hekimyan. In the rich district of Pera, theater performances took place in the theater building owned by the Naum brothers.

313 It was republished in 1839, 1859.

314 Metin And. Gedikpaşa Tiyatrosundan Önceki Türkçe Oyunlar. Türk Dili. 1966, N 178, s. 681.

Since the Turkish government banned Armenian performances in the city center, in Pera, Srapion Hekimyan's troupe had to give performances in Turkish since 1856. At first the performances were in Turkish, then in Italian and French. Plays written in Armenian were even translated into Armeno-Turkish or Italian. Later, after receiving permission, he was also able to organize performances in the Armenian language. During this period, S. Hekimyan translated a number of comedies and melodramas from French and Italian into Armeno-Turkish and presented them in Turkish in 1857 at the Naum Theater. According to the testimony of the Armenian newspaper "Masis", this theater troupe gave periodic performances for a whole year. Keeping in mind the power of comedy, he tried to influence the society, occupy it, enlighten it, and help expel the bad habits in the society and all that with the demonstration of the customs of foreign peoples. The article writer continues that by translating these works, Srapion Hekimyan tried to gradually educate his audience, so that one wonderful day he could make the content and language of these performances his national³¹⁵.

Undoubtedly, at least 5-6 plays were staged in Turkish by S. Hekimyan, and the lack of coverage of them by the Armenian press is probably due to the fact that they were staged in Turkish, as well as in anticipation of Armenian performances. The latter became a reality in 1860. Names of two Armeno-Turkish comedies reached us owing to a program of performances³¹⁶. It is Moliere's *Monsieur de Boursagnac* and *The Wages of Modesty*.

Turkish historian and theater expert Refik Ahmed considers the first Turkish performances to be the performances of Goldoni's "Wooden Sword" and "Don Gregorio" by Srapion Hekimyan's troupe in the Naum Brothers Theater in 1857. Sultan Abdul Mejid³¹⁷ took part in this significant performance.

On December 14, 1861, the "Oriental Theater" was founded. Apart from several Turkish comedies and "Punchinello", the main performances were given in Armenian. After two seasons, the troupe disbanded and the actors headed by Srapion Hekimyan went on tour to Smyrna, where they had a brilliant season. Only tragedies were staged in Armenian, and melodramas in Armenian and Turkish. The comedies were presented in three languages: Armenian, Turkish and Greek. Many more Turkish performances have been performed here than in Constantinople. The famous "Punchinello", Goldoni's "Don Gregorio"³¹⁸, Moliere's "The Reluctant Doctor" and "Georges Dande", among the melodramas "Don César de Bazan" and others were among the Turkish performances. In fact, in the 1864 schedule of the theater troupe, there were 10-15 translated comedies and melodramas in Armeno-Turkish.

There are facts that the translations of these works were made by Srapion Hekimyan, **Martiros Mnakyan**, **Abraham Narinyan** and others. These plays were performed many times later by various theater troupes, and some of them were published.

315 "Masis", 1858, Constantinople, October and "Masis", 1959, March 5.

316 Museum of Literature and Art named after Ye. Charents, S. Davtyan fund, 1856-1857.

317 Refik Ahmed. Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi. İst., 19344 s. 17.

318 Don Gregorio's translation was called "Hoxha's Anxiety" (Hocanın Telçısı).

The number of plays in Turkish increased enormously during the years of activity of Hakob Vardovyan (Güly Hakob) "Ottoman Theater". This was the first theater in Turkey that gave regular performances in Turkish. If the theater troupes of S. Hekimyan and others gave performances in Turkish on a case-by-case basis, then the large theater troupe of "Ottoman Theater", which received a state monopoly and enjoyed government patronage, had to give 3-4 performances in Turkish per week. According to the facts provided by Garnik Stepanyan, Metin And, Ahmed Fehim, Selim Nuzet Gerçek, and other theater experts, more than 200 plays in the Turkish language were played in the Vardovyan Theater during 10 years. Among them, there are many 1-2-act vaudevilles, farces, which were usually played after melodramas to entertain the audience³¹⁹.

Metin And presents in his work "Turkish Theater 1839-1923" a detailed list of books and performances officially banned by censorship³²⁰. Strange as it is, in this list we find **Tigran Chukhajyan's** operettas "Leblebichy Hor Hor Agha", "Kyose Kehya", "Arif". From the Western European literature, we come across "Angelo Molibier" by V. Hugo, "The Count of Monte Cristo" by Al. Dumas, "Two Pentacles" by Rota and a number of other authors. "Catherine Howard", "Jean Marie", "The Torment of a Woman", Girofle-Girofyan and others appeared in that list. One of the most surprising things is that "Tahir and Zuhra", "Layli and Majnun" and other romances were considered forbidden. According to Metin And's testimony, the prohibition of the creators of that extensive list was interpreted as follows: "those works are not suitable for Islam and its traditions and from a political point of view are harmful to the public consciousness" and so on. Even a few licensed plays, such as V. Hugo's "Rue Plas", were carefully cut and potentially dangerous parts were removed. A few plays without "sins" remained that could be staged until the end of 1890. Later, they were even banned, including such innocent plays as Xavier de Montepin's "The Wax Builders". Many articles were devoted to the censorial strictures of the Hamidian period, which were published as early as 1898-1899, particularly in the pages of the French newspaper "Agens Ottomane-L'Orient" published in Constantinople³²¹. The

319 In his study about the Turkish theater (Thalasso Adolphe. La revue Thrétrale; numero special sur le Théâtre turc. Paris.1904. N 6) Adolphe Thalasso truthfully observes that if one play was staged more than 100 times in European theaters, here (we are talking about Constantinople-Armenian theaters - H.S.) the audience would go to watch the same play 3-5 times, no more. Therefore, it was necessary for Hakob Gully's theater troupe (Hakob Vardovyan) to have a considerably larger repertoire than for the largest French theater. Thus, in the theater season of 1874-1875, 80 comedies, 10 tragedies, 44 dramas, 28 independent and localized plays (by Armenian and Turkish authors), 10 operettas and vaudevilles were performed. In the first decade of existence of Hakob Vardovyan Theater (1868-1882), 1869-1879, 200 plays were performed and about 1000 performances were given in Armenian and Turkish languages.

320 Metin And. Tanzimat...s. 246.

321 N. Nicolaidis."Agens Ottomane-L'Orient" 7.9.1898; N. Nicolaidis."Agens Ottomane-L'Orient" 11.1.1899; N. Nicolaidis. "L'Orient" 9.2.1901. From the articles published in recent years in Turkish scientific journals on this issue, we know the fields for which censorship had special instructions. They were related to both the internal life of the empire and the external relations. Moreover, it also refers to the relationship between the governments of European countries and the parties operating in those countries, various political events, various economic problems, non-reporting of this or that event in the newspapers, etc. Censorship, in addition to the main orientations, issued daily instructions about not covering this or that case. They concerned both domestic issues, whether it was the unjust

working language of Armenian theater troupes in this period was Armeno-Turkish. In those years, more than 40 Turkish periodicals with Armenian characters were published in Constantinople, which had a certain number of subscribers and readers among the advanced Turkish intelligentsia. Many of them cooperated and reported to those periodicals. The Armeno-Turkish language enjoyed great popularity among all Turkish-speaking peoples of the empire, including the Turks, and was of great practical importance, so the use of the Armeno-Turkish in the theater did not cause any complications and opposition, regardless of the nationality of the author or translator. It is worth admitting that not all the plays presented in Turkish in Hakob Vardovyan's theater are related to Armeno-Turkish literature, particularly translations. They are the independent works of Turkish authors or their translations, translations, localizations.

How did the cooperation between Turkish authors and Armenian theater take place? From the beginning, Armenian theaters operated on their own. However, it was different in the case of "Ottoman Theater". About 170 different plays were staged during one theater season. Naturally, for such an extensive schedule, it was necessary to have a whole army of playwrights, screenwriters, and translators. For this purpose, H. Vardovyan attracted not only Armenian, but also Turkish young intelligentsia to the theater. The period of cooperation with "Ottoman Theater" of H. Vardovyan was fatal for an important part of Turkish youth. Later, they became seriously interested in literature, especially theater drama. This was greatly contributed by the fact that H. Vardovyan never stopped in front of expenses, if it was related to the theater.

The list of Turkish intellectuals who cooperated with Armenian theater troupes is an almost complete list of classics and luminaries of the modern Turkish literature. Namely: Namek Kemal, Ahmed Midhat, Shamseddin Sami, Ebuzziya Tevfik, Rédjayizadé Ekrem, Ali Haydar, Hasan Bédrettin, Abdülhak Hamid and many others. Apart from the material aspect³²², the theater attracted the Turkish intellectuals because it was through the theater that it was possible to express their biggest dreams and the moods of the Turkish progressive intelligentsia.

In general, who were the Turkish enlighteners of the 19th century? Young people from Turkish and impoverished families, heirs of the rich class, who had gone to Europe for various purposes (mainly to study or work in diplomatic missions), lived there for a while, knew languages, insatiably absorbed what they saw, learned, and felt. To rebuke many hard-to-digest phenomena like Turkey, which are completely

execution of an innocent man due to the false instructions given by a woman, or the fact that the Turkish government had given permission for a German merchant ship to pass through the Turkish Straits to the Black Sea, to stop reporting train accidents. about not reacting, banning the publication of jokes or caricatures about the leaders of foreign countries. There were even special instructions about newspaper layouts, line breaks, free spaces, not leaving lines, etc. About this see: Orhan Koloğlu. II Abdühamit Sansüre. "Tarih ve Toplum".1987.ocak, 14-18ss ; Alpay Kabaklı. "Milli Şef" Döneminin Sansüre. "Tarih ve Toplum".1987.ocak, 19-21ss.

322 For example, Ebuzziya Tevfik received 30 golden coins from each performance, and Namik Kemal earned 250 golds in one week for his play "Homeland or Silistra", which was a considerable amount for those times. See Metin And. Tanzimat...s. 273.

opposite from the Eastern fairy-tale color. The years spent in Europe by some of them coincided with several worldly events. Of course, the most important of them was the French Revolution, which one of the Turkish enlighteners, Namik Kemal, unwittingly witnessed and participated in. In the same European countries, in particular in Paris, there was a great multi-faceted interest and interest in the East. Books about Turkey were published and internal and foreign policy issues of the Empire were discussed in periodicals. In the upper classes, this interest sometimes reached extremes and even found its expression in fashion. For a long time, feather headdresses, turban-type hats, harem-like silk clothes, long, luxurious robes, etc., have ruled in Parisian fashion for a long time. During the years of living in Europe, the most important thing for the Turkish youth who witnessed all this was getting to know the ideas of freedom, justice, equality, fraternity of the French revolution of 1848. Namik Kemal writes in his article "Civilization" that the human right and purpose is not only to live, but to live freely.

The lack of freedom and equality hindered economic progress as well. Even Turkish enlighteners who received European education generally had an important difference compared to European enlighteners. The activity of the French enlighteners was based on the struggle for the victory of reason, against medieval scholasticism, clerical dogmas, which inhibited the development of science and the progress of reason. The center of that reaction in Europe was the Catholic Church, the inquisitorial movement that burned the pioneers of science and brought shame to the history of mankind. Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau and other enlighteners aimed their spears against that medieval fortress. The Turkish religious reaction did not bring less evil to mankind, but the conditions were different in Europe, but in the fanatical Muslim East, where the Koran had a profound influence on a backward, illiterate population. Enlightenment people in Turkey saw religion as an important link in the unity of the Turkish nation. They were provoked only by the ministers of religion and religious prejudices. Despite all this, the Enlightenment movement in Turkey was fundamentally anti-feudal, and Enlightenment ideas for them were aspirations for the future destiny of the country, the realization of its historical development opportunities. One of the main ways to achieve their goal was the infiltration of European ideas through literature and theater.

The crux of disputes and controversies in the Western Armenian public life was the religious struggle, especially between Armenian Enlighteners and Armenian Catholics. After the performance of the theater, part of the struggle was transferred to the stage. The theater was a new front in the struggle against the Hasunyan movement promoting denationalization. Sword, dagger, poison - these were the core of actions of French and Italian melodramas, and the universal morality of the struggle between good and evil was at the basis.

Turkish theater historian Refik Ahmed rightly notes that Vardovyan's theater deserves attention as a center of formation of the Turkish literature³²³. The play schedule of the "Ottoman Theater" includes about 60 plays, in the performance of which Turkish authors were involved to one degree or another. First of all, they were about 20

323 Refik Ahmed. Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi. İst., 1934 s. 23.

independent works of Turkish writers written specifically for Vardovyan's theater, on his order. At the same time, they are the most popular classics of new Turkish literature. Naturally, all these plays were given to the director and actors-actresses only after they were translated into Turkish. However, an important precondition was the fact that the works of Turkish authors had the opportunity to be included in the program only if they met a certain quality³²⁴. "The Poet's Marriage" written in 1860 with an anti-clerical content by Shinasi (1826-1871), an enlightener among the most eminent Turkish enlighteners, was staged only in 1908 in Thessaloniki, by an amateur troupe³²⁵, before the patriotic works of other Turkish authors, including Namik Kemal's drama "Homeland or Silistra" has been staged many times. The premiere of the latter was attended by members of the "New Ottomans" union and the performance was received with ovations.

Active theatrical life required a lot of effort and self-sacrifice from the troupe and playwrights. They had the opportunity to check the society's attitude towards their thoughts and plans. By the mood of the hall and the reactions of the press, they could decide how much their conclusions correspond to the requirements of the time. This test helped to throw out all the useless thoughts and unsuccessful conclusions and to further refine the literary abilities and craftsmanship. H. Vardovyan offered Turkish writers many interesting plots, gave interesting ideas, helped to work on the stage structure of the plays. While working on the plays, this close collaboration continued during rehearsals. On Vardovyan's order, many Turkish writers made adaptations, localizations and translations for the theater³²⁶.

- 324 Namik Kemal - "Poor children", "Homeland or Silistra", "Aqif Bey".
 Ahmed Midhat - "Old European civilization", "Circassians", "Hey fear", "Zeybeks", "Gypsy women", "The Open head".
 Shamseddin Sami - "Besä", "The Bull", "Seyid".
 Rédjayizadé Ekrem - "Meeting",
 Akif Bey - "Gulninar" play. Hasan Vahid - "Anatolian Peasants".
 Ahmed Nejip - "Creation War", "Creativity and Success", "Confession of the Thief Son".
 Ali Haydar - "Arzas", "Adventures of Perviz", "Cotton Girl".
 Hasan Bedretty - "In Imitation" co-written with Manasterley.
 Mehmed Rifat - "Dalilah" made 20 joint transports.
 Abdulkhak Hamid - "Hindu's Girl". Ali Bey - "The talkative barber", "The one who escorts the guests out", as well as a large number of translations and localizations.
 Mustafa Ef together with H. Vardovyan wrote "Leila and Mejnun", (see: Metin And. Tanzimat...s. 272; Refik Ahmed. TFrk Tiyatrosu Tarihi. s. 23.).
 Emin Nihat - in 1873, he wrote a book of stories in 12 parts in imitation of "One Thousand and One Nights" and "Decameron".
- 325 Shinasi's first translations were Turkish translations, and many of his works were written under the influence of the books he read. Translated by Lafonten, Racine, Lamartine, Fenellon. See: Refik Ahmed. Turk Tiyatrosu Tarihi. s. 29. It is known that Tigran Chukhajyan wrote music for 3 plays of Shinasi.
- 326 Here is an almost complete list of translations made by Turkish enlighteners:
 Ahmed Midhat - one of the most prolific Turkish writers who left 25 volumes. They are mainly transports, such as Dumas son's "Lady with Flowers". His operetta "Zeybeks" was staged in 1882.
 Mehmed Rifat - "Dalilah" performed 20 joint performances, including "Michel Jean" of Seden and "Cleopatra" of Emile de Ginadinini with Ahmed Midhat.
 Shamseddin Sami (1850-1904) - Hugo's "Les Miserables" and D. Defoe's "Robinson".

Even if the author is mentioned, some works of Turkish authors are impossible to recognize due to distorted content or changed titles. Only a part of the aforementioned translations were made for the theater. The orders for the theater were not completely fulfilled. There were small councils attached to publishing houses and theaters, which decided in advance which works would be translated. A number of European novels were specially translated into prose. Let us not forget to say that Turkish writers were greatly helped by the fact that sometimes the ordered book was already translated and printed by Armenians in Armeno-Turkish. All that remained was to make cuts and turn them into plays, which was not an easy task at all.

Metin And mentions the following translations for the theater by the famous Greek journalist Theodore Kassap: *The Problem of Money* by Dumas Son 1874, *Hernani* by Hugo 1874, *Phaedra* by Racine 1878, Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* 1884, *The Musicians of One City*. A group of Turkish writers (Namik Kemal, Ahmed Midhat, Shamseddin Sami, Ebuzziya Tevfik, Ahmed Vefik and others), who had achieved success and earned reputation in the field of theater dramaturgy, started to make decisions from their already strengthened positions, to solve issues related to Turkish performances

Rédjayizadé Mahmud Ekrem (1847-1914) - Chateaubriand's "Atalan" 1875, Silvio Pelicco's "Prisoners", Ashkhiyy Angelik 1874.

Hasan Vahid - "Anatolian Peasants".

Ahmed Vefik Pasha (1823-1891) - a famous lexicographer, translated Fenelon's "Telemachus", Voltaire's "Micromega", Le Sage's "Gilles Place", E. Lehmann's "The Tower of Lyon", Hugo's "Ernani", Schiller's "Thugs", Moliere 34 comedies. These works were converted into Latin letters only in 1937 and published in 4 volumes.

Yusuf Kyamil Pasha (1808-1876) also referred to the translation of Fenelon's "Telemachus".

Shakir Bedrettin Pasha-Lacock's "Girofle-Giroflyan".

Hasan Bedretti Pasha and Rafat Bey: Schiller's *Love and Fraud* 1875, Dumas' "Antoine" 1875, Shakespeare's "Othello". Muallim Naji (1850-1893) - Emile Zola's "Theresa Raquen".

Ahmed Nejip - "Creation War", "Creativity and Success", "Confession of the Thief Son".

Ali Haydar - "Arzas", "Adventures of Perviz", "Cotton Girl".

Hasan Bedrettyn - "The Imitation" along with Manasterly.

Ahmed Rashid (1870-1945) translated "Heracles" and "Olympic poison" from Greek. In the 1870s, he translated Rasi, Virgil, Homer.

Abdulhak Hamid (1852-1937) - "The Prodigal" - translated under the influence of Hugo Fantin, and based on Cornell's "Sid" he wrote "The Nesteren".

Hamdi Bey - "The Two Cowards" by Eugène Labiche and Marc Michel, 1886.

Mustafa Reshid-Jules Sandow's "Dream of the Thief's Road (Imagination?)" 1887.

Ali Bey - "The Chattering Barber", "The Escort of Guests", as well as a large number of translations, made localizations, such as Moliere's "The Adventures of Scapin". "George Dande" became "Tosun Agha". He wrote "Tayyar Zade" together with H. Vardovyan. In 1872 and 1874, it was published with 32 pages in the Chezvechyan printing house. (The author is not mentioned in our bibliography).

Abdulhamid Ziatti (Ziya Pasha) Rousseau's "Emile", Moliere's "Tartufe", which were published mainly in his book "Name i Amal". Translations of historical works such as Cheryl LaVallie's *History of Andalusia*, Viardot, published posthumously,

Sami Pashazade Sezai (1859-1936) wrote his "Little Stories", "Lucrezia Borjan" in imitation of Maupassant, 1875.

Ahmed Aziz-X. de Montepin's "Moulin Rouge" (1891).

In 1883, Mehmed Murad translated Griboyedov's "The Scourge of Wisdom" from Armenian to Turkish, which was to be staged at the Vardovyan Theater.

Rushene Eshref Yunaydin (1823-1959) - Andersen's "fairy tales", Virgil's "Pastoral Poems", Emil Ludwig's "Napoleon the Stranger".

of Armenian theater troupes. They are the selection of the playlist (in Armenian and Turkish), issues of translation quality, problems of attracting new literary forces, control of political sympathies of theater troupes.

Calls to overthrow Sultan Abdul Aziz, make Murad his successor and declare the country a constitutional monarchy, which were also the result of their cooperation with Turkish intellectuals, progressive intellectuals and, of course, Armenian theater troupes, could not remain unanswered by the palace.

In April 1873, one night after the great success of Namek Kémal's play "Homeland or Silistra", Namik Kemal was arrested and exiled. Soon, Ahmed Midhat and Ebuzziya Tevfik, among other Turkish writers related to the theater, met the same fate, being exiled to Rhodes. The literary hearth is disintegrating, and their works are leaving Vardovyan's play list. After the death of Sultan Abdul Aziz, during the short period of Sultan Murad's reign, liberal writers returned from exile and again surrounded Vardovyan.

The issue of the formation of a new literary Turkish language that meets the requirements of the time was one of the issues that concerned the figures of new Turkish literature the most and was one of their agenda issues. Despite their efforts, their performances in Turkish, full of Arabisms and stilted styles, were not always understandable to the audience. This situation was often ridiculed by the press.

The committee made up of Turkish writers tried in every possible way for H. Vardovyan's theater troupe to contribute to the development of Turkish national drama as much as it was possible. All kinds of issues related to the theater were discussed in the press, be it Armenian, Turkish, French, English, Greek, etc. The role and significance of the theater, the positive and negative effects of the theater on public moral and relations, the development of stage art, maintaining stable theater troupes, training a new generation of actors, the unique style of acting on the stage, language, and serious public interest related to the problems of dramaturgy were highlighted in the press. These were also questions related to the interactions between the stage and the auditorium, the author and the actor.

The press of the time assured the need for the development of the national opera and urged not to spare funds for it.

As a rule, Armenians attended the performances of all opera troupes (mainly Italian and European theater troupes that came on tour). It was customary in Armenian families to send their children to Italians for musical education. An opera troupe was created next to the "Vaspurakan" theater in Smyrna, which translated the popular parts of the programs of the Italian troupe. The press suggested sending promising young people to Europe for musical education. Coming to the 1863-64 season of Smyrna's "Vaspurakan" theater, 45 plays were staged within 5 months, some of them in Turkish. After the national tragedies, Turkish comedies received the most applause.

The atmosphere of demandingness and interest presented by the articles published abundantly in the Constantinople based Armenian press greatly contributed to the

growth of the professional mastery of Vardovyan's theater troupe, which was higher than during the years of the Ottoman constitution.

Turkish theater historians study this period as the beginning of the Turkish national theater. Turkish authors explain the fact that the actors and actresses and the director were Armenians as a result of religious fanaticism. In 1858, "Don Gregorio", "Don Cesar de Bazan" and several other plays were staged in the Turkish language (based on Armeno-Turkish plays) in the Sultan's palace, as Armenian and Turkish theater experts testify.

It is known that the Turkish woman did not appear on the stage until the establishment of the republican order in 1923. In the end, the permission given to Vardovyan for Armenian performances seemed to be compensation for his great contribution to the beginning and development of the Turkish theater³²⁷. This service was always greatly appreciated by Turkish philologists and Turkish theater historians. Muhsin Ertoghrul, Nazim Hikmet, Vasfi Reza Zobu mentioned the role of Armenians in their memories. Turkish actor and director Vasfi Reza Zobu notes that Hakob Vardovyan was the founder of European-type Turkish theater. In his memoirs, Vasfi Reza Zobu dedicated admirable pages to M. Mnakyan, Knar Svachyan, Ruben, Aghavni and prima donna Elise Pinnemechyan³²⁸. Their performances were a factor in the mental rapprochement of different Turkish-speaking peoples: Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Bulgarians and others.

Turkish theater experts Refik Ahmed, Metin And and others rightly point out that if it were not for Hakob Vardovyan's theater, and the orders given by him to Turkish authors with abundant material remuneration, Turkish drama would hardly have been created. And if it were not for Gullu Hakob, there probably would not have been dramatists like Namik Kemal, Ahmed Midhat, Ali Bey or Shamseddin Sami³²⁹.

The above-mentioned Turkish intellectuals worked for the ideas of the enlightenment movement, enlighteners, elimination of illiteracy, penetration of European civilization, libertarian ideas, development of new literary language and literature, etc. They wrote, translated, adapted the European classics and not only the classics, but in the Ottoman language, in a stilted style specific to the court high class. The fact of being in Ottoman language itself minimized the result of the great work that was meant to enlighten the Turkish people, to feed them with new ideas, new literature, new genres, to eliminate illiteracy. Of these works, it was only possible to correct and present them on the stage, having them in Armeno-Turkish at disposal. In the rest of the cases, they wrote as they were used to and were able to, not being able to overcome the prohibition of creating in

327 Hakob Vardovyan's fame was so great that attempts were made in every possible way to Turkify him, as they once did with the biographies of several favorite Armenian courtiers. In *Ansiklopedik Sözlük Ist* 1967, N11, s.813-814, it is written that he was the director of Abdul Hamid's palace theater from 1884, allegedly converted to Islam and died under the name of Yakub Effendi. Garnik Stepanyan in his "History" denies this pass, not even considering Vardovyan's face-to-face acceptance of Islam as reliable.

328 Vasfi Rıza Zobu. *O Günden Bu Güne*. Ankara, 1977, s. 27-29.

329 Metin And. *Tanzimat...c. 2*. s. 449

a simple colloquial language. In their time, they hardly served the people. Tens of years later, during the republican period, these works were only translated into the modern Turkish language and came to the Latin alphabet, serving for the first time to the broad classes of their people, and became the real property of the Turkish people.

That great literature flowing into Turkish and Turkish-speaking Armenian reality was meant to serve the general and intellectual development of people. This circumstance took the Armeno-Turkish literature out of the Armenian circles, and gained significance in the field of Oriental Studies. Imposing literature in an easy-to-digest Turkish language to the people has always been an important part of the dreams and goals of the Turkish enlighteners. Naturally, it was impossible to translate Voltaire, Hugo and Chateaubriand in purely colloquial language. Therefore, we can imagine the efforts of Armenian translators to raise the colloquial language to the literary Turkish, to create some average that everyone can understand owing to European borrowings, as a result of which all Armeno-Turkish publications, with minor exceptions, reach all the nations and peoples who know Turkish today, as in their time.

Here is another field of Turkish culture, in which it is difficult to underestimate the great service of Armenian book publishers and translators. Turkish philologist Turgut Kut also referred to novels translated to Armeno-Turkish and mentioned the most prolific multi-volume translators in this field, among them Anton Alik: 8 works, Tigran Adamyan: 7, Mihran Pitar Arabajean: 7, Karapet Panosyan: 8, Hovhannes Tolayan: 13 translations of literary works. He also refers to the novels of Armenian authors in vernacular Turkish (always published in Armeno-Turkish), which were read by a wide range of Turkish-speaking peoples. On this occasion, Turgut Kut mentions Hovsep Vardanyan's "Agapi" and "Shatakhos", mentioning the publication of the Armenian translation of "Agapi" by Garnik Stepanyan in Yerevan in 1953. The list continues with the novels "The Terrible Death of Garnik, Kulunya and Tigran" (1863), Hovsep Marush's "A Miserable Woman" (1868), Vichen Tilkiyan's "Kulunya, or the Invisible Girl" (1868). The author of the article refers to the personality of Hovsep Vardanyan, the main material of the novel, the struggle between Armenian missionaries and Catholics, and even the engravings of the edition of these novels. The Turkish scholar lists the Armeno-Turkish translation of 68 names, sometimes noting if it was also translated into Ottoman, by Armenian translators as well³³⁰.

We would like to present the list of translations of only 2-3 Armenian translators known to us, without referring to their independent and public speaking activities, without their works for the theater.

Pitar Arabajean has translated:

1. Jules de Custine, "The Secret of Daniel", (1872) - 500 pages
2. Selected poems (1879) - 160 pages

330 Turgut Kut. Ermeni Harfleriyle Türkçe Telif ve Tercüme Romanlar. Victor Hugo'nun "Mağdurin Hikayesinin" Basılmış Nushası. İst1985.s195-214.

3. Al. Dumas, "The seven kisses of Lord Buckingham" (1888) - 360 pages
4. Hector Malo, "Without Family" (1890) - 400 pages
5. Paul Feval, "Love in Paris" (1890) - 1119 pages
6. Hanri Frandzini, "On the trail of style" (1891) -288 pages
7. Jules Verne, "20,000 leagues under water" (1892) - 750 pages
8. "A thousand and one nights" (1891) - 1245 pages
9. Jules Verne, "The Mysterious Island" (1893) - 438 pages
10. Georges Brattel, "An American in Paris" and "Murder on Marlow Street" (1893) - 340 pages
11. "The Discovery of America" (1893) - 470 pages
12. Ponson du Terrail, "The Beautiful Angel" (1893) 1200 pages
13. Jules Verne, "Around the World in 80 Days" (1893) - 288 pages
14. X. de Montepin, "Carriage number 13" (1894)-1300 pages
15. Emil Gaborio, "Case N 113" (1895) - 752 pages
16. A. de Sagi, "A thousand and one days"
17. "The behavior of Saint Alexianus"

The volume of translations known to us is more than 10,000 pages.

The total volume of translations made by Hovhannes Tolayan, the editor and translator, is much more than all the translations made by the Tanzimat and the Turkish intelligentsia of the following decades.

1. X. de Montepin, "The Casinos of Paris" (1876) 840 pages
2. X. de Montepin, "The Gypsy Woman" (1879) 560 pages
3. X. de Montepin, "Cast Girls" (1880-81) 3100 pages
4. Adolphe Belot, (1880) "The echo of style" 380 pages
5. X. de Montepin, "Traacherous Mother" (1880-81) 750 pages
6. X. de Montepin, "3 million dowry" (1881) 616, 385 pages
7. X. de Montepin, "The Baker's Wife" (1882) 1240 pages
8. X. de Montepin, "Confession of Love" (1882-1883) 2250 pages
9. X. de Montepin, "The Secret of the Indians" (1882) 575 pages
10. X. de Montepin, Fortuné du Boisgobey "The Sewn Mouth" (1883-84) 970 pages
11. J. Castin, "A woman's revenge" (1883-84) 680 pages
14. Adolphe Belot, "The Mother Killer" (1885) 1050 pages

12. Emil Richburg, "The Veiled Woman" (1885) 664 pages
13. Jules Bulabert, "The Prodigal Woman" (1887) 194 pages
14. X. de Montepin, "Tragedies of Paris" (1887) 1454 pages
15. X. de Montepin, "The Gambler's Wife" (1887) 560 pages
16. X. de Montepin, "The Red Testament" (1888) 500 pages
17. X. de Montepin, "What Happens in Paris" (1889) 1344 pages
18. Jules-Marie, "Trap" (1888) 300 pages
19. X. de Montepin, "Vagabonds of Paris" (1890) 1000 pages
20. X. de Montepin, "One Thousand and One Nights" (1891) 1245 pages
21. P. du Terrail, "Rocamboles" (1892-93) 2400 pages

Thus, Hovhannes Tolayan's translations amount to around 22,000 pages. The manuscript of the translation of X. de Montepin's novel "The Night Sultan", which was not published and consists of 3 parts and contains 3045 pages, is stored in the National Library of Armenia.

An approximate list of translations made by Alik Anton is as follows:

1. Em. Gonzalez, "The Devil's Tool" (1880) 832 pages
2. X. de Montepin, "Simon and Marie" (1885) 700 pages
3. X. de Montepin, "The Red Wizard" (1885) 420 pages
4. Georges Brattel, "The Yellow Pearl, (1887) 460 pages
5. Georges Ohnet, "The Consequence of Purpose" (1888) 277 pages
6. Adolphe Belot, "Effects of Style" (1888) 400 pages
7. Fortuné du Boisgobey, "Cat's Eye" (1888) 414 pages
8. X. de Montepin, "The Mad Doctor" (1888) 240 pages
9. Ninus Pierre, "The Secret of the Stranger or the Madman" (1889) 800 pages
10. Bretton Miss, "The Consequences of Lying" (1891) 240 pages

It is approximately 5600 pages.

Almost all melodramas known on Western European stages and theater troupes have been translated and staged in Armeno-Turkish, such as L. Comoletti's "Sister Teresa". "Cesare Borgia" by Crisafullou and Devignac, "Don Cesar de Bazan" by F. Dumanoire and A. d'Enner, "30 years of the life of a gambler" by V. Ducange, "The Messenger of Lyon" by E. Morse, Sirodin and M. Delacour, Bernardin de "Paul and Virginia" by St. Pierre, "Alpine Shepherdess" by S. Denois and A. d'Enner. Vardovyan's performances

include a whole series of works by famous writers: Goethe's "The Torments of Young Werther", Carlo Gozzi's "Stranger Girl", Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Thomas' Cabin", etc. We will not touch upon comedies of the "Don Gregorio" and "Punchinello" type, the number of which exceeds several dozen. We can continue our enumeration of Armeno-Turkish melodramas and mention: "Help the Poor", "The Bequest of the Poor", "Two Foolish Friends", "Two Beggars", "Two Blind Men", "Trap for a Husband", "Lucy Didier", "Madame Saint" Trope" etc., whose authors, although well-known, were not famous writers. A certain number of Italian melodramas and comedies translated into Turkish by Armenians made up a certain number. Vardovyan inherited a part of them from the "Oriental Theater", but the majority of the translations were done by order of Hakob Vardovyan. The comedies and melodramas of E. Sue, Al. Dumas, F. Dumanoire and A. d'Enner, V. Dukange and others occupy a special place. "The Wandering Jew" and "The Mysteries of Paris", "Tower of London", "Matilde" and other plays were translated from E. Sue. From Al. Dumas, the Armeno-Turkish translation of "Count of Monte Cristo", "Kin the Actor", "Catherine Howard" was turned into a play from Dumas son, "Lady in Camelia". "Bandits" and "Love and Fraud" from Schiller, and "Angelo Malibier", "Mary Tudor" from Hugo, as well as "Les Miserables" and "The King Amusing", Rota's "Two Pentacles" were turned into plays. The names of some plays in the schedule of the Vardovyan Theater have been distorted in such a way that it is impossible to restore the original and the author. Being familiar with the content of some plays or based on the reviews about them, one can only find out that they are based on famous works of famous authors. However, the localization and title change make it difficult to even speculate. The Armeno-Turkish repertoire of the Vardovyan theater troupe would not be complete if we did not mention some operettas. Among them are Offenbach's "Helen the Beautiful" and "Orpheus in the Underworld", Le Coq's "Girofle Giroflan", "Madame Ango's Girl", "Frou Frou" and other musical plays, which after Vardovyan's theater were also staged by Tigran Chukhajyan, S. Benklian and others in theater troupes.

The translated plays for the theater were published and republished by various publishing houses. Some of them, opera and operetta librettos, were published in "Theatrical Stories", "Arusyak" and other series³³¹. Some of the many preserved brochures are bilingual, trilingual, with beautiful illustrations, sometimes with brief descriptions of the contents. Newspapers published in Armeno-Turkish periodicals were also staged, particularly works of a number of European authors published in "Cheritei Havadis".

As is known, the librettos of three operettas by Tigran Chukhajyan (1836-1898) are written in Armeno-Turkish³³². A separate book was published by Tagvor Nalyan and

331 As for Armeno-Turkish operas, see ("Tarih ve Toplum", Ist. 1985, kısım, s 21-27. Mahmut Şakiroğlu. "M.Cevdet İnanjalp"; The article is also dedicated to the activities of the "Academy" of the Mkhitarists of Venice, their lexicography, Armenian-Turkish literary relations and Armenian services in various fields. See also: A. Tietze "Nuovi dati sui primordi dell'opera in Turchia" II veltro XXIII-2/4 /1979/ p.363-368.

332 In 1895 the words of Tigran Chukhachyan's imperial famous "The Great March", written by the special order of Constantinople journal and first published on June 24, dedicated to Sultan Abdul Hamid, are written in Ottoman and Latin Turkish. It was later published in a Turkish scientific journal, which republished the best Turkish marches in each of its issues, in the "One March" series. In this series, the "Imperial Procession" dedicated to the memory of Sultan Mehmed V by Aharon Msrlyan, published

T. Chukhachyan's "Father of Leplepich" - the libretto of the operetta in three acts in Constantinople in 1924. The libretto of the four-act opera "Masnatier" by Constantinople was published without the author's name, which was staged at the Naum Theater. In this theater, before the performance of the operas, the bilingual programs of the day's operas were sold, the contents in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish.

Generalizing our words, let us say that around five hundred plays were staged for the Turkish performances of Armenian theater troupes using the Armeno-Turkish. Later, they were inherited by other theater troupes, presenting to thousands of spectators the productions of plays of various genres that were already popular and well received. It is difficult to say which ones were published, but it was not very significant. These translations passed from hand to hand and from theater troupe to theater troupe mainly in the form of Armeno-Turkish manuscripts, which does not at all belittle their great service in cultural and public life, as well as the contribution of their Armenian and Turkish translators.

An interesting circumstance characteristic of the mentality of all Turkish enlighteners was that they believed that the theater can play a big role in creating a certain level of development and enlightenment of the people. Apart from the fact that the experience of European countries confirmed it, the explanation was very simple. Until the elimination of widespread illiteracy the contact with European ideology, life, everyday life, history and literature was possible only through the theater.

Theater was one of the important expressions that appeared during the Tanzimat period. And if there were no radical changes in the social, economic, political life of the country, then it is impossible not to notice the reforms that took place in the cultural life. If for Armenian literary circles it meant an awakening, the development of traditions from the depths of centuries, then for Turkish intellectuals it was also a struggle against medieval Eastern Turkish literary traditions. The successful outcome of this struggle was certain, because it was directed towards experienced European literature with its new ideas and genre expressions. The works of the cultivators of new Turkish literature were not *masals*, *tezkeres*, *seyahatnames*, *Turkyus*, *Mesnevis*. Turkish luminaries started to create in the genre of drama, novel, short story, short story. Their cooperation with the theater played an unprecedented role in their creative life.

The second main period in the field of theater life and dramaturgy development in Turkey is due to the classic translations of Moliere's plays. The majority of them, the translations of 34 plays, are mainly associated with the name of Ahmed Vefik Pasha, who closely cooperated with **Tovmas Fasulajyan's** theater troupe³³³. This cooperation was extremely effective.

As a result of the friendship and cooperation of Armenian and Turkish intellectuals,

in 1909, was also republished. About this see: "Tarih ve Toplum", İst..1987, N46 and 1988, N 49. The marches are in the collection of Cem Behar.

333 Only 16 Moliere translations of Ahmed Vefik Pasha were known to the Russian Turkic studies of the Soviet period. All these translations were naturally converted into Armeno-Turkish for the theater. About this see: Ahmet Fehim Beyin hatıraları. İst. 1977, s.18.

theater troupes, actors, luminaries, and the joint efforts of the struggle for the Europeanization of the country, the memoirs of modern, the first Turkish professional actor **Ahmed Fehim** are of great interest for covering the awakening period. In these memoirs, a special place was devoted to the relationship between the Armenian theater troupe and Vefik Pasha. It turns out that Ahmed Vefik Pasha not only did not demand payment for the rent of the theater, but also materially helped the troupe, participated in the rehearsals and role distribution, chose theater clothes, decorations, masks and various things needed for the theater from French journals and albums. In fact, he performed the duties of sponsor, art director, and even awarded the actors. This noble Turkish intellectual with the title of Pasha, belonging to the highest class, lived on the theater, connected most of his literary activity with the theater. The highly professional cooperation with the Turkish enlightener author, translator, lexicographer and theater patron Ahmed Vefik Pasha was marked far away in Bursa (where the Pasha was in office) by the real Moliere performances of Fasulajyan's theater troupe, away from the censorious strictures of Constantinople. However, the Pasha's support of Fasulajyan's Armenian theater troupe was not the cause of everyone's friendship. As a result of defamatory letters sent to the Sultan's palace, he was dismissed from his post, where he was the governor, and called back to Constantinople. The theater troupe goes on tour to Bulgaria and continues to stage Moliere³³⁴.

The number of plays translated into Armeno-Turkish increased during the activity of **Martiros Mnakyan**³³⁵ "Ottoman Dramatic" theater troupe. It existed for about 25 years after the fall of Vardovyan's troupe, up to the years of the First World War. Mnakyan's theater troupe has greatly differed from Hakob Vardovyan's theater. The main difference was that Mnakyan was forbidden to stage Armenian plays. "Ottoman Dramatic" gave performances exclusively in Turkish. The opportunity for performances

334 Translations and adaptations of Moliere's works, as well as their staging, were among the best prerequisites for approaching the order of the time from the point of view of self-critical humor, talking about it, making fun of it. By the way, it is necessary to mention that Moliere's translations started to be made earlier than the Enlightenment movement started in the Ottoman Empire. References to this are mainly related to "Karagyozy" folk theater. In the program of this theater of puppets and shadows, popular in the East, Moliere's transports took a large place. The contents have been localized, preserving the spirit and humor of Moliere's characters. Among the famous pages of the history of Turkish theater is the remarkably localized use of Moliere's dramaturgy for "Karagyozy" and "Orta Oyun" organized by Arsen of Armenian origin.

335 Martiros Mnakyan (1837-1920) - Constantinople-Armenian actor, director, translator. He entered the theater arena in the 50s of the 19th century. From 1861, he played in the first professional Armenian theater in the "Oriental Theater". Later, he played in the theater troupes of Petros Maghakyan and Hakob Vardovyan (until 1878). In particular, he portrayed a number of responsible roles in French melodramas, where he was seen as an irreplaceable interpreter. From 1878 he participated in operetta performances. In 1880, he went to Tiflis and played in the Armenian theater for two seasons, achieving the same success as the great tragedian Petros Adamyan, who appeared together in the same season. Mnakyan performed in a number of classic roles, including Shylock in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. Returning to Constantinople, he took part in the performances of S. Penklian's operetta troupe, and at the same time performed the duties of a director. He created the unsurpassed character of Hor Hor Agha in A. Chukhachyan's operetta of the same name. 1885 Mnakyan created the "Ottoman Dramatic Theater Troupe" from Hakob Vardovyan's dispersed theater troupe, which he led for 30 years (1885-1912).

in Armenian was provided only in 1908-1914, after the restoration of the Ottoman constitution. At the same time, he continued to perform in Turkish and, in order to enrich his repertoire, he translated about 40 melodramas into Armeno-Turkish ("The Poor Young Man", "The Stranger", "The Blacksmith", "The Dowry", "The Messenger of Lyon", "The Blind General", "The Beautiful Amelia", "The Innocent Girl", "The Fortune Teller", "The Veiled Woman", "The Baker's Woman", "White Ties", etc.).

It is not difficult to imagine the state of culture of a country whose European-educated intellectuals and cultural figures were either in exile or under the strict surveillance of spies.

In the repertoire of Martiros Mnakyan's theater troupe, we not only do not find the dramas of Namik Kemal, Shamseddin Sami, Ahmed Midhat and other famous authors, but we also do not find any works of European classics. Not only were the works of Hugo, Voltaire, but also such authors as Eugene Sue, Al. Dumas banned. M. Mnakyan had to be satisfied with staging adaptations of adventurous, boulevard novels. Let us not forget another important circumstance. The published Armeno-Turkish translation literature would be incomplete if we do not take into consideration that almost all Armeno-Turkish periodicals of the time published many works of French authors in order to draw more attention to them and to be more popular, which, if were not being printed as a separate book, remained on the pages of those periodicals and passed into oblivion, as well as the important contribution of their translators and publishers in the enlightenment movement of the time. For example, **Tiran Kelekyan** translated a number of works from French in his Armeno-Turkish weekly, *Jihane*³³⁶, in order to develop interest in literature, which were published in the pages of the weekly. One of those newspapers is **Octave Feoye's** story of a girl from Paris (*Parisli Bir Guzen Hickeyesi*). In 1885, it was printed in parts, separately, and was distributed to the readers along with the verses 1-22 of *Chihane*. In the same way, the French novel *Bisset's secret* (*Bisset's secret*) by Pierre Zaggon, translated by Tiran Kelekyan and published in numbers 23-32 of the weekly newspaper, was distributed to the readers. Other translations are: Paul Aren's (1843-1896), *Bitaliukyun Fasulealare* (v. 1-6), Constant Geroul's *Temple Street Crime* (v. 9-22, 28-32), Abraham Dreyfus' comedy *The Gentleman in Black* (v. 7-8). And these works had been published only in *Chihane*³³⁷, only with the translation of the journal's licensee-editor, **Tiran Kelekyan**. And how many translations have remained on the pages of Armeno-Turkish periodicals for decades...

Censorship strictures in those works had reached such a degree that the most innocent sentence could have deplorable consequences³³⁸.

336 Weekly literary, scientific, commercial, travel, biographical, industrial, etc. journal. Constantinople, 1884-1885. See: Y. Stepanian, *Bibliography of Armeno-Turkish Books and Armeno-Turkish Periodicals*. Istanbul, 2005. Page 586, v. 54.

337 Jirayr Danielian, *In the Mazes of Philosophy*. Yer., 2011, pp. 290-291.

338 In the work of Garnik Stepanyan, there is a description of an interesting comic case, which actually records a tragic situation. Once, Sultan Abdul Hamid was persuaded to perform "Faust" by an Italian troupe on tour in Istanbul, for the sake of the courtiers and himself. The Sultan agrees. Sitting in an invisible lodge, he watches the performance. In the middle of the first act, he orders to change

Through hundreds of spies, progressive Turkish authors, representatives of the intelligentsia, who were guided by the principles of raising the intellectual and mental level of the Turkish people, gathered around the theater were controlled. Special lodges were allocated to the spies, and the rest were crammed into the theater secretly, catching every suspicious-looking word, look, movement, phrase and pun. Only about 10 plays from X. de Montepin were staged, the translations of which were performed by Mnakyan himself. Some of them were published only in separate books in the 1880s. Among them are "The Candle Seller", "The Baker's Wife", "Simon and Marie", "The Marshes of Paris", "The Singer" and others. Of course, Mnakyan inherited several dozen Turkish melodramas with Armenian characters from H. Vardovyan's theater, but some of them were banned by the censors as "too dangerous". Naturally, this was not enough for a theater that gave performances only in Turkish, and Mnakyan himself had to make many translations into Armeno-Turkish. Mnakyan has translated about 40 adventure melodramas. Theater posters of that period are stored in Yeghishe Charents Literature and Art Museum of Yerevan. We learn about a number of translations from the studies of G. Stepanyan, Metin And and others. Let us count some of them: "Avenging Mother"³³⁹, "Black Mill Crime". "The Hunt" (A. D'Enner), "The Story of a Poor Young Man", "Delilah" (O. Feoye), "The Casualty Captain", "The Sinner", "The Beautiful Amelia", "Two Orphans", "The Red Purse", "The Crime of Red Bridge", "The Blind General", "Miss Irma", "The Pauper of Paris", "The Antique Dealer of Paris", "Rockambole", "The Yellow Glove", "The Unfortunate Mother", "Susan Imber", "The Wax Builders", etc.³⁴⁰ We can continue this list, but our goal is different. We want to show what role Martiros Mnakyan had in the development of Armeno-Turkish translation literature. In the press of the time, we find evidence that Martiros Mnakyan made the translations of the main part of the plays listed above. Some announcements confirming that fact have reached us. According to the works dedicated to Mnakyan's life and activities, the number of translations of his melodramas from French is about 50,³⁴¹ not counting the small vaudevilles and comedies.

and present another opera. The actors go to "Carmen" without even changing their clothes and sets. This also bores the Sultan and they changed the performance again, this time to "Troubadour". Not enjoying this either, Sultan leaves. (G. Stepanyan, Outline... volume B, p. 402).

339 We think we are talking about Xavier de Montepin's four-volume Turkish novel entitled "Traacherous Mother", which was published in 1880 with the translation of M. Mnakyan.

340 G. Stepanyan, Outline... Vol. B, p. 5-154.

341 In the studies devoted to the history of the Western Armenian theater, the numerical composition of these theater troupes is mentioned. For example, in 1884 Metin And writes that Tovmas Fasulachyan, returning from Bursa, formed a troupe of 130 people in Constantinople. Or, because of the play "Eozdenler" (Nobles) written by the Turkish progressive writer Ahmed Midhat, the Ketik Pasha (District in Istanbul - H.S.) theater was destroyed by order of Abdul Hamid. The explanation in this regard seems very ridiculous now. Sultan Hamid's spies reported that this play with its brave heroes aims to make people living in the Ottoman Empire mad. An insidious political conspiracy was certainly hidden under this outwardly ridiculous or naive reasoning. Ahmed Fehim writes on this occasion that not only the forge of the theater was destroyed, but also the lives of 400 people were destroyed (Ahmed Fehim Bey..s. 31-33). In this regard, another Turkish theater expert, Mustafa Nihat Ozon, writes without providing any valid arguments that the theater was destroyed overnight "because of some performance". About this see: Mustafa Nihad Özön, Türk Tiyatrosuna Toplu Bir Bakış. Türk Dili. 1966, N 178, s. 660.

Mnakyan's translations were staged hundreds of times, not only during the 30-year existence of his "Ottoman Dramatic", but were later used abundantly by newly formed Turkish theater troupes, whose actors-actresses, still according to previous theater traditions, used Armeno-Turkish as the language of theater.

In the development of the Enlightenment movement in the Ottoman Empire, the tours of Armenian theater troupes around the country played a noticeable role. These tours coincided with the "Zulum" years, when not only Armenian performances were banned in Constantinople, but also the works of Turkish authors and most translated plays. Mnakyan's troupe, as well as smaller troupes, toured many cities and provinces of the empire³⁴². Armenian theater troupes visited Ankara, Bursa, Smyrna, Trabzon, Ordu, Samsun, Çanakkale, Bayramji, Bahce-ada, Kavala, Thessaloniki, Edirne, Çorlu, Giresun, Unye, Kirk Kilise, Gokkoy, Bakrikoy, Baglarbashi, Midilli, Rodosto and elsewhere. Extremely interesting materials related to the tours of the capital's theater troupes are in the numerous memoirs of an eyewitness, one of the first Turkish actor participants, Ahmed Fehim. As a rule, the guest plays were successful, arousing endless interest in the theater. It should be noted that many people in those places were in contact with the phenomenon called theater for the first time in their lives. They saw actors for the first time, interacted with dramaturgy, including works of classics, works of Armenian and Turkish authors. Oriental romances, melodramas, vaudevilles, farces, popular among the people, were presented.

However, it must be admitted that these tours were not easy in the provinces, when people had no idea about the theater, the stage, and the actor. There were many obstacles. There were no theater buildings. The section of memoirs dedicated to Ahmed Fehim's tours is rich in descriptions of illiteracy and the fanatical extreme obscurantism of Muslim religious people, to which were added the limitations and bribery of state officials and local police, and the ridiculous dullness of the censors³⁴³. The enlightening significance of the visitations in the province once again emphasizes the wideness of the geographical scope and significance of the Armeno-Turkish language.

It is worth mentioning two more circumstances that prove M. Mnakyan's enormous efforts in the direction of preserving the theater during the Hamidian tyranny, up to the years of the restoration of the Ottoman constitution. Let us also add Mnakyan's great service in the field of Turkish cultural development in general. The first was to familiarize the Ottoman society, particularly the women of the Turkish harem, with the European way of life and customs through the theater.

It is known that Turkish women regularly attended Mnakyan's theater. In the performances of "Papa Mnak", the woman performed not as a harem slave, who lacked self-awareness. On the stage they saw the women of the French salons, even the

342 Ahmed Fehim Bey..s. 188. During the guest performances, the theater troupes were supported mainly by rich Armenians, Greeks and Jews. There are very few facts about the occasions of support from the Turks. In his article dedicated to Ahmed Fehim, Metin And mentions that during the tours in Trabzon, the Armenian theater troupe was under the patronage of the local wali, the writer Ali Bey. (Metin And. Ahmed Fehim Bey, Tarih Mecmuası, 1971, N 7, p. 20).

343 Baha Durdur. Manakyan, Türk Dili. 1966, N 172, s. 238-240.

women belonging to the lower classes, who, while becoming victims in the struggle for existence, still rebelled and fought for their rights. According to the Koran, the Turkish woman was called to serve the man and was not entitled to use the laws given by nature. Women locked up in Turkish harems witnessed such scenes in the theater, when a man was on his knees begging for love from a woman, and the latter refused, forcing the man to suffer. This circumstance alone was enough for the woman confined to the harem life to understand that her prisoner and slave condition, that the fact of being bought-sold-gifted are neither phenomena ordered from above nor prophetic messages. In Armeno-Turkish translated literature, particularly in Turkish plays, the most diverse problems related to marriage were discussed. In addition to seeing a woman as a mere listener, without rights, but as a "bedfellow" and presenting a woman without love, translators and directors tried to present a woman's personality, mental world, emotions, the ability to face the prevailing morals, and the female aspiration to resist them on her own. The idea of emancipation of women was opposed to marriages for the sake of wealth, profit and forced marriages. All this was added to the calls to learn, to develop, and thereby to some extent to face the blows of life, as an important condition for not being a blind tool in life. It follows from this that everyone should have access to education: women, men, rich, poor. And if the Turkish woman gradually entered the public arena during the restoration of the Ottoman constitution and the movement aimed at women's emancipation in Turkey reached its peak, it can be attributed partially to the great educational influence of the Martiros Mnakyan Theater's daytime performances especially for women. The performances contributed to the expansion of the social and cultural horizon of the Turkish woman. The theater became the best opportunity for these women to communicate with European civilization. It encouraged the harem and other women in the audience to read the novels, which were abundantly translated from French. Love and adventure novels in Armeno-Turkish were spread throughout the harems of Constantinople and could be found under every woman's pillow. They, the Turkish women, have often acknowledged this with gratitude. Turkish theater experts, referring to Mnakyan's activities, mention this fact with gratitude. In confirmation, they bring the words of women returning from performances, who advised everyone to be in Mnakyan's theater to learn how to treat women³⁴⁴.

M. Mnakyan's second important service was training the Turkish actors. Over the years, the first actors and directors of the Turkish theater were educated by the prominent director who was familiar with the achievements of the European stage.

In Hakob Vardovyan's theater, several novice Turkish actors performed mainly secondary roles. 1908 On the eve of the restoration of the Ottoman constitution of 1876, the Turkish theater already counted several dozen Turkish actors, only 2 or 3 of whom had the opportunity to be in Paris and study with European directors. All other Turkish actors are the students of Martiros Mnakyan³⁴⁵. All of them learned their roles

344 Baha Durder. *Manakyan, Türk Dili*. 1966, N 172, s. 238-240.

345 One of Mnakyan's students was Ahmed Fehim Bey (1856-1930) - the first Turkish actor, stage director and theater troupe leader. For more than half a century, he worked in the Armenian theater troupe, together with Armenian actors and actresses. He spoke, wrote and read Armenian. He learned his roles in Armeno-Turkish. His son, artist Muni Fehim, also testifies to this on the occasion of the

by learning Armenian letters, because the plays and roles were written in Armeno-Turkish. They also remember their teacher with gratitude³⁴⁶.

Like Hakob Vardovyan, Martiros Mnakyan also greatly contributed to the development of Turkish drama by giving a large number of orders to Turkish authors³⁴⁷. The progressive figures of the Turkish theater appreciated M. Mnakyan's services, his great contribution to expanding and enriching the repertoire of Turkish theater. On the occasion of his death, the famous Turkish director Muhsin Ertoghrul wrote: "How ungrateful it would be to curse Mnakyan and the members of his troupe. The fiery volcano of my being, which today keeps the flame of my soul alive, is his performances. Even many years later, in 1956, several Turkish intellectuals erected a monument to Mnakyan's memorial stone and wrote the following in Armenian and Turkish languages: "Actor Martiros Mnakyan, who was the main supporter of the revival and rise of the Turkish stage 1836-1920"³⁴⁸.

One example is enough to show the gratitude of Turkish writers towards Mnakyan's service in this field. Arshak Chobanyan, a prominent Armenian writer and publicist, told the incident. Remembering Mnakyan, Turkish writer **Tahsin Nahid** reflected with deep gratitude that "If it wasn't for Mnakyan, then who would stage my works?" T. Nahid recalled how on the day of his premiere he kissed the hand of that person who brought the Turkish theater to such a high level³⁴⁹. M. One of the feelings of gratitude of people related to Turkish theater towards Mnakyan is the deep respect for the great actor, expressed by the Turkish creative intelligentsia in 1912, on the days of Mnakyan's jubilee. This jubilee has actually turned into a national parade. One of the speakers in the "Variety" theater said in his congratulatory speech: "If the French have Mounet-Sully³⁵⁰, then the Turks have Mnakyan³⁵¹."

Until now, we talked about the translations from French, but Mnakyan also translated into Armeno-Turkish. Among Turkish philologists, we find a mention that Mnakyan wanted to stage Griboyedov's "Wit works Woe"³⁵². It is known that Mnakyan played the role of Famusov with great success in 1880 Tiflis. Most likely, he tried in every possible way to perform the play in Turkish as well. 1883 **Mehmed Murad**, a Turkish historian, an active participant of the Young Turk movement, born in Dagestan, translated Griboyedov's "Wit works Woe" from Russian into Turkish. We don't know if Mnakyan managed to stage it. The possibility of staging such a play in the years of Hamidian

publication of his father's memoirs.

346 Ahmet Fehim Beyin hatıraları. İstanbul, 1977, s.3.

347 Baha Durder. Manakyan, Türk Dili. 1966, N 172, s.238-240.

348 G. Stepanyan, Outline, E., 1975, v. C. page 96.

349 G. Stepanyan, Outline, E., 1975, v. C. page 87. Another Turkish writer, Ahmed Nuri, in response to a review published on two of his works ("The Concubine" and "The Bride and the Bridegroom"), gratefully remembers that the Armenian press has the honor of presenting itself as the founder of theater criticism, and that the creation of theater in the country belongs to Armenians. the honor. (About this, see "Azatamart" newspaper, Constantinople, 1910, September 11/24, N 384).

350 Mounet Sully (1841-1916) the founder of the French National Theater.

351 G. Stepanyan, Outline, E., 1975, v. C. page 86.

352 Gordlevsky V.I. Essays on new Ottoman literature. M., 1961, vol. 2, p. 393, 463, as well as G. Stepanyan, Outline, Yerevan, 1975, vol. B, page 377.

tyranny does not inspire faith. Later, in the years following the 1908 revolution of the Young Turks, we do not find any information among Turkish theater historians about the performance of this piece on the stage. Most likely, this play would have been converted from Turkish into Armeno-Turkish, if it was intended to be staged by Mnakyan or another theater troupe³⁵³.

In 1912, **Behim-Effendi** became the head of the Ottoman Theater.

Armeno-Turkish plays were also created for **Arshak Benglian's** operetta troupe, which operated in Constantinople in 1910-1923. This theater troupe, like Hakob Vardovyan's theater, gave its performances in Armenian and Turkish languages. Turkish theater expert **Burhan Arpad** writes that the founders of "Turkish musical theater" were **Serovbe Benglian** (1835-1900) and Tigran Chukhajian (1840-1898). Due to his vocal-acting skills, S. Penklian and the composer Tigran Chukhachyan were the first to enable the organization of temporary theater troupes in the last quarter of the 19th century and to introduce people to the phenomenon of "musical theater" in the vast territory of the Ottoman Empire³⁵⁴. Arshak Penklian was not as developed as Vardovyan or Mnakyan. However, **Vahram Papazyan** testifies in his memoirs that he was a brilliant representative of the operetta genre³⁵⁵.

In 1908, relatively free period after the restoration of the Ottoman constitution and in the post-war years, the Operetta Theater Troupe devoted a large part of its repertoire to Western European operettas, which were staged as early as the 70s of the 19th century. They were the operettas of **Offenbach, Le Coq, Calman**. In those years, T. Chukhachyan's "HorHor Agha, Leblebiji" and "Arif Fraud" plays were the most successful. Their popularity was so great that Chukhachyan was given the name "Turkish Offenbach"³⁵⁶. During his 10-year career, Serovbe Penklian often ordered translations of Western European operettas, vaudevilles and musical comedies. He ordered librettos from Turkish authors and musicians, who were already a certain number at that time. In these translations, there are also adaptations, localizations adapted to the life of the East. "Hodja Nasreddin" was among such transports. It is difficult to realize that under that title is hidden Goldoni's "Don Gregorio", which was staged in the Armenian and Turkish languages in the middle of the 19th century. We do not know the author of the adaptation, but the localization was done with such skill that it was presented more often than other plays. Among the adapted operettas and comedies of this kind, we can remember the performances "Head Chef Tosun Agha", "Papa Himmet", of course, based on European plays. However, it is difficult to find the true source³⁵⁷. The same can be said about "Memish Chelebi", "Who is smarter than us" and other vaudevilles³⁵⁸.

353 Baha Durder. Manakyan, Türk Dili. 1966, N 172, s.172-176

354 Burhan Arpad. Müzikli Türk Tiyatrosu. Türk Dili. 1966, N 178, s.685

355 Vahram Papazyan. The debt of my heart, Yer., 1959, p. 148.

356 Hrant Papazian. Dicran Tchouhagjian. Vie et oevres. İst. 1977. P. 12.

357 Turkish directors' tendency towards adaptations and localizations continues even today. It has also found its expression in today's Turkish cinematography. Many films are detailed reproductions of European and American films, only with changes in the names of characters and scenery. In these cases, finding the actual source is not difficult at all.

358 "Kidnap and Run Away" 1-act play (1902), "İki Zevche Pir Zevche" (Two men, another is a fool)

"Claretta" and "Mademoiselle Nitouche" retained the European titles. The first was left from Mnakyan's play list, and the second was translated later.

We focus in detail on the Armeno-Turkish translations, because owing to these translations, for more than 50 years, the most diverse, the Turkish and Turkish-speaking sections of the population have been able to communicate with theater culture. As it was said, all plays in Armeno-Turkish were used not only by Armenian actors or actresses of Srapion Hekimyan's "Oriental Theater", Hakob Vardovyan, Martiros Mnakyan, Tovmas Fasulachyan, Serovbe Penklian, but also by Turkish actors, through which they interacted with the stage and carried out staging activities. All these actors learned their roles in Armeno-Turkish. Up to the end of the First World War ***the Armenian alphabet was the irreplaceable, inseparable tool for the work of all theater troupes operating in Turkey, and the Armeno-Turkish was the working language of the theater.***

After the First World War, Turkish stages were "liberated" from many Armenian actors. Under these conditions, the managers of Turkish theaters have frantically tried to reshape the theater repertoire. The plays translated into Armeno-Turkish have been already adapted, names of the characters, locations of the plot events have been changed, everyday life and the environment have been changed to such an extent that the audience can be inspired that it is a Turkish play. The hostile attitude towards the Armenians reached such a level that Martiros Mnakyan, who had rendered great services to the Turkish theater, was dismissed from the position of drama department and director of the Constantinople City Theater and sent to retirement. Only the positions of the troupe's prima donna **Elise Pinnemichyan (Elise Govan)** were left vacant. Changing the language of the theater was also a result of nationalistic chauvinism. As the state language of Turkey was Turkish, therefore the letters had to be Ottoman. During the First World War, Armeno-Turkish was officially banned as the practical language of the theater.

The government of the Young Turks chose a principled and strict way of "freeing the Turkish theater from the tutelage of Armenians". A few Armenian actors and actresses remained in the theater troupes, mainly to follow the acting training and casting. The language of the theater had become Ottoman.

The Turkish woman had not taken the stage yet, so the place was vacant and the Armenian actresses were given the opportunity to continue occupying it temporarily. Even special courses were organized for Armenian actresses to learn Ottoman, to

3-act drama (1909). In 1925 "Arev" printing house of Constantinople published T. Papazyan's 1-act comedy "Yeranos Aghbar or Tapliakar vazhapet" and "Arshin Mal Alan" 4-act operetta, "A Marriage and Wealth Without Ignorance" (Constantinople, 1887, 34 pages) . Several plays were published in the printing house of "Hayeli" newspaper in Varna, including "Man's Cunning Defeated the Woman" (1895), Tiran Papazyan's "The Reward of Shame", a comedy from 1 character (1898), "Jealous Husband" (1895, 1898) by Tiran Papazyan. "Velik Aghbor's Wedding", "Tapliakar Vazhapet", "Akntsin" (1998 special edition of "Hayeli" newspaper No. 48). 1908 Vrtanes Kyuchukyan's (actor and printer under the pen name Topal Shaytan) "Sultan Mahmud II, or an attempt to poison Gazaz Artin Amira" by Vrtanes Kyuchukyan, consisting of 5 acts, was published in Cairo.

master the correct pronunciation of Ottoman. On this occasion, **Refik Ahmed** writes that "Armenian actresses passed the Turkish reading and writing courses took an exam and received certificates"³⁵⁹.

The relationship between the Armenians and the Turks was such that there was no question of the Turks using Armenian letters. Organized in 1918, the "Constantinople Armenian Dramatic" theater had a strong national character and performances were given only in the Armenian language. The theater troupe tried to expand its activities a little, and in addition to operettas, it introduced dramas to its repertoire, including "The Lady in Camellia", "Esther", "Judith", "The Red Purse" and other works. These were mainly Armeno-Turkish plays that came from the glory days of Martiros Mnakyan.

After the establishment of the Republic, when the Turkish National Theater was created by the direct order of Mustafa Kemal, the Turkish woman also dared to step on the stage. Armenian actor and actresses were passing on their acting experience, which they had accumulated during the previous 50 years, to their colleagues. However, the plays translated from French and English into Armenian and Turkish were not forgotten. They have been used by Armenian theater troupes for many decades during the activities of theater troupes and individual performances organized in Armenian settlements. It happened in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, France, even in distant America, when performances were organized for Turkish-speaking Armenian immigrants. Those performances were also attended by foreign spectators who knew Turkish.

* * *

The origin and development of the theater in the Ottoman Empire is connected with the national minorities: Greeks, Jews and Armenians. They built the theater buildings, organized performances, invited foreign drama and opera troupes. However, according to the testimony of Turkish researchers, the formation and development of Turkish theater and dramaturgy was connected only with the activities of Armenian theaters. Unlike the rest, only the Armenian theaters had performances in the Turkish language. The origin of the Turkish theater, its history and the formation of Turkish drama for more than 50 years were the Turkish performances of Srapion Hekimyan's "Oriental Theater", Hakob Vardovyan's "Ottoman Theater", Martiros Mnakyan's "Ottoman Dramatic", Tovmas Fasulachyan, Serovbe Penklian's professional theater troupes in the Armenian theater.

After the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878 until 1908, Armenian performances were banned. According to our calculations, the number of performances in Turkish by Armenian theater troupes reaches 500. These include samples of classical drama, translations from European languages, adaptations, localizations of the Eastern type, independent works of Armenian and Turkish authors, as well as jointly written plays.

As we found out, the working language in the theater was Armeno-Turkish, regardless

359 Stepanyan G., Turkish sources about the role of Armenians in the development of Turkish theater. Yer., RA NAS Publishing House, 1983, p. 30.

of the nationality of the author or translator. This special aspect of the theater did not face any particular complications and oppositions in the Turkish environment until 1912. *In the Turkish life of this period the Armeno-Turkish was a means of communication that was accessible and understandable to everyone.*

The performances of Armenian theater troupes in Turkish were to some extent determined by cooperation with Turkish authors. During the enumeration of these names, we find all the figures of Turkish new, classical literature: **Namik Kemal, Ahmed Midhat, Shamseddin Sami, Ebuzziya Tevfik, Akif Bey, Mehmed Rifat, Rédjayizadé Mahmud Ekrem, Hasan Vahid, Ahmed Vefik Pasha, Yusuf Kyamil Pasha, Shakir Bedrettin Pasha, Hasan Bédrettin Pasha, Rafat Bey, Muallim Naji, Ahmed Nejib, Ali Haidar, Manasterl Mahmud, Ahmed Rashid, Abdulkhak Hamid, Hamdi Bey, Mustafa Rashid, Ali Bey, Mustafa Ef., Abdulhamid Ziattin (Ziya Pashan) Sami Pashazade Sezai, Ahmed Aziz, Mehmed Murad.** Many of them later devoted themselves to literature, due to the fact that in their time they were drawn into the field of literature, particularly dramaturgy, into the enchanting environment of the theater as authors and translators by Hakob Vardovyan, Martiros Mnakyan, Tovmas Fasulachyan and other actors of the Armenian theater. In addition to the important incentive of having a material reward, the theater attracted him by the fact that it made it possible to promote many cherished ideas of the advanced Turkish intelligentsia through the theater and the stage. It is the enlightenment movement, the development of national self-awareness, the liberation of women, the formation of a new Turkish language and literature, and other ideas and programs.

Of particular interest for the history of the Turkish theater and literature are 30 independent works and about 60 translations, which were performed by classics of the new Turkish literature as a result of cooperation with Armenian theater troupes. Therefore, the real study of new Turkish literature, particularly dramaturgy, is possible only by studying it together with the activity of the theater. It will allow avoiding making one-sided, illogical conclusions and evaluations about the item.

Among Armeno-Turkish plays, a large number of well-known and popular literary works were originated from the European stage. In the same series, there are works of certain artistic and ideological value, many classic plays, which were taken from the repertoire of the French-Italian theater and opera troupes that toured in Turkey. Melodramas, farces, musical performances, and operettas were an inseparable part of this program, in order to satisfy the tastes of a wide range of spectators. Translations, turning into plays, transportations, localizations were performed by professional translators, directors, actors, and theater workers.

Serious social and cultural issues related to theater and dramaturgical issues were raised in the press pages. In addition to publications of a theatrical nature, every play, every performance staged in theatres was regularly widely discussed in the press of the time. Let us not forget that many periodicals have been publishing newspapers by Armenian, Turkish, and foreign authors for years, which were read in the evenings in cafes, staged, and even after the newspaper was finished, sometimes published as a separate book.

Naturally, many cases remained in the press. These articles and discussions are of the greatest interest for the history of the theater, because with their help one can recover, understand and evaluate the attitude and evaluation of different classes of spectators towards them. These articles allow to fully perceiving the people's principled approach to various social and political problems, enlightenment and cultural movement.

For his valuable study, the famous historian of Turkish theater, Metin And, made abundant use of the Turkish, French, English, and Greek in the press of the time, such as "Basiret", "Terjuman-i Haqikat", "Ruzname-i Jeride-i Havadis", published in Constantinople. "Waqit", "Tariq", "Hayal", "Diogen", "Hadika", "Shark", "Ibret", "Tasviri Efcare", "Terakk", "Osmanl", "La Turki", "Terjuman Ahval", " Levand Herald", "Journal de Constantinople" periodicals, which often discussed issues related to theater where Armenian and Armeno-Turkish dominated³⁶⁰. In many issues, their views did not coincide and sometimes gave rise to sharp fights on the pages of newspapers. Naturally, Armeno-Turkish newspapers and journals are more popular than the aforementioned, also because they are understandable to everyone. All these periodicals mainly covered the theatrical life, and it was a daily publication in the Armenian press, where they were published under the headlines "Theatrical Life", proof that the theater had long been a part of the people's life, entered families and palaces. It was combined with the editions of theatrical works and led people to read the rest of the same author's works as well. This circumstance contributed a little more to the fact that Armeno-Turkish fiction became more popular. And the fact that only a small part of the hundreds of large and small works in Armeno-Turkish related to the theater were published, while the rest remained in handwritten form and were passed from hand to hand, from theater to theater, which in no way diminishes the social, cultural, and enlightening work they did.



360 Metin And conscientiously used Armenian and Armeno-Turkish periodicals, Armenian theater literature and in particular Garnik Stepanyan's three-volume monograph dedicated to Western Armenian theater.

CHAPTER 9

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND REASONS FOR THE DECLINE OF ARMENO-TURKISH BOOK PUBLISHING (20TH CENTURY)

Armeno-Turkish literature of the 20th century differs greatly from the literature that existed in Turkey in the 19th century. This period is highlighted by the fact that it is radically different from the ideological point of view and in terms of content than the Armeno-Turkish literature of the previous century. This difference becomes more obvious especially as a result of the study of translated fiction.

The first feature that attracts attention is the complete absence of a European novel. The reasons are mainly two. First of all, the new generation of Turkish-speaking Armenians, owing to the existence of various Armenian schools in the previous decades, learnt the native language so much that there was no longer an acute need for Armeno-Turkish literature. As a result, the number of Armeno-Turkish press was reduced. For example, the popular "Manzumei Efkiare" daily newspaper had already become Armenian at the beginning of the century. Several periodicals published in Armeno-Turkish had suspended the custom of publishing newspaper novels in Armeno-Turkish. Until 1908, due to political considerations, and then due to the decrease in the number of Turkish language readers, "Cheritei Shargiye" (Constantinople, 1885-1913 and 1919-1921) and several other periodicals published in Armeno-Turkish began to publish Armenian novels-feuilletons.

The second feature, characteristic of these years, is the giving place of secular content to religious-moral themes, similar to the period of the beginning of printed literature in Armenian script, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The difference was only in the fact that, if in the first period of its formation, Catholic propaganda was the dominant ideology, with the centers of the Mkhitarist Fathers in Trieste, Vienna, and partially also in Venice, then in the first quarter of the 20th century, the Catholic confessional literature was replaced by Armeno-Turkish religious literature mainly by American missionaries' publications. The Society of American Evangelicals for the "Proliferation of the Bible" had been active in Turkey, particularly among Christian Armenians, since the middle of the 19th century, and abundantly published Bibles and Gospels not only in Armeno-Turkish, but also in Armeno-Kurdish, considering the Yezidi population of the empire³⁶¹.

361 At the beginning of the century, the Holy Bible, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were printed in Constantinople, Poyachyan printing house in Armeno-Kurdish (1911). In 1857, 1861, 1872, 1891 and other years, a number of Kurdish textbooks, dictionaries, and books related to the Christian religion were printed in the printing houses of Constantinople Muhentisyan and Poyachyan. Mkrtich Tigranyan, "Leader of Kurdistan and Balu" was the author of the Kurdish primer and a number of

Along with the publication of Bibles and Gospels, a significant number of theological works translated from English have been published. Calvin's (1509-1564) *Concise Christian Doctrine* (1924), Thomas Holloway's book *Is the Bible the Word of God* (1912), John Magneil's *Faithful Life* (1907), German translated from **Steiberger's** "The Way of the Lamb of God" (1914). Some books were published anonymously; others bear the names of American evangelical preachers, the most prolific of whom was **John C. McGregor**. 4-5 of the latter's books were translated into Armeno-Turkish and published at the beginning of the century. Books were published, the authors of which we do not know anything about today. Among those authors are: **G. Green, Howard Taylor, Kinsley Florence, S. Collier, Titgom Timothy, John Martin, Stoll Sylvains** and others. The translators of these publications were: **Srbuhi Zakaryan, Nerses Kyuzelimyan, M. Papazyan, P. Tahmizyan, S. Harutyunyan** and others. Often neither the translator nor the language from which it was translated was mentioned. Sometimes we find information about these authors and their activities in Armeno-Turkish periodicals of the time, in Diaspora Armenian publications, which were published by patriotic associations and individual authors and were dedicated to different provinces and individual settlements of Western Armenia³⁶².

The "Emmanuel" tract (brochure) of the Bible-House Protestant Church in Constantinople was regularly published in Armeno-Turkish.

Among printed books, particularly translations, translations from English are beginning to dominate, instead of translations from French. A certain number are artistic elaborations of biblical themes.

If in the middle of the 19th century a whole constellation of translators appeared in Constantinople and Smyrna under the strong influence of French tabloid literature, then in the first half of the 20th century there are more than ten English translators. **M. Baharyan, O. Boyajyan, V. Tahmizyan, M. Papazyan** and others are among the translators mentioned on Armeno-Turkish books. In 1901-1914, they mainly translated moralistic booklets, stories on biblical themes.

Apart from the translated literature, independent works of Armenian authors were also published until the middle of the 20th century. Books written from the positions of the Apostolic Armenian Church were published, which were directed against the above-

textbooks. About Armeno-Kurdish printed publications in the Ottoman Empire, see the scientific-public journal "Tarih ve Toplum" published in Constantinople, where series of articles are regularly dedicated to the literature created in the Turkish language of different peoples of the empire, but with different alphabets, including Armeno-Turkish literature ("Tarih ve Toplum" ", 1988, N 54, s 59-63 and 1988, N 55, s 58-63: about the Armeno-Kurdish and the Armeno-Turkish literature. K. Pamukciyan. "Ermeni Harflı Türkçe Yazma Sözlükler, Tarih ve Toplum, 1986, ocak, N 25, s. 52-54; K.Pamukciyan. "Ermeni Alfabetiyle Türkçe", "Tarih ve Toplum", 1984, haziran, N 4, s. 4.; Prof. Talat Tekin. "Ermeni Alfabetiyle Türkçe"; "Tarih ve Toplum", 1984, haziran, N 4, s. 6-9).

362 In the 1926 yearbook of Teodik "Amenun gerutsi" (p. 735), we learn about Emmanuel Carchia Bartua, a religious of the Franciscan covenant. This Catholic priest served in the Marash Catholic Church for 3 years, opened an orphanage, helped many Armenians during the 1895 Zeytun battles. We are most interested in the part of his activity that is related to the material we are interested in, Armeno-Turkish literature. It is known that he studied Armeno-Turkish and translated and published Turkish books in Armenian. None of these books are known to us so far.

mentioned missionary publications and the soul-hunting activities of those churches. However, the lion's share of the publications was the works of Armenian authors related to Protestantism. Christian doctrine in Armenian and Greek Turkish, spiritual songs in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish, etc. were published.

In 1908, during the relatively free period of the restoration of the Constitution, Armenian progressive figures begin to publish patriotic works in Armeno-Turkish. Some of them are translations from Armenian or other languages. Thus, Hmayak Aramyants (1878-1919), one of the figures of the Hnchak party, published "Death of the Tyrant" in Armenian in 1909 in Constantinople, and then in 1910, the Armeno-Turkish version. In 1910, a number of interesting books were published: **Parunak Papazyan's** "Memoirs of the Tyranny Period", **K. Chalyan's** "Adana Incidents and Those Responsible", **E. Peshnilyan's** book (204 pages) dedicated to the martyred missionaries and preachers in Cilicia in 1909, along with their biographies. **Hakob Varzhapetyan's** "Armenian Yearbook" was published in 1912-14. In the same year, "Songs of the Fatherland and Freedom" were published in Marzvan, and in Constantinople, a collection of works of a group of poets writing in the Armeno-Turkish language was published. In 1910, a collection of poems by the famous **Udi Habet (Habet Msryan)** was published. **Karapet Keshishyan's** book "Series of Salnames" (Oriental yearbook, 1914) contains works of prose and verse.

In this period, there is a certain number of verse works written in Armeno-Turkish³⁶³. In 1911-1914, **Mehmed Emin**, one of the bright faces of new Turkish literature, published his many poems in Armeno-Turkish in the "Andranik" and "Hoghdar" weekly newspapers of Sebastia. Even reviews have been published: "To the Poet Governor, Mehmet Emin Bey". However, this friendship did not give the Armenian-loving poet the opportunity to prevent the massacre of Armenians in his province³⁶⁴. A number of books of artistic value are being republished, including the moralistic story "History of the Emperor Pontianus" which was popular in the Middle Ages. The tale was first published in 1803. It was translated from Latin by the poet **Hakob Eudokatsi** (1573-1680), then it was translated into Armeno-Turkish and had many editions until 1925.

According to an unverified source, the 4th printing of this fairy tale in Armeno-Turkish was made in Madras, back in 1790, in the printing house of priest **Harutyun Shirazetsi**.

The First World War sharpened the direction of the nationalist politics of the Young Turks. The massacres of Armenians in different provinces and finally 1915 throughout the entire territory of Turkey devastated the literary, public speaking, and cultural scene of the next few years. For almost 6 years (1916-1922), not a single Armeno-Turkish book was published in Turkey.

363 Constantinople-Armenian chronicler Gevorg Bampukjian turned into Latin letters the 150 Armenian poems of Tiran Kelekyan, director-editor of the famous intellectual, "Chihan" (Ashkhar) Turkish literary, scientific, commercial, travel, biographical, industrial weekly journal (1884-1885) (see: Karo Abrahamian. A premature and irreplaceable loss: Keorge Pamukjian, "Hask" yearbook, Antilias, 1995-1996, p. 664).

364 Arakel N. Patrick, History book of Sebastian Yushamatian and the Armenians of the province" H.A. 1974, Beirut, page 396.

From the 20s of the 20th century, they began to republish the Eastern romances, which were widely published in previous years, along with songs, Hodja Nasreddin's stories, textbooks, dictionaries, cookbooks, as well as the Holy Bible, prayers, sermons, and many religious and moral publications.

One of the most interesting publications is the small trilingual unique military explanatory dictionary published in 1924 (Armenian, French, Armeno-Turkish: 64 pages). It was compiled by **Hakob Chololyan**, the author of a well-known study dedicated to Constantinople, **Hakob Siruni** (1890-1973). The military arena was one of those unique fields where Armenians did not have access, therefore there were no publications related to it. Armeno-Turkish literature has suffered due to the disappearance of the older generation of Turkish-speaking Armenians, and in general, the martyrdom of hundreds of thousands of Turkish-speaking Armenians. Armeno-Turkish book publishing in Turkey declined rapidly. The surviving Armenians, for whom the Turkish language remained a means of communication, had to use this literature for many years, read Armeno-Turkish periodicals, such as "Rahnuman", religious-moral publications, etc.

Not only the readers of Armeno-Turkish, but also the intellectuals and public figures who had created it, died.



CHAPTER 10

ARMENO-TURKISH PUBLICATIONS OUTSIDE TURKEY IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The European and American missionary activities in the countries of the East are covered quite thoroughly in the historiography of the Soviet period as well. It has been proven that by concealing the main purpose of missionary activity, being an instrument of expansion by capitalist countries, great efforts have been made by bourgeois historiography to present it (the Missionary Movement in the East) as a purely religious and cultural phenomenon. American missionaries are presented exclusively in the role of preachers of the "word of God", who acted as enlightened figures, founders of charitable associations, medical and educational institutions. It is not mentioned how often, how they assumed the role of political agents of capitalist countries and big companies. American missionaries in the Middle East after the First World War revitalized and expanded the scope of their activities. In the Armenian settlements, they particularly gave impetus to the task of continuing the traditions of Armeno-Turkish book publishing. The tragedy of the Armenians seemed to give a new breath to their activities. The sermons about the salvation of human souls and their passage to heaven had acquired a new quality. Instead of providing real help, they fed the Armenians who were freed from the pogroms with fake charitable sermons and publications, insinuating that God is testing their loved ones. And they continued that the organizers of evil deserve much deeper sympathy than their victims, because hell is waiting for them and heaven for the victims. This is exactly how they preached, traveling through the former vilayets of the Ottoman Empire and Middle Eastern countries, where the Armenian settlements were increasing day by day at the expense of the Armenians who fled from Turkey. Preachers and their publications convinced Armenians to refrain from self-defense and revenge. Many such editions, some of which had the guise of fiction, were printed in abundance in Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut, Cairo, Alexandria, Marseilles, London, Paris, and several cities in America and elsewhere.

We prefer to present the publications of the 20th century by country.

The most Armeno-Turkish books, about 150 titles, were published in Syria, in Aleppo and Damascus. 17 of the 30 existing printing houses of that time published books in Armeno-Turkish³⁶⁵. The Syrian Armenian diaspora was one of the largest and the Syrian people were hospitable and honest. Armenian refugees from different provinces of Turkey arrived in Syria and established their own printing houses. For example, the

365 In 1973, G. Parikyan and O. Varjapetyan's important study "From the History of Armenian Printing Houses of Syria" was published in Aleppo. Printing houses, periodicals and books printed in Syria are presented here. Armenians carried out publishing activities in 40 Arab and Armenian printing houses. See page 10 of the mentioned work.

"Syrian Press" (1922-1926) printing house was moved from Adana in 1922. The "Colej" printing house of Aleppo (1922-1945) was the successor of the Cilician College of Aintap, which was opened by the American missionaries. A number of Armenian printing houses were opened in connection with the publication of new Armenian periodicals. "Arevelk" (1946), "Euphrates" (1942-1949), "Nairi" (journal, 1945-1955) printing houses had such a beginning. As in other countries, the Syrian Armenian community was represented by a number of political parties, cultural, charitable, athletic and other associations. To that should be added the existence of different Armenian churches, which led their flock of the community.

Sometimes, Armenian newspapers and printing houses were closed as a result of the conflict of party interests. Almost every Armenian printing house had its own political orientation, belonging to any party, union and, if not completely, at least partially expressing the latter's political ideas.

"Colej" printing house has published Protestant religious and moral books translated from English, religious stories, even scientific and medical booklets. Sometimes the proceeds from these publications were donated to various charitable causes³⁶⁶. In 1925, the "Maranatha" (1922-1963) printing house started publishing the religious monthly of the same name in Armeno-Turkish. Here, religious tracts and sermons were printed and distributed free of charge. Being the printed organ of the protestant Armenians of Aleppo, religious books were often published, which presented calls for obedience from them. The prints were made in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish.

"Syrian Press" was the printed organ of the Armenian Hnchakyan political party. Their "Hnchak" newspaper and the journal of the party's youth branch were also published here.

"Ter Sahakyan" printing house sometimes published works of fiction, such as "Songs of Aintap" (1931) by **Imanyan Mennoush**, "The Elegy (Egherg) on the War in Aintap" (1948) by **H. Mertakhanyan**, and "The Story of Kyor Oghlu" (1933). **Ter Petrosyan Lusin's** essay "Ask about Armenia" was published in the "Sevan" printing house of the Armenian Teachers' Union of Aleppo (1944-1946) during the immigration period in 1946. Even if one Armeno-Turkish book was published in these printing houses, it is interesting from its informative point of view. It is interesting that Armenian teachers even had their own printing house to produce their publications related to educational life.

As in the past, a certain number of religious books were published in Turkey and in Syria, the authors of which were American preachers. These publications are translations made mostly from English. These publications belong to the different directions of the Evangelical church, their theological foundations and principles. Authors of published works include **Torrey Reuben Archer**, **Finney Charles Grandison**, **Wesley John**, **Spurgeon Charles Haddon**. We found no information about the other authors in any religious, missionary encyclopedic publications. Let us list some of those authors:

366 The proceeds from the book "Fables of Aesop" published in 1931 were donated to a school for deaf and deaf children.

Brown Archibald, O. Smith, T. Mut, Isabelle Merrill, K. Brooks, R. Roberts, Jonathan Edwards, and others. It is possible that these last ones were part of the Evangelicals sent to preach among Syrian Armenians. Translations were made by **L. Maksudyan, T. Achemyan,** Protestant priest **A. Yegoyan, S. Keshishyan, D. Chizmechyan.** Among the Armeno-Turkish publications are the independent works of a number of authors related to Catholicism and Protestantism: **Abraham Seferyan, Minas Pozoklian, S. Chorpajyan, Rebeka Grigoryan,** Catholic preacher **Vahan Tahmizyan, Gevorg Gasarchyan.**

Along with these books and in opposition to their propagandistic nature, Armeno-Turkish books were published in Aleppo, defending the positions of the Armenian Apostolic Church, against the missionaries' divisive, soul-hunting policy. In this regard, the booklet on the order of marriages and nuns published by the Armenian Church (1929) is of interest. Such publications aimed to remain connected with the laws and traditions of the apostolic church. These prints were bilingual: Armenian and Armeno-Turkish.

In the years 1930-1950, a number of books about the great national tragedy of 1915 were published in Aleppo. A number of publications have been devoted to the loss of the homeland, the destruction of material and intellectual treasures, the destruction of cultural values and monuments. These books are full of deep feelings of nostalgia for the lost country, historical and cultural past. Among such books are Imanyany Mennush's "Aintap Parpum", "Second Migration", "Aintap Songs", and "The Peasant's Destan", the booklets summarizing **Sargis Serdaryan's** poetic works dedicated to the same topic (1919-1935), songbooks, **Hakob Ptghuni's** poem on the Armenian catastrophe of 1915-1929 and other small works (1929), **Sargis Minasyan's** versified publicist works (1939), **Khachik Gasparyan's** "Armenian Immigrant" (1946) written in the likeness of "Abu Lala Mahari", etc.

In general, among the publications of these years, the works of the poets who created their "groups" made up a certain number. Among them is the collection of poems "Armenian Tragedy" by **Ashugh Ghazar (Tagvor Khachikian)** published in Marseille (1930).

The Syrian Armenian diaspora did not produce any valuable historical or artistic work in Armeno-Turkish. Regular reprints of famous oriental romances, old and new fairy tales, stories, etc. have been printed, which are only records of the fact of the existence of this literature and not literary phenomena. Although the Armenians who escaped from Turkey continued to speak the Turkish language (together with the Armenian language), the Turkish language gradually lost its practical significance in the Arab world. In order to make Turkish-speaking Armenians participate in party, public, and cultural life, the Armeno-Turkish and Armenian press continued to publish rich factual material in Armeno-Turkish.

After Aleppo, Beirut was the second most important center of Armeno-Turkish publications. Armeno-Turkish editions were made in 12 Armenian printing houses, as well as in a printing house owned by American Evangelicals. In the period of 1913-1946,

about 40 Armeno-Turkish books were published in Beirut. Valuable are the "Spanish-Armenian and Armeno-Turkish Phrasebook" (anonymous, 1928) and **K. Kiliketsi's** "Armenian and Armeno-Turkish Phrasebook" (1930). "Alexander's History" was published in Beirut together with the brief history of "Lutfik, Florence and Iskender". It is only known that the 32-page book was printed in **Karapet Tonikyan's** printing house. The popular story about the emperor Pontianus and the seven sages (1828), the story of Alexianus (1826, 1828), almost all the oriental romances had been reprinted. The Armenian community of Beirut did not continue the traditions of Armeno-Turkish book publishing, although the community was composed of Armenians who fled Turkey. Literary and cultural figures did not make a noticeable number. In Antilias, **M. Magsutyán's** printing house published a voluminous translation from the angiography with the title "The Lives of the Saints" (1937, 412 pages). Books related to religious and church rites, dream divination, fortune-telling books, which do not represent a certain artistic value, were published. The American printing house in Beirut continued to print the Bibles, gospels, preaching books every year. Along with the publications of religious content that have become commonplace, there appeared a new expression of content, which was the result of the change in the life and historical situation of the Armenian diaspora of Beirut. In 1946, **Ashugh Nadir's** book "Destan about Immigration and Request to Stalin" was published. In his ballad, the Armenian author praises the organized immigration of Diaspora Armenians to Soviet Armenia. A few similar booklets in Armeno-Turkish, with a political orientation, were published in other Armenian communities as well. A number of songbooks and cookbooks were also published in Beirut.

Regular reprints of the book "History of Grigor the Enlightener" of Baghdasar Dpir continued to be printed in the printing house of the St. Jacobs Monastery in Jerusalem. The 1928 edition is the 6th printing of that book. We should also highlight the works authored by Hovhannes Teroyents Chamurchyan "The Story of the Two Holy Apostles Jacob" (1912), "Agnes or the Horned Girl" (3rd print, 1912), essay written by Sargis Serdaryan "On Misfortune" (1927) and the reprint of Baghdasar Dpir's book (1928) are among the last known Armeno-Turkish books printed in Jerusalem. The religious book "Piousness in May" by **Alfonso Muzzarelli** was published in the printing house of the Franciscan religious order in Jerusalem (1939, 248 pages), then in the same printing house the book "The 10 Commandments of God and Christian Doctrine" was published in Armeno-Turkish, which is 320 pages, compared to the Armeno-Turkish books of those years did not have particularly large volume (1950). A book by Alfonso Muzzarelli was published in Armeno-Turkish back in 1826, by the Mkhitarists of Vienna. One of the interesting and extensive publications of the Franciscans of Jerusalem was the study "The Example-Style of the Doctors of the Catholic Religion and Pius X" (1912, 719 pages). In the other Armenian diaspora communities of the Mediterranean basin, Armeno-Turkish publications had an intermediate and sometimes random appearance.

Between 1900 and 1946, only 10 books were published in 4 Armenian printing houses in Cairo. Among them are the "National Constitution of Armenia" approved in 1863 (1901), the "Constitutional Charter of the Armenian Evangelical Church, ratified by the

Egyptian government and approved by the supreme decree" with 107 articles (1906). "The Eastern Question" (1902), "The Eastern Question and the Consequences of its Solution for All Humanity" (1902), books of religious nature, and "Turkish-French Dictionary" compiled by **T. M. Ter-Abrahamyan** in 1907, by **Armenak Petevyan** (1884- 1957) "Illustrated multilingual dictionary of boys' names in Latin, Arabic, Armenian, English, French, German, Italian, Turkish", which contains 1711 pictures (1099 pages, 1936), famous translator and musician **Mercer Melik's** "Lyrical Collection" - a collection of songs. In 1917 a small booklet was published in Alexandria with the title "History of Turkish and German Irregular Verbs", authored by **Arshak Pohjalyan**.

This book is known to us only from bibliographical sources. In 1917, in the same printing house of **Aram Stepanyan**, another poet, **Karapet Msryan-Moruk's** poems in Armeno-Turkish were published.

A branch of the American Society for the Propagation of the Bible, centered in Vienna, published Bibles, The Parables of Solomon (1935), and the Mkhitarists of Venice continued their noble work of publishing valuable dictionaries. In 1912, the 1236-page dictionary "Dictionary of Gagghi-Armenian-Turkish" by **S. Gantaryan** was republished for the second time.

In 1904, **As. Mkrtichyan's** "Dictionary of Bulgarian-Armenian-Turkish" was published in Sofia.

In 1923, **Hayk Gnduni's (Hambardzum Topchyan)** practical editions "Dictionary of Greek-Armenian-Turkish" and "Discussion of Greek-Armenian-Turkish Languages" were published in Athens. In 1929, "Saz songs - ashugh songs" of priest **Nerses Nshanyan** under the creative pseudonym of **Akhter** was published in Thessaloniki, printed in the "Horizon" printing house.

Since the 20s of the 20th century, Armeno-Turkish books have been published in a number of cities in the United States of America, including Fresno, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and New York. The families of Protestant figures educated in American universities by Evangelicals moved here. They continued to publish Armeno-Turkish books, 7 periodicals in Detroit, New York (4 titles), Pasadena.

Many publications that have been included in the bibliography appendix of printed books in Armeno-Turkish, without a year, without a place or without mention of the author, also contain textbooks, dictionaries, some of which were probably published in the first half of the 20th century³⁶⁷.

367 We mean Yeaghupyan's "Turkish-Armenian Dictionary", T. Terzyan's "Armenian-French-Greek-Turkish" dictionary, Ter-Melkonian's "Armenian-Turkish Grammar for Turks" and the same author's "Key to Armenian-Turkish Grammar" (1913), "Details about astrology", Hrant Asatur's "Privileges of Justice" in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish, "Life as it is" and other books by Grigor Zohrap. Among the published books, A. Yeran's illustrated Armenian Turkish-English conversation book published in Boston (1914, 1930), Atur Yeaghupyan's "Armenian Turkish-Armenian Dictionary" (New York, 1919) and "English-Armenian-Turkish, Armenian-Turkish-English, Turkish-Armenian-English dictionary" in Los Angeles (1920). A. Paghtikyan's "Cry of the Orphans" (1924), "Paros" songbook published by Varderesyan Eghbark's printing house in New York, "Folk Songs in Armenian and Oriental" (1928) are worthy of mention. A small booklet was published in Buenos Aires in 1930, "Conversation on the

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In the 20th century, the geographical boundaries of the printing of Armeno-Turkish books expanded without precedent. However, both in terms of quantity and quality, that literature experienced an unprecedented decline. It mainly refers to the period after the First World War, when the American missionaries actively began to publish Armeno-Turkish translation literature. The idea of the salvation of human souls and their preaching about going to heaven acquires a new quality. People longing for tangible help were instilled with obedience and preached "not to raise a dagger for a dagger." The purposefulness of such propaganda is evidenced by many publications that missionaries have implemented in many cities of the Middle East, Europe and America. The main goal of the American propaganda was to get the Armenians out of the country, not to allow them to unite and resist, perceiving the monstrous tragedy as "God's will". All this was under the guise of benevolent sermons and aid. Today, it can be said with certainty that the short-sighted profiteering, pro-Turkish policy of the American government at the beginning of the century has fully produced its results: the American influence is the most dominant in modern Turkey.

All attempts to restore the traditions of the Armeno-Turkish language from time to time were doomed to failure. The economy, social conditions, lifestyle, and psychology, especially in America and European countries, not only did not contribute to the restoration, continuation, and development of the traditions of the Armeno-Turkish language, but also greatly hindered it. New historical and social conditions made their demands, and in the modern period, the Armeno-Turkish language became outdated and anachronistic.



Life and Psychology of Americans". Unfortunately, the book is anonymous. In Buenos Aires, in 1968, the last known Armeno-Turkish, "The Book of Destans" by Tigran Kirechyan, was published.

ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Арменописьменная литература на турецком языке представляет собой своеобразную и важную ветвь армянской культуры, самобытное проявление которой было обусловлено специфическими социально-историческими условиями существования армянского народа в Османской Турции. В процессе своего формирования и развития арменописьменная литература на турецком языке прошла два этапа: рукописный и печатный. Рукописный период, зафиксированный с XIV века, не был прерван вследствие появления печатной литературы в начале XVIII века и продолжил свое существование еще целый век. От рукописного периода до нас дошло свыше 300 рукописей и фрагментов многожанровой литературы, изучение которой дает, несомненно, ценный материал по истории, культуре, фольклору и общественной мысли армянского народа.

Предметом наших исследований является преимущественно печатный период литературы, охватывающий время с 1727 года по наши дни. В основу исследования положена изданная нами в 1985 г. библиография печатных книг на арменописьменно-турецком языке и в 1987 г. библиография арменописьменной периодической печати на турецком языке.

Зарождение и существование арменописьменной литературы на турецком языке было вызвано социально-историческими условиями, сложившимися в Западной Армении, входившей в состав Османской империи. Эта литература была средством общения в среде туркоязычных армян /как владевших родным армянским языком, так и утратившим его/. Книжные публикации наряду с весьма рачительным количеством периодических изданий на арменописьменно-турецком языке /около 105 наименований газет и журналов/, были призваны воспрепятствовать процессу ассимиляции туркоязычных армян посредством приобщения их к традициям и ценностям армянской культурной жизни, к достижениям европейской научной и общественной мысли, к процессу вестернизации в Османской империи, тем самым способствовать пробуждению национального самосознания западных армян.

Арменописьменная литература на турецком языке широко использовалась также миссионерами разных католических и протестантских орденов. Помимо проповеди христианской веры, эта литература, в конечном счете, имела целью распространение политического влияния того или иного европейского государства, а впоследствии и Америки среди христианских народов Османской империи, прежде всего - армян.

Арменописьменная литература на турецком языке по своему характеру была многогранной: художественная / как оригинальная, так и переводная/,

историческая, историко-религиозная, просветительская, публицистическая, философская, научная и научно-популярная, учебная, детская, вероисповедная, а также правовая /своды законов и кодексы/. В процессе своего развития эта литература претерпела изменения, и уже в XIX веке преобладающим в ней стало светское содержание. Новое качество придали этой литературе переводы произведений французских просветителей /Вольтера, Руссо, Ламартина, Расина, Шатобриана/, а также произведений таких гигантов литературы, как Гюго, Сервантес, Дюма и другие.

Политическая обстановка, сложившаяся после Танзимата, выдвинула необходимость и создала возможность появления прогрессивного романтизма в противовес реакционному романтизму и сентиментализму, отдалявшим читателя от подлинной жизни, от активной политической борьбы и уводящим к одиночеству, к уходу в себя, как предлагали произведения Э.Юнга, А.Попа, Метастазиио и других.

Жестокая цензура в годы «зулума» загнала в тупик культурную жизнь и общественную мысль в Османской империи. Это обстоятельство неминуемо отразилось также как на арменописьменной литературе на турецком языке, так и на аналогичной периодике.

Закрывались армянские театры, запрещались армянские представления, из школьных программ были исключены история и география армянского народа. Однако и в такой ситуации арменописьменная литература на турецком языке не прекратила своего существования, а лишь видоизменила формы своего воздействия. С 70-х годов XIX века началось издание романов десятков писателей беллетристов, но уже иного общественного и художественного масштаба. Произведения, публиковавшиеся с того времени, были лишены социально-политической, а также художественной значимости, однако при этом неоспоримым оставалось их познавательное значение для читающей публики в условиях Османской действительности. По свидетельству ряда турецких исследователей, арменописьменная литература и периодика на турецком языке были известны и доступны не только армянам и туркам, но и другим туркоязычным народам Османской империи - болгарам, грекам, албанцам.

Арменописьменная литература, в частности переводная беллетристика, наряду с представлениями армянских театральных трупп на турецком языке /в основе представлений лежали арменописьменные пьесы на турецком языке/, в большой мере содействовала развитию просветительского движения в Османской империи, процессу вестернизации, определенным сдвигом в области науки, техники, культуры, оказала влияние на эмансипацию женщин в Турции.

В основе арменописьменной литературы на турецком языке лежит синтез разговорного и литературного турецкого языка. Эта литература сыграла неоспоримую роль в деле становления и развития современного турецкого языка. Значительно предвосхитив развитие турецкой литературы, арменописьменная литература на турецком языке, переводы произведений европейских авторов,

через арменописьменно-турецкую литературу, проникшие в Турцию, в немалой степени способствовали формированию собственно турецкой печати, а затем и новой турецкой литературы.

В XX веке наблюдается спад арменописьменной литературы на турецком языке. Главной причиной ее гибели послужила резня армян в Османской империи, которго не избегли также армяне - носители турецкого языка. Спасшиеся деятели армянской культуры и литературы были рассеяны по всему миру. Уцелевшие армянские типографии перебрались в разные страны Востока и Запада. В сложившейся обстановке определенный интерес к активизации арменописьменных изданий на турецком языке проявили американские миссионеры, «душеспасительные» проповеди которых, несомненно, принесли вред армянским общинам диаспоры. Издания американских миссионеров появились преимущественно в странах Ближнего Востока, в разных городах США.

Попытки восстановить былую мощь арменописьменной литературы на турецком языке, ее традиций, не увенчались успехом. В социально-исторических условиях новейшего времени арменописьменная литература на турецком языке стала анахронизмом.



**LIST OF PERFORMANCES OF ARMENIAN THEATER TROUPES IN
TURKISH (WRITTEN IN ARMENO-TURKISH)***

1. Afrika Avcılarının Horası. GA/OT
2. Afrika Bedevileri. GA/OT
3. Ahmak Köpek Açlığından Hisse Umar Baklavadan. GA/OT
4. Ahz-I Sâr yahut Avrupa'nın Eski Medeniyeti.(Ahmet Mithat). GA/OT
5. Akif Bey (Namık Kemal). GA/OT
6. Aksı gün. GA/OT
7. Aleksinaç(Fethi)y Osmanlı Kahramanları (Nâzim Paşa). GA/OT
8. Alicenap Amiral y Portsmouth Vaka'sı y Amiral Bing(Paul Foucher). MM/OT
9. Alp Dağlarının Çoban Kızı (Ch.Desnoyers-A.Dennery). GA/OT
10. Altın İfritleri. MM/OT
11. Amerika Korsanları. GA/OT/MM
12. Anadolu Köylüleri (Hasan Vahid). GA/OT/MM
13. Angelo Malipieri (V.Hugo). MM/ GA/OT
14. Arabacı y Evlât Uğruna Herşey Fedâ (Bouchardy).MM/OT
15. Arap Çalgısı. GA/OT
16. Arif'in Hilesi (b.Dikran Çuhaciyân-A.Alboretto). GA/OT
17. Ariyet. GA/OT
18. Armand Lefourtier. MM/OT
19. Arzu ile Kamber. GA/OT
20. Aşkım Bir Yar İsterim Sadık. GA/OT
21. Aşk-ı Mulrib. MM/OTİ
22. Aşk-ı Tabib (Molière, ç.A.Vefik Paşa). GA/OT
23. Atar-Güll (E.Sue-A.Bourgeois-Masson). GA/OT
24. Av Kuşları (A. Dennery). MM/OT
25. Ayna. GA/OT
26. Ayyar Hamza (Molière, Ali Bey). Biçare 27. Aziz Ağa. GA/OT
28. Baba Himmet(E. Cormon-E.Grangé). GA/OT
29. Balmumcu (X.de Montépin). MM/OT
30. Bekâr Filizof. GA/OT
31. Belle Hélène (Offenbach). GA/OT/F
32. Bernard y Bohemya Haydutları. GA/OT
33. Besa y Ahde Vefa (şamseddin Sami). GA/OT/F
34. Biçare (Nuri Bey). Bir
35. Biçare kız. MM/OT
36. Biçare Mionne. MM/OT
37. Biçare Zevce. MM/OT
38. Bigünâh Kızcağız. GA/OT/MM
39. Bir Evlâdın Tesiriyle Bir Karındaşın Nedameti. MM/OT
40. Bir Fakir Delikanlının Hikâyesi (Octav Feuillet-ç.Ahmet Fahri).MM/OT
41. Bir Floransalı. GA/OT

42. Bir Hannenin Namusu. MM/OT
43. Bir Kadeh Çay. MM/OT
44. Bir Kadının On Senelik Hayatı. (Scribe-Terrier). MM/OT
45. Bir Kadının Parası. MM/OT
46. Bir Peder Ne Kadar Sefil OlsaYine Pederdir y Hokkabaz (A.Dennery-J.Brésil) GA/OT/MM
47. Bir Saat Mahpus. GA/OT
48. Bir Sefil Familya y Kaldırımcı. MM/OT
49. Bir Türk Kahramanı y Türkistan'da Çernayet (Vizental). GA/OT
50. Bir Validenin Hatası. MM/OT
51. BirValidenin Hayır Duası. MM/OT
52. Bohemya Eşkiraları. GA/OT
53. Bohemya ömrü (Th.Barriere-H.Murger). GA/OT
54. Bombardonun Lokantası. GA/OT
55. Borsa (F.Ponsard). GA/OT
56. Bourgeois Gentilhomme (Molière). GA/OT
57. Börek Ana. MM/OT
58. Les Brigamds. GA/OT
59. Burnundan Müşteki. GA/OT
60. Bühtan. MM/OT
61. Cani Pederin Avukat oğlu. MM/OT
62. Catherine Howard (A.Duma Père). GA/OT
63. Cezar Borgia (Crisafullu-Devinaque). GA/OT
64. Ceneviz Fethi. GA/OT
65. Cenova Muharebesi (Ahmet Necip). GA/OT
66. Ceylan ile Azime (Ducange). GA/OT
67. Cinayetle Vikaye'yi Namus . GA/OT
68. Charlotte-Werter (Goethe). GA/OT
69. La Comtesse Sarah (George Ohnet). MM/OT
70. Çalma Kapıyı ÇalarlarKapını (Çingirak. Ali Bey?). GA/OT
71. Çemenzârin Bir Lâlesi. GA/OT
72. Çengi y Danış Çelebi (Ahmet Mithat, Haydar Bey,Muallim Naci).F/OT
73. Çerkes özdenleri ((Ahmet Mithat).F/OT
74. Çingirak (Ali Bey?). GA/OT
75. Çileli Kadın y Muhabbet-ı Mâder-âne Aşka Galebe Eder mi? MM/OT
76. Çilingirler (F.Pyat). MM/OT
77. Çinli Han. MM/OT
78. Çin Çiçeği (C.Lecocq-Chivot-Duru), Çuhacıyan/OOT
79. Çoban Kızı. B
80. Çoban Oğlu ve Çoban Kızı. GA/OT
81. Çocuklar. GA/OT
82. Çocukların Fendi. GA/OT
83. La dam o Camelias (A.Dumas fils). GA/OT/MM
84. Dalila (O.Feuillet). MM/OT

85. Dava Budalası. GA/OT
86. Değirmenci kızı (S.Manasyan). GA/OT
87. Delile /Kanlı Intikam/ (H.Bedrettin-M.Rıfat). GA/OT
88. Demirhane Müdürü (G.Ohnet). MM/OT
89. Denartle Muttasif Bir Karı y Çocuk Hırsız Bir Karı. MM/OT
90. Dilenci. MM/OT
91. Dilenci Fufine. MM/OT
92. Dilenci Karı (A.Bourgeois-Masson). MM/OT
93. Dimyata Pirince Giderken (Bidar Arabacıyan). GA/OT
94. Dingala. GA/OT
95. Direktorun Halı (Bidar Arabacıyan). GA/OT
96. Divaneler Hekimi. GA/OT
97. Dokuz Ayın Son Çarşambası. GA/OT
98. Dolandırıcının Neticesi. GA/OT
99. Don Cezar de Bazan (Dumanoir-Dennery). GA/OT
100. Don Gregorio (Giov.Giraud). GA/OT
101. Don Juan (Molière). GA/OT
102. Dört Yüz Frank (K.Rişduni). GA/OT
103. Ecel'i Kaza (Ebüzziya Tefik). GA/OT
104. Edgard ile Beslemesi (E. Labiche-M.Michel). GA/OT
105. Efendinin Intikamı. GA/OT
106. Ekmekçi Kadın (X.de Montépin). MM/OT
107. Eleman. GA/OT
108. Ersas (Ali Haydar). GA/OT
109. Eski Bina Alevlendi. MM/OT
110. Esrar-ı Paris (E.Sue). GA/OT
111. Eşkiya Zevcesi. GA/OT
112. Evlâtlık Kız. MM/OT
113. Evlâtlarımız. MM/OT
114. Eyvah! (Ahmet Mithat). GA/OT
115. Falcı Karı (X.de Montépin). MM/OT
116. Fakir Delikanlı. MM/OT
117. Fazilet Mağlup) Olur mu? (A.Bourgeois-Masson). GA/MM/OT
118. Fedakâr Gemici (N.Fournier-H.Meyer). MM/OT
119. Feth-ı Celil-I Konstantaniye. GA/OT
120. Feyz-i Aşk (şakir). GA/OT
121. Feyzi Paşa. GA/OT
122. Fırsat (A.Potevin). GA/OT
123. Fiyaka. MM/OT
124. Fortunoî'nun Şarkısı (J.Offenbach). GA/OT
125. Fransa-Prusya Muharebesi y Comt de Saint- Hélène. GA/OT
126. Frankfurt Piyangosu. GA/OT
127. Frou-Frou (H.Meilhac-L.Halévy). MM/OT
128. Fukaraya Sadaka var (J.de Prémery). GA/OT

129. Fukaranın Vasiyetnamesi (V.Ducange). GA/OT
 130. Gavaut. Minard ve Şürekâsı (E. Gondinet, ç. Ali Bey). GA/OT
 131. Gâve (şamsettin Sami). F/OT
 132. Gemiciler. GA/OT
 133. Gemicilerin Horası. GA/OT
 134. Geveze Berber (Ali Bey). GA/OT
 135. Giroflé-Giroflâ (C.Lecocq-ç.H.Bedrettin şakir). GA/OT
 136. Görenek (Mehmet Rifat). GA/OT
 137. Granpimpampoli (K.Rışduni). GA/OT
 138. Giuditta (P.Giacometi?). GA/OT
 139. Günahkâr Karı (A.de Prebois). MM/OT
 140. Güruh-i İnsan Nakistir Her An (Lanbert Thiboust-ç.M.Hilmi). GA/OT
 141. Güzel Amelia (N. Fournier). MM/OT
 142. Güzel Elen. MM/OT
 143. Güzellik Kızıadeleri. GA/OT
 144. Hasan Onbaşı. GA/OT
 145. Hayalî Hasta (Molière-A.Vefik Paşa). GA/OT
 146. Haydutlar (Schiller). GA/OT
 147. Haylaz Çocuk. GA/OT
 148. Haylaz ile Mürâi. GA/OT
 149. Hırsız Simon. GA/OT
 150. Hokkabaz. MM/OT
 151. Horhorlu Bekri. GA/OT
 152. Huda ve Aşk (Schiller- ç.H.Bedrettin şakir). GA/OT
 153. Hürmüz. GA/OT
 154. Hürmüz Beyin Boşboğazlığı. GA/OT
 155. Hüsn-i Ahlâk. GA/OT
 156. İbdar ve İkbal (Ahmet Necip). GA/OT
 157. İğreti Saç. GA/OT
 158. İhtiyar Onbaşı/Müsin Onbaşı ((Dumanoir-Dennery-ç. Şamsettin Sami).GA/OT
 159. İki Ahbab Çavuşlar(T.Baudoin d'Aubigny-Maillard, ç.Mehmet Hilmi). GA/OT
 160. İki Ahmak Yoldaşlar (E.de Richmont). GA/OT
 161. İki Donsuzlar (Siraudin-E.Moreau-Delacour). GA/OT
 162. İki Kardeşlerin Sergüzeşti (Ziya Bey). GA/OT
 163. İki Karpuz Bir Koltuğa Sığmaz (O.Hamdi). GA/OT
 164. İki Mülâzim (C.Roti). GA/OT
 165. İki Oksüz Kız (Dennery-Cormon). MM/OT
 166. İki Peder. MM/OT
 167. İki Sağırlar (A. Bourgeois-J.Moneaux). GA/OT
 168. İki Yümrücek (P. Decourcelles-ç.Mehmet Reşat). MM/OT
 169. İki Züğürt Açıkdozler. GA/OT
 170. İki Hemsireler. MM/OT
 171. İraklis. GA/OT
 172. İskonçes. GA/OT

173. İsveçli Kız (V.Ducange). GA/OT
174. İşret Belâsı. MM/OT
175. İşte Alafranga (M.F.) GA/OT
176. İtalya Koylüleri. GA/OT
177. İtimat, Emel, Rikkat (J.B. Roisuer).MM/OT
178. Jack Varley (L. Sazie-G.Grison).MM/OT
179. Jean Gray (E.Nus- A.Brot). GA/OT
180. Jean de Galais. GA/OT
181. Jozef'in Mantosu (ç.Fahri Bey). F/OT
182. Kader Böylemiş. GA/OT
183. Kaliforniya'da Altın Arayıcıları y Glaneston Gölü (u. Dennery). MM/OT
184. Kalp Gözü. GA/OT
185. Kampanacı y Müthis Bir Netice (J.Bouchardey). MM/OT
186. Kanarya. GA/OT
187. Kantocu Kız. (X.de Montépin). MM/OT
188. Kantoni Kalesi. GA/OT
189. Kapıcının Başndan İki el Saç Matlubu. GA/OT
190. Kara Dağırmen Cinayeti y ÇinayetiYılan İzi (M.E.Braddon-ç.M. Refik).MM/OT
191. Karı Adam Ne Yapar. GA/OT
192. Karı İntikamı (M.J.Sedain-ç.M.Rıfat,E.Eşref). GA/OT
193. Karnaval Aşıkları. GA/OT
194. Karnaval Çapkınları. GA/OT /MM
195. Karnaval Kokozları (M.Çarpasciyan). F/OT
196. Karnavalda Bir Gece. MM/OT
197. Kean (A.Dumas Pére). GA/OT
198. Kel Kapıcı. GA/OT
199. Keyhüsref Sahin Adetleri. GA/OT
200. 48 Okkalık Baş Belâsı. MM/OT
201. Kırmızı Güzdan (N.Fournier-Meyer). MM/OT
202. Kırmızı Oda (Th. Anne). GA/OT
203. Kırmızı Pantalon. GA/OT
204. Kıskaç Karı. GA/OT
205. Kıskaçlık Belâsı. MM/OT
206. Kızıl Koprü çinayeti (E.Gaboriau-Hipp.Hostein-ç.Fuat Bey).MM/OT
207. Kızının Katili y Bir Nasihat Bin Müsibettin Yeğdir. MM/OT
208. Kızıl Düğün. GA/OT
209. Klamar. MM/OT
210. Kocaya Tuzak (Stapleaux). GA/OT
211. Kokona Yatıyor (E.Grangé-V.Bernard, u. Ali Bey). GA/OT
212. Kömrücü Kari. MM/OT
213. Kör y öz Evlât Aslina Çeker. (A.Bourgeois -Dennery, ç.A.Münif).MM/OT
214. Körün Oglu. GA/OT
215. Köse Kâhya(b.D.Çuhaciyan-A.Alboretto, i. K.Riştuni). OOT
216. Köyün Uftadeleri y İki İhtiyar Aşıklar. GA/OT

217. Kral Çoban. GA/OT
 218. Kumarbazın Encamı. GA/OT/MM
 219. Küçük Gemiciler. GA/OT
 220. Küçük Polonya (L. Thiboust-E.Blum). GA/OT
 221. Leblebici Hor-Hor Ağa (b. D.Çuhacıyan, I.T.Nalyan) OOT/ GA/OT
 222. Lerouge Gavası. MM/OT
 223. Leyla ile Mecnun (Mustafa Efendi). GA/OT
 224. Londra Expressi. GA/OT
 225. Londra Kulesi. GA/OT
 226. Londra Pazarı. MM/OT
 227. Lostracının Mirası. GA/OT
 228. Lucie Gigier (L.Battu-Jaim Fils). GA/OT
 229. Lucrece Borgia. GA/OT
 230. Luisa Miller. GA/OT
 231. Lyon Postası. GA/OT
 232. Madam Angot'nun Kızı (Lecocq). GA/OT
 233. Madam Saint Tropez ((A.Bourgeois -Dennery). GA/OT MM/OT
 234. Madam Sularda. GA/OT
 235. Madam Uykuda. GA/OT MM/OT
 236. Mağdur-ı Kalp y Fedakâr Valdenin Fedakâr Çocuğu (V.Sejour- J. Bresil,ç.Mehmet Fahri) MM/OT
 237. Mahçubiyetin Mukafaatı. GA/OT MM/OT
 238. Manon Lescaut (Th.Barriere-M.Fournier). . GA/OT
 239. Marie-Jeanne(Dennery-Mallian). MM/OT
 240. Maei Tudor (V.Hugo). GA/OT
 241. Marianne y Kör Général (A.Bourgeois-M.Masson). GA/OT MM/OT
 242. Martel Yavruları. GA/OT
 243. Mathilde (F.Pyat-E.Sue). GA/OT
 244. Matmazel Blede. MM/OT
 245. Matmazel Irma (Moreau?). MM/OT
 246. Matmazel Jani. MM/OT
 247. Memiş Ağa (Molière-u. Ali Bey). GA/OT
 248. Merduh Kız (ç. Mehmet Tahir). MM/OT
 249. Metruk Yetimler. MM/OT
 250. Meyhane Faciaları y İşaret Mazlumları. MM/OT
 251. Miras Sandığı (K. Rıştuni). GA/OT
 252. Misafiri Istiskal(Ali Bey). GA/OT
 253. Monsieur Kızınız. GA/OT
 254. Monte Cristo (A.Dumas Pére). GA/OT
 255. Montoni. GA/OT
 256. Mücez. GA/OT
 257. Münasebet-I Gayrı Resmi. MM/OT
 258. Mürai ve Lâubali. GA/OT
 259. Müsin Onbaşı. GA/OT/MM

260. Müsahabet y Lyon Postası (E.Moreau-Siraudin-Delacroix). GA/OT MM/OT
261. Nedamet y Hırsız Evlât (Ahmet Necip). GA/OT
262. Nikotimos'un Kızı. GA/OT
263. Niks Niks (K. Rıştuni). GA/OT
264. Nitouche. OOT
265. Obur. MM/OT
266. Obur Müneccim. GA/OT
267. Odun Kılıç. GA/OT
268. Orphée (Offenbach). GA/OT
269. Osmanlı Marşı. GA/OT
270. Otuz Sene y Kumarbazın Encamı (V.Ducange-Dinaux). GA/OT
271. Pamela (b.l. S.Manasse). GA/OT
272. Papelci. GA/OT
273. Paris Çöpçüsü. GA/OT
274. Paris Dilencisi. GA/OT
275. Paris Faciaları (X.de Montépin). MM/OT
276. Paris Fukarası (Eug.Nus-Ed.Brisebarre). GA/OT/MM
277. Paris Kayıkçıları (H.Thiery-Ad.Duperty). GA/OT
278. Paris Paçavrası (F.Pyat). GA/OT/MM
279. Paris'te Bir Vak'a. MM/OT
280. Paris'te Misk Sokağı Vak'ası. MM/OT
281. Paul ve Virgine (B.de Saint-Pierre). GA/OT
282. Peçeli Kadın. E. Richebourg-ç.M.Tahir). MM/OT
283. Penbe Kız (b.Haydar Bey, l.O.Nuri-M.Muslihiddin). OOK Bengliyan
284. Pierre d' Artzo. GA/OT
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Abbreviations

- B- Arshak Penklian's operetta troupe
F- Tovmas Fasulachyan
b- composer
j- translator
GA- Hakob Vardovyan (Güli Hakob)
l- libretto author
MM- Martiros Mnakyan
OT- Ottoman Dramatic
OOT - Ottoman Opera House
u- adaptation

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**LITTÉRATURE ARMÉNIENNE EN
LANGUE TURQUE ÉCRITES EN
CARACTÈRE ARMÉNIEN**